

MEDIEVAL BORDERLANDS AND THE MAKING OF IDENTITY

LAW, RELIGION AND COMMUNITY IN WALES
AND TRANSYLVANIA (13TH – EARLY-16TH CENTURIES)

Word count: 42.958

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of History

Academic year: 2025 – 2026

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

No frontier is crossed alone. Although this thesis ultimately bears one name, it would never have reached its final page without the many people and institutions that shaped the journey along the way. Some offered guidance, some opened doors to obscure archives and libraries, and some simply reminded me that there is a world beyond medieval Wales and Transylvania.

First and foremost, my deepest thanks go to my promoters, Prof. Dr. Jeroen Deploige and Prof. Dr. Frederik Buylaert, whose thoughtful guidance and steady support throughout this project have been invaluable. Their genuine interest in the questions that drove this research made the process all the more rewarding, while their encouragement and constructive criticism helped shape it into the thesis it has become. I am particularly thankful for the freedom to follow my interests, including down a few historical rabbit holes, and for always having someone willing to help me find my way back out the thicket of sources and arguments.

I am equally grateful to the university, libraries and archives that provided the sources and collections through which this research could take shape. In many ways, this project has also been a reminder of the possibilities of working in a digitally connected scholarly world, where sources and collaboration can cross borders with relative ease, even when the research itself spans quite distant regions such as Wales and Transylvania. At the same time, it was the generosity and practical help of local staff in archives and libraries that made this work truly possible and engaging, turning what could have been a remote project into a deeply grounded European research experience.

To my friends: thank you for the walks, conversations, laughter, and distractions that made the long days of reading and writing considerably lighter. Thank you for listening to more medieval history than anyone reasonably should have to. I would like to think that, somewhere along the way, at least a few sufficiently obscure historical facts have emerged that may yet prove useful in future conversations—although I make no promises about their practical value.

Finally, to my family, whose unwavering confidence in me has been a constant throughout this journey: thank you for your patience and steady support. Thank you for believing in both this project and me from the beginning, and for celebrating the small victories along the way. Knowing that they were always there made the uncertain moments much easier to navigate. Their encouragements, in all its forms, made this journey a little lighter: from the daily “How’s the thesis going?” to the occasional late-night company when sleep was clearly losing the battle to curiosity. In the end, I may have written the thesis, but we certainly lived it together.

For this, and for so much more than words can express, thank you from the bottom of my heart.

E.

ABSTRACT (ENGLISH)

Both public and academic debates on medieval frontiers often oscillate between static national narratives and oversimplified models of peaceful coexistence. In reality, frontiers were dynamic contact zones where social boundaries were continuously engineered and negotiated. Focusing on law and religion as primary infrastructures governing diversity, this thesis offers an innovative, contrast-oriented comparison of two late medieval borderlands: Wales under English rule (c. 1284-1534) and Transylvania within the Kingdom of Hungary (c. 1000/1200-1524). Centred on legally subordinated native populations, i.e. the Welsh and the Vlachs, this study argues that frontier identities emerged through the interplay of formal legal classification and dynamic religious practices. Combining the notion of legal pluralism with social boundary theory and ethnosymbolism, it contrasts Wales's fragmented legal landscape with Transylvania's corporate *universitas* system. The study examines how collective distinction was formalised in customary law, legitimised through ecclesiastical patronage, tested during times of rebellion, and enacted through saint veneration and pilgrimage networks. By placing Western and Eastern European borderlands in structured dialogue, it moves beyond regionally isolated frontier historiographies and tests prevailing frontier stereotypes, thereby exposing their analytical limits and providing a new comparative framework for the study of premodern community formation and “entangled histories”.

ABSTRACT (NEDERLANDS)

Zowel maatschappelijke als academische debatten over middeleeuwse grensgebieden schommelen vaak tussen statische nationale narratieven en vereenvoudigde modellen van vreedzame co-existentie. Grensgebieden waren in feite dynamische contactzones waar sociale grenzen voortdurend werden vormgegeven en onderhandeld. Met de focus op recht en religie als primaire infrastructuur voor het reguleren van diversiteit, biedt dit proefschrift een vernieuwende, contrastgerichte vergelijking van twee laatmiddeleeuwse grensregio's: Wales onder Engels bewind (ca. 1284–1534) en Transsylvanië binnen het Koninkrijk Hongarije (ca. 1000/1200–1524). Gericht op juridisch ondergeschikte inheemse populaties, met name de Welshmen en de Vlachen, betoogt deze studie dat grensidentiteiten ontstonden door de wisselwerking tussen juridische classificatie en religieuze praktijken. Door het concept van rechtspluralisme te combineren met ‘social boundary theory’ en ethnosymbolisme, contrasteert de thesis het versnipperde politieke landschap van Wales met de geïnstitutionaliseerde *universitas* in Transsylvanië. Het onderzoekt zo hoe collectief onderscheid werd geformaliseerd in gewoonterecht, gelegitimeerd via kerkelijk patronaat, op de proef gesteld tijdens opstanden, en geuit via heiligenverering en pelgrimsnetwerken. Door West- en Oost-Europese grensgebieden in een gestructureerd dialoog te plaatsen, overstijgt de thesis regionaal geïsoleerde historiografieën en toetst het heersende grensstereotypen. Hierdoor kunnen bijhorende analytische beperkingen blootgelegd worden, en ontwikkelt zich een nieuw vergelijkend kader voor toekomstige studies naar premoderne gemeenschapsvormen en ‘entangled histories.’

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INTRODUCTION

Recent concerns regarding migration and cultural identity have revitalised the study of border regions, sparking renewed scholarly and public interest in their historical antecedents.¹ Certain strands of modern discourse tend to deploy simplified or distorted images of the medieval past to naturalise assumptions of territorial continuity and cultural longevity.² Yet such narratives obscure the historical reality that medieval frontiers bore little resemblance to the stable borders of our modern nation-states. Rather than functioning as rigid divisions, they were highly permeable contact zones where different legal systems, religions and a multitude of ethnic communities interacted incessantly.³ Precisely because these boundaries were fluid and authority was contested, these borderlands became crucial pressure cookers in which collective identities were continuously defined and defended against external pressure.

While collective identity is shaped by numerous factors, such as language, memory, everyday customs and traditions, this thesis focuses specifically on law and religion as the primary formal infrastructures shaping frontier diversity. As dominant mechanisms of classification, legal regimes defined rights and status, while religious structures provided moral legitimacy and spatial boundaries to these social divisions. To explore the dynamics of these systems, the thesis adopts a meso-level comparative approach, focusing on two distinct frontier zones of the medieval Latin West: Wales under English rule (c. 1284-1535/1542), and Transylvania within the Kingdom of Hungary (c. 1224/1225-1526).⁴ Both regions experienced intensified political integration during this period while inheriting earlier frontier structures, and both were home to legally subordinated indigenous communities, namely the Welsh and the Vlachs. Crucially, however, these regions developed contrasting configurations of pluralism: Wales through a fragmented interplay of Marcher lordships, royal law, and modified native customary law; Transylvania through territorially embedded corporate privileges granted to distinct *nationes*.⁵ By subjecting these two cases to a contrast-oriented comparison, this study clarifies how different institutional and religious arrangements engineered distinct modes of native medieval identity formation.

HISTORICAL FRAMING

On the Western ‘periphery’ of the British Isles, Wales has long functioned as a contested borderland with a deep history of cultural contact and resistance.⁶ In antiquity and the Early

¹ This is exemplified by the prominent role of medieval territorial claims in recent geopolitical conflicts, such as the invocation of Kievan Rus in the Russo-Ukrainian War, or the use of *reconquista* narratives in European far-right discourse regarding migration. See e.g. Alicia Miguélez and Pedro Martins, “The Uses of the Medieval Past in Contemporary European Political Discourse: Some Reflections Arising from the Portuguese Case,” *Journal of Portuguese History* (2023): 75.

² For a critique of these distorted images, see: Patrick Joseph Geary, *The Myth of Nations: the Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

³ Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and ‘Pagans’ in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000 – c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 6-41.

⁴ This study does not aim to provide a continuous or exhaustive historical survey of the prescribed period. Instead, it focuses on pivotal turning points within these time frames. For Wales, the period opens with the *Statute of Rhuddlan* (1284) and closes with the *Laws in Wales Acts* (1535-1542). For Transylvania, the effective starting point is roughly 1224-1225, marked by the granting of the *Diploma Andreanum* and the expulsion of the Teutonic Order; and it closes with the Battle of Mohács (1526) which shattered the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.

⁵ The term *nationes* here refers to legally defined corporate estates (Hungarians, Saxons, and Szeklers) exercising political rights within the Kingdom of Hungary, distinct from modern ethnic concepts. See Chapter 3 for an extensive analysis of their privileges.

⁶ Rees Davies, “Frontier Arrangements in Fragmented Societies: Ireland and Wales,” in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 77; Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: Celtic Fringe in British National Development* (London: Routledge, 1999).

Middle Ages, its rugged geography marked the edge of Roman Britain and later formed a Celtic stronghold against Anglo-Saxon expansion. Throughout the Middle Ages, it operated as a politically fragmented frontier zone where native Welsh kingdoms constantly negotiated their autonomy against English expansion. After its official incorporation in 1542, Wales was bound to the administrative heart of the British Empire. In the early modern and modern eras, it gradually evolved into a distinct industrial region while maintaining a resilient linguistic and cultural identity.⁷ Even today, within the framework of modern UK devolution, Wales occupies a unique position as a historic nation still negotiating its political autonomy with Westminster.⁸

Within this broader historical arc, this study concentrates on the pivotal era of Anglo-Norman conquest and incorporation between the 13th and 16th centuries. Although the focus lies on this period, the preceding centuries were crucial in shaping a Welsh identity that continued to evolve under English rule. Following the Norman Conquest of England (1066), Anglo-Norman lords gradually extended their authority westward, establishing the autonomous Marcher lordships along the Anglo-Welsh frontier.⁹ While Welsh dynasties, most notably the princes of Gwynedd, initially maintained self-rule in northern and western Wales, Edward I's military campaigns of 1277 and 1282-1283 decisively broke this independence.¹⁰ The death of the last native Welsh Prince Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1282 led to the Statute of Rhuddlan (1284), integrating Wales into the English polity as a principality with mixed laws and a relatively high degree of autonomy. Full administrative annexation followed under Henry VIII through the Laws in Wales Acts (1535-1542), which enforced English law and language, and abolished the Marcher Lordships. Throughout this "Principality Era", native Welsh identity emerged through complex negotiations: resisting legal discrimination and political subjection while deploying native traditions to articulate a cohesive communitarian identity.

On the Eastern 'periphery' of Europe, Transylvania has historically similarly functioned as a crucial frontier zone with a layered history. As early as the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, it lay at the edge of the Roman empire as the northernmost part of the province Dacia. During the Migration Period and the Early Middle Ages, the region transformed into a contested transit corridor for successive nomadic and semi-nomadic groups, including Gepids, Slavs, Bulgars, and later Pechenegs and Cumans.¹¹ Centuries later, during the High Middle Ages, the region was integrated as a vital borderland of the Kingdom of Hungary, before transforming in the early modern period into a hinge region between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires.¹² Even in modern times, Transylvania remains a geopolitical bone of contention between Hungary and Romania, both claiming the region as an integral part of their national narratives.¹³

Zooming in on the Late Middle Ages, this study considers Transylvania during its tenure as a highly militarised frontier of the Hungarian Kingdom. From the 12th and 13th centuries onwards, Hungarian rulers deployed a dual strategy to secure this vulnerable area against external threats, such as the Mongols. On the one hand, they relocated the Szeklers, a specialised military population, to fortify the strategic Carpathian passes; on the other, they encouraged the settlement of Saxon colonists from West Germany and the Lowlands to

⁷ Hechter, *Internal Colonialism*, 150.

⁸ David S. Moon and Tomos Evans, "Welsh Devolution and the Problem of Legislative Competence," *British Politics* 12.3 (2017): 336.

⁹ Max Lieberman, *The Medieval March of Wales: The Creation and Perception of a Frontier, 1066-1283* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹⁰ Robert Rees Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales, 1063-1415* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 333, 352.

¹¹ Erwin Gáll and Gergely Szenthe, "The 'Migration' Period," in *Constitutional History of Transylvania*, ed. Emőd Veress (Cham: Springer, 2023), 59-93.

¹² R.J.W. Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006), 102.

¹³ Lucian Boia, *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001), 181.

economically develop the frontier through urban development and agricultural colonisation.¹⁴ Yet, while Hungarian nobles, Szeklers, and Saxons ultimately consolidated power as the dominant corporate estates of the region (*Unio Trium Nationum*, 1438), this thesis centres on the legally subordinated, Orthodox Romanian population: the long-established Vlach pastoral communities.¹⁵ Coexisting alongside Hungarian and Saxon communities, the Vlachs forged a distinct identity at the intersection of diverse traditions that would soon exceed the natural barrier of the Carpathians towards the new Romanian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. Although initially operating under their native customary law (*ius valachicum*) and local noble lineages (*cnezi*), their status was decisively undermined by royal measures such as the Decree of Turda (1366), which conditioned nobility upon Catholic orthodoxy. Consequently, as this study will show, the Vlachs faced progressive institutional erosion, disenfranchisement, and religious marginalisation as Hungary gradually tightened its grip over the region.

STATE OF THE ART

To situate this study, one must first engage with the spatial turn that has transformed medieval frontier studies over the last three decades. Medievalists have reconceptualised frontiers as dynamic centres of cultural contact rather than peripheral barriers.¹⁶ Medieval Europe was characterised by a fragmented political landscape of personal loyalties and diffuse authority, in which natural features such as rivers or mountains structured movement and local power. Only rarely did they work as rigid barriers between hermetically sealed entities. As a result, border regions are now acknowledged as both zones of separation and spaces of interaction.¹⁷ This reorientation owes much to late-20th-century critiques of earlier linear and essentialist models, most notably Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis (1893).¹⁸ Scholars such as Angus Mackay, Robert Bartlett, Nora Berend and David Abulafia solidified this turn by providing the much-needed toolkits to study medieval frontiers as sites of coexistence.¹⁹

Robert Bartlett's *The Making of Europe* (1993) remains vital to this reorientation, framing European history between c. 950 and 1350 as a long-term process of conquest and colonisation emanating from a coherent cultural heartland in northern France, the Low Countries, western Germany and northern Italy.²⁰ Crucially, this expansion was led by loosely organised aristocratic, urban, and religious actors who transplanted their own cultures. Despite criticism for neglecting developments within core regions themselves and for underplaying indigenous agency, his model reconceptualises medieval frontiers as potent centres rather than marginal peripheries. Len Scales has further complicated this picture by showing how

¹⁴ Glynn Custred, "Dual Ethnic Identity of the Transylvanian Saxons," *East European Quarterly* 25.4 (1991): 483.

¹⁵ This study employs the historical term *Vlachs* rather than the modern designation *Romanians*. Although modern historiography acknowledges that medieval Romance-speaking populations self-identified as *români*, Latin sources consistently use the exonym *Vlachi* (or *Olahi*). Retaining this terminology avoids anachronism, while capturing how this population was characterised by their contemporaries: *Vlach* functioned as an umbrella term for a certain ethno-linguistic identity. On the semantic history of these terms, see Ioan Aurel Pop, "Istoria și semnificația numelor de român/valah și România/Valahia," *Revista Limba Română* 4 (2020): 56-86.

¹⁶ Christian Langer and Manuel Fernández-Götz, "Boundaries, Borders and Frontiers: Contemporary and Past Perspectives," *Journal for Ancient Studies* 7 (2020): 33-47.

¹⁷ Nora Berend, "Interconnection and Separation: Medieval Perspectives on the Modern Problem of the 'Global Middle Ages'," *Medieval Encounters* 29 (2023): 285.

¹⁸ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920). Turner's thesis and subsequent frontier scholarship are addressed in detail in the next chapter.

¹⁹ Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500* (London: MacMillan, 1977); Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Nora Berend, "Medievalists and the Notion of the Frontier," *Medieval History Journal* 2.1 (1999): 55-72; David Abulafia, *Mediterranean Encounters, Economic, Religious, Political, 1100-1550* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2000).

²⁰ Bartlett, *Making of Europe*.

processes that fostered overarching cultural unities also strengthened division and articulation of identities.²¹ Moreover, other scholars caution against the complacent application of single models across diverse contexts: while conflict and militarisation dominated the British Isles, Central and Eastern Europe were characterised by interaction and cultural entanglement.²²

Against this historiographical backdrop, approaches such as *connected history*,²³ *entangled history* (*histoire croisée*),²⁴ and the *Global Middle Ages*²⁵ shift scholarship away from nation-based narratives by foregrounding transregional exchange. Such perspectives offer vital antidotes to nationalist (and more broadly isolationist) approaches and are increasingly considered as correctives to right-extremist appropriations and fantasies of a racially pure medieval Europe.²⁶ Yet, while these frameworks dismantle methodological nationalism²⁷ and Eurocentric teleologies,²⁸ they also generate new tensions within the field. Particularly their emphasis on connectivity and global scale risks flattening local asymmetries of power and obscuring the historically specific dynamics of frontiers. Rather than choosing between absolute connectivity or isolated localism, recent scholarship demands an analysis that evaluates forms of interconnections alongside the rigid modes of separation evident in the sources themselves.²⁹ This thesis is indebted to that turn by foregrounding legal and socio-religious dimensions of frontiers, and how these were articulated and performed across medieval Wales and Transylvania.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESIS

At its core, this thesis addresses one overarching question: how did legal and religious infrastructures shape the formation and articulation of collective native identities in medieval Wales and Transylvania between the 13th and early 16th centuries? Rather than treating frontier identities as fixed expressions of ethnicity or culture, the thesis explores the processes through which communal boundaries were established and maintained over time. To systematically resolve this central question, three interrelated lines of inquiry guide the analysis.

First, how did legal institutions classify and differentiate frontier populations? Charters, statutes, privileges, and customary law formalised distinctions between ethnic and religious communities. Issued or confirmed by governing authorities, such documents regulated settlement and autonomy, thereby structuring relations between privileged settler communities and legally differentiated subjects.

²¹ Len Scales, "Ever Closer Union? Unification, Difference, and the 'Making of Europe', c. 950-1350," *English Historical Review* 137 (2022): 321-61.

²² Nora Berend, "The Medieval Imagery of Frontiers in Hungary," *Quaestiones medii aevi novae* 16 (2011): 171-8; Sébastien Rossignol, "Doit-on encore parler de colonisation allemande au Moyen Âge? Réflexions sur l'historiographie récente concernant l'Europe du Centre-Est aux xiie et xiiie siècles," *Revue Historique* 4.680 (2016): 905-40.

²³ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Asia," *Modern Asian Studies* 31.3 (1997): 735-62. *Connected history* highlights cross-cultural circulation across regions conventionally studied in isolation, thus restoring links obscured by national historiographies and tracing how global and local dynamics intersect; cf. Jeroen Duindam, "Rulers and Elites in Global History: Introductory Observations," In: *Prince, Pen, and Sword: Eurasian Perspectives*, eds. M. Van Berkel and J. Duindam (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 8.

²⁴ Michael Werner, and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Penser l'histoire croisée: entre empirie et réflexivité," *Annales* 58.1 (2003): 7-36. Closely related yet methodologically distinct, *entangled histories* focus on mutual transfers and co-constitution through interaction and exchange, to question comparisons that presuppose stable units.

²⁵ Geraldine Heng, *The Global Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021). The *Global Middle Ages* repositions medieval societies within larger Afro-Eurasian networks, highlighting connections beyond Europe.

²⁶ Berend, "Interconnection and Separation," 287.

²⁷ Lieberman, *The Medieval March of Wales*; Boia, *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness*.

²⁸ Francesca Trivellato, "The Paradoxes of Global History," *Cyber Review of Modern Historiography* (2024).

²⁹ Berend, "Interconnection and Separation," 287.

Secondly, how did religious institutions, sacred landscapes, devotional practices, and collective memory legitimise these distinctions and embed them within communal life? Monasteries, parish churches and sacred sites functioned as territorial anchors and spatial embodiments of community, combining authority with spiritual protection. Concurrently, hagiographies and origin narratives articulated notions of both alterity and belonging. By systematically approaching religion and culture as parallel structures via which legal distinctions acquired moral meaning and collective memory, this thesis explores how narratives depicted neighbouring communities as the “Other”.

Finally, how did the contrasting structures of Wales and Transylvania shape different trajectories of native identity formation, and what broader insights do these similarities and divergences offer for our current understanding of medieval frontier societies? Rather than seeking direct equivalence between the two regions or treating them as generic archetypes of Western and East-Central European frontiers, the framework foregrounds structural differences as analytically significant. Comparison proceeds by tracing analogous mechanisms structuring ethnic difference, while paying attention to moments where the cases resist alignment. Such tensions illuminate the limits of institutional regulation, the fragility of symbolic narratives, and the contingency of lived realities. By examining both recurring patterns and structural asymmetries, the thesis tests the explanatory limits of existing frontier labels, ultimately opening new methodological avenues for future research on the institutional heterogeneity of medieval frontiers.

The hypothesis is that, across distinct medieval frontier societies, native communal identities were produced and sustained through the interaction of legal classification and religious legitimation. While these mechanisms operated across both regions, their local articulation was fundamentally conditioned by their respective political landscapes. In Wales, identity was negotiated within a framework of conquest, characterised by gradual imperial subjugation across a broadly bipartite social landscape. In Transylvania, by contrast, native identity emerged within a multi-corporate frontier system, where political participation, legal or economic benefits, and Latin Catholicism became structurally intertwined to exclude the Orthodox Vlach communities established in the Carpathian highlands. Ultimately, by comparatively charting how these dynamics varied across Wales and Transylvania, the thesis posits that native populations actively adapted to and contested exclusionary frameworks, thus transforming transient political subjection into durable cultural distinctions.

METHODOLOGY, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND CORPUS

The study adopts a meso-level, contrast-oriented comparative and source-based approach, integrating legal anthropology and discourse-sensitive source analysis. Rather than seeking parallel illustrations to confirm existing typologies, the thesis subjects established models to a controlled contrast across structurally different situations: the conquest-driven, bi-political landscape of Wales, and the estate-based, multi-corporate frontier of Transylvania.³⁰ The analysis operates through strategic chronological windows and case-oriented source clusters determined by their survival. Conceptually, the thesis treats the local level as relationally constituted within wider macro-structural entanglements.³¹ Frontiers are thus seen as meso-level systems situated between the macro-frameworks of the Latin West and the micro-level practices of communal life. This approach moves beyond the macro-micro dichotomy while preserving historical integrity.

³⁰ Theda Skocpol, and Margaret Somers, “The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22.2 (1980): 177.

³¹ See: Angelika Eppler, “Lokalität und die Dimensionen des Globalen,” *Historische Anthropologie* 21 (2019): 4-25.

Theoretically, the thesis bridges institutional history and social theory through three complementary domains. First, it draws on legal pluralism; acknowledging that in the medieval Latin West, legal authority was distributed across overlaps of custom, canon law, royal law, municipal statutes, and other normative frames.³² Legal pluralism here denotes the institutionalised coexistence of multiple normative orders within the same socio-political space, governing distinct populations through formally recognised yet negotiated standards.³³ Frontier regions approximated forms of “strong” pluralism in which multiple orders coexist without a fully integrated authority.³⁴ In doing so, they operated as semi-autonomous social fields where legal multiplicity was explicit.³⁵ However, rather than viewing local legal orders as static or parochial, the framework bears in mind Kuskowski’s notion of “cosmopolitan local law”, acknowledging that local customs could actively integrate wider transregional currents.³⁶ Inspired by Lauren Benton’s “legal regimes”, frontiers thus serve as sites of highly calibrated management of heterogeneity through corporate liberties and assimilation.³⁷ Border regions make such legal multiplicity explicit: society relied on recognising *nationes*, *gens*, religious communities, or settlers as legally differentiated subjects.

Complementing this institutional lens, the study incorporates social boundary theory to conceptualise identity as fundamentally relational and performative.³⁸ Following Fredrik Barth’s insight that ethnic boundaries emerge as “the result of social interaction instead of being a derivative of objective characteristics such as language or culture”, and Michèle Lamont’s conceptualisation of “symbolic boundaries” as mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, this thesis surveys how differentiation solidified socially consequential group boundaries regulating access to rights and protection.³⁹ Insights from Pierre Bourdieu and Andreas Wimmer further demonstrate that collective distinctions are neither purely cultural nor structurally fixed but produced and maintained through social practice.⁴⁰ Boundaries were not merely drawn on maps; they were enacted in courts, monasteries, markets, and royal charters. An ethnosymbolic view further clarifies how shared myths and collective memory sacralised social divisions over several generations.⁴¹

The project draws on a targeted, multi-genre corpus of normative legal texts, charters, privileges, diplomatic agreements, ecclesiastical and narrative sources, as well as spatial and iconographic evidence produced between the 13th and early-16th centuries. Given the asymmetrical nature of frontier archives, sources are read against the grain where necessary, attending to silences and implicit hierarchies to reconstruct subordinated perspectives. Elite-authored texts are read as layered documents in which power relations become visible through both articulation and omission. Uneven documentation is thus approached as part of the

³² Randall Lesaffer, *European Legal History: A Cultural and Political Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009).

³³ Geoffrey Swenson, “Legal Pluralism in Theory and Practice,” *International Studies Review* (2018): 438-62; Brian Z. Tamanaha, *General Jurisprudence of Law and Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

³⁴ John Griffiths, “The Social Working of Legal Rules,” *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 35 (2003): 5.

³⁵ Sally Falke Moore, *Law as a Process: An Anthropological Approach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

³⁶ Ada Kuskowski, “Cosmopolitan Local Law in the Medieval Latin West,” *Journal of Legal History* 46.1 (2025): 180. Although she develops this notion for the crusader kingdoms, the thesis extends this concept to Wales and Transylvania, where local legal corpora similarly absorbed and integrated diverse normative threads.

³⁷ Lauren Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

³⁸ Closely related to relational identity theory. See: Daniel L. Shapiro, “Relational Identity Theory: A Systematic Approach for Transforming the Emotional Dimension of Conflict,” *American Psychologist* 65 (2010): 634-45.

³⁹ Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Culture Difference* (Bergen: Universitetsforlaget, 1970), 11; Michèle Lamont, “Culture and Identity,” in: *Handbook of Sociological Theory*, ed. J. Turner (New York: Springer, 2001): 171-85.

⁴⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, “Social Space and Symbolic Power,” *Sociological Theory* 7.1 (1989): 14-25; Andreas Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making: Institutions, Power, Networks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁴¹ Anthony D. Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism. A Cultural Approach* (London: Routledge, 2009).

differentiated archival footprints produced by frontiers themselves. Practically, the qualitative analysis proceeds through a comparative exploration of each source across three analytical axes: institutional classification (how are legal statuses defined), social boundary-making (how are territorial rights claimed or demarcated), and mechanisms of accommodation versus exclusion (how is socio-legal multiplicity managed). To avoid anachronism, primary sources are analysed from an emic perspective; through their own notions of collective designation (e.g. *natio*, *cenedl*, *universitas*, *gens*), which articulated distinction. This way, the study examines collective differentiation within the normative frameworks of their own time, rather than retroactively framing medieval corporate recognition as modern nationhood.

To overcome the linguistic fragmentation of these archives and place these disparate traditions on equal analytical footing, a curated corpus of primary source material has been rendered into English and compiled in the Appendices. Unless indicated otherwise, all translations from Latin or regional vernaculars are my own, produced with reference to established critical editions. By providing standardised English renderings alongside the analysis, this setup ensures full textual transparency for the reader while offering an accessible reference corpus to facilitate further future research.

For Wales, the legal and administrative framework is traced through foundational macro-legal instruments, beginning with the customary native laws of *Cyfraith Hywel*, the post-conquest *Statutum Walliae* (1284), the repressive *Penal Statutes* (1402), and the administrative integration under the *Laws in Wales Acts* (1535/1542). To balance these normative crown-authored texts, the study weighs them against local administrative practices preserved in the court rolls of the lordship of Ruthin, alongside diplomatic and political manifestos such as the *Tripartite Indenture* (1405) and Owain Glyndŵr's *Pennal Letter* (1406) during the Glyndŵr Rebellion (1400-1415). Socio-religious legitimisation and sacred topographies are examined through hagiographical texts, specifically *Buchedd Beuno* and *Vita Sancte Wenefrede*; alongside major pilgrimage sites such as Holywell. Together, these religious narratives and holy sites illustrate how spiritual devotion both anchored a resilient native collective identity while also providing a venue for English elite appropriation.

For Transylvania, the legal landscape is reconstructed through foundational charters and codifications, including the customary framework of the *ius valachicum*, the Saxon *Diploma Andreanum* (1224), the royal *Decree of Turda* (1366), the sequence of treaties negotiated at Cluj-Mănăştur during the Bobâlna Revolt (1437) leading to the *Unio Trium Nationum* (1438), and the codification of Hungarian law in Werbőczy's *Tripartitum* (1517). Local management and communal boundaries are evaluated through regional instruments such as the *Peace Treaty of Cristian* (1383), Răşinari's *Book of Boundaries* (1488) and the *Statutes of Făgăraş* (1508). To complement these normative texts, the study likewise incorporates visual and material evidence, analysing Orthodox iconographic programs such as the murals of St. George's Church in Streisângeorgiu, alongside the rich material culture of Putna Monastery. These religious edifices exemplify how sacred topographies not only embodied and projected native communal distinctions but also operated within transregional networks shaped by aristocratic patronage and elite influence.

SCHOLARLY CONTRIBUTION

By bringing together late medieval Wales and Transylvania into direct, contrast-oriented conversation, this study makes a multi-faceted contribution to medieval frontier studies.

Historiographically, the project bridges two scholarly traditions that have largely developed in isolation. Existing scholarship on these regions remains fragmented along

regional and disciplinary lines. Studies of Wales have centred on conquest and legal integration within the English realm, treating religion as secondary to issues of ethnicity due to the shared Latin Christian context.⁴² Research on Transylvania, while being remarkably sparse, has been dominated by debates on the Ostkolonisation⁴³ or ethnic origins,⁴⁴ and frequently dogged by nationalist historiographies,⁴⁵ with the medieval Orthodox communities often marginalised in narratives centred on Latin Christian strongholds. So far, few studies have systematically compared how regimes of distinction structure different frontier societies. A notable exception is Steven Ellis, whose pioneering work on Tudor frontiers reveals the methodological potential of such comparison, albeit within a limited geographic scope, i.e. the Tudor British Isles.⁴⁶ Without a comparative framework that combines such aspects across borders, our understanding of medieval frontiers remains compartmentalised and incomplete.

Conceptually, the thesis pushes beyond traditional binary paradigms, such as core versus periphery, or conquest versus peaceful coexistence, as well as rigid frontier typologies that reduce complex borderlands to static categories. Instead, it advances a new theoretical approach by conceptualising frontiers as layered regimes. By synthesizing social boundary theory with legal anthropology, it demonstrates that collective identity was neither static nor abstract but continuously produced and sustained through the interplay of law and religion.

Methodologically, the study offers a refined approach to navigating asymmetrical and fragmented frontier archives. By reading legal, narrative, and material sources as active interventions in social engineering rather than passive records of statecraft, it establishes a transferable framework for analysing how normative institutions structure social difference. Furthermore, by compiling and rendering a multilingual source base of Latin and vernacular material into English (provided in the Appendices) this thesis lowers the linguistic barriers between Eastern and Western European frontier scholarship, offering a curated reference corpus for future comparative research. Overall, this approach transforms our understanding of the medieval borderland from passive geographical margins into primary engines of socio-legal innovation and identity formation across Latin Europe.

ROADMAP OF THE THESIS

The remainder of the thesis is organised into six chapters across thematic parts. The first chapter surveys key scholarship on medieval frontiers and establishes the historiographical foundation underpinning our subsequent analyses. It is followed by the first thematic block focused on the socio-legal mechanisms of distinction. Chapter 2 examines how customary law operated bottom-up as a mechanism for producing community, while Chapter 3 investigates how top-down political codifications structured legal hierarchies and institutional exclusion. The second thematic block turns to sacred authority. Chapter 4 explores how religious *lieux* functioned in sacralising difference, while Chapter 5 traces pilgrimage networks to analyse the mobilisation of sanctity across frontiers. Ultimately, the Conclusion synthesises how these mechanisms collectively articulated medieval frontier identities, while critically reflecting on the project's scope and offering avenues for future research.

⁴² For examples, see: Robert Rees Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change: Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Hechter, *Internal Colonialism*; Lieberman, *The Medieval March of Wales*.

⁴³ Extensive survey of this debate offered by Rossignol, "Doit-on encore parler de colonisation."

⁴⁴ Sorin Mitu, *National Identity of Romanians in Transylvania* (Budapest: CEUP, 2001); Radu Lupescu, "Ethnicity in Transylvania: From Medieval Peoples to Modern Nations," *Historia Actual Online* 34 (2014): 105-13.

⁴⁵ Ioan-Marius Bucur, and Ionuț Costea, "Transylvania between Two National Historiographies. Historical Consciousness and Political Identity," in: *Frontiers, Regions and Identities in Europe*, eds. Steven G. Ellis et al. (2009): 271-85.

⁴⁶ Steven G. Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power. The Making of the British State* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995).

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVES

Before turning to the medieval frontier societies of Wales and Transylvania, it is first necessary to consider the historiographical lenses through which historians have interpreted these regions. This chapter therefore explores how historians have conceptualised frontier societies over time, how debates on nationhood and identity have shaped the interpretation of medieval communities, and how methodological developments have transformed the study of border regions. It also studies the extent to which national historiographic traditions and contemporary political contexts have influenced or challenged interpretations of Wales and Transylvania. Lastly, this chapter concludes with a concise historical overview of both regions, establishing the empirical baseline for the study. Taken together, these discussions provide the needed historiographical and historical framework for the analyses in subsequent chapters.

1.1 WRITING MEDIEVAL FRONTIERS: BORDERLAND STUDIES

Historians have long debated how medieval frontiers should be understood. Over the past century, the academic approach to border regions has undergone a profound transformation. Whereas earlier scholarship generally understood frontiers as physical, static barriers (natural obstacles such as mountains and rivers, or man-made border lines), researchers now often approach border regions as dynamic spaces of cultural contact.⁴⁷ Terms such as ‘frontier’, ‘borderland’ or ‘contact zone’ are used interchangeably, although each carries its own theoretical emphasis.⁴⁸ Together, these concepts signal a broader shift in border thinking: from an essentialist model that cast borders as fixed dividing lines between neatly demarcated nations, to a more fluid perception in which border regions function as sites of cultural contact and exchange.

One of the most influential attempts to theorise borderlands was Frederick Jackson Turner’s frontier thesis (1893), which interpreted the establishment of the American western frontier as the driving force behind American identity.⁴⁹ Turner viewed the frontier as the meeting point between ‘civilisation’ and ‘wilderness’, arguing that expansion westwards fostered values such as democracy, individualism and self-reliance.⁵⁰ Although his work was later criticised for its androcentric and nationalistic perspective, it nonetheless laid the basis for subsequent border studies within American historiography and far beyond.⁵¹ From the 1970s onwards, however, historians increasingly rejected the notion of frontier as a one-directional process of expansion. Influenced in part by postcolonial theory and the rise of transnational comparisons, the concept of the borderland came decisively to the fore in the 1990s.⁵² Closely related concepts such as Mary Louise Pratt’s “contact zones”, and Homi Bhabha’s “third space” further reinforced this shift by emphasising asymmetrical encounters and hybridity.⁵³

⁴⁷ Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs*, 114.

⁴⁸ Erik van der Vleuten and Torsten Feys, “Borders and Frontiers in Global and Transnational History,” *Journal of Modern European History* 14.1 (2016), 31; Christian Langer and Manuel Fernández-Götz, “Boundaries, Borders and Frontiers: Contemporary and Past Perspectives,” *Journal for Ancient Studies* 7 (2020), 33; Dan Shao, “Borders and Borderlands,” in *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, eds. Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 99.

⁴⁹ Turner, *Frontier in American History*.

⁵⁰ Van der Vleuten and Feys, “Borders and Frontiers,” 30.

⁵¹ For a comprehensive overview of the criticism of and support for Turner’s frontier thesis, see: Allan G. Bogue, “Frederick Jackson Turner Reconsidered,” *The History Teacher* 27.2 (1994): 199-217. Between the 1930s and the 1970s, American historians used the concept to study the border between the USA and Mexico, with a strong emphasis on economic exploration and military presence. See: Felix D. Almaráz, “The Status of Borderlands Studies: History,” *Social Science Journal* 13, nr. 1 (1976): 10.

⁵² Langer and Fernández-Götz, “Boundaries, Borders and Frontiers,” 34.

⁵³ Pratt defined these as “social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with one another, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical power relations.” See: “Arts of the Contact Zone,” *Profession* (1991), 34. Likewise, Bhabha’s

The notion of border regions as interactive zones was however not entirely new at the time of borderland studies' emergence. In European historiography and anthropology, there was already an alternative tradition that viewed border regions as transitional zones. At the beginning of the 20th century, Lucien Febvre of the leading Annales School criticised the idea of borders as a natural phenomenon and instead highlighted their historical mutability.⁵⁴ In contrast to the American 'frontier' approach, which focused heavily on expansion and nation-building, European historiography rather emphasised the co-existence of cultural, linguistic and religious communities in border regions, such as the Roman frontier in Britain, the Saxon *Ostkolonisation*, or the Carolingian marks.⁵⁵ This perspective is more closely aligned with our contemporary concept of borders, which now views border regions as both geopolitical zones and social spaces, with a growing focus on the periphery rather than the centre.⁵⁶ The focus is thus no longer on top-down exercises of power, but rather on the complexity of bottom-up processes and the agency of local communities.

This theoretical reorientation went hand in hand with a broader methodological move towards interdisciplinarity. The field now draws heavily on insights from diverse fields including anthropology, geography, archaeology, and sociology, giving rise to a fundamentally varied study landscape. Well into the 20th century, these disciplines often operated in isolation, each with its own theoretical framework and case studies. Border studies reflected this fragmentation: research frequently remained confined to specific disciplinary perspectives and, conceptually, largely Eurocentric — challenges the field continues to grapple with despite the recognition of margins as new centres.⁵⁷ Anthropology played a particularly significant role in redefining borders as cultural processes. Early ethnographic work examined local border communities to trace the material and symbolic dynamics of culture formation. By attending to the experiences of frontier inhabitants who maintained cultural ties across political frontiers, anthropologists revealed both the permeability and the persistence of borders.⁵⁸ Geography, meanwhile, increasingly explored the spatial dimensions of borders and the interplay between physical environments and social processes, while archaeology contributed by mapping material traces of cross-border contacts, from trade routes to settlement patterns.⁵⁹ Historiography eventually followed suit: pursuing aims parallel to geography, but from a temporal perspective, it expanded its methodological repertoire via dialogue with ethnography and cultural studies. The result is a strongly interdisciplinary approach which provides a rich breeding ground for research into both contemporary and historical border regions.

third space' denotes an interstitial space where identities are reconfigured and renegotiated. See: *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), 245. Recently, the term 'hybridity' has come under increasing criticism, see: Axel Michaels, "Cultural hybridity and transculturality," in *Engaging Transculturality: Concepts, Key Terms, Case Studies*, eds. Laila Abu-Er-Rub et al. (New York: Routledge, 2019), 4.

⁵⁴ Lucien Febvre, "Frontière: the word and the concept," in *A New Kind of History: from the Writings of Febvre*, ed. Peter Burke (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1973), 215.

⁵⁵ Peter Salway, *The Frontier People of Roman Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); Richard Huß, "Die Besiedelung des Sachsenlandes in Siebenbürgen," *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Mundarten* 18.3 (1923), 258; Katherine Fischer Drew, "The Carolingian Military Frontier in Italy," *Traditio* 20 (1964): 437-47.

⁵⁶ A well-known example of this is Sahlins's research into the Franco-Spanish border in the Pyrenees: Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

⁵⁷ Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan, eds. "Borders and Border Studies," in *A Companion to Border Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2012), 12-3.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 6. Crucial to this was the work of Fredrik Barth, who understood ethnicity as the result of social interaction rather than as a derivative of objective characteristics such as language or culture. See: Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, 11.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 8; Langer and Fernández-Götz, "Boundaries, Borders and Frontiers," 38; Lara Rodseth and Bradley J. Parker, eds. "Theoretical Considerations in the Study of Frontiers," in *Untaming the Frontier in Anthropology, Archaeology, and History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005), 7.

Medievalists readily adopted these new conceptual frameworks, which were tailored to the medieval political landscape. Important to bear in mind is that the concept of fixed political borders is an inherently modern construction. Historians often point to the Peace of Westphalia (1648) as a turning point at which the model of sovereign states with exclusive territorial control established itself within European political thought.⁶⁰ During the Middle Ages, however, borders functioned fundamentally differently, with medieval Europe constituting a fragmented political landscape of personal loyalties, feudal hierarchies and local power structures, in which authority was diffuse and multi-layered.⁶¹ In this context, borders were never considered rigid lines, but rather vague transition zones governed by customary law and fluctuating power relations.⁶² Turner's frontier thesis, and its later variants, thus provided medieval studies with a broadly applicable interpretative framework that enabled analyses into communal interaction.

Early medieval frontier studies were shaped above all by approaches that emphasised military and religious dynamics. Scholars initially understood frontier regions as zones where armed conflict or defence infrastructures defined the relationship between neighbouring communities. Elena Laurie's influential work on Iberian militias exemplified this orientation, presenting militarisation as a key frontier characteristic through which authority was asserted.⁶³ Religion was likewise approached as a structuring force, especially in the Iberian case, where it was often conceptualised as both a marker of difference and a catalyst for confrontation.⁶⁴ Yet this conflict-centred paradigm gradually proved too narrow to capture the complexity of medieval frontier societies. From the late-20th century onwards, historians increasingly point out that warfare is only one aspect: negotiation, trade and other peaceful forms of contact also characterise border regions.⁶⁵ Gradually, the field evolved from a focus on conflict and dividing fault lines to an interest in cultural exchange, acculturation and religious intermingling.

The foundations of current medieval frontier studies were laid by the 1989 volume edited by Robert Bartlett and Angus Mackay, which reoriented the field towards comparative analysis of regions marked by mobility and cultural contact (from the Anglo-Scottish border and Ireland, to Castile and the German-Polish frontier).⁶⁶ Their geographical focus remained relatively limited, with only one contribution concerning Wales and few points of reference for areas such as Transylvania or other parts of South-Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, the work offered a decisive impetus for the development of the field, which is now evolving its tool case. Berend has been central to this development, recognising that such comparative approaches

⁶⁰ Van der Vleuten and Feys, "Borders and Frontiers," 31; Derek Croxton, "The Peace of Westphalia of 1648 and the Origins of Sovereignty," *The International History Review* 21.3 (1999): 569.

⁶¹ Langer and Fernández-Götz, "Boundaries, Borders and Frontiers," 37; Febvre, "Frontière," 213.

⁶² Febvre, "Frontière," 213; Robert Bartlett and Angus McKay, eds. *Medieval Frontier Studies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), v.

⁶³ Elena Laurie, "A Society Organized for War: Medieval Spain," *Past & Present* 35.1 (1966): 54-76. The article has sparked much debate. For a more nuanced view on Spain as a frontier, see: MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages*.

⁶⁴ For example, works on Castile tended to treat religious minorities (Muslim, Jewish, or Christian communities) either through legal analyses, studies of interreligious violence, or within the now-contested paradigm of convivencia i.e. the interplay of religion and culture. See: Ana Echevarria, "Islamic Influence on Christian Legislation in the Kingdom of Castile," *Journal of Medieval History* 45.3 (2019): 201-15; David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Sarah J. Pearce, "The Myth of the Myth of the Andalusian Paradise," in *The Extreme Right and the Revision of History*, ed. Louie Valencia-García (London: Routledge, 2020): 29-67.

⁶⁵ Berend, "Medievalists," 61; Bartlett and MacKay (eds.), *Medieval Frontier Studies*, 87.

⁶⁶ The contributions are not so much aimed at defining the concept of the border, but at comparative research into regions where "medieval history was characterised by the movement of peoples, contact and often confrontation between cultures, violence which was sometimes endemic, and the social consequences which flowed from this." See: Bartlett and MacKay (eds.), *Medieval Frontier Studies*, 39.

require further theoretical and terminological refinement.⁶⁷ Her work on medieval Hungary at the crossroads of Latin, Byzantine and pagan spheres, demonstrates how frontier regions are shaped by sustained processes of exchange, focusing on long-term cultural and religious interaction rather than merely political lines. Along with other authors, she warns against the uncritical application of a single model to diverse contexts: whereas conflict and militarisation are central in areas such as the British Isles or the Iberian Peninsula, in Central and Eastern Europe it is rather a matter of interaction and cultural interweaving.⁶⁸ It is precisely within this tension between political demarcation and dynamic cultural contact that the thesis is situated.

1.2 DEBATES ON MEDIEVAL COMMUNITIES AND THEIR IDENTITY

If medieval frontiers are best understood as spaces of interaction, an equally important historiographical question concerns the identities of the communities inhabiting these regions. How do historians view the people who lived within these borders? Scholars have long debated whether medieval collective identities should be regarded as precursors of modern nations, or whether the concept of nation itself belongs exclusively to the modern era. Instead, historians evaluating frontier identity have had to position their research within a historiographical tradition long dominated by debates on theories such as primordialism, modernism and ethnosymbolism.

Rooted in 19th-century romantic historicism and developed in 20th-century anthropology, primordialism interprets group identities as organic, enduring bonds of blood, language and shared tradition, understood as fixed and resistant to change. Introduced by the sociologist Edward Shils, and later extended by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz, this view argues that primordial bonds arise from being born into a specific group, whereby language and customs are inherently acquired.⁶⁹ Communities are hence regarded as natural rather than the social products they are. While largely rejected in contemporary scholarship for its essentialist and ahistorical assumptions, primordialist logic retains a lingering presence in nationalist mythmaking.⁷⁰ In frontier scholarship, such a view is particularly misleading: it risks mistaking complex, pragmatically negotiated identities for immutable ethnic enclaves. Constant intermarriage, migration, and daily cross-cultural contact meant that groups were never considered rigid or 'natural', but in continuous flux. Ultimately, contrary to primordial belief, social context did dictate how communal bonds were formed.

Modernism offers a radically divergent interpretation, viewing nations not as natural phenomena but as modern constructs forged through industrialisation, state centralisation, print capitalism and mass communication.⁷¹ Key theorists such as Gellner, Hobsbawm, and Anderson position national collective consciousness exclusively in the 18th and 19th centuries, positing an absolute rupture between medieval communities and modern statehood.⁷² Applied to medieval borderlands, this rigid framework creates a major conceptual blind spot. By treating the cohesion of premodern communities as seemingly irrelevant due to institutional structures different to that of the modern nation-state, modernism fails to explain how frontier inhabitants

⁶⁷ The semantic debate was first raised by Febvre, but explicitly elaborated by Bartlett, who argues that Turner's thesis cannot be applied to pre-modern societies without modification. See: Bartlett and MacKay, *Medieval Frontier Societies*, 307–30. Berend argues for a clear distinction between border and border society. See: Berend, "Medievalists," 55.

⁶⁸ Rossignol, "Doit-on encore parler de colonisation," 927.

⁶⁹ Edward Shils, "Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties: Some Particular Observations on the Relationships of Sociological Research and Theory," *The British Journal of Sociology* 8.2 (1957): 142; Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 259.

⁷⁰ Jack David Eller and Reed M. Coughlan, "The Poverty of Primordialism: The Demystification of Ethnic Attachments," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16.2 (1993): 192.

⁷¹ Umut Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), 85.

⁷² Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006); Eric Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2016).

actively mobilised shared origin myths and ethnic markers to construct a strong collective identity often against neighbouring 'Others'. Far from being an unorganised void, medieval frontiers functioned as dynamic arenas of deliberate identity construction long before the nation state.

Ethnosymbolism bridges this divide by recognising modern polities as new constructs while arguing that they build upon older, symbolically defined communities (*ethnies*). Scholars such as Armstrong, Smith, and Hutchinson emphasise the *longue durée* of cultural transmission, highlighting how shared origin myths, memories, customs, and symbols sustain collective identity over time.⁷³ Together, these thinkers demonstrate the importance of cultural continuity for nation-building. Although this school of thought has been criticised for retrospective ethnicization, proponents such as Smith explicitly acknowledge that modern nations are not a direct continuation of pre-modern ethnic groups, but do derive significance from them.⁷⁴ This approach remains fruitful for medievalists, as it allows collective identities to be studied without collapsing them into either timeless nations or purely modern inventions. In frontier zones, moreover, these shared myths, legal traditions, and symbols indeed functioned as active tools of self-definition against 'the Other' across the border.

For medieval studies, this debate is more than a theoretical exercise. Recent scholarship increasingly argues that medieval communities must be understood through their own conceptual vocabulary, paying close attention to how people themselves articulated collective identity.⁷⁵ Terms such as *gentes* and *naciones* were often deployed in both administrative and narrative documents to express forms of collective belonging that cannot simply be dismissed. Since concepts such as nation, ethnicity and identity are products of modern academic discourse, they cannot be applied uncritically to the medieval past. Yet, abandoning these terms altogether risks obscuring the ways in which medieval actors themselves understood collective belonging. The challenge therefore lies in employing this terminology with conceptual precision while remaining attentive to medieval categories of self-identification.

In frontier contexts, such vocabulary was strategically mobilised to assert sovereignty or institutionalise group boundaries. The native Welsh prince Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's repeated references to *nostra nacio* in his correspondence, for instance, demonstrate how language resembling collective political identity was deployed within the high-stakes diplomacy of the Welsh borderlands.⁷⁶ Scholars rightly point out that medieval ideas about kingdoms and peoples bear a strong resemblance to modern ideas about nations.⁷⁷ Similarly, the *Diploma Andreanum* (1224), through which King Andrew II confirmed the rights, customs and legal autonomy of the Transylvanian Saxons, illustrates how royal authorities formally codified distinct legal and cultural identities to consolidate and stabilise strategic border populations. The charter thus actively enshrines ethnic distinctiveness legally, serving as an early example of institutional anchoring of ethnicity by a political authority — a concept that closely aligns with our idea of national recognition.

⁷³ John Alexander Armstrong, *Nations Before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 8; Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2000), 65; John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London: Routledge, 1987).

⁷⁴ For a critique of retrospective ethnicisation, see: Umut Özkirimli and Spyros Sofos, *Tormented by History: Nationalism in Greece and Turkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 9. For defence, see: John Hutchinson, "Moral Innovators and the Politics of Regeneration: The Distinctive Role of Cultural Nationalists in Nation-Building," in *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, ed. Anthony D. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 105.

⁷⁵ Rebecca Thomas, *History and Identity in Early Medieval Wales* (Cardiff: D.S. Brewer, 2022), 21.

⁷⁶ Rees Davies, "Nations and National Identities in the Medieval World," *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis* 4 (2004): 570.

⁷⁷ Susan Reynolds, "Medieval 'Origines Gentium' and the Community of the Realm," *History* 68, nr. 224 (1983): 389; Davies, "Nations," 568.

1.3 REGION SPECIFIC HISTORIOGRAPHICAL DEVELOPMENTS

These debates have profoundly shaped the historiography of both Wales and Transylvania. In each case, interpretations of medieval frontier societies have been influenced not only by changing methodological approaches, but also by modern political contexts and increasingly competing national narratives.

1.3.1 WALES

The historiographical trajectory of medieval Wales reflects a long-standing tension between imperial English state-building narratives and native efforts to preserve cultural and political agency. Until the 18th and 19th centuries, medieval Welsh history was written predominantly by English historians from a teleological perspective that framed the integration of Wales into the English realm as an inevitable outcome.⁷⁸ This historiography relied heavily on an Anglocentric perspective that reduced the territories of the so-called *Celtic Fringe* to a homogenous, backward periphery.⁷⁹ Consequently, Welsh history was long denied an autonomous narrative, treated instead as a subordinate chapter within a broader British story centralised in England.

In the second half of the 18th century, the rise of Romantic Nationalism spurred a renewed interest in Celtic culture. The *Celtic Revival* sought to reconstruct Britain's mythic past by looking to its western and northern margins: Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.⁸⁰ Although partly grounded in genuine archaeological, literary and anthropological inquiry, the movement was deeply driven by nationalist politics.⁸¹ A foundational literary milestone was Thomas Gray's *The Bard: A Pindaric Ode* (1757).⁸² The poem dramatizes the Welsh conquest of Edward I and depicts the last surviving bard defying the king before hurling himself into the Welsh river Conway. The Welsh bard thus emerged as a powerful symbol of both cultural suppression and the loss of an ancient Celtic past that pre-dated the British state.

While starting as an English literary motif, the figure of the bard resonated profoundly within native Welsh historiography. Medieval Wales had long integrated bards into its social fabric as custodians of genealogy and collective memory, which made the motif particularly potent. Towards the end of the 18th century, Welsh antiquarians such as William Owen Pughe and Iolo Morganwg adopted the bard as a central icon of a distinct Welsh identity.⁸³ Especially Iolo Morganwg's literary forgeries transformed the perception of Welsh history, using an invented, egalitarian bardic tradition to construct a distinct, sophisticated national identity in response to English cultural dominance.⁸⁴ This romanticized past was later further mobilized during the 19th-century nationalist movement, with intellectuals transforming medieval figures like Llywelyn ap Gruffudd and Owain Glyndŵr into symbols of political resistance following the 1847 "Blue Books" scandal.⁸⁵ In doing so, the defence of Welsh history ceased to be a mere antiquarian pursuit, becoming instead the basis of modern Welsh political nationalism and identity.

⁷⁸ Huw Pryce, *Writing Welsh History: From the Early Middle Ages to the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 189.

⁷⁹ Steven G. Ellis, "Why the History of 'the Celtic Fringe' Remains Unwritten," *European Review of History* 10.2 (2003): 221.

⁸⁰ The best-known example is James MacPherson's *Ossian*, which played a defining role in the Scottish Revival.

⁸¹ Frances Fowle, "The Celtic Revival in Britain and Ireland: Reconstructing the Past," in *Celts: Art and Identity*, eds. Julia Farley and Fraser Hunter (London: British Museum Publishing, 2015): 234.

⁸² Ibid. 236; Michael A. Morse, *How the Celts Came to Britain: Druids, Ancient Skulls and the Birth of Archaeology* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), 77; Ronald Hutton, *Blood and Mistletoe: The History of the Druids in Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), vi.

⁸³ John Kirk, Andrew Noble and Michael Brown, eds. *United Islands? The Languages of Resistance* (London: Routledge, 2012), 66.

⁸⁴ Geraint H. Jenkins, *Bard of Liberty: The Political Radicalism of Iolo Morganwg* (Cardiff: U of Wales Press, 2012).

⁸⁵ The "Blue Books" (*Brad y Llyfrau Gleision*) refers to a three-volume parliamentary report published in 1847, written by monoglot English commissioners. It branded the Welsh-speaking population as uneducated and immoral,

In sharp contrast to this Welsh cultural revival, English historiography maintained a strongly centralising narrative that framed England as the dominant historical agent within Britain. This mindset was epitomised by historians who pursued cultural homogenisation via state-sponsored archival projects, such as the *Rolls Series*.⁸⁶ Mirroring continental initiatives such as the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, the *Rolls Series* reflected a wider nationalist trend toward weaponizing medieval sources for modern state-building.⁸⁷ Such impulse also shaped the intellectual works of 19th-century scholars, who articulated an Anglocentric view on Britain's historical evolution. An influential example is William Stubbs' *Constitutional History of England* (1873-8), in which he traced English institutional development at the expense of the 'Celtic Fringe': Wales, Scotland, and Ireland are presented as peripheral borderlands that only attained constitutional order through England's early modern civilising mission.⁸⁸

A decisive paradigm shift occurred in the late-20th century under the influence of Marxist historians such as E.P. Thompson and Christopher Hill. Their emphasis on *history from below* catalysed a major revision in Welsh historiography. Welsh historians including Sir Robert Rees Davies and Gwyn A. Williams decisively broke with Anglocentric grand narratives, and instead shifted attention toward how English hegemony impacted the socio-cultural fabric of Wales by examining the lived experiences of peasants and local elites.⁸⁹ These scholars challenged the long-held assumption that English integration brought civilizing benefits, providing critical analyses of systemic inequality and cultural marginalisation. Rather than viewing the Welsh population as passive recipients of an imposed foreign culture, this new approach highlighted their active agency as cultural producers. The 16th century *Acts of Union* and subsequent anglicization were re-interpreted: no longer viewed as vehicles for rational progress, they were exposed as products of coercive political power structures. Consequently, the narrative on medieval Wales shifted from one of peaceful imperial integration to a dynamic history of conflict.

Contemporary scholarship on medieval Welsh history has expanded this critical foundation by adopting interdisciplinary frameworks informed by postcolonial theory and subaltern studies.⁹⁰ Researchers now move beyond simple binaries of English dominance versus Welsh resistance to examine how medieval multi-ethnicity continues to shape contemporary identities. Methodologically, Welsh historiography has broadened to incorporate microhistory, oral history, discourse analysis and gender dynamics, providing nuanced views on the dialogue between the past and present identity formations. Despite these academic advancements, popular perceptions of Welsh history remain heavily influenced by a British *grand narrative* that marginalises Wales within an overarching story of English triumph. The tension between imperial British frameworks and local Welsh counter-narratives remains an ongoing historiographical feature. Nonetheless, the expanding corpus of English-language publications by Welsh specialists has significantly enhanced the international accessibility of Welsh medieval history, integrating the study of Wales into broader European frontier studies.

sparkling national outrage and justifying the subsequent forced anglicization of Welsh schools. See: Simon Brooks, *Why Wales Never Was: The Failure of Welsh Nationalism* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017), 76.

⁸⁶ Michael D. Knowles, "Presidential Address: Great Historical Enterprises IV. The *Rolls Series*," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 11 (1961): 137–59.

⁸⁷ Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1997), 27.

⁸⁸ William Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896). He regularly uses discriminatory language when referring to the Welsh. See p. 59; pp. 112–113.

⁸⁹ Robert Rees Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change: Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1987); Gwyn A. Williams, *When Was Wales?* (London: Penguin Books, 1985).

⁹⁰ Examples include Cohen, who offers an interpretation of corporeality within colonial discourse; and Lumbley, who links discrimination against the Welsh to racism during the Middle Ages and the early modern period. See: Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *The Postcolonial Middle Ages* (London: MacMillan Press, 2000), 85-104; Coral Lumbley, "The 'Dark Welsh': Color, Race, and Alterity in the Matter of Medieval Wales," *Literature Compass* 16 (2019): 1-19.

1.3.2 TRANSYLVANIA

Unlike the binary structure of Welsh historiography, the historical discourse on Transylvania represents a multi-tiered battleground of competing national and ideological agendas. A critical evaluation of modern historiography on Transylvania requires examining four dominant interpretive frameworks: Romanian, Hungarian, Soviet, and Western (predominantly German) historiography. Rather than serving as neutral academic inquiries, each tradition reflects the distinct geopolitical contexts in which historians instrumentalised the Transylvanian past to legitimise territorial claims or ideological hegemony. Understanding these competing traditions is essential, since the modern narratives through which Transylvania has been interpreted actively shape how medieval identity and frontier dynamics are conceptualised for that region.

Within Romanian historiography, the overarching framework on Transylvania is the theory of Daco-Roman continuity. This paradigm asserts that contemporary Romanians are the autochthonous descendants of Daco-Romans, a population formed by the synthesis of Dacians and Roman colonists during the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE.⁹¹ After the Roman withdrawal, these communities are believed to have survived in the mountainous regions of the Carpathians, maintaining a continuous presence throughout the early Middle Ages.⁹² Identified in medieval sources as Vlachs, they are presented in Romanian historiography as the indigenous population of Transylvania. By emphasising an unbroken Romanian presence in Transylvania prior to the arrival of Magyars or Saxons, this narrative framed medieval legal privileges, such as the *Diploma Andreanum*, as historical mechanisms of disenfranchisement and ethnic oppression of the native Vlachs. Throughout the 20th century, both interwar nationalists and the communist regime under Nicolae Ceauşescu heavily weaponised this theory to foster national unity and reinforce territorial sovereignty over the region.⁹³ While contemporary historians such as Lucian Boia have critically deconstructed the ideological uses of this continuity myth, it remains a cornerstone of Romanian historical consciousness on the region.⁹⁴

In sharp contrast, Hungarian historiography on the matter relies on a migration model that positions their predecessors, the Magyars, as the legitimate rulers of Transylvania following their conquest of the Carpathian Basin at the end of the 9th century.⁹⁵ Within this tradition, other ethnic groups including the Vlachs, are depicted as late-arriving medieval migrants. Medieval chronicles such as the *Gesta Hungarorum* were systematically used to connect the Hungarian state to Hunnic lineage, constructing a myth of cultural superiority and historic entitlement.⁹⁶ Following the loss of Transylvania under the Treaty of Trianon (1920), this narrative intensified.⁹⁷ Hungarian scholars, such as László Makkai, actively challenged Daco-Roman continuity by arguing that Roman forces completely evacuated Dacia in the 3rd century CE, leaving the region open for the arrival of the Magyars and the medieval Vlach pastoralists much later.⁹⁸

Following the Second World War, Soviet historiography introduced a distinct interpretive frame designed to mediate between Romanian and Hungarian claims while serving Moscow's

⁹¹ Boia, *History and Myth*, 85.

⁹² Custred, "Dual Ethnic Identity," 484.

⁹³ Boia, *History and Myth*, 78-9; Andrew Ludanyi, "Controversies about the 'History of Transylvania' Revisited (1986-2004)," *Hungarian Studies Review* 36.1-2 (2009): 132.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁹⁵ Ferenc A. Váli, "Transylvania and the Hungarian Minority," *Journal of International Affairs* 20, nr.1 (1966): 33-4.

⁹⁶ Joachim von Puttkamer, *Schulalltag und nationale Integration in Ungarn. Slowaken, Rumänen und Siebenbürger Sachsen in der Auseinandersetzung mit der ungarischen Staatsidee 1867-1914* (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2003), 328.

⁹⁷ Bucur and Costea, "Transylvania," 277.

⁹⁸ László Makkai, *Histoire de Transylvanie* (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1946).

geopolitical interests.⁹⁹ To diffuse ethnic tensions across the Eastern Bloc, Soviet historians neutralised national disputes by reframing Transylvanian history through the lens of Marxist-Leninist class struggle.¹⁰⁰ Transylvania was depicted as an arena of longstanding feudal oppression liberated by socialist solidarity, rather than as the property of any single ethnic group. Initially, this approach highlighted Slavic influences and Eastern Slavic cultural ties.¹⁰¹ However, following the Sino-Soviet split in the 1960s and the rise of Romanian national-communism, Ceaușescu's regime re-integrated national myths into socialist doctrine.¹⁰² The historiographical focus thus shifted back to Daco-Roman continuity, transforming historical medieval figures such as Michael the Brave into early symbols of national unity and Romanian sovereignty.¹⁰³

Western European scholarship frequently attempted to maintain a diplomatic or methodological neutrality between Romanian and Hungarian claims, often presenting competing narratives side-by-side. However, Western historiography (particularly German tradition) was not entirely free from ideological bias. Modern German scholarship focused on the *Ostsiedlung* diaspora, viewing Transylvania through a Euro-Orientalist lens as an uncultivated eastern frontier.¹⁰⁴ Within this framework, medieval German-speaking settlers (so-called *Auslandsdeutsche*) were considered bearers of a Western civilising mission.¹⁰⁵ After the Second World War and the mass emigration of German populations under communism, this imperialist framing was largely abandoned.¹⁰⁶ Post-1945 German historians increasingly placed Transylvanian history within comparative studies along other 'medieval colonies' in Poland or Czechia, aligning with broader postcolonial critiques of medieval European expansion.¹⁰⁷

At the turn of the 21st century, historiography on medieval Transylvania underwent a profound shift driven by the social and cultural turns. Contemporary historians, most notably Lucian Boia and Sorin Mitu on the Romanian side, and Balázs Trencsényi on the Hungarian side, have systematically deconstructed these national mythologies, analysing how historical narratives were instrumentally forged for state-building.¹⁰⁸ Methodologically, the field has broadened beyond grand national narratives towards *microstoria* and discourse analysis. By focusing on local, less-politicised case studies, modern scholarship emphasises multi-ethnicity and social negotiation on the medieval frontier. Furthermore, the growing internalisation and publication of English-language studies have made Transylvania a vital case study for frontier analysis, bridging formerly inaccessible regional scholarship with global academic discourse.

⁹⁹ Ketih Hitchins, "Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Romania," *The American Historical Review* 94.4 (1992): 1082.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 1081.

¹⁰¹ Jan Szumski, "The USSR's Politics of History toward the Slavic Countries of the Eastern Bloc: Formal and Institutional Frameworks, 1945-1989," *Quarterly J of the History of Science and Technology* 64.4 (2019): 68-9.

¹⁰² Bucur and Costea, "Transylvania," 280.

¹⁰³ Michael the Brave's (Rom. Mihai Viteazul) temporary rule over Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania around 1600 was regarded in communist historiography as evidence of an early national consciousness. See: Katalin Lajos, "The Image of Transylvania in the Works of Two Contemporary Romanian Historians," *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae Philologica* 9.1 (2017): 26.

¹⁰⁴ On the *Ostsiedlung*, see: Thomas Nögler, *Die Ansiedlung der Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Bucharest: Kriterion Verlag, 1992); Charles Higounet, *Les Allemands en Europe Centrale et Orientale au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Aubier, 1989); Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius, *The German Myth of the East: 1800 to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 48; David D. Hamlin, "'Wo sind wir?' Orientalism, Gender and War in the German Encounter with Romania," *German History* 28.4 (2010): 424-52. For the concept of Euro-Orientalism, see: Ezequiel Adamovsky, "Euro-Orientalism and the Making of the Concept of Eastern Europe in France, 1810-1880," *The Journal of Modern History* 77.3 (2005): 591-628.

¹⁰⁵ Cristian Cercel, "Transylvanian Saxon Symbolic Geographies," *Civilisations* 60.2 (2012): 89.

¹⁰⁶ Custred, "Dual Ethnic Identity," 488.

¹⁰⁷ Rossignol, "Doit-on encore parler de colonisation."

¹⁰⁸ Lajos, "The Image of Transylvania," 26.

1.3.3 SYNTHESIS: PARALLEL DYNAMICS, REGIONAL DIVERGENCES

To conclude this chapter, a brief comparative synthesis of both case studies highlights striking structural parallels alongside key historiographical divergences. Both Transylvania and Wales illustrate how medieval borderlands were transformed into symbolic battlegrounds within competing modern national narratives. In both regions, the medieval era served as a foundational repository for modern ideological constructs. Particularly during the 19th century, scholars in both contexts selectively weaponized medieval sources to forge national identities, relying heavily on myth-making and teleological interpretations.

However, the structural nature of these historiographical debates diverges significantly. In Transylvania, deep ethnic and religious fragmentation gave rise to a multi-layered landscape of competing national traditions, each constructing rival narratives dictated by shifting geopolitical dynamics and territorial ambitions. Conversely, Welsh historiography developed along a predominantly binary axis, defined by the tension between an imperial, Anglocentric grand narrative of subjection and an indigenous counter-narrative of Celtic continuity and subaltern resistance. Thus, while Transylvania is characterized by a plurality of competing claims, Wales revolves around a binary dialectic of imperial dominance and native agency.

Ultimately, both case studies reveal the same fundamental mechanism: historical writing as an active instrument of power, legitimacy, and identity formation. In response to this realization, contemporary scholarship in both regions has consciously broken away from traditional nationalist paradigms. By embracing transnational and interdisciplinary frameworks, modern historians no longer seek to legitimize territorial or cultural hegemony, but rather to uncover the multi-layered complexities of frontier societies; even as the political resonance of their historical discourses continues to endure today.

2. PRODUCING COMMUNITY: CUSTOMARY LAW AND IDENTITY

While customary law constituted one of the most enduring elements of medieval legal culture across Europe, it acquired a distinctive significance in frontier regions such as Wales and Transylvania. These zones were marked by political contestation, pronounced multiculturalism, overlapping jurisdictions, and a constant interplay of power and identity. Rather than being displaced by expanding royal or ecclesiastical authority, customary norms continued to structure everyday interactions and mediate relations between local communities and overarching instances. Customary law, as an unwritten code, called upon socially embedded practices and rules of conduct through which communities organised and articulated themselves within broader political frameworks.¹⁰⁹

In medieval legal and social thought, identity was heavily axed around the notion of temporal continuity. Consequently, custom functioned as a paradox: while it was in practice a highly volatile, and adaptable social process, its ideological force and legitimacy were derived from the fiction that it was an ancient, nearly timeless, and thus 'organic' phenomenon.¹¹⁰ As Ada Kuskowski has compellingly demonstrated in her analysis of the temporality of custom, the authority of customary law rested precisely on this illusion of immemorial continuity.¹¹¹ Yet, this organic, bottom-up growth masks a crucial *de facto* reality. Custom was frequently the target of deliberate alteration and codification by elites; particularly at the historical junctures where unwritten norms were committed to writing. A telling example is the *Statute of Rhuddlan* (1284), which claimed to preserve Welsh custom while in practice reorganising it into forms compatible with English royal justice.¹¹² A comparable dynamic in Transylvania emerges in the Hungarian *Tripartitum* (1517), which framed local customary practices as ancient, even as it selectively codified and reshaped them into a coherent legal canon.¹¹³ Recognising this tension between the rhetoric of timeless tradition and elite manipulation provides an essential basis for the source-critical evaluation of the texts utilised in this study.

Building upon this dual nature of custom, it may be hypothesised that customary law in both Wales and Transylvania functioned simultaneously as a mechanism of internal cohesion and as a means of social differentiation. This dynamic was rooted in the structural realities of frontier societies. Although the Welsh legal tradition associated with *Cyfraith Hywel* and the practices grouped under the label *ius valachicum* in Transylvania developed distinct institutional profiles, both operated within strongly pastoral environments; albeit to markedly different degrees. In Wales, pastoralism formed part of a mixed agrarian system in which cattle-keeping and short-range seasonal movement complemented arable farming.¹¹⁴ In Transylvania, by contrast, pastoralism constituted a primary socio-economic framework, especially for the Vlach community, whose transhumance and role in the salt transport from Turda shaped their distinct legal obligations and status.¹¹⁵ By examining these developments,

¹⁰⁹ See Amanda Perreau-Saussine and James Bernard Murphy, eds. *The Nature of Customary Law: Legal, Historical and Philosophical Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). For a compelling critique of the spontaneous emergence of law from custom, see Fábio Ulhoa Coelho, "Customary Law," in *The First Law* (Berlin: Springer, 2026), 11-22. The author posits that legal norms require a conscious decision regarding hierarchy, which cannot arise solely from repetition of behaviour.

¹¹⁰ Ada Kuskowski, "The Time of Custom and the Medieval Myth of Ancient Customary Law," *Speculum* 99.1 (2024), 146.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 147.

¹¹² Discussed in detail in Chapter 3.1.

¹¹³ Martin Rady, *Customary law in Hungary: Courts, Texts, and the Tripartitum* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015), 53.

¹¹⁴ Robert Rees Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales, 1063-1415* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 127; David Stephenson, *The Governance of Gwynedd* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1984), 188-9.

¹¹⁵ Mihai Safta, "Vechiul drept Românesc, ius valachicum: studiu asupra chezatelor supuse lui lex sau modus olachorum," *SUBB Iurisprudentia* 2 (2015): 143-155.

this section asks to what extent both contexts reveal how customary law actively contributed to producing and maintaining social identities rather than merely mirroring them. In doing so, it intends to explore how such legal norms defined and enforced boundaries between insiders and outsiders of a community.

To analyse these dynamics, customary law is here treated as a “semi-autonomous field of practice” shaped by habitus and power.¹¹⁶ This view proves especially productive because it bridges legal formalism and socio-legal reality, acknowledging that local groups possess internal rule-making capacities while remaining inextricably linked to broader, coercive state and elite structures. This chapter examines how local norms enabled frontier communities to mobilise custom in asserting group identity and autonomy in relation to other competing legal orders. Accordingly, the analysis proceeds in two steps. First, it outlines a conceptual framework to understand customary law within pluralistic legal environments.¹¹⁷ It then turns to the Welsh and Transylvanian material, which will both be considered through a legal anthropological lens. This approach is understood here as a close reading of normative texts combined with an explicit focus on how legal rituals and kinship structures construct communal organisation and maintain both juridical and social boundaries.

2.1 CUSTOMS IN QUESTION: LEGAL PLURALISM AND SOCIAL PRACTICE

Customary law occupied a central place within the normative landscape of the medieval Latin West, where legal authority was distributed across overlapping jurisdictions of custom, canon law, royal legislation, municipal statutes, and seigneurial privilege.¹¹⁸ Its prominence was a matter of structure: for most communities, custom constituted the primary framework through which social expectations were articulated, everyday conflicts were resolved, and collective interests were protected. Traditionally, it has been interpreted in legal history as the localised and inward-looking counterpart of the transregional *ius commune*: the learned Roman and canon laws taught at universities across the Latin West.¹¹⁹ Although this *ius commune* initially functioned in a subsidiary role, it gradually gained importance alongside customary norms from the mid-12th century onward.¹²⁰ Yet, drawing a sharp dichotomy between an early phase of purely informal, oral custom and a later, rapidly professionalised era driven by centralisation and bureaucratisation tends to oversimplify a much more gradual and patchy reality.¹²¹ As recent research into late medieval Flanders demonstrates, the impact of princely legislation and centralising frameworks on local and seigneurial regulations remained remarkably limited well into the late 16th century.¹²² Rather than unilinear centralisation, the growing administrative and judicial strength of the state was driven by the increased consumption of justice, resulting

¹¹⁶ This approach draws on Sally Moore’s concept of the semi-autonomous social field; i.e. how local groups generate and maintain their own normative orders; Pierre Bourdieu’s views on practice and habitus; and Lauren Benton’s work on the negotiated character of legal pluralism. See: Sally Falk Moore, “Law and Social Change: The Semi-Autonomous Social Field as an Appropriate Subject of Study,” *Law & Society Review* 7 (1973): 719-46; Bourdieu, “Social Space and Symbolic Power,” 16; Jean-Pascal Daloz, *The Sociology of Elite Distinction: From Theoretical to Comparative Perspectives* (Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2009); Lauren Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures. Legal Regimes in World History, 1400-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹¹⁷ Brian Z. Tamanaha, “Understanding Legal Pluralism: Past to Present, Local to Global,” in *Legal Theory and the Social Sciences*, edited by Maksymilian Del Mar and Michael Guidice (London: Routledge, 2017), 448.

¹¹⁸ Lesaffer, *European Legal History*.

¹¹⁹ Ada Kuskowski, “Cosmopolitan Local Law in the Medieval Latin West,” *Journal of Legal History* 46 (2025): 173.

¹²⁰ Ibid., “The Time of Custom and the Medieval Myth of Ancient Customary Law,” *Speculum* 99:1 (2024), 143-82.

¹²¹ Barna Mezey, “Transylvania in the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom (1000-1540),” in *Constitutional History of Transylvania*, edited by Emöd Veress (Berlin: Springer, 2023): 143.

¹²² Frederik Buylaert, Kaat Cappelle, and Klaas van Gelder, “Princely Legislation and Seigneurial Justice in the County of Flanders, c. 1400-1600,” in *Jurists and the Medieval State, 1000-1500: Varieties and Development of a Symbiotic Relationship*, ed. André Miguel da Cunha Vitoria, 1–20. Leiden: Brill, 2026.

in the progressive integration of central and local legal orders rather than a direct displacement of custom. In frontier regions such as Wales and Transylvania, however, this complex transformation was often even more delayed and patchy in nature.¹²³

Within this complex web of legislative practices, customary law coexisted with a range of other normative mechanisms that both complemented and limited its scope. Privileges could grant exemptions from the application of customary law, thereby carving out distinct legal categories for specific individuals or communities.¹²⁴ In addition, local authorities exercised legislative powers through the issuance of municipal statutes. A comparable function was fulfilled by royal legislation in the form of laws and decrees that mainly supplemented local legal practice; though the pace and impact of such centralising frameworks varied dramatically across Europe. While regions under English influence faced an exceptionally early, unified royal frame through the Common Law from the 12th century onward, the normative landscape in areas like Transylvania was defined by a persistent, decentralised multiplicity of overlapping jurisdictions.¹²⁵ Apart from the dominant use of customary law, there was no hierarchy in these different types of law. These instruments should thus be understood as integral components of the same normative frame rather than as separate legal orders.

Such layered arrangements exemplify what scholars describe as legal pluralism: the institutionalised coexistence of multiple normative orders within the same socio-political space, in which distinct communities were governed through formally recognised yet negotiated standards.¹²⁶ The notion of “semi-autonomous social fields” captures this dynamic: communities produce and enforce their own norms while also operating within other political structures.¹²⁷ Customary law functioned as one such field that is capable of generating binding internal obligations, yet remains strongly shaped by its interactions with external authorities.

The extent to which medieval frontier societies exhibited legal pluralism can be clarified by applying Griffiths’ distinction between “weak” and “strong” forms; with “weak” denoting central authorities and limited normative diversity, and “strong” describing contexts in which multiple orders coexist without a single, fully integrated source of authority.¹²⁸ Medieval frontier societies approximated the latter condition. This interpretation aligns with Tamanaha’s definition of legal pluralism as “the empirical coexistence of several forms and manifestations of law within the same social space.”¹²⁹ This view is suited to medieval frontier configurations where law was embedded in corporate or ecclesiastical relationships rather than in territorially centralised states. Border regions make this multiplicity visible: governance relied on recognising estates, *gens*, and settlers as distinct subjects with distinctive rights.

To further connect legal pluralism explicitly to frontier rule, Lauren Benton’s work on “legal regimes” provides a powerful analytical lens, which demonstrates how authorities manage heterogeneous populations through calibrated jurisdictional enclaves and group-based exceptions.¹³⁰ While empirically developed for early modern imperial settings, this framework is analytically transferable to medieval Europe. Here, charters, corporate liberties, and

¹²³ In Wales, customary law remained dominant well into the 13th century and was only partially replaced following Edward I of England’s conquest, resulting in a transcultural system, while in Transylvania the coexistence of multiple privileged communities and jurisdictions (noble, ecclesiastical, and urban) sustained a persistent legal pluralism rather than a fully centralized order. See also: Robert Rees Davies, “The Twilight of Welsh Law, 1284–1536,” *History* 51:172 (1966), pp. 143–64; Rady, *Customary Law in Hungary*, 50.

¹²⁴ Mezey, “Transylvania,” 143.

¹²⁵ Raoul Charles Caenegem, *The Birth of the English Common Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

¹²⁶ Geoffrey Swenson, “Legal Pluralism in Theory and Practice,” *International Studies Review* (2018): 442.

¹²⁷ Moore, “Law and Social Change,” 722.

¹²⁸ John Griffiths, “The Social Working of Legal Rules,” *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 35 (2003): 4.

¹²⁹ Tamanaha, “Understanding Legal Pluralism,” 448.

¹³⁰ Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures*.

customary recognitions similarly organised populations, in addition to assimilatory dynamics. By the later Middle Ages, further institutional layers were added to this pluralistic landscape. For instance, regional assemblies or diets in Transylvania were introduced as active legislative bodies that issued new statutes, thus contributing another level of collective rulemaking alongside existing local customs and royal sources.¹³¹ The diets reflected a broader Central European political culture of estate-based governance. This institutional setup shared deep structural affinities with the polycentric legal topography of the Holy Roman Empire. Rather than resulting from direct imperial authority, these similarities emerged through legal migration: Transylvanian Saxons introduced urban statutes and legal concepts rooted in Central European models. These overlapping orders seemingly interacted via a dynamic structure of applicability, and exemption instead of forming a strict hierarchy of legal systems.

Finally, understanding customary law as a social practice requires close attention to its internal dynamics. Norms were continually reproduced through collective enactment based on a *communis opinio*, and provided hands-on solutions for everyday problems, thus functioning as a form of *ius proprium*, i.e. a particular law to a specific people or place.¹³² Yet, as historical and anthropological inquiries demonstrate, such idioms of community consensus often mask deep internal asymmetries. Normative frameworks are rarely neutral, communities are structurally hierarchical and internally divided, meaning that custom was frequently defined and coloured by dominant factions rather than reflecting an unmediated general will.¹³³ At the same time, these customary orders structured behavioural expectations and defined communal boundaries. Following Aron Gurevič's approach, custom must be read not merely as dry regulation, but as a fundamental map through which medieval societies organised reality.¹³⁴ This conceptualisation provides the analytical foundation for the thematic sections that follow.

By sharpening our theoretical framework around customary law and legal pluralism, the preceding discussion transforms custom from a vague background setting into an empirically testable category. It equips us with the precise tools needed to interrogate how customary practices organised social relations, and mediated encounters with competing legal orders in practice. Far from being static or parochial, local legal orders also participated in transregional exchange, drawing on shared European legal repertoires without losing their distinct local character. Authority was therefore relational rather than fully territorialised. Especially in frontier regions, legal pluralism both reflected diversity and functioned as medium to govern difference. By structuring settlement, taxation, jurisdictions, and rights, juridical differentiation stabilised group boundaries – illuminating the intrinsic, highly contested ties between law and society.

2.2 CUSTOMARY LAW IN CONTEXT: *CYFRAITH HYWEL* AND *IUS VALACHICUM*

This chapter considers two customary traditions: *Cyfraith Hywel* in Wales and *ius valachicum* in Transylvania. Despite emerging from distinct socio-political environments and surviving in vastly different forms, both served as vital tools for local communities vis-à-vis expanding crown authorities in the preservation of their own regional autonomy and identity. While Vlach customs remained largely uncoded compared to the Welsh legal system, they consistently provided a framework for collective responsibility and negotiated self-governance between pastoral communities and royal officials. Another key distinction lies in their engagement with the *ius commune*: whereas Transylvanian jurists and royal administrators leaned on the *ius*

¹³¹ Mezey, "Transylvania," 148.

¹³² Ibid. 143.

¹³³ As Lorriane Daston compellingly demonstrates in her wide-ranging study on the historical mechanics of rules, see: *Rules: A Short History of What We Live By* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2022), esp. Chapters 6 and 7.

¹³⁴ Aron Iakovlevič Gurevič, *Categories of Medieval Culture* (London: Routledge, 1985).

commune to systematize and overarching Hungarian customary frameworks to codify and categorise local Vlach privileges into the wider realm, the Welsh legal tradition maintained a distinct outlier by resisting external legal homogenisation until the *Acts of Union* (1536, 1542).¹³⁵ Before turning to our cases, the following section provides the necessary historical context.

2.2.1 CYFRAITH HYWEL

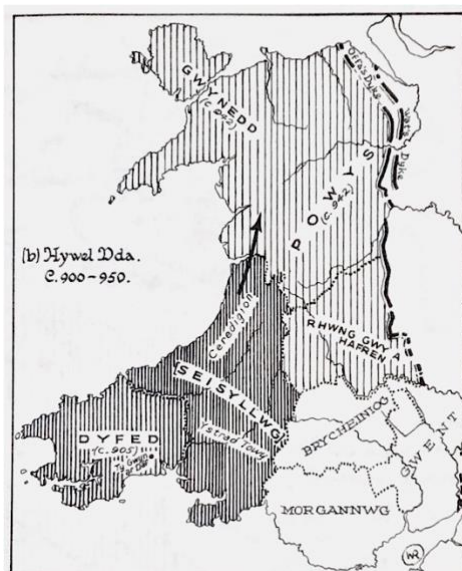


Fig. 1. Historical map of Wales during the reign of Hywel Dda, illustrating the political division of multiple kingdoms.

Source: Rees, *Historical Atlas*.

Understanding the legal traditions of medieval Wales requires a sense of its political landscape. In the 10th century, when *Cyfraith Hywel* (The Laws of Hywel) was supposedly established, Wales was highly fractured: authority was dispersed among competing regional kingdoms, with Gwynedd in the northwest, Powys in the central marchlands, and the southern realms of Dyfed and Seisyllwg (united by Hywel in 920 as Deheubarth), Morgannwg (Glamorgan), Brycheiniog (Breconshire) and Gwent (see Fig. 1). When the historical ruler Hywel Dda (Hywel the Good) extended his hegemony across these regions, he thus did so over a deeply divided geopolitical terrain, temporarily bringing together most of Wales, with the notable exception of Morgannwg and Gwent in the southeast.¹³⁶ Hywel appears in primary medieval chronicles such as the *Annales Cambriae* and the *Annals of Ulster*, which both record his death in 950.¹³⁷

This rare, temporary consolidation of power left a profound mark on the legal tradition. According to the prologues preserved in Welsh manuscripts of *Cyfraith Hywel*, Hywel Dda convened an assembly of clerics and laymen to revise the laws. As the scribes explicitly set out:

Hywel son of Cadell prince of all Wales saw the Welsh misusing the laws and called to him six men from every *cantred* in Wales, to the White House on Taf. These were to be the wisest men in the realm, four of them laymen and the other two clerks. This was the reason for bringing the clerks: lest the laymen should set down anything which might be against Holy Scripture.¹³⁸

Hywel is thus said to have ratified the resulting legal code with royal and divine authority, furthermore pronouncing a “curse ... on anyone in Wales who should corrupt the laws by not keeping them.”¹³⁹ While historicist interpretations of the 19th and early 20th centuries treated this assembly as a credible historical fact, more recent scholarship has reframed the prologue as a memory practice of later jurists to add more respectability to a law code facing criticism

¹³⁵ Respectively: Mezey, “Transylvania,” 143; Davies, “The Twilight of Welsh Law,” 159.

¹³⁶ Hywel built his power step by step: he acquired Dyfed through marriage and inherited Seisyllwg following the death of his father. Hywel’s wider authority dates from 942, when he acquired control of Gwynedd after his cousin’s death, king Idwal Foel (Idwal the Bald). Since Powys fell within Gwynedd’s authority at that time, Hywel’s dominion extended over both regions, in addition to his dynastic heartland of Deheubarth. See: William Rees, *An Historical Atlas of Wales. From Early to Modern Times* (London: Faber and Faber, 1951), 20.

¹³⁷ Kathleen Hughes, “The Welsh Latin Chronicles: ‘Annales Cambriae’ and Related Texts,” in *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Kathleen Hughes and David Dumville (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1980), 70.

¹³⁸ *The Law of Hywel Dda. Law Texts from Medieval Wales*, translated and edited by Dafydd Jenkins (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1986), 1.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* 1.

from the church.¹⁴⁰ Rather than a genuine 10th-century codification, historians therefore now view the surviving text as a 13th-century professionalisation of customary practice catalysed by the rapid expansion and consolidation of English Common Law. Facing an encroaching, highly centralised foreign jurisprudence, Welsh jurists seized upon the Hywel narrative to defensively anchor their legal identity. In this reading, the Hywel story functions as a rhetorical device that constructs a usable past for legal professionals, in which their law is imagined as both ancient and divinely sanctioned.¹⁴¹

Cyfraith Hywel is preserved in more than 40 manuscripts composed between the 13th and 16th centuries.¹⁴² In addition to several Latin texts, the surviving copies are conventionally divided into three Welsh redactions, each named after persons mentioned in the manuscripts: Cyfnerth, Blegywryd, and Iorwerth.¹⁴³ Although the intertextual links between the redactions require further mapping, several points have become undisputed in current scholarship. The least developed legal code is found in Cyfnerth's southern context, with its earliest manuscript dating to the early 14th century. Blegywryd shows both ecclesiastical and English influence, with its earliest manuscript dating to c. 1300. Finally, Iorwerth was put together by Iorwerth ap Madog, a jurist in Gwynedd at the court of the prominent northern prince Llywelyn Fawr (Llywelyn the Great; r. 1199-1240).¹⁴⁴ Unlike the university-trained civilian or canonist jurists emerging on the Continent, Iorwerth ap Madog and his peers were part of an indigenous, hereditary class of legal specialists formed within native Welsh traditions (*cyfarwyddyd*) rather than academic institutions; though by the 13th century they increasingly adopted written formats to safeguard their customary authority.¹⁴⁵ It was within this context Iorwerth compiled his redaction. Its earliest manuscript dates from the mid-13th century, a period in which native princes likewise increasingly felt the need to fix their customary laws in writing as a counterweight to expanding Anglo-Norman legal and ecclesiastical pressures.¹⁴⁶ Here, the Welsh customary tradition collided not with the learned, university-trained *ius commune* of the Continent, but with the unique English Common Law; a system that grew independently from Roman law through royal centralisation and the writ-system.¹⁴⁷ Despite their differences, these redactions share a conception of how law should be organised.

¹⁴⁰ John Goronwy Edwards, "Hywel Dda and the Welsh Lawbooks," in *Celtic Law Papers*, edited by Dafydd Jenkins (Brussel, 1973), 148. For an example of positivist interpretations, see: Aneurin Owen, *Ancient laws and institutes of Wales; comprising laws supposed to be enacted by Howel the Good* (London: Printed by G. E. Eyre and A. Spottiswoode, 1841).

¹⁴¹ This aligns with broader European patterns in which legal communities anchored their texts in prestigious founders regardless of historical accuracy, e.g. Stephen of Hungary (1000-38) or Alfonso X of Castile (1252-84).

¹⁴² Dafydd Jenkins, ed., "Introduction," in *The Law of Hywel Dda. Law Texts from Medieval Wales* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1986), p. xxi. He points out that there are also some 40 later manuscripts of scholars and antiquarians.

¹⁴³ Modern scholarly access to these texts relies entirely upon meticulous critical editions of the different traditions. For the various redactions of *Cyfraith Hywel*, see the Iorwerth Redaction (Gwynedd) in *The Law of Hywel Dda*, edited by Dafydd Jenkins (1986); the Blegywryd Redaction (Deheubarth) in *The Laws of Hywel Dda (The Book of Blegywryd)*, edited by Melville Richards (1954); and for the Cyfnerth Redaction (Gwent/Midlands), sources are more fragmented, with A.W. Wade-Evans, *Welsh Medieval Law* (1979) serving as primary reference.

¹⁴⁴ Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (c. 1173-1240), better known as Llywelyn Fawr (Llywelyn the Great), was initially Prince of Gwynedd from 1199. His authority was formally crystallised at the Council of Aberdyfi in 1216, where the other regional Welsh rulers openly acknowledged him as the overlord and leader of all Wales. During his life, this position remained unchallenged either by native rulers or by the Marcher lords. See: Rees, *An Historical Atlas*, 34-5.

¹⁴⁵ Pryce, *Native Law*, 45; Roberts, *Legal Triads*, 1-5.

¹⁴⁶ Jenkins, *The Law of Hywel Dda*, p. xxi.

¹⁴⁷ Raoul Van Caenegem, "The English Common Law: A Divergence from the European Pattern," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 1.47 (1979), 1.

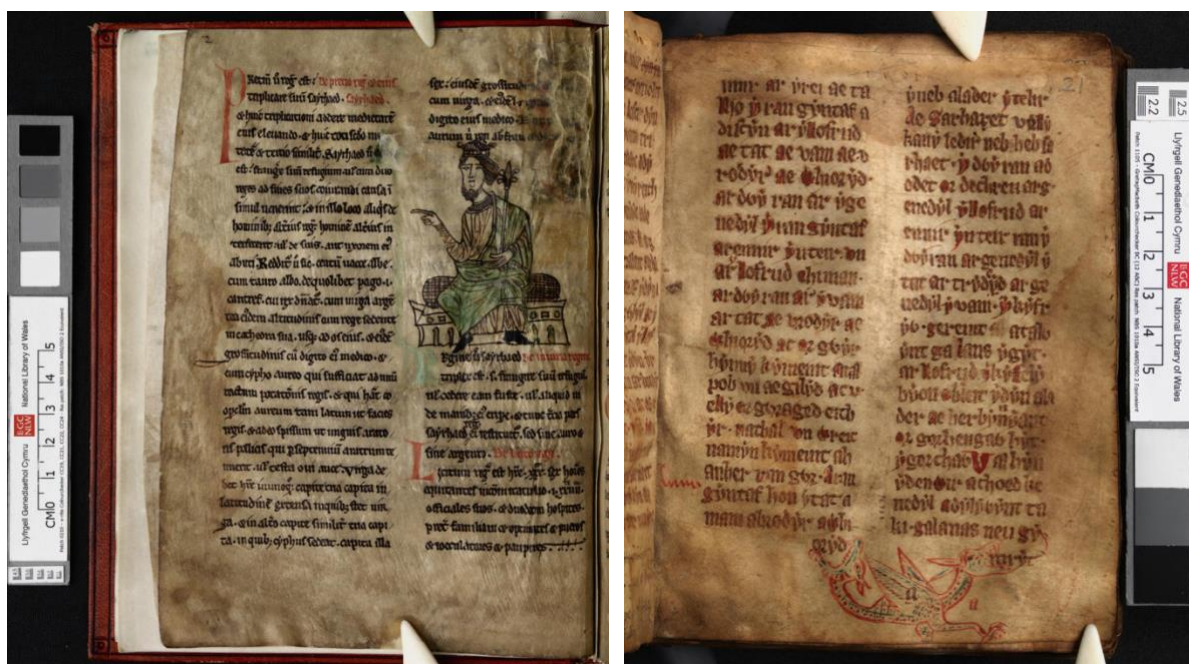


Fig. 2. Snapshots of surviving manuscripts of *Cyfraith Hywel* in Latin (left) and Welsh (right). Currently preserved at the National Library of Wales. Left: f. 2, Peniarth MS 28 (mid-13th century). Right: f. 21, NLW MS 20143A (ca. 1350). Source: National Library of Wales.

All redactions typically open with the Hywelian origin narrative considered above, followed by sections outlining the duties of royal officers and the organisation of the princely court, or in short “The Laws of the Court”.¹⁴⁸ Paradoxically, while framed as ancient custom, this rigid court-centred part projects a strong centralising royal ambition; setting it apart from the more fragmented, bottom-up municipal charters and regional privileges typical of the Continent. They then turn to “The Laws of the Country”, which regulate matters such as women’s rights, landholding, livestock, and compensation.¹⁴⁹ The laws of conduct set forth can be characterised as quite contemporary due to their emphasis on monetary compensation (such as *galanas* for homicide and *sarhaed* for insult) rather than physical punishment, alongside the relative level of freedom granted to women in contrast to other legal systems.¹⁵⁰ While operating under distinct indigenous terminology, this system reflects a broader early medieval principle, conceptually identical to the Germanic and Anglo-Saxon tradition of *wergeld*.¹⁵¹ The Iorwerth redaction uniquely includes “The Justices’ Test Book” specifying the knowledge required of “whosoever wants to take up justiceship.”¹⁵² This section provides detailed assessments of the legal value of items, ranging from a bee colony to oak trees or manure-sheds, alongside laws on homicide, theft and arson. The other redactions incorporate this material in their treatment of “The Laws of the Country”, though in different arrangements. Many manuscripts also contain ‘tails’ of supplemental material, such as *damweiniau* (eventualities), and triads, which illustrate how law was organised, taught and applied in practice.¹⁵³ Indeed, the most important manuscripts are small, clumsily written books that show the signs of wear from constant use, thus suggesting that these were practical handbooks used by judges ‘in the field’ to navigate the complexities of daily Welsh life.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 4-41; or *Laws of Hywel Dda* (Richards), 24-44.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 43-210; or ibid. 44-119.

¹⁵⁰ Sara Elin Roberts, *The Growth of Law in Medieval Wales, c. 1100-c. 1500* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2022).

¹⁵¹ Christophe Camby, “The Wergeld, Following the Manuscripts,” *IMC* (Leeds: 2011), 1-12.

¹⁵² *The Law of Hywel Dda* (Jenkins), 140-209.

¹⁵³ Ibid. xxv. For extensive research on the triads, see Sara Elin Roberts, *The Legal Triads of Medieval Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007); ibid. “The Iorwerth Triads.” In *Tome: Studies in Medieval Celtic History and Law*, ed. Fiona Edmonds and Paul Russell, 155-164 (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2011).

In daily practice, the administration of Welsh law unfolded far away from centralised courtrooms as in England. Instead, it operated through local assemblies and arbitration within the traditional administrative districts known as *cymmydau* (commotes), which together formed larger districts known as *cantrefi*. Within this framework, *Cyfraith Hywel* served as a flexible body of law through which local disputes were mediated and settled. Dispensing justice was primarily the domain of local judges and noblemen (*breyrion*), who convened at local courts (*llys*), relying heavily on negotiation and prescribed monetary settlements to resolve feuds and restore social harmony. Yet, this system never functioned in entire isolation; even prior to the conquest of 1282, *Cyfraith Hywel* was subtly reshaped by exposure to English legal culture, with some litigants increasingly opting for procedures like trial by jury when it suited their interests.¹⁵⁴ Following Edward I's conquest, the *Statute of Rhuddlan* (1284) reorganised parts of Wales into English-style shires under royal sheriffs, thus introducing administrative centralisation.¹⁵⁵ This anglicisation was however far from monolithic, particularly in the border lordships like Dyffryn Clwyd (Ruthin), whose surviving court rolls vividly document its everyday legal operation from the 13th century onwards.¹⁵⁶ As the court rolls reveal, post-conquest legal administration fractured into a complex, multi-layered hierarchy of courts meeting throughout the week, ranging from separate English Courts tailored for incoming settlers to traditional Welsh commote courts (such as Llannerch or Dogveylin) and specialised jurisdictions like forest courts. For contemporary judges, this meant that the survival of Welsh custom had to navigate a deeply hybrid, stratified legal reality where Welsh practices coexisted and negotiated with emerging English frameworks.

Yet, the gaps between attributed origins and surviving evidence underscore the necessity of tracing provenance to understand the cultural world to which each manuscript belonged. While many of the surviving manuscripts were likely copied in Cistercian scriptoria by monastic scribes, the application of law itself was driven by secular clerks and Welsh legal professionals.¹⁵⁷ This reinforces our current sense of the laws' closeness to Welsh literary tradition, functioning less as separate categories and more as porous concepts within a shared body of traditional learning known in Welsh as the *cyfarwyddyd* (traditional lore).¹⁵⁸ Crucially, these storytellers and jurists did not operate in a vacuum of pure oral culture. The 13th-century production of lawbooks instead reflects a growing reliance on written tradition. Lawbooks do not merely represent an idealised society detached from real contexts; rather, they carried the distinct ambition to shape and conform actual social reality to their normative vision.¹⁵⁹ Since Wales was largely customary, arbitration remained a vital mechanism in settling disputes.¹⁶⁰ In that sense, customary law still mirrored a medieval reality, albeit through a prescriptive lens. Finally, historians such as R.R. Davies have emphasised the political context of the 13th century, when the princes of Gwynedd sought to consolidate authority over a fragmented Wales.¹⁶¹ The Iorwerth redaction, associated with Llywelyn Fawr's court, directly reflects this project of princely centralisation. Since Llywelyn ultimately succeeded in establishing himself *de facto* as the paramount ruler of Wales, this

¹⁵⁴ Davies, "The Twilight of Welsh Law," 145.

¹⁵⁵ The ongoing legal interaction and pragmatic borrowing foreshadowed the more formal, structural collision between *Cyfraith Hywel* and royal authority that will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 3 in relation to the *Statutum Walliae* (1284). See Chapter 3.1.

¹⁵⁶ The Ruthin Court Rolls and their operational dynamics are examined in greater depth in Chapter 3.2.

¹⁵⁷ Huw Pryce, *Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 42-7. For the importance of Cistercian houses or other monastic locations as scriptoria, see Chapter 4.2 and 5.2.

¹⁵⁸ Pryce, *Native Law*, 45; Roberts, *Legal Triads*, 1-5.

¹⁵⁹ Roberts, *The Growth of Law*, 81. For a theoretical perspective on how administrative and legal authorities use rigid, prescriptive rules in a vain or ambitious attempt to force fluid realities to conform to a fantasy of order, see Daston's analysis of the "rule-mania" of Enlightenment Paris (172). Daston, *Rules*, 169-88.

¹⁶⁰ Davies, *The Age of Conquest*, 134-5.

¹⁶¹ Robert Rees Davies, "The Twilight of Welsh Law, 1284-1536".

legalistic project was far from a mere pipe dream.¹⁶² It suggests both the practical effectiveness of his strategy and a tangible societal backing. The lawbooks thus become instruments of political imagination: they articulate what a unified Welsh polity should look like, even as political reality remained unstable.

2.2.2 *IUS VALACHICUM*

As stated earlier, there is no comparable codification of Vlach customary law for Transylvania. Formally, the region was part of the Kingdom of Hungary as a voivodeship: an autonomous territory under the administration of a military governor (a *voivode*) appointed by the king. In legal theory, Transylvania was therefore subject to Hungarian law, which István Werbőczy definitively set forth in his *Tripartitum* in 1517.¹⁶³ Though finalised in the early 16th century, this monumental compilation served as a comprehensive synthesis of customary and statutory sources whose roots traced back to the 13th century.¹⁶⁴ Mirroring the broader 16th-century European drive toward legal centralisation, such as the royal codification of local *coutumes* in France or Charles V's *Carolina* in the Holy Roman Empire, this codification aimed to fix fluid customary practice into written authority.¹⁶⁵ Yet, in Transylvania's peripheral and ethnically diverse areas of the region, unwritten customary law remained decisive. In its essence, this was often passed on orally, resulting in a lack of a fixed legal corpus. *Ius valachicum* was in this regard often referred to as "legea pământului" (law of the land) and defined itself over time through practice rather than written edicts.¹⁶⁶ Yet, to view this lack of codification as an inherent disadvantage would be misleading; so long as law remained unwritten, it could be reshaped and negotiated according to the immediate needs of the community. As Algazi has demonstrated in the context of early modern German lordships, peasants frequently resisted attempts to codify or fix their customary practices in writing precisely out of fear that it would solidify and aggrandise seigneurial power at their expense.¹⁶⁷ For Vlach communities, the fluid nature of their customary law similarly served as a shield against the rigid imposition of royal or aristocratic authority.

Of particular interest for the Vlach community was the southern frontier of Transylvania bordering Wallachia (see Fig. 3). This borderland was composed of a constellation of distinct historical 'lands' (*țări*), each functioning as a semi-autonomous ethnographic and legal enclave. These included, among others, Țara Făgărașului, a primary Vlach stronghold until the end of the Middle Ages; Mărginimea Sibiului, a cluster of pastoral villages characterized by intense communal solidarity; Țara Bârsei (Burzenland), a strategic multi-ethnic zone under Saxon influence; and Țara Hațegului, one of the oldest Romanian political formations.¹⁶⁸ These peripheral areas were mostly military districts functioning as separate jurisdictions, with their own local administrations and courts. Cases adjudicated according to *ius valachicum* were

¹⁶² This centralisation crucially paved the way for his grandson, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (also known as Llywelyn the Last; r. 1255-1282, Gwynedd), to proclaim and receive the title *Prince of Wales* (resp. 1258 and 1267).

¹⁶³ István Werbőczy. *Opus tripartitum juris consuetudinarii inclyti regni Hungaria*. Vienna: Joannes Singrenius, 1517. Modern edition: *The Customary Law of the Renowned Kingdom of Hungary: A Work in Three Parts Rendered by Stephen Werbőczy (The 'Tripartitum')*, trans. and ed. Péter Banyó, János M. Bak and Martyn Rady. Idyllwild/Budapest: Charles Schlacks Jr Publisher and Central European University, 2005. Commissioned by King Vladislaus II (r. 1490-1516, Hungary and Croatia), this compilation systematically set down Hungarian customary law, particularly reflecting the privileges of the nobility. It functioned as Hungary's de facto legal code until 1848.

¹⁶⁴ Martyn Rady, "The Prologue to Werbőczy's *Tripartitum* and its Sources," *English Historical Review* 121 (2006), 106.

¹⁶⁵ John P. Dawson, "The Codification of the French Customs," *Michigan Law Review* 765 (1940): 770; Bernd Mertens, "Gesetzgeber und Verfasser der Carolina," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 138 (2021), 125.

¹⁶⁶ Safta, "Vechiul drept Românesc," 143.

¹⁶⁷ Gadi Algazi, "Lords Ask, Peasants Answer: Making Traditions in Late Medieval Village Assemblies," in *Between History and Histories: The Making of Silences and Commemorations*, eds. Gerald Sider and Gavin Smith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 199-229.

¹⁶⁸ Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 119.

therefore more common in these areas where the Vlach population was dense.¹⁶⁹ In these regions, customary law functioned as a set of socially recognized rules and norms that structured communal life and provided the legal foundation for a specific population group.¹⁷⁰

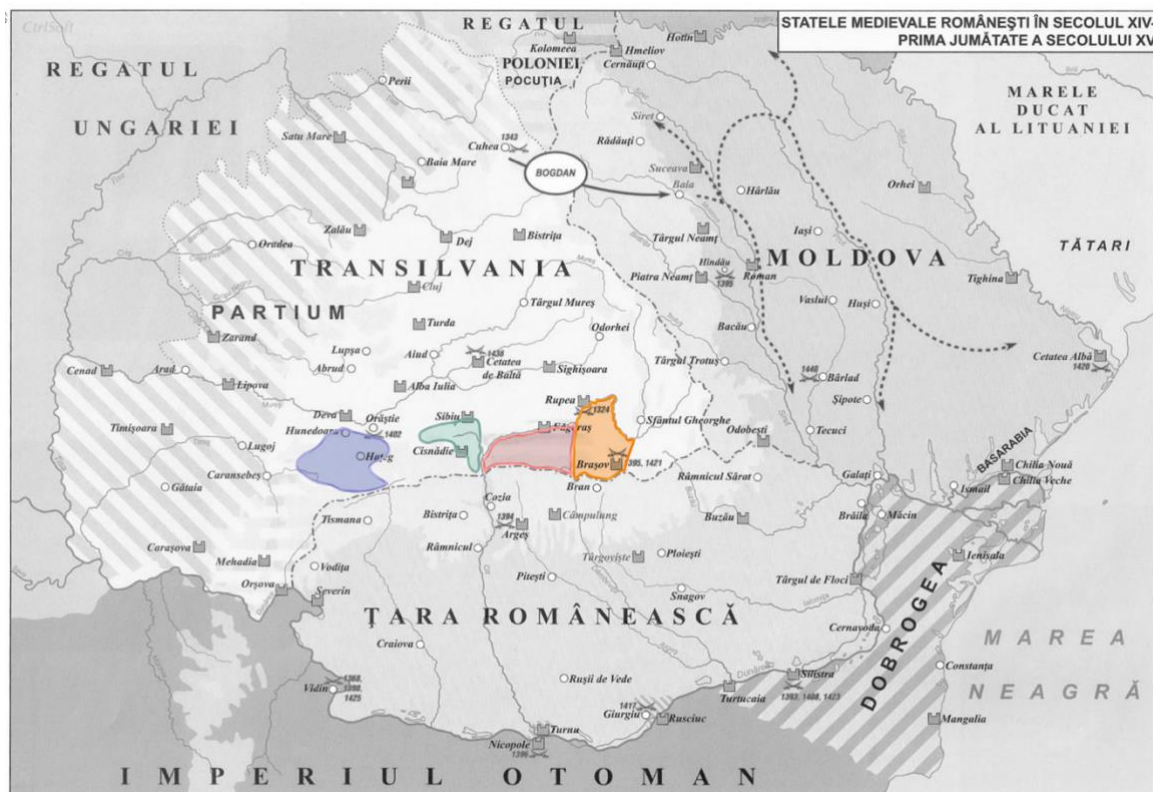


Fig. 3. Map of 14th/15th-century Transylvania with border regions marked. From left to right: Țara Hațegului (blue), Mărginimea Sibiului (green), Țara Făgărașului (pink) and Țara Bârsei (orange). Source: WikiCommons, marks added.

The *ius valachicum* was essentially transmitted orally and can only be reconstructed indirectly through a scattered corpus of charters, privileges and statutes issued by various authorities spanning the late-14th to early-16th centuries. These documents thus do not codify law as such, but they do reveal when and how specific Vlach legal practices were legally relevant. While other communities such as the Saxons successfully institutionalised their autonomy and written municipal codes, the political representation of the Vlachs fractured after the 14th century. This resulted in a decentralised Vlach legal authority, anchored instead in the administrative and judicial roles of local *knezes* (lords) and *voivodes*. Consequently, rather than surviving as a uniform regional system, Vlach customary law had to be recorded and adapted on a micro-level through local agreements and estate-specific statutes. Reconstructing this scattered legal reality presents significant challenges, as relevant material is dispersed across various linguistic and institutional traditions. While large-scale critical endeavours such as the *Monumenta Romaniae Historica* have sought to systematically transcribe medieval Romanian materials, much of the documentation remains fragmented across Hungarian archival transcripts or embedded within the Transylvanian Saxon records transcribed in their monumental *Urkundenbuch*. Therefore, although later syntheses of the *ius valachicum* also offer insights into community formation, notably Vladimir Hanga's research, this study deliberately focuses on applications of customary law in medieval sources.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ Adrian Magina, "From Custom to Written Law: Ius Valachicum in the Banat," in *Government and Law in Medieval Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia*, eds. Martyn Rady and Alexandru Simon (London: UCL, 2013), 72.

¹⁷⁰ Ștefan Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei* vol. 4 (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1986), p. 135.

¹⁷¹ Vladimir Hanga, *Les institutions du droit coutumier roumain* (Bokarest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Romania, 1988).

The focus is therefore on three documents from Southern Transylvania: a Romanian-Saxon peace treaty in Cristian (Mărginimea Sibiului, 1383), the book of village boundaries of Rășinari (Mărginimea Sibiului, 1488) and the statutes of Făgăraș (Țara Făgărașului, 1508). This selection of sources is deliberately structured to capture three distinct administrative and chronological layers of customary practice in southern Transylvania. Rather than attempting an exhaustive cataloguing of a scattered corpus, these three sources test different legal interfaces: an inter-ethnic arbitration involving Vlach pastoralists and Saxon villagers (Cristian), a localised record of territorial definition and community boundaries (Rășinari), and a formal statutory text regulating internal community governance under a regional lordship (Făgăraș). Together, they allow this study to trace how *ius valachicum* operated dynamically across different contexts.

The *Cristian Concordia* (1383) concluded between Vlach communities and the Saxon authorities of the Sibiu seat, survives in Latin as a formally ratified diplomatic agreement issued by urban officials and elders acting collectively (the *universitas*).¹⁷² The treaty is framed as a settlement following “various troubles and incomparable damages upon the villages of the aforesaid district, thefts, arson, plundering, killings” inflicted by “the Vlachs surrounding [them].”¹⁷³ As such, it belongs to the genre of inter-communal conflict resolution typical of frontier zones. Its articles regulate coexistence between the Saxons of the Sibiu seat and the Vlachs living in pastoral villages between Tălmăciu (“Tolmacz”) and Săliște (“Magna villa Walachikalis”). This happens through reciprocal obligations: Vlach groups assume responsibilities as guards of the mountain passes (“on all the alpine pastures up to Tălmăciu”) and agreed to strict punitive measures (such as trial by seven oaths for arson or theft; “septem iuramentis”), while simultaneously enjoying limited grazing rights (“unless they have the free permission and approval”) and suspension of past accusations. The document thus records a moment in which specific customary practices were formalised and stabilised through negotiation with an institutionally dominant authority.



Fig. 4. Peace treaty of Cristian. Original 14th-century charter on parchment. Currently preserved at the National Archives of Romania (Sibiu). Source: National Archives in Sibiu.

¹⁷² Original document is preserved at the National Archives in Sibiu: Kirchenarchiv A.B. [Colecția de documente ale parohiilor ev. CA săsești], Seria II (Inventar 228), Nr. 728 – Abt. 15: K. A. Grossau [Parohia Ev. CA Cristian], Nr. 1. Published in Latin in *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. II. 1342-1390, ed. Franz Zimmermann (Sibiu: Verlag bei Michaelis, 1897), pp. 564-6, doc. 1170.

¹⁷³ Appendix 1, II. 9-12: *...omnibus villis sedis ante dictae diversa incommoda et damna incomparabilia, furta, incendia, spolia, morticina intulissent nosque de consilio... domini Goblini episcopi Transsiluani talem concordiam cum Walachis... inivimus... ad eorum supplicationem instantem statuimus pacis tranquillitate in perpetuum conservandos.*

A different type of source is represented by the so-called *Rășinari Book of Boundaries* (*Cartea Ocolniță*, 1488), an administrative boundary record.¹⁷⁴ The surviving document is a 18th-century copy written in Cyrillic Romanian by the local parish priest of Rășinari, Petru Cazan.¹⁷⁵ If the original document were ever to be found, it would become the earliest known document written in Romanian.¹⁷⁶ Produced in the context of a territorial dispute between the villagers of Rășinari and neighbouring Cisdădie, the document records a border revision undertaken at the initiative of a local “seat of law” (“scaun de lege”) composed of “forty sworn elders” (“patruzăci de bătrâni jurați”). Rather than establishing entirely new landmarks, it reaffirms existing ones, instead anchoring its authority in deep-rooted community memory by tracing a hyper-local network of micro toponyms, such as the “Valley of the Bees” or “Mount Buceca”, and carved stone crosses. This spatial demarcation is explicitly tied to resource sovereignty: the boundary book concludes with the fierce assertion that everything within its limits constitutes exclusive Vlach land, over which “no one has the right to command.”

Furthermore, the text deliberately stretches its historical legitimacy backward by invoking an impressive chain of authority: appealing not only to the contemporary Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458-1490) but reaching as far back as “the Good and Ancient King Attila of the year 420” along early Vlach voivodes such as Radu Negru. Interestingly reclaiming a figure usually cast in western chronicles as a barbarian destroyer into an ancient guarantor of local order, Attila serves as ultimate proof of temporal legitimacy. Taken together, the document can be read anthropologically as a moment of social self-definition in which law, space, and community converge. The demarcation of territory, the enforcement of a self-governing legal order, and the protection of local privileges embedded in collective memory (such as the shepherds’ rights) helped the inhabitants of Rășinari maintain their own frontier identity.



Fig. 5. *Cartea Ocolniță*, 22 May 1488. 18th-century copy in Cyrillic Romanian. Currently preserved at the National Archives of Romania (Sibiu). Source: Arhiva Medievala.

¹⁷⁴ Original document has been lost. An 18th-century copy is preserved at the National Archives in Sibiu: Colecția de acte fasciculate, Seria V. Localități, no. 66, f. 1.

¹⁷⁵ Ela Cosma, “The Bishops’ House in the Romanian Pastoral Village of Rășinari (Mărginimea Sibiului) and its Hidden Treasures: A Short Legal History of the Book of Village Boundaries and the Deed of Donation (1488, 1383) and Transmissionales in causa Possessionis Resinar contra Liberam Regiamque Civitatem Cibiniensem (1784),” in *Imago, ius, religio. Religious Iconographies in Illustrated Legal Manuscripts and Printed Books (9th-20th Centuries)*, ed. by Maria Alessandra Bilotta and Gianluca del Monaco. *Eikón/Imago* 12 (2023), 96.

¹⁷⁶ In this case, *Cartea ocolniță* would precede the famous 1521 letter of merchant Lupu Neacșu of Câmpulung (Wallachia) to Johannes Benkner, the mayor of Brașov in Transylvania, warning the latter on Ottoman incursions. Currently preserved in National Archives (Brasov): collection Stenner, serie 1, nr. 472.

Finally, the *Statutes of Făgăraș* (1508) represents the most formalised articulation of Vlach customary norms within the Transylvanian material.¹⁷⁷ Issued in Latin and confirmed at Buda, the document takes the form of a territorial statute promulgated under the authority of castellans and officials governing the Făgăraș region.¹⁷⁸ Its aim is to mitigate earlier abuses, addressing “the hardships of the boyars and of all our Vlachs in the district ... oppressions which they endure because of the collecting the taxes which were imposed to them since ancient times, according to the course of the law, and also seeing that they suffered even more often from all sorts of unusual taxes invented by the previous castellans.”¹⁷⁹ The statute then presents a series of provisions regulating obligations for local boyars, i.e. the land-owning and military elite, and peasants alike. Rather than recording a grassroots arbitration, the text systematically curtails and codifies punitive fines: for instance, reducing the standard ransom for homicide from 66 to 33 florins for boyars, and from 33 to 25 florins for peasants. In contrast to the two previous documents from Mărginimea Sibiului, these statutes reflect a slightly different socioeconomic reality centred on agriculture, transport, trade and craft production which is echoed in the obligations in the text. In contrast to the so-called *mărgineni* who were shepherds, the Făgăraș Vlachs were structured into distinct strata of farmers (*rustici*), cartmen (*cărăuși*), and citadel craftsmen alongside boyars with military ties to Wallachia.¹⁸⁰ By formally capping arbitrary judicial exactions, standardising marriage and inheritance regulations such as explicitly limiting female inheritance, the 1508 statutes demonstrate how customary practices were legally stabilised through top-down institutional intervention.

2.3 KINSHIP AND TERRITORY COMPARED: SOCIAL ORGANISATION ALONG CUSTOMARY LAW IN WALES AND TRANSYLVANIA

Despite significant differences, both *Cyfraith Hywel* and the three outlined instances of *ius valachicum* reveal a shared underlying logic in which law was fundamentally tied to collective belonging rather than individual status. Whereas Welsh customary law presents a more internally coherent and codified system grounded in kinship, the *ius valachicum* operated through dispersed yet socially recognised practices. In both cases, legal norms defined the boundaries of community itself. Membership was articulated through participation in shared legal frameworks, while distinctions between insiders and outsiders were explicitly maintained. As such, these legal systems actively regulated social relations and stabilised group identities within the often-contested environments of the medieval frontier.

A first point of comparison lies in the organisation of responsibility. In Wales, the system of *sarhad* (insult-fine) and *galanas* (blood money) distributed liability for homicide across the kin group, transforming individual acts into collective obligations.¹⁸¹ Part of a broader, pan-European customary logic of composition over blood-feud, echoing mechanisms found in Anglo-Saxon (*mannbót*), Old Irish (*éraic*), and Scandinavian legal traditions, responsibility was genealogically structured, extending across degrees of kinship and requiring coordinated participation in compensation payments. An example can be found in the handling of homicide:

¹⁷⁷ Original document has been lost. The Statutes have been edited for the first time in 1885 and were afterwards republished in 1921. Recently, they have been reviewed by Victor Vizauer, whose study is accompanied by a critical edition of the Făgăraș statutes. See Victor Vizauer, “The Statutes of the Transylvanian Romanians from Făgăraș (1508). A Historical Perspective and a Comparison with the Transylvanian Saxon and Szekler Customary Laws,” *Balkanica Posnaniensis* 31 (2024): 51-75.

¹⁷⁸ Cosma, “The Bishop’s House,” 101.

¹⁷⁹ Appendix 3.

¹⁸⁰ Cosma, “Ius Valachicum legiferat în Statutele Făgărașului (15 mai 1508),” *Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis* 12 (2023): 44.

¹⁸¹ See Jenkins, “Glossary and Index to Notes,” *The Law of Hywel Dda*, 346 and 379-80: “*Galanas*, or enmity, compensation for homicide”; “*Sarhad* is the medieval form of the abstract noun from *sarhau*, ‘to insult’. Its primary legal sense is similar to that of the Roman-law [sic] *iniuria*.”

“Whoever shall confess homicide, he and his kindred shall pay the whole of the *sarhad* and *galanas* of the person killed. And first the murderer pays the worth of the person’s *sarhad* to the father and the mother and the brothers and the sisters; and if he was married, his wife receives from them a third of the worth of her husband’s *sarhad*. [...] Thus are named the degrees of kindred who are liable to pay *galanas* or to receive payment: the first degree of nine is the father and mother of the murderer or of the murdered; the second is a grandfather; the third is a great-grandfather; the fourth is brothers and sisters; the fifth is a cousin; the sixth is a second cousin; the seventh is third cousins; the eighth is fourth cousins; the ninth is fifth cousins.”¹⁸²

This passage illustrates that both responsibility and the *cenedi* (tribe) were carefully calibrated according to genealogical proximity. By enumerating nine degrees of kin liable for the payment or the receipt of *galanas*, the text reveals an exceptionally broad conception of kinship where private family structures and the wider social body effectively merge into a single legal network. Consequently, groups like the *cenedi* and the *gwely* (clan) operated as formally defined units, jointly liable for *galanas*. At the same time, internal allocations of shares, such as the specific portions assigned to wives, show that participation within these kinship networks system remained strictly differentiated, reflecting distinctions of gender and status. Crucially, the persistence of this archaic *wergild*-logic, surviving long after the expansion of English Common Law, highlights a striking case of legal pluralism, where traditional structures served as resilient ways for community preservation within contested frontier areas.

The same underlying logic is visible in the Cristian treaty, where the Vlach community collectively assumes responsibility for past acts of violence, extending to future generations: “the burden of these compensations has been assumed by the aforesaid Vlachs and their descendants, now and in the future.”¹⁸³ Liability is attached to the group, and its enforcement depends on joint recognition. The formulation that the Vlachs assume responsibility together with their descendants might at first glance suggest a kin-based structure comparable to that found in Welsh law. However, the complete absence of any further specification of degrees of kinship structures indicates a different logic at work. Rather than distributing liability along genealogical lines, the text attaches responsibility to the community as a continuing entity over time. Crucially, this distinction marks the very core of how collective identity operated in these borderlands: here, posterity signifies the durability and continuity of the group itself rather than the intricate organisation of blood kinship. In the context of Transylvania’s expanding central recognised authorities, such structural communal liability also served as pragmatic mechanism for the dominant centre to pin down and regulate peripheral communities.

In both contexts, liability is extended beyond the individual. However, the basis of these groups differs: for the Welsh, responsibility is structured genealogically, whereas for the Vlachs, it is attached to a functionally defined community that persists across generations. The Vlachs thereby appear as a community whose cohesion derives from shared economic roles and territorial presence. Obligations such as regulating grazing rights or guarding mountain passes are directly tied to this, as is shown by following articles of the Cristian treaty:

“Article 2. The Vlachs have undertaken that they will never pasture cattle or sheep on the territory of the Germans, unless they have the free permission and approval of the Germans on whose land they pasture.

¹⁸² *Laws of Hywel Dda* (Richards), 45-6.

¹⁸³ Appendix 1, ll. 37-9: ...*onera emendationum illarum in se assumpserunt Walachi supra scripti cum suis posteris nunc et in futurum.*

Article 3. The Vlachs have undertaken to maintain guard duty on all the alpine pastures up to Tălmăciu and up to the great Vlach village [i.e. Săliște].”¹⁸⁴

These provisions reveal that the Vlach community was defined through its regulated interaction with neighbouring groups. By explicitly codifying these distinct pastoral and military duties, the treaty brings the particularity of this Vlach community into focus. Access to resources such as pasture was structured through negotiated permission, while the responsibility as mountain guard tied the community to both economic and military functions within the frontier landscape. The Vlachs thus appear as a collectively recognised group whose rights are articulated in relation to others, in this case the Saxon population of Sibiu. This suggests that customary law adapts to and reinforces internal cohesion while also influencing intercommunal relations responsible for defining the limits of autonomy and the exact terms of coexistence.

Social units, whether kin groups or communities, were actively reaffirmed through the compensations offered to resolve disputes. In the Welsh legal tradition, the system of *sarhad* managed to settle conflicts of insult, while *galanas* corrected the disruption of social equilibrium caused by homicide. Both were related to each other and varied according to the status and gender of the victim:

“Let everyone choose his *sarhad*, whether by the privilege of his chief of kindred, or by his own privilege, or by the privilege of his own office. [...] One pound and a half is the worth of a slave from beyond the sea; if he be a native of this island, a pound is his worth. [...] Every kind of person excepting an *alltud* [i.e. foreigner] is to have an augmentation of his worth and his *sarhad*.”¹⁸⁵

“The *sarhaed* of a married woman, a third of her husband’s *sarhaed*; if she is not married, half the *sarhaed* of her brother. Her *galanas*, whether single or married, half her brother’s *galanas*. [...] The legal measure of *galanas* is three times the *sarhaed* of the person killed, according to his status.”¹⁸⁶

Compensation payments functioned to repair relationships and to reaffirm the social cohesion of the *cenedl*. While surviving court rolls from late medieval Wales, such as those of Ruthin, reveal that communities still frequently relied on customary arbitration, historians note that these written legal texts often functioned as records of normative ideals rather than as strict reflections of daily courtroom enforcement.¹⁸⁷ What does remain certain is the main purpose of the *sarhad* as means to restore honour and prevent injured parties from enacting revenge on the offender of the kin.¹⁸⁸ The lack of capital punishment thus underscores the restorative orientation of this system, in which the aim of legal intervention was both preventive and rebalancing. However, by the 13th century, *galanas* were replaced by payments to princes, making most serious cases of homicide also punishable by death rather than mere monetary compensation.¹⁸⁹ Crucially, this shift once more highlights how customary practices were systematically co-opted by central authorities to extend state control.

¹⁸⁴ Appendix 1, ll. 47-58: *Secundus articulus est iste, quod assumpserunt ipsi Walachi, quod numquam pascere pecora nec pecudes in territorio Theutunicorum nisi liberrima licentia et admissione Theutunicorum in quorum territoriis pascere. Tertius articulus est iste, quod assumpserunt ipsi Walachi custodiam servandam in omnibus alpibus ad Tolmacz usque ad Magnam villam Walachikalem.*

¹⁸⁵ *The Law of Hywel Dda* (Jenkins), 47.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 144.

¹⁸⁷ Llinos Beverly-Smith, “Disputes and Settlements in Medieval Wales: The Role of Arbitration,” *The English Historical Review* 106:421 (1991), 836.

¹⁸⁸ Morfydd E. Owen, “Shame and Reparation: Women’s Place in the Kin,” in *The Welsh Law of Women*, edited by Dafydd Jenkins (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1980), 47.

¹⁸⁹ Davies, *The Age of Conquest*, 127; Stephenson, *Governance of Gwynedd*, 88-9.

The Vlachs seemingly managed a similar compensatory logic, as is illustrated by the collective “burden of these compensations” carried by the Vlach community in the Cristian treaty of 1383.¹⁹⁰ Here too, compensation operates as a mechanism for restoring peace, especially in the context of an intercommunal relation rather than merely internal matters. However, this restorative framework coexists with more explicitly punitive measures:

“Article 4. The Vlachs have undertaken that they shall not host any arsonist, murderer, harmful or malicious person. If they do host such harmful individuals, they shall be burned together with them.

Article 5. If anyone threatens arson, and this can be proven by seven oaths, he must be burned immediately. Likewise, any Vlach who is convicted by seven oaths of having committed theft, plunder, arson, or similar acts must likewise be burned immediately.”¹⁹¹

Articles 4 and 5 of the same treaty prescribe the death penalty by burning for certain offences, alongside procedures such as proof by oath, reflecting the influence of German legal traditions such as the *Sachsenspiegel* (1220-1235), the *Schwabenspiegel* (1275) and *Ofner Recht* (14th-15th centuries).¹⁹² Similar provisions, such as holding those who harbour criminals liable to have their shelters burned down, were widely mirrored in continental West-European customary law, pointing to a shared pan-European repertoire. A traditional view among some researchers suggests that Transylvanian Vlachs lived according to their own customary law until Saxon settlers imposed German laws upon them.¹⁹³ However, weighing these interpretations reveals why a framework such as Kuskowski’s “cosmopolitan lay law” is far more persuasive: the notion of an abrupt clash between static, sealed legal systems ignores the fluid, porous reality of medieval frontier administration.¹⁹⁴ Rather than a unilateral imposition of foreign German law onto an unwilling population, the survival and integration of these codes point to a shared legal culture. Compensation remained a vital stabilising mechanism because local communities demanded it, yet it was supplemented by deterrents because both local elites and central authorities operated within a shared, evolving legal toolkit where custom and codified law constantly borrowed from and reinforced one another.¹⁹⁵

The *Statutes of Făgăraș* (1508) further nuance this interplay between local custom and external legal models. Rather than showing an environment dominated by foreign codes, these statutes reveal that the predominance of monetary compensation remained foundational and was even more meticulously detailed: a wide array of offences including violence, homicide and theft are resolved through fines that are often explicitly reduced to stabilise the district and prevent depopulation.¹⁹⁶ Simultaneously, capital punishment is reserved for a more limited set of offences, notably housebreaking and rebellion against authorities:

¹⁹⁰ Appendix 1, l. 38: *onera emendationum illarum*

¹⁹¹ Appendix 1, ll. 59-73: *Quartus articulus est iste, quod assumpserunt ipsi Walachi, quod crematorem, interfectorem, nocivum seu malevolum nullum debent hospitare hominem, si tales nocivos hospitaverint, cum ipsis sint comburendi. Quintus articulus est iste, quod si aliquis minaretur incendium, tali si convinci posset septem iuramentis, statim debet cremari, modo simili quicumque Walachorum convinceretur septem iuramentis, quod furtum, spoliū, incendium aliquod vel huiusmodi commisisset, simili modo statim deberet cremari.*

¹⁹² Ela Cosma, “Enacted Jus Valachicum in South Transylvania (14th-18th Centuries),” *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai Historia* 67:17 (2022), 3-19.

¹⁹³ Dirk Moldt, *Deutsche Stadtrechte im mittelalterlichen Siebenbürgen* (Cologne/Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), 65-7.

¹⁹⁴ Kuskowski, “Cosmopolitan Local Law.”

¹⁹⁵ Rady, *Customary Law in Hungary*, 6.

¹⁹⁶ See Appendix 3.

“Those who have broken into other people’s homes or have entered through windows should be beheaded. Let those of them who dare to rebel against the castellans or officials and their men be beheaded when they do it.”¹⁹⁷

Unlike theft or interpersonal violence, these acts directly threatened the structural foundations of the social order, therefore calling for a more severe response. Housebreaking formed a direct intrusion into the protected domestic space that underpinned household stability, thus disrupting the integrity of a basic social unit. A similar logic applies to rebellion against castellans and officials. Rebellion constituted a challenge to institutional authority. The use of the death penalty suggests a shift towards safeguarding the hierarchical and political structures within which customary law operated.

The contrast between Wales and Transylvania is instructive. Welsh law remained firmly grounded in kinship structures, in which the *cededl* mediated legal responsibility and access to rights. This orientation enabled the persistence of a kin-based legal order that operated alongside, and at times in tension with, expanding English legal frameworks that were rather individualistic and territorial in character.¹⁹⁸ Legal practice in Wales thus remained embedded in a social logic that prioritised collective responsibility and equilibrium within the kin group; even if late medieval court records show that this system was constantly adapting to English Common Law. Yet, as the English conquest intensified from the late 13th century onward, this native system was systematically undermined, eventually being outlawed and eroded entirely by the Tudor Acts of Union in the 1530s. While Welsh tradition thus maintained a more archaising, insular profile centred on kinship, the Vlach material reflects a more pluralistic configuration, in which different legal logics overlapped and coexisted. Rather than insulating themselves through a distinct ancestral legal code, the Vlachs became far more directly integrated into, and dependent upon, the legal frameworks and economic terms set by royal authorities and Saxon colonists. Rather than a single organising principle such as kinship, legal practice here emerges from the interaction between communal structures and other legal traditions. In this sense, the difference is not simply one of content, but of configuration.

Another distinction can be observed in the relation between law and territory. The Welsh *gwely* embedded landholding within the kin group, ensuring that rights to land were mediated through lineage. Inheritance followed a system of partible division, in which a father’s property was shared among his children rather than concentrated in a single heir.¹⁹⁹ Rights to land were thus not individually owned in an absolute sense but derived from membership in a family, thus reproducing a kin-based society over time:

“Three times shall the same patrimony be shared between three grades of a kindred: first between brothers; second between cousins; the third time between second cousins; after that there is no proprietary [sic] share of land.”²⁰⁰

Such rules ensured that land remained within the lineage across generations, leading to a strong fragmentation of land. This was not exclusively agnatic: a sister was considered the “rightful heir to her dowry, through which she may obtain a husband entitled to land”, indicating that women could serve as conduits for redistribution of property between kin groups. Moreover, if a landowner had no male heirs, “the daughter is to be heiress to the whole land,” a provision that highlights the system’s flexibility to retain land within a kin-based community.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ Appendix 3, ll. 293-7: *Qui domos aliorum foderint vel de fenestra intraverint, capite priveentur. Qui ex ipsis contra Castellanos vel Officiales et homines eorum insurgere audent, extunc capite priventur.*

¹⁹⁸ Davies, “The Twilight of Welsh Law,” 153.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. 158.

²⁰⁰ *Laws of Hywel Dda* (Richards), 77.

²⁰¹ Both quotes: *Laws of Hywel Dda* (Richards), 78.

These inheritance practices operated within a pastoral economy in which cattle, rather than land, formed the primary measure of wealth. As a result, the fragmentation of land should be understood as part of a broader kin-based system in which rights to land supported pastoral production rather than constituting the core of economic value.

In contrast, the Rășinari boundary document articulates community through territory rather than descent. The declaration of the territory as “Romanian land” that nobody can command expresses a claim to jurisdictional autonomy grounded in spatial definition:

“What lies within this Boundary Book is Romanian land of the Village of Rășinari, belonging to no one else; no one has the right to command it, neither in land, nor in water, nor in acorns, nor in beech nuts, nor in the hazel grove, nor in catkins.”²⁰²

This formulation articulates a strong sense of collective ownership and jurisdiction, in which the Vlach community of Rășinari is anchored in a clearly demarcated space and its associated resources, including fertile land, clear mountain water and forest products essential to pastoral subsistence.²⁰³ The explicit mention of acorns, beech nuts, and hazel groves is highly telling: these oak and beech woodlands formed the crucial commons for mast-feeding pigs, a cornerstone of medieval pastoral survival alongside high-altitude grazing. By legally binding these specific forest yields to the village territory, the community secured the ecological assets needed to sustain its herds and local economy. Unlike the kin-based logic that structured medieval Wales, the Rășinari framework grounds community and survival primarily in a fixed, defined territory; proving that collective cohesion could be maintained just as powerfully through spatial boundaries as through lines of descent.

As with Hywel’s prologue in *Cyfraith Hywel*, authority is here reinforced through appeals to both collective memory embodied in a reference to past arrangements under Attila the Hun, and contemporary political validation under King Matthias Corvinus (r.1458-1490):

“And with the will of His Majesty ... the God-honoured King Matthias [Corvinus], the ‘Boundary Book’ of the territory of the town Rășinari has been renewed and greatly restored, at the urging and request of the Court of Law of the Forty Sworn Elders; so that it may be known and preserved where the limits of our territory of Rășinari run, just as the old ‘Boundary Book’ of the Good and Ancient King Attila of the year 420 confirmed, and later in the year 1488 ... King Matthias himself, who gave it to us below, much expanded and more detailed; and now here reinforced with boundary-markers and with crosses carved in stone.”²⁰⁴

More than a simple claim to property, the passage expresses a broader assertion of control over a defined socio-economic environment. By invoking both mythical deep time (Attila) and tangible royal validation (Matthias Corvinus), the community bridges customary antiquity with

²⁰² Appendix 2, ll. 88-93: *Ce este înlăuntru aceştii Ocolniță este pământ rumânesc al Satului Rășinariului Nimurui înduplicat, n-are nime a-i porunci, nici în pământ, nici în apă, nici în ghinde, nici în jir, nici în alunișu, nici în rânsă.*

²⁰³ On the centrality of wood pastures for medieval pig husbandry, including mast feeding on acorns and the use of open oak woodlands as grazing landscapes, see Dolly Jørgensen, “Pigs and Pollards: Medieval Insights for UK Wood Pasture Restoration,” *Sustainability* 5:2 (2013), pp. 387-99.

²⁰⁴ Appendix 2, ll. 3-20: *Și cu voia Măririi sale de Dumnezeu Cîstitului și Îmbodobitului cu toate bunătățile, dimpreună și cu paza hotarilor a Măririi sale de Dumnezeu Cîstit Matiaș Craiu, Prefăcutusau și sau prea înnoit Cartea Ocolnița a Hotarului Rășinariului Orașu, prin îndemnarea și ruga a scaun de Lege Patruzăci de Bătrâni Jurați; pentru ca să se știe și să se păzască pe ounde merg marginile Hotarului Nostru al Rășinariului peste tot împrejur, precum Veachiea carte Ocolnița cea de la Bunul și Vechiul Craiu Atila din Anul 420 și mai pe ourmă în Anul 1488: în Zilele Măririi sale Matieș Craiu însuși datu-ni-l-au mai pidin jos mult, și mai pe larg; iară acum pe aici întărit cu Hialmuri, și cu Cruci pin pietri.*

formal political authority to shield its collective autonomy.²⁰⁵ The insistence that no external authority may “command” this area thus frames the community as a self-regulating unit. Although the “other” is not explicitly named, it is implicitly present in the exclusion of competing claims, particularly those of neighbouring Saxon settlements. Customary law thus operates as a mechanism of boundary-making that links identity with resource management, situating the community within a frame of belonging that defines both inclusion and exclusion.

It is at this point that the question of “us” and “them” becomes analytically relevant. Across the sources, customary law draws boundaries between groups. In the Cristian treaty, the distinction between Vlachs and Saxons is explicit, structuring a negotiated relationship between two clearly identified communities: “inter nos et ipsos Walachos.”²⁰⁶ The designation “insula Christiana” can likewise be read as part of a vocabulary that articulates spatial and social distinction, marking a bounded local community in contrast to another without necessarily implying strict segregation.²⁰⁷ In the Rășinari document, the boundary is articulated less through direct opposition than through the construction of a strong internal identity. Here, the “other” is present but not explicitly named; it rather emerges through the act of defining and defending the boundaries of the “self”.

Welsh material reflects a different configuration of the inside-outside distinction, in which belonging is primarily defined through genealogy rather than territory or ethnicity. The *cenedd* constitutes the basic unit of legal participation, structuring access to land through the *gwely* and to compensation systems such as *galanas*. Those fully embedded within the kin network are defined as *bonheddig*: “a *Cymro* [i.e. Welshman] by father and mother, without bondman, without *alltud*, without mixture of kin.”²⁰⁸ By contrast, the *alltud* (foreigner) occupies a legally dependent position requiring incorporation into a native kin framework. While not excluded from society, their legal capacity is inferior: “an alien cannot be a knower against a patrimonial Welshman.”²⁰⁹ The *alltud* is thus obliged to be bound to a native Welshman, regardless of status (even a serf), who acted as guarantor for the *alltud*’s conduct.²¹⁰ However, integration remained gradual and often incomplete. Even where settlement occurs, status is suspended across generations: “If it happens that an alien comes to Wales [...] let them have the status of aliens for ever [sic] while they are thus without settling.”²¹¹ Naturalisation, where it occurs, is spread over time: “no one of them is to have a principal seat until the third descent.”²¹² What emerges is therefore not a simple binary of inclusion and exclusion, but a hierarchical model of legal belonging structured through degrees of genealogical incorporation.

Importantly, customary law also produced internal boundaries. Status in medieval Wales operated through a multilayered hierarchy in which the primary distinction lay between the free and the unfree.²¹³ Among the free, ranks ranged from the *brenin* (king) and *edling* (royal heir), who held the highest legal value, to the *uchelwr* (landed gentry) and the *bonheddig* (freeborn Welshman), including subcategories such as the *breyr* (landowner). Below them stood various dependent or unfree groups, including the *ailt* and *tæog* (feudal serfs), the *alltud*

²⁰⁵ This strategic invocation of both a mythical, deep-historical past and official royal confirmation mirrors the mechanics of what Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger famously defined as “invented traditions”, where communities construct or adapt historical continuity to legitimize present claims to autonomy and authority. See Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*.

²⁰⁶ Appendix 1, l. 17.

²⁰⁷ Appendix 1, l. 96.

²⁰⁸ *Laws of Hywel Dda* (Richards), 65. A *breyr*, like an *uchelwr*, is a free nobleman. See Jenkins, “Glossary,” 320.

²⁰⁹ *The Law of Hywel Dda* (Jenkins), 89.

²¹⁰ Jenkins, “Glossary,” 311.

²¹¹ *The Law of Hywel Dda* (Jenkins), 115.

²¹² *Laws of Hywel Dda* (Richards), 82.

²¹³ Davies, “The Twilight of Welsh Law,” 156.

(foreigner), and the *caeth* (slave).²¹⁴ As explained above, the value of a person was expressed through *sarhad* and *galanas*, which varied according to status. Within this hierarchy, women, even when freeborn, typically carried lower *sarhad* than their male counterparts, and their legal agency was more restricted.²¹⁵ Foreigners likewise suffered diminished legal standing, requiring attachment to an *uchelwr* or *breyr* to participate in society.

The *Statutes of Făgăraș* reveal a comparable, though differently structured, hierarchy. Compared to the more situational character of the Cristian treaty, and the spatial articulation of Rășinari, the statutes present a more systematised set of rules embedded within seigneurial administration. Status distinctions are embedded directly in the calibration of legal obligations and penalties. This is particularly evident in the differentiated fines for homicide, in which boyars and peasants are subject to distinct fines (33 florins and 25 florins respectively).²¹⁶ Rather than reflecting a principle of equality, such differentiation expresses a hierarchy of legal value, in which higher-status individuals incur higher penalties since their actions carry greater social weight. As figures embedded in networks of authority and landholding, the misconduct of boyars carried consequences that extended beyond the individual level. Furthermore, their social position entailed a normative dimension: as local leaders, they were expected to uphold and embody the order that customary law sought to maintain. Higher fines for elites thus functioned as reinforcement of accountability. Collective responsibility however persists alongside these distinctions: villages were held liable for escaped prisoners or unresolved theft, demonstrating that law operated at both the level of status group and community.²¹⁷

Overall, the comparative analysis of these customary frameworks has highlighted the fundamental adaptability of medieval legal culture. Customary laws functioned as dynamic mechanisms for defining and protecting community boundaries. Whether grounded in the cattle-based lineage systems of Wales, the spatial and ecological demarcation of the Vlach *Boundary Book* in Rășinari, the communal civil obligations of Cristian, or the seigneurial hierarchies of Făgăraș; each system provided a tailored legal infrastructure designed to manage local resources and social cohesion.

When juxtaposing the monolithic kinship framework under pressure of Wales with the multi-layered legal landscape of Transylvania, customary law thus emerges as a set of relational logics through which social order is continuously produced and maintained. What varies between these regions is not the presence of order itself, but the primary currency through which membership and obligation are expressed. Within Transylvania alone, our perspective shifts dynamically across different administrative lenses. Yet, in each instance, law operated as a mechanism of both inclusion and exclusion, determining who had the right to access collective resources, under what conditions, and with what obligations toward the broader community. Ultimately, these cases demonstrate that customary governance was far from uniform or isolated. By combining deep-seated local practice with appeals to higher authority such as *Hywel Dda* in Wales, or *Attila* and *Matthias Corvinus* in Transylvania, medieval communities actively shaped and legitimised their legal identity. Customary law was, above all, a responsive medium of community-making, enabling local populations to navigate external pressures while securing their internal social order.

²¹⁴ Terminology explained in depth by Jenkins in the addendum to his edition. See Jenkins, "Glossary."

²¹⁵ This becomes visible when considering the queen's *sarhad*: "A third of the worth of the worth of the king's *sarhad* is paid to the queen for her *sarhad*, without gold and without silver." *Laws of Hywel Dda* (Richards), 25.

²¹⁶ Appendix 3, ll. 27-48.

²¹⁷ Appendix 3, ll. 67-72.

3. STRUCTURING HIERARCHY: RECOGNITION AND EXCLUSION

Where the previous chapter examined how customary law enabled communities to articulate and maintain their own social boundaries, this chapter turns to the inverse perspective: the ways in which political authorities sought to define and organise communities through legal frameworks. This dynamic is particularly visible in normative documents that sought to stabilise newly consolidated political orders. The *Statutum Walliae* (1284), issued in the aftermath of the English conquest of Wales, established a foundation for Wales' incorporation into the English crown as a royal fief while simultaneously defining the status of its inhabitants within a hierarchically ordered legal system.²¹⁸ However, the implementation of such an overarching framework created a complex tension with local realities. Administrative and judicial records, such as most notably the court rolls of the Marcher lordship of Ruthin in North East Wales, reveal how these royal norms were continuously adapted in daily legal practice.²¹⁹ Likewise, in Transylvania, charters such as the *Diploma Andreanum* (1224), the *Decree of Turda* (1366) and the *Unio Trium Nationum* (1438), together with normative codices such as the Hungarian *Tripartitum* (1517), articulated a different, yet comparable, logic of integration, in which recognition was mediated through confessional affiliation and membership in estates. In both contexts legal norms operated thus as mechanisms of both inclusion and exclusion.

To trace how these mechanisms evolved, this chapter tracks the hardening logic of frontier governance across five progressive stages. Rather than approaching our primary sources as static expressions of institutional development, this analysis views them as interventions in ongoing processes of social and political negotiation. The analysis opens by contrasting the high medieval blueprints of the *Statutum Walliae* (1284) and the *Diploma Andreanum* (1224) to demonstrate how central rulers first sought to organize peripheral authority. The argument then shifts to ground-level practice, exploring how this conditional recognition operated in everyday frontier courtrooms like Ruthin and the regional assemblies of Transylvania, where legal mechanisms actively drove the institutional marginalisation of native Welsh and Vlach populations. This local friction inevitably escalated into open crisis, prompting an investigation into the structural tensions underlying the revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr (c. 1400-1415) and the Bobâlna revolt (1437). The immediate state reactions to these uprisings are likewise evaluated through the punitive legal consolidations of the English *Penal Laws* (1402) and the Transylvanian *Unio Trium Nationum* (1437). Finally, the chapter bridges the medieval to the early modern period by demonstrating how this cycle of rebellion and retaliation permanently solidified into the state fabric through the early-16th-century codifications of the *Laws in Wales Acts* (1535/42) and Werbőczy's *Tripartitum* (1517). Ultimately, integration and exclusion emerge as deeply interdependent processes, each continuously shaping the other across three centuries of frontier state-building.

3.1 THE TOP-DOWN BLUEPRINTS: *STATUTUM WALLIAE* (1284) AND *DIPLOMA ANDREANUM* (1224)

In both Wales and Transylvania, processes of political consolidation and territorial integration were accompanied by deliberate attempts to redefine local structures of authority top-down.

²¹⁸ *The Statutes of Wales*, edited by Ivor Bowen (London/Leipzig: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908).

²¹⁹ For an administrative perspective on South Wales, consider *The Black Book of St. David's* (1326). For an edition, see: *An extent of all the lands and rents of the Lord Bishop of St. David's*, ed. John William Willis-Bund (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1902). For the specific case of Ruthin, see *The Court Rolls of the Lordship of Ruthin or Dyffryn-Clwydd of the Reign of King Edward the First*, ed. Richard Arthur Roberts (London: Chas. J. Clark, 1893).

The stabilisation of new frontiers rarely depended on military hegemony alone. Rather, it required translating conquest or migration into a durable, deeply structured institutional order. Royal and elite authorities seldom sought to erase existing social arrangements abruptly; instead, they pursued a strategy of selective reorganisation, embedding native customs and regional infrastructures within broader, overarching frameworks of royal governance. Through this legislative absorption, the crown established a normative sieve that distinguished between legitimate and illegitimate forms of legal practice and social participation. Legal integration, therefore, operated as an active mechanism of frontier governance rather than a neutral tool of administrative standardisation. By restructuring the jurisdictional relationship between local communities and the sovereign centre, medieval monarchs sought to domesticate peripheral populations, thus transforming highly autonomous border regions into governable landscapes.

In Wales, this process found its expression in the *Statutum Walliae*, better known as the *Statute of Rhuddlan* (1284).²²⁰ Issued by Edward I of England (r. 1272-1307) after the death of the last Welsh Prince Llywelyn ap Gruffydd (r. 1258-82), the statute functioned as a royal ordinance imposed upon a newly conquered territory.²²¹ Addressed “to all his subjects of his land of Snowdon, and of other his lands in Wales”, it emanated from Edward’s authority and was sealed with his royal seal, reflecting the legislative power claimed by the English Crown following conquest.²²² Although it was not the product of parliamentary deliberation, it was drafted with the advice of the English nobility. Importantly, it was also informed by extensive royal inquiries into Welsh legal customs, including commissions established in 1278 and 1280 to investigate the use of Welsh law in land disputes and regional practice.²²³ The statute therefore combined the assertion of English royal authority with a deliberate attempt to understand and restructure existing law; making the *Statutum* the most comprehensive legislative code issued by an English ruler during the Middle Ages.²²⁴

The statute begins with a preamble reflecting what was conceived to be Wales’ political condition at that time: “wholly and entirely transferred under our proper dominion [...], annexed and united unto the Crown of the aforesaid Realm [of England], as a member of the same body.”²²⁵ This passage employs the metaphor of the *body politic*, imagining the realm as a physical body of which the sovereign is typically portrayed as the head, and newly annexed territories as its constituent members.²²⁶ The text thus frames political incorporation as an organic union rather than a mere legal acquisition. Yet, while this prologue establishes the natural myth of a unified political body, the subsequent clauses of the statute swiftly turn to the mechanical realities of state-building. In practice, integration was achieved primarily through administrative and judicial reorganisation. The statute introduced English institutional

²²⁰ The Statute takes its name from Rhuddlan Castle where it was first promulgated. There was, however, another legislative act issued at the same time by Edward which is distinguished as the *Statute of Rothelan* and served as regulation of the Exchequer. See Ivor Bowen, ed., “Introduction,” in *The Statutes of Wales* (London/Leipzig: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908), xxxi.

²²¹ Llywelyn ap Gruffydd (also known as Llywelyn the Last) was the grandson of Llywelyn Fawr (also known as Llywelyn the Great; r. 1194-1240, Gwynedd; r. 1216-1240, Powys). By the Treaty of Montgomery (1267), Llywelyn was recognized as Prince of Wales and overlord of all the Welsh magnates, except for Maredudd ap Rhys Gryg who represented the old line of princes of South Wales (r. 1234–1271, Ystrad Tywi, a subdivision of Deheubarth). See Bowen, “Introduction,” xxvii-xxix.

²²² *The Statutes of Wales*, 2; Bowen, “Introduction,” xxxi.

²²³ Davies, “The Twilight of Welsh Law,” 146.

²²⁴ Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland, eds. *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), 220; Thomas Glyn Watkin, *The Legal History of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), 101-114.

²²⁵ *The Statutes of Wales*, 2.

²²⁶ For the classic study on the dual nature of royal authority and the organic imagery of the state, see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).

structures directly, ordering that “there be Sheriffs, Coroners, and Bailiffs of Commotes in Snowdon, and our Lands of those Parts”, thereby imposing the English shire system.²²⁷ The establishment of these offices and territorial measures extended royal authority into regions previously defined by localised governance, where an amalgam of principalities operated under *Cyfraith Hywel* and the native leadership of Welsh princes (see Fig. 6).²²⁸

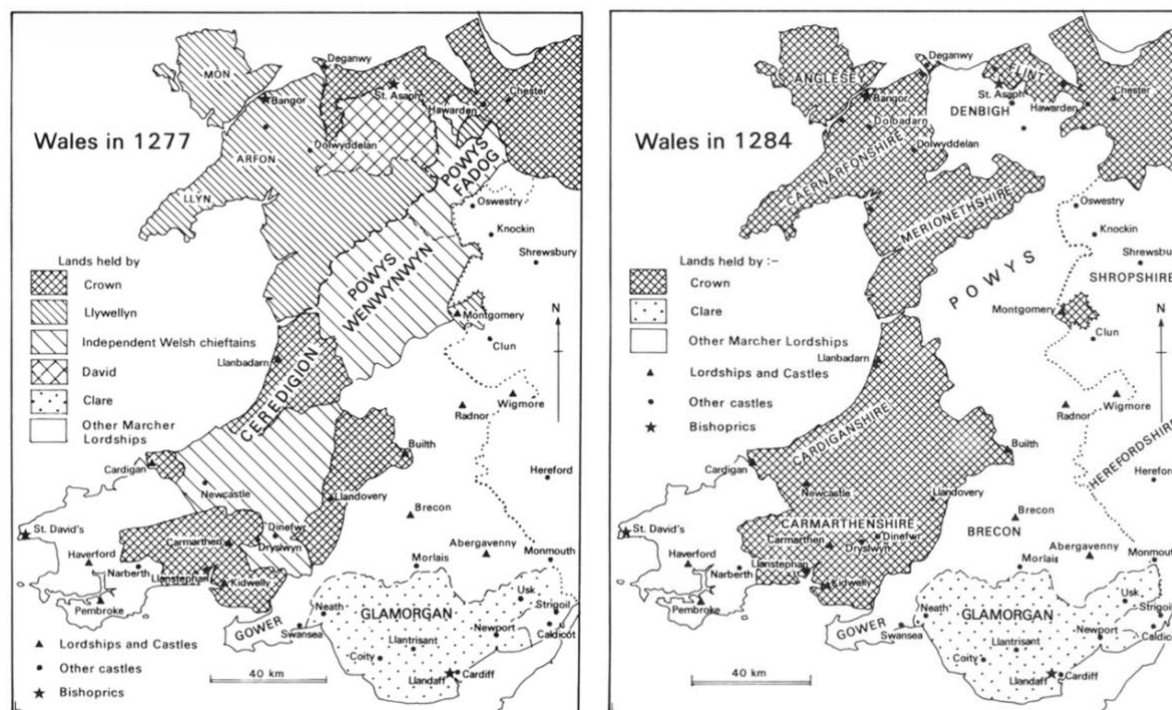


Fig. 6. Territorial transition from native Welsh principalities to the English shire system. Following the *Statutum Walliae*, the crown fractured ‘pura Wallia’ by institutionalizing six new royal shires: the northern counties of Anglesey, Caernarfonshire, and Merionethshire, alongside Flintshire, Cardiganshire, and Carmarthenshire. Source: R.R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest*.

The importance of *Cyfraith Hywel* preceding the *Statutum Walliae* should not be overstated. As noted briefly earlier in this thesis, Welsh law was already facing challenges during the 13th century; both from within, through the centralising policies of the princes of Gwynedd (notably Llywelyn Fawr and Llywelyn ap Gruffydd), and from without, through the introduction of verdict by jury.²²⁹ Testimonies before the royal commission in 1281 repeatedly affirmed that the princes possessed the right to correct and modify the laws, indicating that legal authority had already become increasingly associated with princely intervention rather than purely customary continuity.²³⁰ At the same time, procedural practices associated with English law, particularly jury-based inquest, had begun to spread within Wales itself.²³¹ Witnesses before the same commission of 1281 stated that Welsh litigants increasingly preferred trial by jury over traditional Welsh procedures, suggesting that *Cyfraith Hywel* was already being reshaped through ongoing interaction with English legal culture prior to Edward’s statute.

²²⁷ *The Statutes of Wales*, 2.

²²⁸ Watkin, *Legal History of Wales*, 102.

²²⁹ Davies, “The Twilight of Welsh Law,” 145.

²³⁰ For the recorded testimonies of the 1281 inquiry, see *The Welsh Assize Roll, 1277–1284*, ed. James Conway Davies (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1940).

²³¹ Davies, “The Twilight of Welsh Law,” 146.

The *Statutum Walliae* therefore intervened in an already evolving judicial environment, rather than abruptly replacing a wholly autonomous and internally stable legal order.²³² Instead, Edward I pursued a selective policy toward existing customs, declaring that:

“We have, by the advice of the aforesaid Nobles, abolished certain of them [Laws and Customs hitherto in use], some thereof We have allowed, and some We have corrected; and We have likewise commanded certain others to be ordained and added thereto; and these We will shall be from henceforth for ever stedfastly [sic] be kept and observed in our Lands in those parts.”²³³

This statement reveals that Welsh legal practice survived insofar as it could be incorporated within structures authorised by the Crown. Notwithstanding, the laws of Wales remained a living and evolving body of law throughout the Late Middle Ages. When Edward II of England (r. 1307-27) was faced with the prospect of a pan-Celtic revolt in 1315-16, he conceded a charter of liberties to the peoples of North and West Wales, allowing them to continue using Welsh law in cases of contract and trespass between Welshmen.²³⁴ Furthermore, roughly a quarter of the surviving manuscripts of *Cyfraith Hywel* date from the 14th and 15th centuries, with the latter showing extensive additions that indicate active use.²³⁵ Interestingly, it is also known that these law books were still heavily read and cited in court in South West Wales in the early 16th century, demonstrating the enduring value of native law apart from the statute.

In the entire *Statutum Walliae*, only two concessions were made towards Welsh customs, while the remaining clauses outlined contemporary civil and criminal procedures, and the various writs available to litigants.²³⁶ Yet, even these concessions were carefully circumscribed and explicitly subordinated to royal authority. Pertaining inheritance, the statute declared that it “shall remain partible among heirs as it wont to be,” but introduced a major modification by excluding illegitimate sons. Furthermore, in the absence of male heirs, it enabled women to “have their portions thereof to be assigned them in our court, although this be contrary to the custom of Wales before used.”²³⁷ These targeted adjustments struck directly at the core of Welsh kinship cohesion. Under *Cyfraith Hywel*, all acknowledged sons shared equally in the paternal inheritance; a practice that historically preserved the male lineage.²³⁸ By enforcing strict marital legitimacy, Edward I reduced the pool of legal Welsh heirs, while aligning the local law with intense ecclesiastical demands, such as those of Archbishop of Canterbury John Peckham, who condemned Welsh customs as contrary to God.²³⁹ Moreover, by allowing Welsh daughters to

²³² English chroniclers nevertheless commonly believed that Edward I had abolished Welsh law and wholly imposed English Common Law in its place; as Davies notes, such accounts may be read either as evidence of contemporary public opinion or as reflection of the unreliability of monastic sources. See Davies, “Twilight of Welsh Law,” 144-6.

²³³ *The Statutes of Wales*, 2-3.

²³⁴ The prospect of a pan-Celtic revolt was driven by the Scottish invasion of Ireland (1315–1318) under Edward Bruce (younger brother of Scottish king Robert Bruce) who attempted to rally the Irish, Scots, and Welsh into a unified front against English hegemony. The external threat of the Scottish-Irish axis became acutely dangerous in combination with internal Welsh instability caused by the Great Famine amongst others, culminating in a major revolt of the Welsh nobleman Llywelyn Bren in Glamorgan (South Wales) in 1316. See Jenkyn Beverley Smith, “Edward II and the Allegiance of Wales,” *The Welsh History Review* 8:2 (1976): 146–53. See also Robert Rees Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063–1415* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 382–385.

²³⁵ Davies, “The Twilight of Welsh Law,” 150.

²³⁶ *The Statutes of Wales*, 17; 26.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 25-6.

²³⁸ Davies, “The Twilight of Welsh Law,” 158.

²³⁹ Archbishop of Canterbury John Peckham’s 1280 letters to the Prince of Wales provide a clear illustration of this dynamic; Peckham forcefully condemned the laws of Hywel Dda as “contrary to reason” and “in clear derogation of the laws of God,” specifically targeting Welsh traditions regarding marriage and the inheritance rights of bastards. He even asserts that Welsh legal customs emanated directly from the Devil and were “quite fitting for a race of adulterers.” See *Registrum Epistolarum Fratr̃is Johannis Peckham, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, ed. C. T. Martin (Rolls Series, 1884), II, 473–7, as cited in Davies, “The Twilight of Welsh Law,” 143.

inherit in the absence of brothers, the statute fractured the collective clan monopoly over territory, forcing individual female heirs to claim their estates through English royal courts and thereby drawing Welsh land into permanent jurisdiction of the Crown. Ultimately, these clauses served as structural tools used to dismantle the traditional, collective Welsh landholding system (*gwely*) and subject it under English feudal control.²⁴⁰

The second concession concerned the specific legal spheres in which Welsh law was permitted to survive. Welsh customs remained operational in disputes concerning “contracts, debts, sureties, covenants, trespasses, chattels and all other movables of the same sort.” However, for criminal cases involving “thefts, larcenies, burnings, murders, manslaughters and manifest and notorious robberies”, the document states “that they shall use the laws of England.”²⁴¹ Welsh law was thus strictly confined to matters of local and private interaction, while criminal justice and the maintenance of public order were steadily monopolised by English institutions. Moreover, even these limited concessions remained entirely dependent upon royal discretion. The statute concluded by affirming that “whensoever and wheresoever, and as often as it shall be our pleasure, we may declare, interpret, enlarge, or diminish the aforesaid Statutes [...] according to our mere will.”²⁴² Legal pluralism in post-conquest Wales therefore functioned less as a recognition of legal equality than as a controlled and reversible concession embedded within a hierarchical framework of governance.

A compelling, contemporary parallel to this top-down exercise of royal jurisdictional ordering occurred on the southern frontier of Transylvania through the issuance of the *Diploma Andreanum* (1224) by King Andrew II of Hungary (r. 1205–35).²⁴³ Confronted with the urgent need to inhabit and defend a vulnerable border under pressure from nomadic incursions, the Hungarian Crown sought to anchor its authority by systematically settling foreign, German-speaking colonists in the region.²⁴⁴ Although these settlers migrated from diverse regions across western Germany and the Low Countries, they were collectively designated as “Saxons”.²⁴⁵ From the mid-12th century onwards, initially invited by the Hungarian king Géza II (r. 1141–62), these Saxons steadily settled the southern and eastern frontier areas of Hungary.²⁴⁶ By the beginning of the 13th century, this ongoing migration had produced a highly strategic but fragmented landscape in Transylvania. To secure the loyalty of these colonists and transform them into a reliable military and economic bulwark, Andrew II consolidated this patchwork of settlements by granting them collective, exclusive autonomy via the so-called *Golden Charter* which stipulated both administrative and ecclesiastical privileges for the Saxons.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁰ For the broader impact on the landholding system (*gwely*), see Watkin, *The Legal History of Wales*, 104–106.

²⁴¹ *The Statutes of Wales*, 26.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 26–7.

²⁴³ For the historical context of the Hungarian crown's colonization policy under Andrew II, see Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 91–5. Andrew II's reign was highly volatile, marked by fiscal mismanagement and intense domestic pressure that culminated in the issuance of the *Golden Bull* of 1222, which legally constrained his royal authority. His concession of extensive autonomy to the Transylvanian Saxons in 1224 can be understood as a calculated attempt to consolidate the crown's direct fiscal and military revenues along a strategic frontier, bypassing an uncooperative domestic nobility.

²⁴⁴ The primary nomadic threat at the southeastern Hungarian frontier during this period was posed by the Cumans, who dominated the extra-Carpathian steppes, a region that would later form the medieval principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia (then frequently designated in Western sources as Cumania). For an extensive analysis of the geopolitical pressure exerted by these nomadic groups and the Hungarian defence, see Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, 42–54. See also: Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 90.

²⁴⁵ Regarding the heterogeneous geographical origins of the settlers, see Radu Săgeată, Mircea Buza and Traian Crăcea, “The Germans in Romania, with Special Regard to the Transylvanian Saxons,” *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft* 159 (2017): 297–322.

²⁴⁶ On Géza II's initial invitation of the *hospites* (foreign settlers), see Harald Zimmermann, *Der Deutsche Orden im Burzenland: Eine diplomatische Untersuchung* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2000), 18–25.

²⁴⁷ Glynn Custred, “Dual Ethnic Identity,” 438.

Much like the *Statutum Walliae*, the *Diploma Andreanum* emanated strictly from the sovereign's supreme prerogative, serving as a powerful institutional instrument designed to bind a frontier population directly to the Crown.²⁴⁸ However, both charters arose from vastly different historical backdrops. While the *Statutum* followed a military conquest, the *Diploma* emerged within the context of frontier colonisation.²⁴⁹ This distinct point of origin produced different royal approaches. Whereas Edward I sought to consolidate his conquest through institutional standardisation, subordinating Welsh laws to English frameworks; Andrew II pursued an entirely inverse strategy of deliberate jurisdictional fragmentation and autonomy.

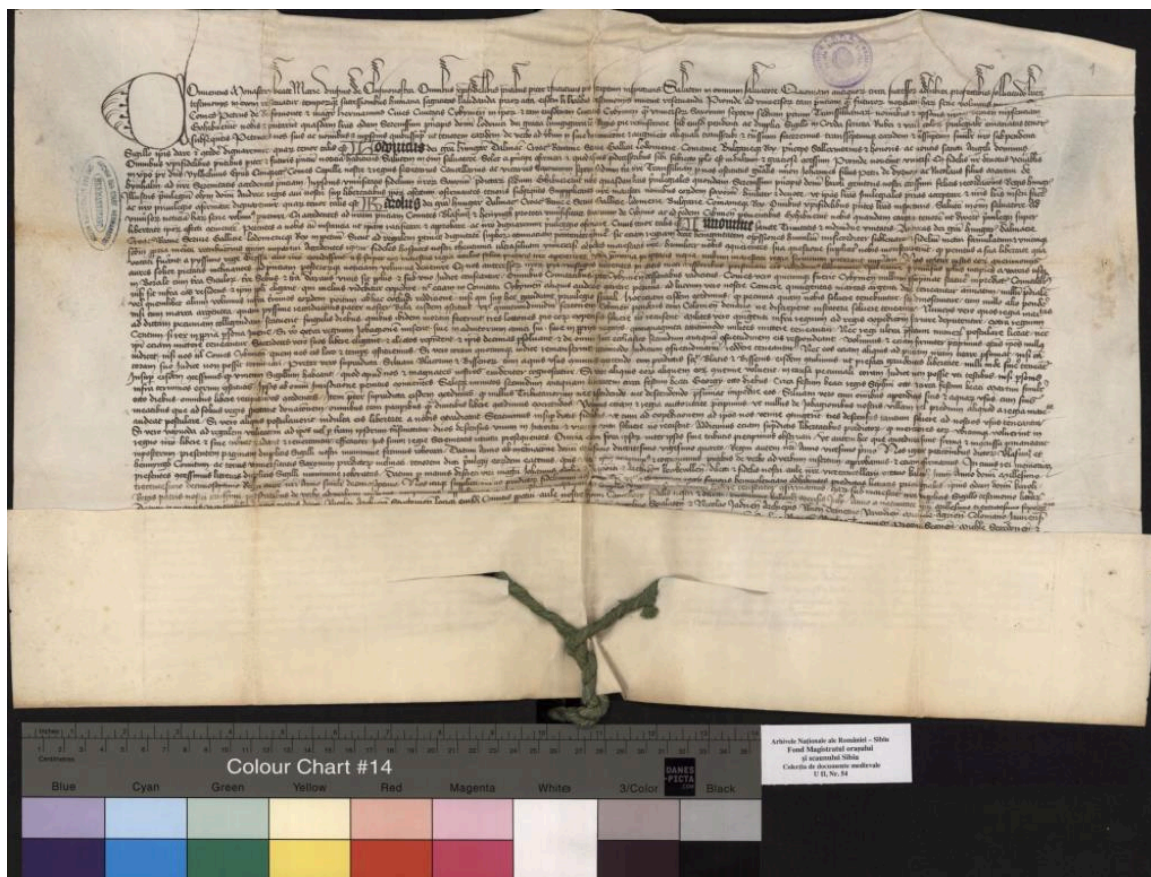


Fig. 7. The *Diploma Andreanum* (1224) issued by King Andrew II of Hungary. Currently preserved at the National Archives (Sibiu). Source: Arhiva Medievala.

The distributive logic of royal authority becomes fully visible in the charter's territorial and juridical clauses. This dynamic is already evident in the opening formulation, which frames kingship as a dual responsibility of protection and reward: “to powerfully suppress the obstinacy of the proud” while simultaneously “mercifully reliev[ing] the oppressions of the humble, reward[ing] the service of the faithful, and grant[ing] to each one the grace of recompense according to his own merits.”²⁵⁰ Royal power is thus presented as an active, distributive force that determines the allocation of rights and resources. The subsequent provisions translate this rhetoric into a concrete architecture of frontier governance. The Saxons are recognised as

²⁴⁸ Martyn Rady, *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 41–3.

²⁴⁹ For the wider framework of this migratory movement, traditionally situated within the high medieval German eastward expansion (*Ostsiedlung*), see Charles Higounet, *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Siedler Verlag, 1986), 112–120.

²⁵⁰ Appendix 4, ll. 5-12: *Sicut ad regalem pertinet dignitatem, superborum contumaciam potenter opprimere, sic etiam regiam decet benignitatem, oppressiones humilium misericorditer sublevare et fidelium metiri famulatum et unicuique secundum propria merita retributionis gratiam impertiri.*

a territorially unified community whose autonomy is wholly authorised by the crown: they elect their own officials and priests, exercise justice within a single jurisdictional sphere, and remain exempt from external courts.²⁵¹ At the same time, the charter regulates economic life through toll-free trade, fixed fiscal obligations, and controlled access to resources, embedding the settlers within a royal system of redistribution.²⁵² Crucially, these liberties are bound to strict reciprocal obligations, above all military service and taxation, ensuring that the defence and fiscal contribution of the frontier remained tethered to royal authority.²⁵³ In this way, the *Diploma* restores what Andrew presents as the Saxons' "former liberty," yet only as a conditional privilege within a hierarchical framework where the Crown eventually determines the scope and conditions of frontier self-government.²⁵⁴

The spatial and jurisdictional manifestation of this distributive power was explicitly mapped onto the landscape. Similarly to the *Statutum Walliae*, territorial allocation and jurisdictional restructuring were deeply intertwined in the *Diploma*. The charter declared that:

"The whole people, beginning from Orăștie as far as Baraolt, including the land of the Székelys, the land of Sebeș, and the land of Drăușeni, shall be one people and shall be judged under one judge, all counties being abolished entirely, except that of Sibiu."²⁵⁵

Rather than imposing a uniform royal judiciary across the entire province, the Hungarian Crown deliberately carved out an autonomous legal enclave (see Fig. 8), exempting the Saxon community from the jurisdiction of the regional Transylvanian *voivodes*. Instead, they were placed under the authority of the Count of Sibiu (Hermannstadt), an official appointed by and directly subordinate to the Hungarian monarch.²⁵⁶ This arrangement was reinforced later in the charter, which explicitly stipulated that it "will[s] and firmly [commands] that no one shall judge [the Saxons] except us or the Count of Sibiu, whom we shall appoint for them."²⁵⁷ By dismantling existing administrative boundaries and placing the Saxons under a single, isolated judiciary, Andrew II effectively insulated this crucial frontier territory from the intermediary authority of domestic nobility. In doing so, he established a direct fiscal and military nexus between the Saxon community and the Crown.²⁵⁸

²⁵¹ Appendix 4, ll. 41-3: "and let the people themselves elect him who shall seem most suitable"; ll. 74-5: "They may freely choose their priests and present the elected ones"; and ll. 74-5: "We will and firmly command that no one shall judge them except us or the count of Sibiu, whom we shall appoint for them at the proper place and time."

²⁵² See Appendix 4, ll. 110-3: "Moreover, we grant them that none of the toll-collectors shall presume to hinder them, whether going up or down"; ll. 50-55: "We also grant them that the money they are bound or known to owe us, shall be paid with no other weight than the silver mark which our father of most pious memory, Béla, established for them"; ll. 114-9: "The forest with all its appurtenances and the use of the waters with their courses, which pertain to the king alone to grant, we freely allow to be used by all, both poor and rich."

²⁵³ Appendix 4, ll. 64-73: "Five hundred soldiers shall serve within the kingdom for the king's campaign; outside the kingdom one hundred, if the king goes in person. But if he sends a royal vassal outside the kingdom, whether to aid a friend or for his own affairs, they shall be bound to send only fifty soldiers; and the king may not demand more, nor shall they be obliged to send more."

²⁵⁴ Appendix 4, l. 30: "...have restored to them their former liberty."

²⁵⁵ Appendix 4, ll. 30-6.

²⁵⁶ Initially, the Count was appointed by the King of Hungary; however, under the reign of Matthias Corvinus from 1486 onwards, the title became tied to the *Königsrichter* of Sibiu, who was directly elected by the Saxons themselves. See Günther Teutsch, "Legiferarea Statutară și Jurisdicția ca Atribuții Fundamentale ale Universității Sașilor," *Transilvania și Sașii Ardeleni în Istoriografie* (Sibiu: Hora, 2001), 56.

²⁵⁷ Appendix 4, ll. 79-82: *Volumus et etiam firmiter praecipimus, quatenus ipsos nullus iudicet nisi nos vel comes Chybinienensis, quem nos eis loco et tempore constituemus.*

²⁵⁸ Rady, *Nobility, Land and Service*, 43.

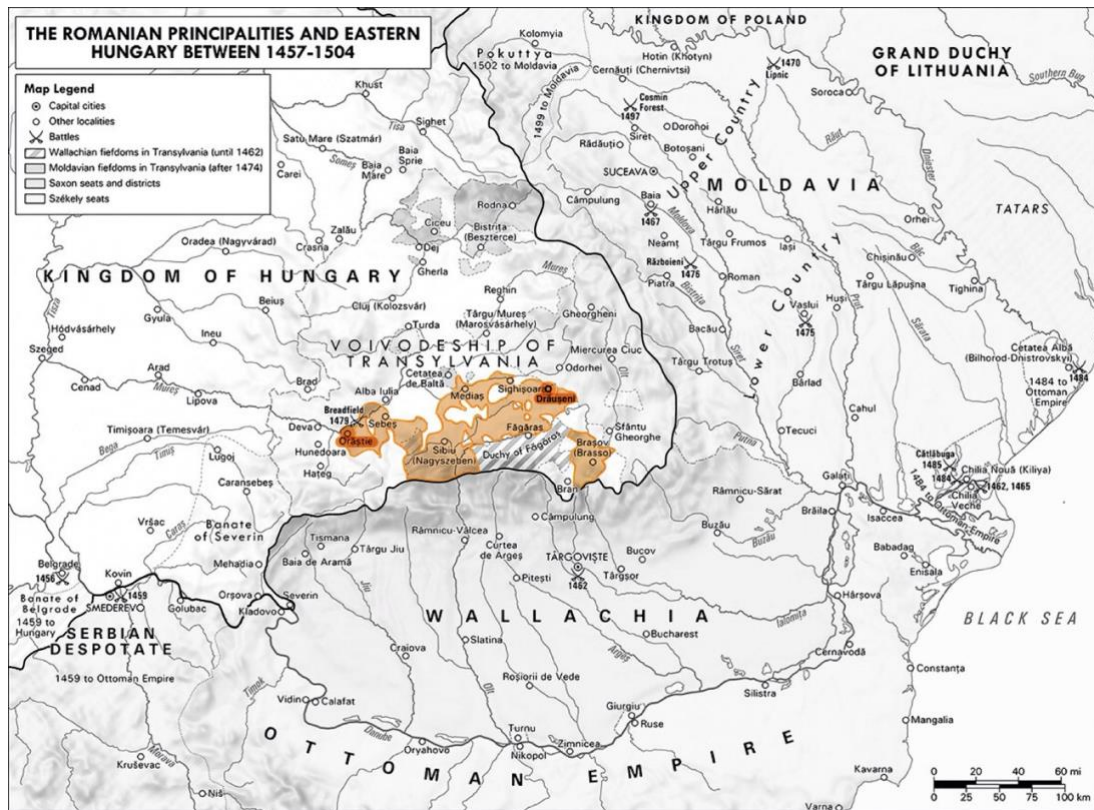


Fig. 8. Cartographic representation of Saxon settlements. The highlighted orange regions illustrate the legal enclaves granted by Andrew II through the *Diploma Andreanum* (1224); strategically placed along the southern Carpathian frontier, from Orăștie in the west to Drăușeni in the east. Source: historymaps.ro (highlights added).

Yet, despite this vast grant of local self-administration, the *Diploma* established a legal hierarchy that was just as strictly top-down and conditional as the *Statutum* in Wales. The autonomy of the Saxon enclave was not an acknowledgment of inherent regional sovereignty, but a highly transactional royal concession wrapped in a rhetoric of absolute subordination. The text emphasizes that these institutional freedoms were granted strictly in exchange for heavy, continuous obligations to the Hungarian centre, specifically the payment of royal taxes (“annually five hundred marks”) and the provision of military service (“five hundred soldiers” for defensive domestic campaigns, “outside the kingdom, one hundred”).²⁵⁹ This pronounced emphasis on military burdens highlights the region’s frontier character. Furthermore, the charter strictly regulates logistics of royal campaigns, compelling the Saxons to provide food and hospitality (*descensus*) when the monarch or his army passed through the territory.²⁶⁰ By including these demands directly into the text, the Crown effectively transforms the *Königsboden* into a strategic base designed to absorb the shocks of a volatile borderland.

The durability of this state-sanctioned autonomy should, however, not be mistaken for unquestionable stability. The granted rights and privileges required repeated confirmation by successive Hungarian rulers throughout the later Middle Ages.²⁶¹ Far from representing mere

²⁵⁹ Appendix 4, ll. 43-5: *ad lucrum vero nostrae camerae quingentas marcas argenti dare teneantur annuatim*. Also ll. 64-6: *Milites vero quingenti infra regnum ad regis expeditionem servire deputentur, extra vero regnum centum*.

²⁶⁰ Appendix 4, ll. 126-33: “We further establish for the said faithful that when it happens that we come to them for a campaign, they shall be bound to pay only three descents for our use. But if the voivode is sent to them or through their land for royal business, they shall not refuse to pay two descents, one on entry and one on exit.”

²⁶¹ Evidence of these repeated royal confirmations is preserved in the National Archives of Romania (ANR). The chronological sequence of these reaffirmations spans the 14th and 15th centuries, with charters and copies issued in 1317, 1358, 1366, 1383, 1406–1407, 1413, 1415, 1423, 1428, 1486, and 1493. These records are digitised in the institutional database *Arhiva Medievală din România* and freely accessible.

administrative routine, these recurrent reaffirmations suggest that Saxon corporate autonomy remained strongly embedded within an ongoing process of negotiation between local privilege and royal authority. Yet this underlying dialectic proved inherently fragile, as was starkly exposed during the 14th century under the centralising reign of King Charles I (r. 1308-42).²⁶² Seeking to curtail regional liberties and consolidate royal power, the monarch's policies triggered a major Saxon rebellion between 1321 and 1324, led by Count Henning of Petrești.²⁶³ The revolt was eventually crushed by the royal forces of the Transylvanian voivode Thomas Szécsényi, illustrating that whenever transactional negotiations failed, the Crown retained the capacity to enforce its top-down authority through direct military repression.

This dynamic is also clearly reflected in the shifting nature of their highest office: while the Count of Sibiu was originally a direct appointee of the Hungarian Crown designed to ensure royal oversight, centuries of continuous political manoeuvring culminated in a fundamental shift under the King Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458-90).²⁶⁴ In 1486 he permanently granted the Saxons the right to freely elect their own Count.²⁶⁵ Much like the selective preservation of Welsh legal customs under the *Statutum*, legal integration in Transylvania remained neither fixed nor uncontested, but required continual political reproduction. Crucially, this ongoing effort to defend Saxon autonomy stood in stark contrast to the legal status of the region's non-German inhabitants, who were entirely excluded from this royal compact.

While often interpreted as a foundational charter of Saxon corporate privilege, the document is more productively read as a juridical technology of frontier governance in which royal authority produced distinct forms of visibility and recognition across coexisting populations. The differentiated nature of this framework becomes particularly clear in one of the charter's few explicit references to neighbouring populations:

“Besides the above, we grant [the Saxons] the forest of the Vlachs and the Pechenegs, with the waters, to be used in common with the said Vlachs and Pechenegs, so that, enjoying the aforesaid liberty, they shall be bound to serve no one on that account”.²⁶⁶

At first glance, this provision appears to acknowledge coexistence and shared use of frontier resources among different communities. Yet the formulation also reveals a profound asymmetry in legal representation. It acknowledges the physical presence of Vlachs and Pechenegs on the land without extending to them the same collective privileges granted to the Saxons, effectively forcing them to share resources on terms they did not define themselves. Whereas the Saxons are constituted as a legally recognised corporate body, the Vlachs appear only indirectly through their relationship to land and resource use within the realm. The exclusive authority of the Hungarian Crown becomes even more explicit in the subsequent clause, where Andrew asserts that “the forest with all its appurtenances and the use of the waters with their courses, which pertain to the king alone to grant, we freely allow to be used

²⁶² Charles I (Charles Robert of Anjou) was the first Angevin king of Hungary. His reign was defined by centralising reforms aimed at breaking the power regional oligarchs and restoring royal prerogative. For his broader policies and conflicts with autonomous communities, see: Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 128-56.

²⁶³ Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 144.

²⁶⁴ Matthias I Corvinus was one of Hungary's most prominent monarchs, belonging to the House of Hunyadi, a family of Vlach origin from Hăteș that rose to the pinnacle of Hungarian elite. He combined fierce administrative centralisation and the creation of Europe's first standing mercenary force with patronage of humanism, founding the legendary *Bibliotheca Corviniana*. His foreign policy was defined by strategic yet complex allegiances with Vlad the Impaler (Wallachia) and Stephen the Great (Moldavia) against Ottoman forces. See: Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 298-322.

²⁶⁵ Teutsch, “Legiferarea Statutară,” 56.

²⁶⁶ Appendix 4, ll. 89-94: *Praeter vero supra dicta silvam Blacorum et Bissenorum cum aquis usus communes exercendo cum praedictis scilicet Blacis et Bissenis eisdem contulimus, ut praefata gaudentes libertate nulli inde servire teneantur*

by all, both poor and rich.”²⁶⁷ The juxtaposition of these clauses exposes a highly stratified landscape wholly shaped by the monarch’s power to grant land and privileges at will.

Much as the *Diploma* omitted sweeping collective privileges for the Vlachs, this absence did not equate to total political invisibility. On the contrary, documentary evidence points to the existence of a *universitas Valachorum* (Estate of the Vlachs), which attended the general assembly of Transylvania along the other three Estates: the nobility, the Saxons, and the Székelys.²⁶⁸ The notion *universitas* itself does not merely denote a strict ethnic group, but rather, a legally recognised corporate entity that institutionalised a distinct socio-political community. Yet, while the *universitas Saxonum* shared this institutional designation, the Saxon counterpart attained a degree of legal cohesion and extensive privileges that the *universitas Valachorum* was never able to secure permanently.²⁶⁹ Crucially, while the Saxons leveraged the *Diploma* to transform their *universitas* into a permanent, territorially defined legal island (*Königsboden*), the Vlach entity remained non-territorial and fundamentally tied to the fluctuating noble status of its elite. This structural difference ultimately left the corporate representation of the Vlachs deeply precarious and vulnerable to future disenfranchisement.

Consequently, the position of the Vlachs appears considerably less stable, with references to their *universitas* remaining intermittent and situational. Based on surviving written records, there are only two general assemblies at which Vlach participation was documented with absolute certainty.²⁷⁰ The first occurred in Alba Iulia in 1291, when King Andrew III convened the estates, explicitly addressing “all nobles, Saxons, Szeklers, and Vlachs.”²⁷¹ The motivations behind this assembly were multifold: to counter ongoing regional lawlessness following a decade of noble feuds, to rebuild a province shattered by the Mongol invasion of 1285, and to defend the realm against further external threats.²⁷² The second assembly took place in Turda in May 1355 under King Louis I, summoned primarily to reaffirm public order and suppress widespread banditry.²⁷³ Beyond these two major gatherings, Vlach representatives are also reported to have attended smaller-scale, regional assemblies.²⁷⁴

This scarcity of sources has led researchers to conclude that a unified, autonomous Vlach commonwealth, akin to those of the Szeklers and Saxons, never truly materialised.²⁷⁵ Historians, however, offer competing explanations for this outcome. On the one hand, Hungarian scholarship has attributed this fragmentation to a lack of coordinated interest among Vlach nobles in the formation of a wider representation.²⁷⁶ A parallel can be found in Magina’s analysis of the Vlach nobility in the Banate of Severin from 1457 onwards.²⁷⁷ Located

²⁶⁷ Appendix 4, ll. 114-9: *Silvam vero cum omnibus appendiciis suis et aquarum usus cum suis meatibus, quae ad solius regis spectant donationem, omnibus tam pauperibus quam divitibus libere concedimus exercendos.*

²⁶⁸ Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu, “The Nobility as Bearers of Regional Identity in Fourteenth Century Transylvania,” *Annales Universitatis Apulensis: Historica* 16.2 (2012): 44.

²⁶⁹ Ioan-Aurel Pop, “Nations and Denominations in Transylvania (13th–16th Century),” in *Tolerance and Intolerance in Historical Perspective*, eds. Csaba Lévai and Vasile Vese (Pisa: University of Pisa, 2003), 113.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., “Adunarea Generală a Stărilor Transilvaniei din Mai 1355,” *Mediævalia Transilvanica* 2.1 (1998): 61.

²⁷¹ For the Latin text of the 1291 assembly decree, see Franz Zimmermann and Carl Werner, eds., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen* (Hermannstadt: Wilhelm Krafft, 1892), vol. 1, p. 177, charter no. 244: “cum nos universis nobilibus, Saxonibus, Syculis et Olachis in partibus Transilvanis”.

²⁷² Pop, “Adunarea Generală,” 65; see also *Documenta historiam Valachorum in Hungaria illustrantia, usque ad annum 1400 p. Christum*, eds. by Antonius Fekete Nagy and Ladislaus Makkai (Budapest: Études sur l’Europe Centre-Orientale, 1941), xv.

²⁷³ Pop, “Adunarea Generală,” 62.

²⁷⁴ Pál Binder, “Antecedente și Consecințe Sud-Transilvănene ale Formării Voievodatului Munteniei (sec. XIII-XIV),” *Arhiva Heraldică* 2 (1996): 269.

²⁷⁵ Béla Köpeczi, ed. *Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgens* (Budapest: Academic Publishing, 1990), 195.

²⁷⁶ Ibid. 195.

²⁷⁷ Adrian Magina, “Universitas Valachorum: Privilege and Community in the Medieval Banat,” *Reform and Renewal in Medieval East and Central Europe: Politics, Law and Society* (2019): 494.

in the far southwestern marches of the Hungarian kingdom along the Danube, outside Transylvania proper, this strategic border province functioned as another volatile frontier zone with a dense Vlach population. Magina demonstrates that although the Vlachs in this region enjoyed distinct privileges, their elites operated in a highly localized manner.²⁷⁸ Rather than pursuing a unified corporate identity, these regional chieftains (*knezes*) prioritized individual family advancements and direct integration into the Hungarian nobility. Conversely, other historians emphasize structural coercion, arguing that the decree of Turda issued in 1366 by King Louis I implicitly tied noble status to Catholicism. This effectively forced the Orthodox Vlach upper class either to assimilate and convert to retain their power, or risk losing their status.²⁷⁹ While Vlach political participation remained secure at least until these restrictive measures took effect, representatives were subsequently reduced to sporadic appearances.²⁸⁰ Stripped of their leadership, the remaining Orthodox populations were thus left systematically disenfranchised from formal political representation; a dynamic that will be explored in greater detail next.

Ultimately, whether through the coercive standardisation of the *Statutum Walliae* or the calculated distributive autonomy of the *Diploma Andreanum*, medieval state-building relied fundamentally on the active shaping of regional legal landscapes. Yet, beneath this shared top-down ambition, the two regions diverged fundamentally in approach: while Edward I imposed a uniform frame born from the iron fist of military conquest, Andrew II created an autonomous enclave through the pragmatic colonisation of the frontier. By selectively preserving, or excluding local customs, the English and Hungarian Crowns both successfully domesticated peripheral territories and incorporated disparate populations into a deeply stratified reality. Yet, as the contrasting fates of the privileged Saxon colonists and the disenfranchised Vlachs demonstrate, this institutional ordering was never one-dimensional. Here, the historical silence and sporadic mentioning surrounding the Vlachs in official documentation demands a critical reading against the grain. Far from signifying a complete absence of political life, it instead exposes how imperial frameworks actively manufactured marginality via selective inclusion and systemic silencing.

3.2 COURTROOMS, PRIVILEGES AND THE SOLIDIFICATION OF SOCIAL BOUNDARIES: FRONTIER LAW IN PRACTICE (13TH-14TH CENTURY)

Evaluating how top-down administrative blueprints and structural asymmetries reshaped frontier societies requires shifting the analytical focus from abstract royal ordinances to the pragmatic realities of ground-level judicial practice. After all, it was within the daily arena of local courtrooms and regional assemblies that the conditional boundaries of medieval law were continuously applied and negotiated. These institutions functioned as primary colonial engines where central norms were adapted to meet localized pressures. While the text of such issued statutes as *Statutum Walliae* (1284) or *Diploma Andreanum* (1224) sought to project an image of absolute sovereign control, practice in the field exposed the deep dependencies and inherent frictions of borderland governance.

The primary locus for assessing this frontier dialectic within the Anglo-Welsh borderland is the exceptionally rich series of court rolls from the lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd.²⁸¹ Created almost overnight in October 1282 from lands conquered by Edward I, this compact territory encompassed three native Welsh commotes: Dogfeiling, Llannerch and Colion (see Fig. 9). These commotes centred around the newly established castle and borough of Ruthin in north-

²⁷⁸ Ibid. 497.

²⁷⁹ Pop, "Adunarea Generală," 62; Binder, "Antecedente și Consecințe," 270.

²⁸⁰ Ibid. 68.

²⁸¹ Partiall

east Wales, and contained within its ambit also several seigneurial manors and forests.²⁸² The lordship was bestowed upon Reginald de Grey, a scion of a prominent English baronial family with substantial holdings in midland and southern England.²⁸³ Like many other newly created lordships held by specific feudal service, Reginald de Grey received Dyffryn Clwyd on the basis of three knights' fees.²⁸⁴ While this feudal tenure ensured that the lordship remained amenable to the king's ultimate oversight via the fees, it functioned in practice with immense domestic independence.²⁸⁵ Crucially, as a Marcher lordship, it operated largely outside the normal governmental, fiscal, and judicial machinery of the English state.²⁸⁶ It functioned instead as an enclave of private secular jurisdiction: officers answered solely to the lord, no royal writ could be served, no royal taxes were raised, nor any representatives were sent to English parliament. Consequently, its courts exercised complete judicial authority over their inhabitants; thereby generating an administrative archive that allows historians to directly contrast grand theories of sovereign control against pragmatic realities of local legal practice in a frontier zone.

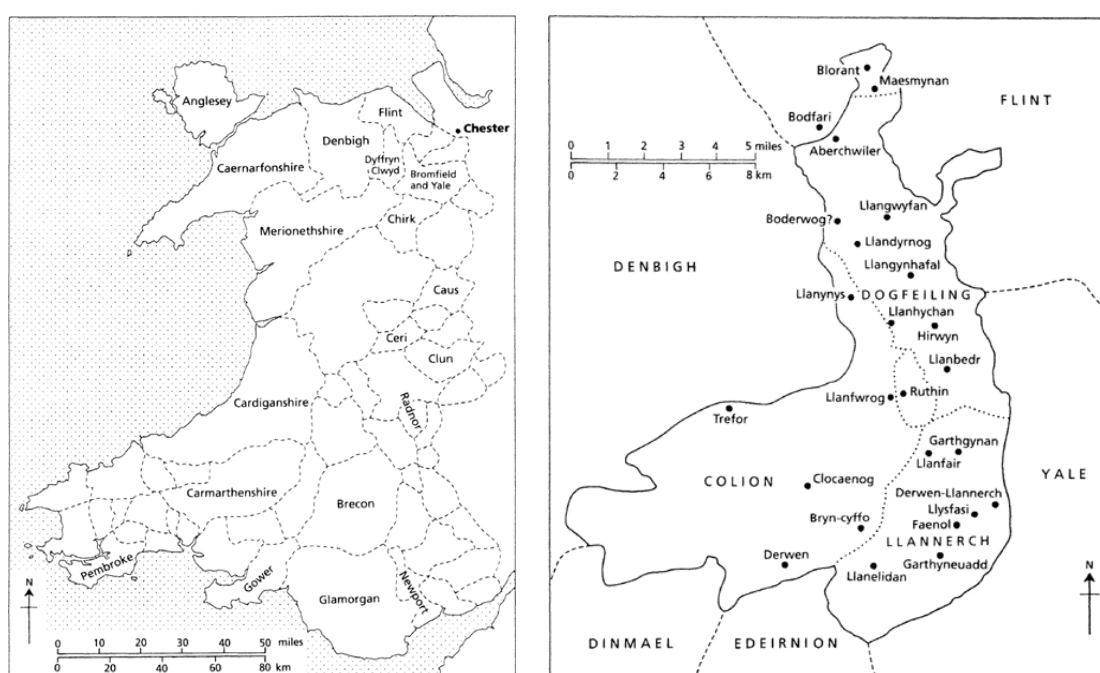


Fig. 9. Historical administrative divisions of Wales post-1282 (left) and the internal structure of Dyffryn Clwyd during the 13th-16th centuries (right). Source: A.D.M. Barrell et al. *Dyffryn Clwyd Court Rolls*.

At the heart of this archive are 187 individual court rolls spanning from 1294 to 1654, with the largest hiatus occurring during the reigns of James I (r. 1603-1625) and Charles I (r. 1625-1649).²⁸⁷ The archival trajectory of this source is remarkable. Having survived centuries of neglect, the rolls first saw the light of modern archival day in 1854 when they were discovered

²⁸² Robert Ian Jack, "Ruthin," in *Boroughs of Mediaeval Wales*, ed. R. A. Griffiths (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1978), 244-61.

²⁸³ Andrew D.M. Barrell, et al. "The Dyffryn Clwyd Court Roll Project, 1340-1352 and 1389-1399: A Methodology and Some Preliminary Findings," in *Medieval Society and the Manor Court*, eds. Zvi Razi and Richard Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 264.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 263. A knight's fee was a specific amount of land required to generate an annual income of about £20. This sum was necessary to support a knight's family and pay for vital war equipment. Since land productivity differed, a knight's fee could range from small, fertile estates to substantive, less productive terrains. For regional differences in land size and the influence of socio-political strata, see Sally Harvey, "The Knight and the Knight's Fee in England," *Past & Present* 49 (1970), 3-43.

²⁸⁵ Robert Rees Davies, *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales, 1282-1400* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 217.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 222.

²⁸⁷ Barrell et al., "The Dyffryn Clwyd Court Roll Project," 266.

in a loft above the Town Hall at Ruthin, stored alongside summer streetlamps, before being transferred to the Public Record Office in London in 1859-60.²⁸⁸ In appearance and form, these documents closely mirror contemporary English bureaucratic formularies; thus showing the increasing influence of Common Law.²⁸⁹ Yet they remain deeply tied to their local frontier context: societies in which two (or more) peoples, laws, cultures, languages, customs and social formations met and intermingled. This is most tangibly expressed in the judicial process itself; where the court facilitated cross-cultural mediation, such as in cases where it impanelled mixed juries of "six Englishmen and six Welshmen."²⁹⁰

Given the sheer bulk of the collection, which has historically daunted extensive editing initiatives, this thesis intentionally limits its chronological scope to the earliest rolls dating to the reign of Edward I (r. 1272-1307).²⁹¹ Published by Richard Arthur Roberts in 1893, these first five extant rolls have the unique advantage of being fully edited and accessible.²⁹² Although these earliest documents are admittedly briefer and far less detailed than their late medieval successors, their value lies precisely in their close chronological proximity to the 1282 conquest and the 1295 Welsh rebellion led by Madog ap Llywelyn, a distant relation of Llywelyn the Last. This major uprising was sparked by the aggressive actions of new royal administrators in north and west Wales, and the imposition of heavy fiscal burdens, such as the tax levied on one-fifteenth of all movables.²⁹³ Spanning the very years this rebellion erupted and its immediate aftermath, the rolls directly reflect the upheaval through formulaic references to offences committed "during the war" or acts perpetrated "against the peace."²⁹⁴ Moreover, they capture the raw, anti-English sentiments harboured by some of the locals; testimony recorded in the rolls warns that "before the middle of the month the Constable and other English will hear such rumours that they will not wish to come again into Wales."²⁹⁵ Consequently, as further analysis will show, the rolls offer a direct, unfiltered look at both the complexities of frontier society and the realities of frontier local justice functioning amid open resistance.

Structurally, this environment mirrors the 14th-century Transylvanian frontier, where privileged royal and Saxon urban bastions similarly sought to dominate a pastoral periphery. However, while Dyffyn Clwyd was defined by a relatively straightforward social duality between English settlers and the Welsh, Transylvania was characterised by an intense, multi-layered legal and ethnic plurality. This highly fragmented landscape had been fundamentally shaped by earlier sovereign blueprints, most notably exemplified by the *Diploma Andreanum* (1224). Yet when the routine legal machinery failed to contain borderland anxieties generated by this complex patchwork of jurisdictions, local frustration escalated into grand legislative intervention. Such macro-level escalation is epitomized by the *Decree of Turda* (1366). Rather than being a calculated project formulated in the vacuum of the royal court at Buda, this statute was forged directly out of the immediate gridlock of the provincial borderland.

²⁸⁸ Richard Arthur Roberts, "Public Records Relating to Wales," *Y Cymmrodor* 10 (1889), 157, quoted in *The Court Rolls of the Lordship of Ruthin or Dyffryn-Clwydd of the Reign of King Edward the First*, ed. Richard Arthur Roberts (London: Chas. J. Clark, 1893), ii.

²⁸⁹ Ibid. 267. While compiled in Latin supposedly according to English legal standards, Welsh terminology and procedures figure recurrently in the commotal courts.

²⁹⁰ *Court Rolls of Ruthin*, 2.

²⁹¹ The ESRC-funded *Dyffryn Clwyd Court Roll Project* (1991), for example, compiled data exclusively for two isolated, comparative crisis periods (1340–1352 and 1389–1399). See Andrew D.M. Barrell, et al., "The Dyffryn Clwyd Court Roll Project," 264.

²⁹² *The Court Rolls of the Lordship of Ruthin or Dyffryn-Clwydd of the Reign of King Edward the First*, ed. Richard Arthur Roberts (London: Chas. J. Clark, 1893).

²⁹³ John Griffiths, "The Revolt of Madog ap Llywelyn, 1294-5," *Transactions of Caernarfonshire Historical Society* 16 (1955): 13.

²⁹⁴ *Court Rolls of Ruthin*, 8; 15.

²⁹⁵ Ibid. 3.

Promulgated on 28 June 1366 in central Transylvania, the decree emerged from an extraordinary judicial assembly (*congregatio generalis*) convoked by King Louis I of Hungary (r. 1342-82) and attended by the privileged estates of the Hungarian Catholic nobility, the Saxon urban patriciate, and the Szekler military elite under the presidency of the Transylvanian voivode.²⁹⁶ The circumstances surrounding the decree and its main goal have been widely discussed by historians.²⁹⁷ According to Petrovics, the nomadic lifestyle of the growing Vlach population led to confrontations with the sedentary Hungarians.²⁹⁸ However, Pop claims the decree illustrates the Vlach's "muted resistance" against the monarch and the nobility who had attempted to deprive them of their property, particularly their inherited lands.²⁹⁹ What remains certain is that it was issued at the request of noblemen, who had informed Louis I that they "have been suffering, day by day, many troubles because of the evil arts of many malefactors, especially Romanians [...] because of their way of being and their disorderly behaviour."³⁰⁰ This exclusionary rhetoric stood in sharp contrast to the region's recent institutional history: only ten years prior, in 1355, a similar general assembly had been convoked at Turda to tackle banditry, but on that occasion, the native Vlach community had still been included as a recognised legal partner (*universitas Valachorum*) to help restore order.³⁰¹ By 1366, however, this collaborative approach evidently shattered in favour of a targeted royal intervention demanded by local elites because routine courts had seemingly lost control.

The material survival of this Transylvanian archive presents historians with challenges that resemble, yet inherently differ from, the Welsh context. Unlike the court rolls in Ruthin, the archival landscape of medieval Transylvania was severely fractured by centuries of geopolitical upheaval, fire, conflict and administrative disruptions. Yet, despite these vulnerabilities, the original 1366 parchment of the decree does survive within the collections of the National Archives of Hungary in Budapest, albeit with a substantial portion missing from its lower margin (see Fig. 10 below).³⁰² This specific damage suggests the forceful removal of Louis I's royal wax seal, which was a common casualty of early modern seal-hunting and archival vandalism. In a striking historical irony, this physical mutilation of the parchment mirrors the structural violence of the text it contains: by stripping away the sovereign seal of validation, the remaining document symbolises the breakdown of judicial equilibrium on the Transylvanian frontier.

²⁹⁶ Louis I 'the Great' was a member of the Capetian House of Anjou, whose reign was marked by extensive military campaigns, stable royal power, economic prosperity and strong political influence in both Central and Eastern Europe. See: Engels, *Realm of St Stephen*, 157-74.

²⁹⁷ Ioan-Aurel Pop, "*De Manibus Valachorum Scismaticorum...*: Romanians and Power in the Mediaeval Kingdom of Hungary. The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries (Lausanne: Peter Lang, 2013), 461.

²⁹⁸ István Petrovics, "Foreign Ethnic Groups in the Towns of Southern Hungary in the Middle Ages," in *Segregation-Integration-Assimilation: Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, eds. Derek Keene, Balázs Nagy and Katalin Szende (London: Ashgate, 2009), 67.

²⁹⁹ Pop, *De Manibus Valachorum Scismaticorum*, 469-70.

³⁰⁰ Ibid. 459-9; Ioan-Aurel Pop, "Nations and Denominations in Transylvania (13th-16th century)," in *Tolerance and Intolerance in Historical Perspective*, eds. Csaba Lévai and Vasile Vese (Pisa: Edizioni Plus, 2003), 122.

³⁰¹ See Chapter 2.

³⁰² Decree of Turda, 1366 (Budapest: National Archives of Hungary). Shelfmark DL 31 104.

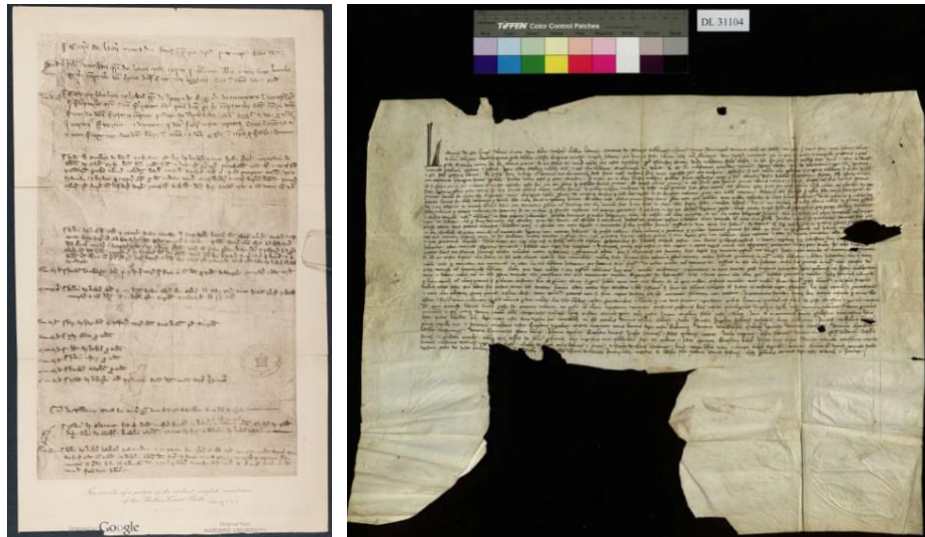


Fig. 10. The primary judicial sources of the analysis. Left: a section of the Dyffryn Clwyd court rolls (preserved in National Library of Wales). Right: the original parchment of the 1366 Decree of Turda (preserved in National Archives of Hungary). Sources: Richard Arthur Roberts and Hungaricana.

The implementation of this fractured equilibrium within the daily administration of both frontiers exposes a foundational theme of frontier legal practice: the dialectic between economic dependency and institutional exclusion.³⁰³ Within the Anglo-Welsh borderland of Dyffryn Clwyd, this reliance manifested as a pragmatically structural dependency through the framework of the seigneurial manor. Since its native Welsh population was sedentary and permanently tied to the manorial agricultural networks of the De Grey lordship, their daily labour and fiscal obligations were deeply woven into the secular regime.³⁰⁴ Operating outside the restrictive boundaries of English common law, Marcher lords wielded *iura regalia*, allowing them to develop a hybrid legal order that combined English bureaucratic procedures with the retention of profitable native customs.³⁰⁵ The primary site of friction within this manorial context was the enforcement of agrarian boundaries, notably manifested in the prosecution of Welsh tenants for “depasturing”, i.e. illegal grazing.³⁰⁶ This systemic pattern is illustrated in a court session of the commote Colion in 1294: in a single, rapid succession, the clerk recorded a run of native tenants attached for encroaching on seigneurial property.³⁰⁷ Specifically, the scribe noted that “leuvan Boolbleyt was attached because he depastured land which was in the lord’s hands,” while Iorwerth ap Iago, Map Goue, David ap Howel, Jokin the tailor, and Kenwric Vaghan were brought forward “for the same”.³⁰⁸ The indigenous nomenclature of this brief list underscores the cultural asymmetry of the courtroom, exposing native people under an English apparatus.³⁰⁹

³⁰³ On the macro-historical dialectic between dependency and exclusion in medieval colonial contexts, see Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europ*. Bartlett argues that the integration or expulsion of a native population was primarily dictated by the demographic requirements and economic vulnerabilities of the conquering elite.

³⁰⁴ For the administrative history of the De Grey family in North Wales and the establishment of their lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd, see Jack, “Ruthin,” 244-61.

³⁰⁵ Robert Rees Davies, “The Law of the March,” *Welsh History Review* 5 (1970), 5; *Ibid.*, *Lordship and Society*, 222. The exceptional position of Marcher Lords caused considerable resentment within the English administration, as evidenced by the 1354 statute curbing their autonomy: “Lords of the Marches of Wales shall be attendant to the Crown of England, and not to the Principality of Wales.” See: *The Statutes of Wales*, 30.

³⁰⁶ *The Court Rolls of the Lordship of Ruthin*, 3-4. The unauthorised exploitation of resources remained a persistent thorn in the side of the English, evidenced by the explicit 1400 statute targeting Welsh border incursions: “Excesses committed by the Welsh on their English neighbours by distressing of cattle etc.”. See: *The Statutes of Wales*, 31.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 3-4

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 3-4.

³⁰⁹ The patronymics (*ap*) and Welsh descriptive markers such as “Vaghan” (the younger) unmistakably emphasise the ethnic division of the Marcher frontier. Even the linguistic framing of “Jokin the tailor” exposes a subtle process

The repetitive nature of these consecutive entries, along with other infringements on forest grounds, demonstrates that trespass was a structural assertion of traditional, pre-conquest rights against newly imposed English privatisation.³¹⁰ By treating the boundaries of the De Grey demesne as porous zones for livestock subsistence, these native tenants transformed the agrarian landscape into an arena of constant, low-level colonial negotiation. To contain and monetise this daily friction, the Marcher courtroom deliberately relied on native administrative officers such as the *rhingyll* to guarantee compliance.³¹¹ In the rolls, one Iorwerth ap Iago was penalized for “depasturing the lord’s land without leave”, but his financial fine was secured by the *rhingyll* acting as his “pledge”. These local officers acted as financial guarantors who were personally liable if an offender failed to pay. Since the *rhingyll* possessed local knowledge of native kinship networks and properties, this system transformed a native official into a direct instrument of English seigneurial extraction among his own community.

In stark contrast to the flexible legal integration seen in the March of Wales, the Transylvanian Vlachs underwent a far darker and more punitive shift, stemming from a deeply unequal and asymmetrical mutual dependency. The Vlach pastoral economy was structurally indispensable to the principality, as their extensive practice of transhumance provided the vital livestock, wool, dairy, and mountain-pass defence that sustained both Saxon urban markets and Hungarian noble domains.³¹² However, it was precisely this nomadic, seasonal mobility that rendered the Vlachs inherently unmanageable within the static, territorial framework of the Hungarian manorial and legal system. Since a mobile population could effortlessly evade routine court summons or bypass centralized tax collection, the ruling elite faced a threatening crisis of territorial control. In the decree, King Louis I responded to these anxieties caused by “daily and countless inconveniences on account of the presumptuous cunning of various malefactors, especially of the Vlachs, dwelling in that same land of [theirs].”³¹³ To reassert physical control, the crown granted the Transylvanian nobility the “liberty for the extermination or removal of malefactors of whatever nation, especially Vlachs, from that land.”³¹⁴ By framing the literal destruction of an ethnic group as a corporate “liberty”, the decree laid bare a regime that normalised existential violence as a legitimate tool of manorial management. In theoretical terms, this reduction of an entire nomadic population to a target of sanctioned eradication transforms the Vlachs into what Giorgio Agamben defines as *homines sacri*, i.e. figures stripped of legal protection, whose destruction is cast as a sovereign privilege.³¹⁵

The sovereign reproduction of the Vlach population to a legally unprotected mass was however not executed through random violence, but through a calculated restructuring of the frontier’s traditional hierarchy. Unable to politically pin down the Vlachs through the routine of fines, the assembly at Turda sought to break their collective autonomy by systematically

of administrative translation, wherein a native tenant was registered through the vernacular categorisations of an English clerk.

³¹⁰ On the persistency of customary Welsh pastoral habits as a form of structural resistance against English manorial enclosure in later centuries, see Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation: Wales, c. 1415-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 12-5.

³¹¹ *The Law of Hywel Dda* (Jenkins), 232: “...officer concerned with the maintenance of order and the enforcement of the commands of authority. His functions seem similar to those of the serjeants of peace in northern and west-midland England, though when this type of officers appear under a Welsh name it is *cais*.”

³¹² Engel, *Realm of Saint Stephen*, 249-50; Alina Elena Voinea, “Saxon Transylvania: An Identity Potpourri and a Cultural Catalysis in the Social Network Context of the Last Millenium,” *Transylvanian Journal of Multidisciplinary Research in Humanities* (2022): 261-79.

³¹³ Appendix 5, ll. 30-5.

³¹⁴ Appendix 5, ll. 35-40.

³¹⁵ Consider Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998). This paradigm closely prefigures Achille Mbembe’s concept of ‘necropolitics’, which expands on how sovereign power is ultimately defined by the capacity to dictate who may live and who must die. See Achille Mbembe, *Necropolitics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019).

dismantling the traditional administrative go-betweens, i.e. the Vlach elite or the so-called *knezes*.³¹⁶ The decree established a strict double standard: a traditional Vlach leader who held a “royal letter” was “accepted as equivalent to one true noble; but a common *knez* shall count as a village reeve of the value of one *fer-ton* of faith.”³¹⁷ By reducing the oath-value of an unchartered *knez* to that of a village headman, the decree hollowed out the Vlach’s authority from within. Rather than acting as autonomous pivots for their communities, these *knezes* were downgraded to low-level administrative functionaries. A stark choice was then offered: formal assimilation into Hungarian nobility through royal validation, or relegation to a legally neutered peasantry, effectively disrupting the Vlachs’ capacity for self-governing resistance.³¹⁸

Ultimately, despite their radically different paths of legal absorption and exclusion, both frontier regimes arrived at the same structural necessity: the strategic construction of a ‘loyal Other’ to maintain territorial control.³¹⁹ No medieval colonial state could rule by brute force alone, meaning both the English and Hungarian administrations had to partition the indigenous population into categories of compliant insiders and rebellious outsiders. In Dyffryn Clwyd, the De Greys fostered this division through engineering a loyal Welsh sub-elite that was financially invested in the survival of the English lordship. The Hungarian crown was forced to execute a similar tactical division within the Vlach elite itself, by fracturing the status and decreeing that only the rare Vlach leader “confirmed in his *keneziat*e” enjoyed true nobility.³²⁰

Whether through the routine inclusion of the Welsh court or the violent, targeted splitting of the Vlach *knezes*, both frontier states demonstrate that the ultimate preservation of colonial power depended on turning the native elite into the primary wardens of their own communities. Yet, this reliance on an engineered, loyal sub-elite created a fragile political equilibrium. By tying regional stability to the loyalty of highly pressured native intermediaries, both regimes inadvertently built the structural fault lines for future upheavals. When these fragile paradigms of co-optation and exclusion fractured under the weight of their own contradictions, they paved the way for defiance; as was the case in both the Owain Glyndŵr and Bobâlna revolts.

3.3 CONTESTATIONS OF FRONTIER INTEGRATION: THE GLYNDŴR (1400-1415) AND BOBÂLNA REVOLT (1437) AND LEGAL CONSOLIDATIONS IN THE *PENAL LAWS* (1402) AND *UNIO TRIUM NATIONUM* (1438)

While the everyday operations of the frontier courts examined in the previous section project an image of a stabilising, hybrid legal order, this equilibrium was fundamentally conditional. As political authorities sought to contain peripheral populations through both assimilation and systemic exclusion, they unwittingly constructed highly volatile lands. This section therefore examines two major late medieval crises and their subsequent repression: the Welsh uprising led by Owain Glyndŵr (1400-1415) and the Bobâlna revolt in Transylvania (1437). In both contexts, the subaltern and marginalised populations wielded the sword and the pen, producing diplomatic protocols that challenged the foundational myths of sovereign incorporation, and, albeit fruitless, sought to reallocate political visibility within their respective frontier zones.

³¹⁶ Ioan-Aurel Pop, “Privilegiu Regal Solemn de la 1366 și Implicațiile Sale,” *Mediaevalia Transilvanica* 1 (1997), 75.

³¹⁷ Appendix 5, ll. 75-9.

³¹⁸ Pop, “Adunarea Generală,” 62; Binder, “Antecedente și Consecințe,” 270.

³¹⁹ While Edward Said’s framework of ‘Othering’ (*Orientalism*, 1978) focuses on modern colonial discourse, his insights into the strategic construction of ‘the Other’ to consolidate territorial control are applicable here. For the application of postcolonial theory to such medieval contexts, see Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *The Postcolonial Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave, 2000).

³²⁰ Appendix 5, ll. 75-6.

Neither revolt emerged unexpectedly. Instead, both represented the culmination of structural tensions that had developed over several generations. The frontier settlements created during the 13th century had successfully established a fragile hegemony that relied heavily on legal differentiation and socio-economic stratification. In Wales, resistance to English rule formed a remarkably persistent historical pattern. Already in 1294-5, the widespread rising of Madog ap Llywelyn erupted across North Wales (centred in Gwynedd) as a fierce rejection of the *Statutum Walliae*'s imposition of English administrative taxation and shire government.³²¹ Decades later, in 1316, another insurrection led by the Welsh nobleman Llywelyn Bren (Llywelyn of the Woods) in Glamorgan (South Wales) targeted the intensely oppressive rule of successive local marcher lords.³²² Although the revolt was suppressed, Llywelyn's reputedly unlawful execution by the royal favourite Hugh Despenser (Lord of Glamorgan) backfired spectacularly, uniting disaffected natives and English Marcher lords in a baronial revolt in 1321.³²³ Building upon these localised flashpoints of resistance across the north and south, the later 14th century saw opposition scale up. It assumed an increasingly national character through the activities and dynastic claims of Owain Lawgoch, who operated as a thorn in the side of the English hegemony from exile in France and backed by the French Crown during the Hundred Years' War.³²⁴ Together, these preceding movements formed a historical cadence on which Owain Glyn Dŵr would dance on. They ensured that he was drawing upon a deep, well-established reservoir of collective memory and shared grievance.

A parallel yet distinctly structured process unfolded in Transylvania. Unlike the slightly nationalist trajectory in Wales, Transylvanian unrest was driven primarily by socio-economic pressure and fiscal squeezing.³²⁵ In defiance of Pope John XXIII's decision to exempt lesser nobility from paying the tithe, George Lépes (Bishop of Transylvania) proceeded to collect the ecclesiastical tax from all Latin Christian commoners in his diocese.³²⁶ Furthermore, while the Vlachs had originally been exempt from the tithe, King Sigismund (r. 1387-1437) decreed that Vlachs who settled on lands abandoned by Latin Christian peasants were required to pay it.³²⁷ Add to this the "extraordinary taxes" in addition to the chamber's profit, charged for the increasing costs in defence against Ottoman incursions from 1420 onwards, alongside the expensive quartering of troops and the forced conscription of every tenth peasant, and these compounding factors created a volatile tinderbox.³²⁸ Ultimately, these cumulative burdens fell heavily on a peasantry comprised of the different Transylvanian ethnicities, albeit with a very substantial Vlach demographic. It was precisely among these marginalised groups that discontent grew so severe that it ultimately reached a boiling point in 1437.

Ultimately while their underlying trajectories differed, both crises shared a deep structural foundation. Just as the Welsh rebellions were rooted in systemic discrimination dating back to the late 13th century, the Transylvanian tensions represented the final tipping point of a long process of exploitation and declining socio-legal status under the Hungarian Crown.

³²¹ This is evident in sources such as the Court Rolls of Ruthin (cf. Chapter 3.2), which occasionally mentions "the war".

³²² Craig Owen Jones. *Compact History of Welsh Heroes: Llywelyn Bren* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2007), 27-9, 42.

³²³ Ibid. 69.

³²⁴ Robert Rees Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 438.

³²⁵ Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 224-7.

³²⁶ Joseph Held, "The Peasant Revolt of Babolna, 1437-1438," *Slavic Review* 36.1 (1977), 28.

³²⁷ László Makkai, "The Emergence of the Estates (1172-1526)," In *History of Transylvania*, ed. Béla Köpeczi et al. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), 224. Compounding these pressures, Sigismund was an absent monarch deeply absorbed in broader European politics, spending prolonged periods outside Hungary in his realms of Germany and Bohemia.

³²⁸ Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 227-8.

3.3.1 **GLYNDŴR UPRISING: DIPLOMATIC VISIONS IN THE TRIPARTITE (1405) AND OWAIN'S PENNAL LETTER (1406)**

Although the outbreak of the Glyndŵr rebellion in September 1400 was fuelled by deep-seated grievances regarding Welsh rights, it crystallised from a long-standing land dispute and personal feud between Owain Glyndŵr and his powerful English neighbour Reginald de Grey, Lord of Ruthin. Grey had illegally usurped common grazing lands belonging to Owain and moreover deliberately withheld royal summons ordering Owain to muster for Henry IV's Scottish campaign, subsequently framing Owain before the king as a traitor who had defied royal orders.³²⁹ While traditional historiography often frames Owain as the sole mastermind driven purely by this personal vendetta, recent scholarship has rightly problematised this narrow focus.³³⁰ What remains certain is that Owain was proclaimed prince of Wales at his own manor of Glyndyfrdwy on 16 September 1400, after which he rapidly expanded his reach.³³¹ By 1402, the insurrection had surged southward across the marches, where the rebel forces marked a decisive victory at Bryn Glas against the English Marcher Lord Edmund Mortimer.³³² However, in 1405 the tide turned when royal forces under Prince Henry inflicted severe defeats on the rebels at Grosmont and Usk, capturing crucial commanders and eroding Welsh momentum.³³³ By 1406-8, the English state had recovered its political poise and unity, forcing the rebellion to revert to what it had been in its early months: "a guerrilla war conducted from the fastnesses of north and west Wales, embarrassing and irritating to the English government, but no longer a serious military threat to its authority even within Wales."³³⁴

The destructive economic and material impact of the rebellion is vividly captured in contemporary records of abbeys and priories, demonstrating that communities across Wales were battered by the conflict. Far from remaining abstract political events, the Welsh raids and English punitive campaigns left tangible scars across the ecclesiastical landscape. Monastic houses deeply tied to the Anglo-Norman presence, such as Neath Abbey and Margam Abbey, paid a heavy price due to their continental roots.³³⁵ A similar fate befell Usk Priory, where the chronicler Adam of Usk petitioned the Pope for special indulgences because warfare had left the house utterly destitute.³³⁶ Conversely, monastic institutions explicitly viewed as pro-English or anti-rebel, such as Llanthony and Ewenny, faced direct retaliation by the Welsh forces.³³⁷ Yet, the monastic landscape was far from binary: houses like Whitland, Talley and Strata Florida suffered devastation from both sides, the latter infamously seized and repurposed as military stables by English forces.³³⁸ At the same time, other religious centres such as Bardsey, Beddgelert, and Llantarnam actively sustained the rebellion, exposing how the ecclesiastical Wales was thoroughly torn and realigned by competing loyalties.³³⁹

³²⁹ Davies, *Revolt of Owain*, 102.

³³⁰ Gideon Brough, "Owain's Revolt? Glyn Dŵr's Role in the Outbreak of the Rebellion," *Studies in History, Archaeology, Religion and Conservation* 2 (2015): 1-30.

³³¹ Davies, *Revolt of Owain*, 102.

³³² *Ibid.* 107.

³³³ *Ibid.* 119-20.

³³⁴ *Ibid.* 122-25. For quote, see 125. This successful adaptation of asymmetric mountain warfare later earned Glyn Dŵr a peculiar posthumous renown in 20th-century revolutionary circles: modern guerrilla strategists, including Fidel Castro, reportedly regarded him as one of history's earliest effective practitioners of asymmetric resistance.

³³⁵ Burton and Stöber, *Abbeys and Priories*, resp. 148, 141.

³³⁶ *Ibid.* 211.

³³⁷ *Ibid.* 133, 92.

³³⁸ *Ibid.* 220, 201, 190.

³³⁹ *Ibid.* 45, 55, 126.

As the rebellion matured from localised skirmishes into a full-scale state-building enterprise, the political ambitions of Owain Glyn Dŵr became crystallised in two revolutionary diplomatic documents: the *Tripartite Indenture* of 1405 and the *Pennal Letter* of 1406.

Many documents survive from this tumultuous period, yet none are more famous or controversial than this alliance between Owain, his son-in-law Edmund Mortimer, and the rebellious earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy.³⁴⁰ The Latin text has survived in two manuscripts (Sloane MS 1776 and Royal MS 13), both copied directly into the narrative of the so-called *Giles Chronicle*.³⁴¹ However, its authenticity has frequently been questioned, given that the unknown author of the chronicle is characterised as a “not over-accurate chronicler”.³⁴² As a middle ground, several historians have made the suggestion that the copy summarises the terms of the *Indenture*, not verbatim, but rather in *oratio obliqua*.³⁴³ The content proposed a redistribution of political authority across Britain. Contrary to popular misconceptions, it did not aim to carve up the existing English kingdom into three separate principalities. Rather, Wales was presented as a sovereign, autonomous dominion allocated to Owain and his heirs. As articulated in the text, the signatories bound themselves to mutual defence and peace, explicitly planning for a partition of Great Britain:

In the first place that these lords — Owain, the Earl, and Edmund — shall henceforth be joined to one another, confederate, united, and bound by the bond of a true federation and true friendship, and certain and good union. [...] Each of them also shall act and do with one another each and all of those things that ought to be observed and done by good, true, and loyal friends to good, true, and loyal friends, laying aside all fraud and deceit. [...] Also, if by God's dispensation it should appear to these lords in process of time that they are the same persons of whom the Prophet speaks, between whom the government of Great Britain ought to be divided and partitioned, then they, each alone and together, shall labour to their utmost so that it may be brought about effectually.³⁴⁴

This radical vision of statehood was further externalised through international diplomacy in the subsequent *Pennal Letter* (1406). Sent from Pennal to the French king Charles VI, Owain outlined a comprehensive geopolitical and ecclesiastical strategy. The letter is preserved in the National Archives of France (J516 B.40 and J516.29) in two parts: the first declares Owain's decision to transfer his obedience to the Avignon Papacy under Pope Benedict XIII, while the second sets out formal terms of alliance.³⁴⁵ By aligning with Avignon while England remained loyal to Rome, Owain executed a masterstroke of medieval statecraft, simultaneously capitalising on the Great Schism and rejecting English ecclesiastical jurisdiction under Canterbury. In doing so, Owain explicitly framed his struggle around the difficulties of the Welsh Church, petitioning the Pope to remedy how “the metropolitan church of St. David was, as it appears, violently compelled by the barbarous fury of those reigning in this country, to obey the church of Canterbury.”³⁴⁶

³⁴⁰ Michael Livingston, “Owain Glyndŵr's Grand Design: The Tripartite Indenture and the Vision of a New Wales,” *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 33 (2013): 146.

³⁴¹ *Chronicon Incerti Scriptoris Angliae de Regnis Henrici IV, Henrici V et Henrici VI*, ed. John Allen Giles (London: Typis Editoris Apud Bampton, 1848), 39-42.

³⁴² John Edward Lloyd, *Owen Glendower* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931), 93.

³⁴³ Davies, *Revolt of Owain*, 166; Michael Livingston, “An Amazing Claim: The Tripartite Indenture,” in *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston and John K. Bollard (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 489-95; Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, 93;

³⁴⁴ Appendix 6: *Tripartite Indenture*. Further referred to as “Appendix 6 (TI)”. Transcription and translation by Michael Livingston, “Owain Glyndŵr's Grand Design: The Tripartite Indenture and the Vision of a New Wales,” *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 33 (2013): 145-68. Appendix 6 (TI), ll. 8-25, 39-47.

³⁴⁵ Appendix 7: *Pennal Letter*. Further referred to as “Appendix 7 (PL)”. Translation by Thomas Matthews, *Welsh Records in Paris* (Carmarthen: W. Spurrell and son, 1910).

³⁴⁶ Appendix 7 (PL).

Most remarkably, the *Pennal Letter* detailed sweeping institutional demands that transformed the rebellion from a feudal backlash into a blueprint for a sovereign state. Owain demanded that “St. David’s shall be restored to its original dignity, which from the time of St. David, archbishop and confessor, was a metropolitan church,” “prelates, dignitaries, and beneficed clergy and curates who know [Welsh]” and that all “appropriations of parochial churches of [the] principality” shall be annulled.³⁴⁷ Crucially, the letter also asks for:

...two universities or places of general study, namely, one in North Wales and the other in south Wales, in cities, towns, or places to be hereafter decided and determined by our ambassadors and nuncios for that purpose.

By coupling military resistance with international diplomacy, ecclesiastical realignment, higher education and the elevation of Welsh language as a cornerstone, the rebellion, driven by Owain’s vision, sought to construct a progressive institutional framework capable of sustaining an autonomous political community. Ultimately, though the physical fires of the revolt were systematically extinguished by English persistence, Glyn Dŵr’s design left an indelible mark on the medieval political consciousness of Britain, elevating a collection of fractured lordships into the enduring idea of a unified Welsh community.

3.3.2 THE TRANSYLVANIAN PEASANT REVOLT (BOBÂLNA, 1437): A REBELLION OF PACTS AND CONSPIRACIES

As considered earlier, the Bobâlna revolt of 1437 in Transylvania was the violent culmination of a longstanding erosion of inclusion and worsening economic burdens. The revolt was primarily catalysed by the Crown and Church’s aggressive monetary policy rather than a sudden, isolated increase in traditional service dues. In 1434, the Bishop of Transylvania, George Lépes, refused to collect the ecclesiastical tithe while debased, low-quality currency was in circulation. However, in 1437, following the reintroduction and stabilisation of high-value coinage, the bishop abruptly demanded all accumulated arrears to be paid in a single lump sum of good money.³⁴⁸ This ultimately proved a crushing financial demand that pushed the vulnerable peasantry, consisting mostly of Vlach populations, to the brink of rebellion.

The trajectory of the uprising unfolded through a tense, highly legalistic sequence of negotiations and fragile truces which can be traced chronologically through primary legal and diplomatic protocols.³⁴⁹ The movement that took form on Mount Bábolna was far from a homogenous peasant jacquerie: by late June 1437, it rapidly swelled into a coalition of roughly 5.000 to 6.000 armed men of diverse segments of Transylvanian society.³⁵⁰ This broad-based alliance was led and reinforced by a lesser nobleman, Antal Nagy de Buda, joined by the Vlach leader Mihai, alongside militant salt miners from Szék (Sic) and impoverished townspeople from Kolzsvár (Cluk). Following initial armed clashes after failed negotiations, the battle was calmed by “certain God-fearing nobles and honest men from the communities of nobles and inhabitants of the realm, enlightened by the grace of the Holy Spirit.”³⁵¹ This led to a formal peace treaty issued at the Convent of Cluj-Mănăştur (Kolozsmonostor) on 6 July 1437.

³⁴⁷ Appendix 7 (PL).

³⁴⁸ Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 277.

³⁴⁹ The four charters in question are included in the Appendices 8-11.

³⁵⁰ Makkai, “The Emergence of the Estates,” 225.

³⁵¹ Appendix 8, *Treaty of Cluj-Mănăştur*. Transcription in “Colectiune de diplome,” *Revista Transilvania* 4 (1873), 39-45. Author’s translation. Further referred to as “Appendix 8 (TC). Here: II.103-9: ... ex eorundem Nobilium ac Regnicolarum seu Populorum Universitatibus certorum Deum timentium Nobilium et proborum virorum per Gratiam Spiritus Sancti illustratorum cordibus ad faciendam pacem inter partes... *Colectiune de diplome*,” *Revista Transilvania* 4 (1873), 39-45.

Rather than a chaotic plunder, the resulting charter revealed a sophisticated attempt to reclaim “ancient” customary rights against recent administrative overreach. The document formally catalogued the injustices driving “the said community of Hungarians and Vlachs” to have “their necks be released from the yoke of intolerable servitude”: Bishop Lépes’s unjust accumulation of tithes,³⁵² interdicts denying family sacraments,³⁵³ arbitrary marriage of their women,³⁵⁴ and the illegal curtailment of freedom of movement that had reduced free men to chattel.³⁵⁵ In response, the Cluj-Mănăştur pact provisionally recognized a breathtaking array of economic and personal rights that completely upended traditional hierarchy:

...all persons of free condition, having duly paid the land tax and their debts, shall have the free and secure faculty to transfer themselves wherever they wish. If, however, any nobleman should wish to harass such serfs wishing to depart, or damage their goods, then the provincial count is bound to fine him with three marks.³⁵⁶

Furthermore, the treaty capped contentious episcopal tithes to fixed, predictable rates,³⁵⁷ abolished extortionate tax demands on crops and wine,³⁵⁸ strictly limited mandatory feudal gifts and labour services,³⁵⁹ and protected commoners from arbitrary seizures of property upon widowhood or childlessness.³⁶⁰ To safeguard these hard-won gains, the document even laid the groundwork for political representation, instituting an annual assembly on Mount Bábolna where village elders could legally challenge and hold the local nobility accountable.³⁶¹

This unprecedented acknowledgment of legal rights and subaltern empowerment, however, triggered a reactionary counter-mobilisation among the privileged estates. Alarmed by the concessions granted to the lower classes, they forged a clandestine conspiracy at Căpâlna (Kápolna) on 16 September 1437.³⁶² Convened by Roland Lépes (Vice-Voivode of Transylvania) alongside the counts of the Székelys, and other representatives of the nobility, the Transylvanian Saxons and the Székely seats, the assembly established a formal, exclusive “fraternal union”. While ostensibly framed as a mutual defence pact sworn to uphold loyalty to King Sigismund and protect the realm against external enemies, the charter fundamentally laid

³⁵² Appendix 8 (TC): ...allowing them to accumulate, and now wishing to extort them with heavy and burdensome coin.

³⁵³ Appendix 8 (TC): ...under which interdict their family members, namely their fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters, and others belonging to them, passed away without receiving the sacrament of the Eucharist and the other ecclesiastical sacraments, and were buried outside the church and cemetery...

³⁵⁴ Appendix 8 (TC): because their sisters and daughters had been married off contrary to the statutes and observed rites of the Holy Roman and Universal Church, which ought to be observed but were not observed;

³⁵⁵ Appendix 8 (TC): they had been reduced into grievous servitude by their lords, as if they were purchased slaves, for when they wished to move from some estates to other places to reside, they were not permitted to depart, even when deprived of their property and goods, and stripped entirely of all their rights and liberties, utterly oppressed and burdened with intolerable loads.

³⁵⁶ Appendix 8 (TC), ll. 181-86: ut universi et singuli libere conditionis homines justo ipsius deposito terragio, suisque debitis persolutis, quocunque maluerint liberam et securam se transferendi habeant facultatem.

³⁵⁷ Appendix 8 (TC), ll. 153-7: ...that henceforth, in the payment of the episcopal tithes, they shall be obligated to pay either one florin or one hundred denarii current pennies of equal value for every twenty capecii;

³⁵⁸ Appendix 8 (TC), ll. 171-5: Those, however, who hold vineyards or lands in the estates of other lords shall be bound to pay the customary land tax for the vineyards, and the usual rent or customary share of harvest for their arable land.

³⁵⁹ Appendix 8 (TC), ll. 244-55: Likewise, on the payment of taxes, festive gifts, and the performance of services, ... they shall be bound to pay their annual taxes, give gifts, and perform services under specific conditions.

³⁶⁰ Appendix 8 (TC), ll. 211-21: If they have no wife, heirs, or kinsmen, they may make a testament concerning their goods as they wish; and the landlords shall not have power to alter such a testament.

³⁶¹ Appendix 8 (TC), ll. 222-43.

³⁶² Appendix 9, *Fraterna Unio*. Transcription in *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. IV. 1416-1437, ed. Franz Zimmermann and Gustav Gündisch, pp. 638-40 [doc. 2293]. Sibiu: Krafft & Dortleff, 1937. Author’s translation. Further referred to as “Appendix 9 (FU)”.

the institutional foundations for the *Unio Trium Nationum* (Union of the Three Nations).³⁶³ It bound the elite estates into an unbreakable mutual alliance, explicitly stipulating that if the king should ever act against one of the three privileged groups, the other two would offer no military assistance, restricting their intervention solely to "humble supplication on bended knees".³⁶⁴ Furthermore, the document regulated military logistics, imposing strict, capital punishments for soldiers or villagers who abused billeting or price-gouged supplies during summer campaigns or winter quartering,³⁶⁵ and forged a united political front by legally washing away all prior internal feuds between the Bishop of Transylvania and the estates.³⁶⁶ By institutionalising this coalition of nobles, Saxons, and Székelys, the Căpâlna pact created a unified block designed specifically to isolate and systematically roll back the subaltern gains achieved just months earlier at Cluj-Mănăştur.

As the balance of power rapidly shifted back toward the propertied classes, peaceful mediation collapsed entirely. On 6 October 1437 at Apatiu (Apáti), a second, far more restrictive agreement was imposed, with formal registration on 12 October in the Convent of Cluj-Mănăştur once more.³⁶⁷ Concluded between the elite representatives and peasant captains such as Antal Nagy de Buda and the Vlach leader Mihai, this document severely curtailed or outright revoked many of the wide-ranging freedoms granted months earlier at Cluj-Mănăştur, substituting them with fixed, standardized financial burdens³⁶⁸ and renewed landlord dominance.³⁶⁹ While the agreement still gestured toward legal protocols regarding freedom of movement, stipulating that peasants could only move after paying debts, settling taxes, and fulfilling a mandatory 15-day waiting period upon return if caught fleeing, it stacked the cards firmly back in favour of the nobility. Crucially, any violation of this fragile interim settlement by the common folk carried devastating consequences:

...if any of the aforesaid communities of nobles or of inhabitants, or any individual belonging to these assemblies, refuses to stand by these terms or attempts to retract any article of this agreement, that person or party shall be formally declared an oath-breaker, against the party that remains loyal to the treaty. The inhabitants shall be bound to withdraw all protection and completely isolate such traitors.³⁷⁰

³⁶³ Appendix 9 (*FU*), ll. 15-30: Between the aforementioned nobles, Saxons, and Székelys we established a fraternal union, and after they had touched the sign of the Lord's Cross and sworn an oath, they proclaimed that they would observe it for all time. They swore that they would faithfully and perpetually uphold loyalty to the Holy Crown and to the most invincible prince and lord, Lord Sigismund, ... that they would resist all who might attack this kingdom, whatever the condition of the enemy might be. They further swore that they would remain inseparable from one another in the defence of this kingdom

³⁶⁴ Appendix 9 (*FU*), ll. 32-44: quando invictissimus princeps et dominus dominus noster Sigismundus dei gratia Romanorum imperator ac Hungariae, Bohemiae, Dalmachiae, Curuachiae et cetera [S. 639] rex alicuius voluntatis vel actionis versus harum trium partium ut puta nobilium, Saxonum vel Siculorum habere intenderet, tunc aliae duae partes non aliter nisi flexis gemibus gratiam tertiae parti impetrare succurrerent nec aliud iuvamen ullomodo praestare teneantur nec ausis in modo aliquali.

³⁶⁵ Appendix 9 (*FU*), ll. 45-69.

³⁶⁶ Appendix 9 (*FU*), ll. 98-114.

³⁶⁷ Appendix 10, *Treaty of Apatiu*. Transcription in "Colectiune de diplome," *Revista Transilvania* 6 (1873), 55-7. Author's translation. Further referred to as "Appendix 10 (ToA)."

³⁶⁸ Appendix 10 (*ToA*), ll. 80-88: Every man of the condition of a serf, or peasant, shall pay to his landlord for one full year, calculated for one full plough-team reckoned at eight oxen, one golden florin; and for a half-plough, half a florin; and for two oxen or horses ploughing (urbarium), twenty-five denars of the current coinage.

³⁶⁹ Appendix 10 (*ToA*), ll. 121-30: Likewise, every nobleman shall have the right, as customary, to exercise judicial justice within his own estate among his own serfs; and, in law, in whatever way, if any of these serfs are convicted or found guilty, the nobleman shall have full authority to extract penalties and to aggravate them accordingly...

³⁷⁰ Appendix 10 (*ToA*), ll. 425-37: ... ut si que partium predictarum Universitatum Nobilium scilicet et Regnicolarum, vel quivis singularis videlicet persona, in premissis omnibus, aut premissorum aliquo articulo, vel aliquibus articulis persistere nollet, aut quoquo modo retractare attentaret, ex tunc talis ipse, vel

By replacing revolutionary aspirations with codified subordination, the Apatiu agreement signalled the collapse of peaceful mediation, acting merely as a brief interlude before total confrontation. The military suppression of the rebellion by the united forces of the estates culminated in February 1438 at Turda (Torda), where the General Diet of Transylvania met to pass final judgment.³⁷¹ Formalising and renewing the exclusionary principles sketched out at Căpâlna (Kápolna) on 16 September 1437, this session codified the total nullification of peasant rights and institutionalised the permanent political disenfranchisement of the rebellious populace. The assembly met under the dual pressures of external threat and internal resistance, openly addressing:

...while debating among other things how the insolence and rebellion of the most nefarious peasants might be crushed and eradicated, and also how these parts might be defended against the onslaughts of the Turks; the collective nobles and Saxons of the aforementioned seats made such a union and fraternity among themselves [...] to come and hasten to the aid of the said Saxons in mutual and sincere union; and likewise, the said Saxons also ought to and would be bound to come and hasten against the rivals or enemies of the nobles, especially to crush the insolence of the aforesaid most infamous peasants.³⁷²

Crucially, the historical significance of this record is defined as much by its omissions as by its explicit prescriptions. The Vlachs, who in preceding months had been recognised (however tenuously) as an organised community capable of negotiation at Cluj-Mănăştur; were systematically erased from the political lexicon by the Diet. By subsuming the diverse participants of the rebellion into the singular, pejorative categories of “nefarious” and “infamous” peasants, the *Unio* enacted a profound narrowing of the political sphere.³⁷³ This strategic silence served to strip these groups of collective standing, reducing them to a legally invisible, subordinate class. By permanently institutionalising the coalition of the Hungarian nobility, the Transylvanian Saxons, and the Székelys, the Diet of Turda erased the legal gains for the peasantry during the brief summer of 1437, while engineering a structural exclusion that would further define the Transylvanian socio-political landscape for centuries to come.

Through this volatile chronological progression, the Bobâlna uprising thus demonstrates how subaltern groups attempted to use formal legal mechanisms and pacts to secure economic survival, only to be met by a coordinated, reactionary consolidation of elite power that legally locked in their subordination. In this regard, the Transylvanian story bears striking parallels to medieval Wales: across both contexts, marginalised populations weaponised legal frameworks to negotiate their liberties, rather than merely engaging in unorganized violence. However, just as the fragile gains won at Cluj-Mănăştur were systematically dismantled by the *Unio Trium Nationum* at Turda, so too did marginalised mobilisations ultimately encounter an unyielding wall of institutionalized lordship. Ultimately, whenever commoners captured the legal lexicon to assert their rights, the privileged estates responded with a sweeping structural retrenchment to reassert control through both military force and deliberate legal erasure of bottom-up agency itself.

quispiam ex ipsis, contra partem alteram in premissis perseverantem fidefragus habeatur, et Regnicole a defensione talium se retineant et abstrahant.

³⁷¹ Appendix 11, *Unio Trium Nationum*. Transcription in *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. IV. 1416-1437, ed. Franz Zimmermann and Gustav Gündisch, doc. 2302 (Sibiu: Krafft & Dortleff, 1937). Author's translation. Further referred to as “Appendix 11 (UTN)”.

³⁷² Appendix 11 (UTN), ll. 9-30.

³⁷³ Appendix 11 (UTN), l. 11, 28: “nefandissimorum”.

3.3.3 **REPERCUSSIVE REPRESSIONS AND SYSTEMIC EXCLUSIONS: THE PENAL LAWS (1402) AND THE UNION TRIUM NATIONUM (1438)**

When comparing the Welsh and Transylvanian uprisings, striking parallels emerge regarding how central and peripheral authorities managed systemic crises. In both cases, the outbreak and escalation of such resistances were met with a systematic hardening of legal frameworks. Whether acted during the height of the Welsh rebellion or formally codified immediately following the military suppression at Turda, the English Crown and the Transylvanian elite estates recognised that physical pacification alone was insufficient. Long-term security required the permanent structural exclusion of the rebellious populations from political, economic, and cultural life. These comparative dimensions highlight a shared administrative reflex: whenever peripheral subjects dared to redefine sovereignty through diplomacy and arms, the centre responded by weaponizing the law to institutionalise social stratification. While the specific mechanics of the Transylvanian *Unio Trium Nationum* (1438) have already been examined, this section will primarily focus on the *Penal Laws* (1402) to further unpack this comparative dynamic.

The legislative output of the English Parliament in partial response to the Glyndŵr rebellion, specifically the so-called *Penal Laws* enacted in 1402, illustrates a watershed in the institutional enforcement of ethnic segregation across the Anglo-Welsh border.³⁷⁴ Far from emerging as a sudden, knee-jerk reaction, however, these measures represented a sharp escalation of long-standing practices designed to integrate the Welsh population within an English sphere. Henry IV's parliament codified and generalised mechanisms that had been gestating since the Edwardian conquest of 1284, and in fiercely anti-Welsh municipal charters such as those of Caernarvon (1294) and Hope (1399).³⁷⁵ The sentiment should, according to R.R. Davies, not be seen as specifically anti-Welsh in its essence, but as part of a more general process in which the British Isles had been caught for several generations: the articulation of Englishness, and the demarcation of differences between the English and the other peoples, most notably the Irish and the Welsh.³⁷⁶ It is surely no coincidence that the ordinances of 1295 against the Welsh appeared only two years before the earliest similar legislation in Ireland, which was later authoritatively embedded in the *Statutes of Kilkenny* (1366). It is therefore entirely reasonable to characterise these measures as discriminatory, marking a decisive onset of England's institutionalised regulation of ethnic difference.

The statutes established economic and territorial prohibitions designed to dismantle any institutional or economic base that could sustain future resistance. Property and franchise restrictions explicitly ordained that "Welshmen shall not purchase lands in England nor in the English towns of Wales. [...] Nor that no Welshman shall be accepted Burgess, nor to have any other liberty within the Realm".³⁷⁷ It goes on to state that "no Welshmen shall have castle fortress nor house defensive of his own nor to keep."³⁷⁸ Reversing basic tenets of common law equity, the statutes also "It is ordained and stablished that no Englishman lieged to our Sovereign Lord the King be convict by any Welshman within Franchises or without... but by Englishmen", ensuring that no liege Englishman could face trial by a local Welsh jury.³⁷⁹ Furthermore, English burgesses who married Welsh women were stripped of their civic franchises.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁴ *The Statutes of Wales*, 34-36.

³⁷⁵ Davies, *Revolt of Owain*, 283.

³⁷⁶ Davies, *Revolt of Owain*, 283.

³⁷⁷ *The Statutes of Wales*, 34: Henry 4, c. 20.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 35: 4. Henry 4, c.31.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 35: 4. Henry 4, c. 26.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 36: 4. Henry 4, c.34.

To neutralize potential centres of armed resistance and secure administrative hegemony, the Crown likewise imposed strict controls on physical mobility, defence, and governance. The statutes strictly forbade unauthorized public assemblies for counsel, enacting that "no congregations be made nor suffered to be made by the Welshmen in any place of Wales, for to make or take any Council, unless it be for an evident and necessary cause."³⁸¹ They also criminalised the carrying of defensive armour or weapons, stating that "from henceforth no Welshman be armed, nor bear defencible [sic] armour to Merchant Towns, Churches, nor Congregations... except those which be lawful liege people."³⁸² Private defensive capabilities were systematically stripped away, prohibiting native Welshmen from owning or maintaining castles or defensive houses by ordaining that "no Welshman shall have Castle fortress nor house defensive of his own nor of other to keep, otherwise than was used in the time of King Edward, Conqueror of Wales."³⁸³ Concurrently, strict embargoes were placed on the transit of goods, requiring that no one "send, or bring... any victual or armour to any parts of Wales without the special license of our Sovereign Lord the King".³⁸⁴ Strategic garrisons and walled towns were mandated under to be kept exclusively by "valiant English persons, strangers to the Seigniories... and not of any man mixed of the said parties," and native elites were likewise completely barred from administrative and judicial authority.³⁸⁵

In essence, the statutes thus mandated that all strategic strongholds, ways of convening and means to defend oneself be kept exclusively by Englishmen. Of particular significance is also the legal targeting of minstrel, bardic, and literary networks, which highlights the profound cultural anxieties of the English administration:

Against Wasters, Minstrels, etc., in Wales.

Item, to eschew many diseases and mischiefs which have happened before this time in the Land of Wales by many Wasters, Rhymers, Minstrels and other Vagabonds; It is ordained and stablished that no Waster, Rhymer, Minstrel nor Vagabond be in any wise sustained in the Land of Wales to make Commorthies or gathering upon the Common people there.³⁸⁶

The construction of ethnic identity in medieval Wales was anchored primarily within the cultural domain.³⁸⁷ In native literary traditions, the concept of *gens* functioned as the primary marker of shared descent. Writers such as the court poets (*Beirdd y Tywysogion*), Gerald of Wales, and the authors of Welsh romances structured their world by categorizing populations into distinct gentes, where differences in territory, genealogy, language, and religion dictated group identity. Recognizing that these cultural networks acted as the ideological glue of the rebellion, the *Penal Laws* placed strict curbs on wandering bards and minstrels, a dynamic comparable in its sociological function to the suppression of clan structures in 18th-century Scotland.

In a parallel legal manoeuvre following the suppression of the Bobâlna revolt, the dominant political actors in Transylvania institutionalised their victory through the *Unio Trium Nationum* of 1438. By signing this pact, the three privileged political nations of Transylvania similarly formalised a permanent system of ethnic and social stratification, legally erasing the Vlachs (Romanians) and the lower peasantry from the political community despite their overwhelming numerical dominance in the region. It was not until the late 18th century that the

³⁸¹ Ibid. 34: 4. Henry IV, c. 28.

³⁸² Ibid. 35: 4. Henry IV, c. 29.

³⁸³ Ibid. 35: 4. Henry IV, c. 31.

³⁸⁴ Ibid. 35: 4. Henry IV, c. 30.

³⁸⁵ Ibid. 36: 4. Henry IV, c. 33.

³⁸⁶ Ibid. 34: 4. Henry IV, c. 27.

³⁸⁷ The significance of Welsh literary tradition will be considered in Chapters 4-5.

Romanian elite felt compelled to challenge this enduring constitutional exclusion through intellectual milestones such as the *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*, submitted to Emperor Leopold II to demand equal status with the recognized Transylvanian nations.

Ultimately, the rebellions of Owain Glyn Dŵr and Bobâlna, alongside their legislative monuments reveal the fundamental paradox of late medieval frontier integration. Efforts by central states and regional elites to assimilate peripheral zones through legal coercion inevitably provoked radical acts of resistance. Yet, the failure of these revolts resulted in even more persistent systems of exclusion that substituted legal hybridity with rigid ethnic and social segregation. In both Wales and Transylvania, the sword and the pen proved to be dual instruments in a continuous, centuries-long struggle over who could claim a legitimate place within the political community.

3.4 EARLY MODERN CODIFICATION AND THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MEDIEVAL FRONTIER: LAWS IN WALES ACTS (1534/42) AND TRIPARTITUM (1517)

This long-term institutional hardening reached its definitive early modern climax in the early 16th century, when both sovereign centres sought to permanently dismantle the administrative ambiguities of their frontiers. In the Kingdom of Hungary, this culminated in István Werbőczy's *Tripartitum* (1517), which formalized a rigid legal hierarchy in the wake of the devastating peasant uprisings. According to the *Tripartitum* (1517), Transylvanian laws are "somewhat different to and at variance with our [Hungarian] law," and "vary in certain terms and articles from the laws of our country."³⁸⁸ In his codification, Werbőczy pushed through his idea of a uniform, 'national' law that diminished the role of locally instituted laws:

"Nevertheless, they [Transylvanians] cannot establish any law, and they have no right to make statutes in contravention of general statutes and decrees of this kingdom of Hungary or against sentences and judicial decisions in cases of good and property rights which are usually made, passed and pronounced in the royal court."³⁸⁹

Werbőczy's formulation asserts that while Transylvania retained some local legal variation, its law-making capacity remained subordinate to the overarching statutes and royal judiciary of the Kingdom of Hungary. This tension between the ideal of juridical centralisation and the implicit acknowledgment of lived legal pluralism is particularly visible in Transylvanian cases where customary law continued to function as key mechanism of collective identity formation.³⁹⁰

However, in the *Tripartitum* there are clear signs that both the Hungarian monarchy and the parliament considered the Transylvanian people and the territory as falling within their legislative competence. Legislation concerning the role of the voivode in ordinary courts ("they and their deputies are the only ones who can enter a court without being invited") and the execution of sentences ("exactly the same way in Slavonia and Transylvania as in Hungary") illustrate how a jurisdictional order was projected unto Transylvania by treating the province as an integral part of the kingdom's normative landscape where institutional roles and the hierarchy of offices were expected to operate in continuity with Hungarian practices.³⁹¹

Similarly to the *Statute of Rhuddlan*, the *Tripartitum* emphasised that it was the right of the Hungarian parliament and king to decide about the rights and freedom of people in

³⁸⁸ HK. Part 3, Chapter 1., §1. Via: *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary (Decreta Regni Medaevalis Hungariae)*, vol 4. Ed. and trans. Janos M. Bak, Peter Sanyo, Martyn Rady (Budapest: 2012).

³⁸⁹ Ibid. 145.

³⁹⁰ For the importance of customary law, see Chapter 2.

³⁹¹ Mezey, "Transylvania," 146-7.

Transylvania: "Our kingdom of Slavonia as well as Transylvania will be protected in their traditional freedoms, customs and laws."³⁹² The shared constitutional grammar becomes unmistakable when read alongside Rhuddlan's declaration that "the People or Inhabitants of those Lands who have submitted themselves absolutely unto our will, and whom We have thereunto so accepted, should be protected in security within our peace under fixed Laws and Customs."³⁹³ In both cases, the promise to preserve local custom functions as a rhetoric of subordination: provincial laws are acknowledged only to the extent that they are authorised. Legal pluralism emerges as means of stratification instead of coexistence, and thus social boundary-making that marks difference and asserts control. Within such a stratified order, Welsh and Vlach customs become state-defined frontier identities, preserved as governable categories embedded in a normative hierarchy. The Crown and Parliament retain the exclusive right to define what counts as legitimate legal tradition and what not; thus, enforcing centre-periphery ideals.

Within this comparative frame, Wales and Transylvania emerge as asymmetrically integrated frontier zones. Their populations are incorporated through implicit subordination rather than through erasure of difference. What appears as a peaceful guarantee of continuity is therefore a declaration of incorporation asserting the dominance of an institutional centre in determining the meaning and legal limits of its provincial identities. From a Barthian perspective this is a paradigmatic instance of boundary-making in which the state does not merely recognise pre-existing ethnic or legal boundaries but actively produces them by defining which local customs may persist and under what conditions. Seen through the complementary lens of collective identity formation then, the *Tripartitum* and the *Statute* help constitute 'Vlachness' and 'Welshness' by defining certain customs as Vlach or Welsh, thereby consolidating heterogenous frontier populations into a recognisable and governable group embedded within a hierarchy.

A striking structural parallel to Werbőczy's project is the contemporary Henrician integration of Wales through the *Laws in Wales Acts* of 1535 and 1542 (commonly referred to as the *Acts of Union*).³⁹⁴ While a detailed comparative analysis of this extensive corpus of 16th-century Tudor legislation lies beyond the immediate structural scope of this study, their parallel trajectory toward systemic legal unification underscores how centralizing states actively instrumentalised codification. Just as the *Tripartitum* sought to swallow Transylvanian particularism into a unified Hungarian legal consciousness, the Tudor state sought to eradicate the fragmented medieval jurisdictions of the Marcher lordships and the remnants of Welsh custom. Much like the *Tripartitum* promised that Transylvania would be "protected in their traditional freedoms" while simultaneously gutting their legislative independence, the Henrician legislation similarly utilized a rhetoric of paternal integration, claiming to lift Wales into the same "laws, rights, and freedoms" as England, while explicitly banning the Welsh language.

In both the *Tripartitum* and the *Acts of Union*, the 16th-century state weaponized legal codification as an instrument of social boundary-making. The shared constitutional grammar between the two realms becomes unmistakable: provincial laws and regional identities are acknowledged only to the extent that they are filtered and authorised by a central sovereign power. Legal pluralism, which had once operated as a flexible, transactional tool of frontier governance in the 13th-century blueprints of Rhuddlan (*Statutum Walliae*) and Hermannstadt (*Diploma Andreanum*), was transformed by the 16th century into a strict mechanism of domestic stratification. Within this early modern comparative frame, both 'Vlachness' and 'Welshness' were consolidated into rigid, state-defined legal categories.

³⁹² Based on Act (I) of 1464/Chapter 13. *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*.

³⁹³ *The Statutes of Wales*, 2.

³⁹⁴ *The Statutes of Wales*, 51-133.

4. SACRALISING DIFFERENCE: RELIGIOUS SITES, PATRONAGE AND NATIVE IDENTITY IN HAGIOGRAPHY AND ICONOGRAPHY

While the structural consolidation of medieval frontier regions is frequently charted through the formalisation of territorial law, it was equally dependent upon the delineation of the sacred.³⁹⁵ In the medieval Latin West, religion operated as a totalising institutional framework that organised physical space, daily conduct and social hierarchy. Specifically in heavily contested borderlands such as Wales and Transylvania, the landscape of the sacred became a primary site for the articulation of power and identity.³⁹⁶ Rather than functioning as neutral or universally shared *lieux de mémoire*, sacred sites were internally differentiated, serving as contested arenas where distinct social and ethnic groups maintained competing versions of the past.³⁹⁷ As Wickham and Fentress have compellingly demonstrated regarding the social construction of memory, expressions of social memory operate as active acts of commemoration through which political communities affirm present solidarity.³⁹⁸ They observe that “social memory is not stable as information; it is stable, rather, at the level of shared meanings and remembered images.”³⁹⁹ Sacred topographies thus constituted fields of intense normative competition between central authorities, disparate local estates, and varied communal groups. Here, ecclesiastical structures were often mobilised by central elites to enforce social boundaries, prompting subordinate populations to draw upon the relative autonomy of their own traditions to maintain internal communal cohesion and assert group distinctiveness.⁴⁰⁰

In both post-conquest Wales and the Transylvanian basin, the construction of these religious boundaries mirrored the divergent trajectories of political integration. Within the four dioceses of Wales, the post-1284 reality was marked by a logic of institutional assimilation, as the English crown and archiepiscopal see of Canterbury sought to draw Welsh ecclesiastical structures into the Anglo-Norman orbit.⁴⁰¹ Conversely, the Vlach community within Transylvania experienced a dynamic of institutional exclusion: as an Orthodox population within a kingdom whose institutional framework was explicitly tied to the Latin Church, their faith was relegated to the status of a tolerated practice.⁴⁰² Yet, despite these structural differences, so I argue, both communities actively used religion to resist cultural erasure and enhance their own identity.

This chapter focuses on how local religious practice could be transformed into a powerful mechanism of cultural autonomy, as a reaction to centralising politics from above. The analysis opens by reconstructing the institutional blueprints of the frontier episcopates, detailing the structural mechanics of Canterbury’s administrative grip over Wales, and the Hungarian Crown’s confessional marginalisation of the Orthodox Vlachs. To substantiate how

³⁹⁵ On religion and frontier expansion, see: Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, 243-68.

³⁹⁶ For the theory of space as social product, see: Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l’espace* (Paris: Anthropos, 1974).

³⁹⁷ The concept of collective memory anchored in physical space originates with Maurice Halbwachs, see: *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris: Alcan, 1923); *La mémoire collective* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1950). For the subsequent development of *lieux de mémoire*, see: Pierre Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984). On the codification of these sacred landmarks into institutional frameworks, see: Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: Beck, 1992). He contrasted short-term “storage memory” to state-backed “functional memory” that structures the worldview and self-understanding of groups. For a full synthesis of these insights specifically applied to the discursive construction of communal identity via a legitimizing past, see: Naoise Mac Sweeney (ed.), *Foundation Myths in Ancient Societies: Dialogues and Discourses* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

³⁹⁸ James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁴⁰⁰ Fredrik Barth, *Models of Social Organisation* (London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1966).

⁴⁰¹ On the post-conquest reorganisation of Welsh dioceses under Canterbury, see: Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church: From Conquest to Reformation* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1976), 35-80.

⁴⁰² The most significant consequence of this status was a stark discrepancy in state funding, leaving the Orthodox community with no institutional financial support, instead forcing them to sustain religious life at grassroots level.

these top-down pressures were negotiated in the field, the argument combines a close reading of narrative sources with the interpretation of material culture. This methodological choice was dictated by the surviving sources of entirely divergent sociolinguistic realities. In Wales, a robust literary culture thrived: monastic networks (particularly Cistercian scriptoria) worked in tandem with professional poets and bards (*beirdd*), whose cultural production actively preserved and shaped local hagiographies. Consequently, the analysis of post-conquest Wales leans heavily on narrative texts, exploring how local cults, such as that of Saint Beuno, were deployed to claim a legitimised spiritual genealogy independent of English authority.

By contrast, while Transylvania also possessed prominent monastic centres (such as the Benedictine abbey of Koloszmónostér), these institutions were often firmly tethered to the royal elite and largely detached from the oral, pastoral life of the Orthodox Vlachs. Although Vlach communities undoubtedly possessed their own oral performance traditions, these were not institutionalised in a written vernacular as in Wales. Given this low literacy and the absence of a comparable literary tradition, their veneration of figures such as Saint George functioned within a broader, shared Orthodox framework rather than a localised written tradition. Hence, the argument shifts its focus to material and visual culture, examining iconographic evidence from key sites such as Streisângeorgiu under the lens of political patronage. Ultimately, this chapter hypothesises that while both communities utilised religious topography as a strategic medium to contest institutional hegemony, they did so through divergent modes of identity-making: whereas the Welsh case suggests a reliance on the textual preservation of indigenous hagiographic narratives, the Transylvanian evidence points towards a strategy of asserting autonomy through the material marking of a sacred space.

4.1 ECCLESIASTICAL GEOPOLITICS: CANTERBURY, ALBA IULIA, AND THE BORDERLAND SEES OF WALES AND TRANSYLVANIA

The reconfiguration of regional identities in medieval Wales and Transylvania was fundamentally shaped by the structural designs of expanding ecclesiastical authorities. Both frontiers were organised via competing institutional blueprints that either absorbed or excluded indigenous populations. By acknowledging church administration as the primary axis of social and political boundary-making, the ruling regimes ensured that the religious landscape became inextricably linked with the mechanics of territorial consolidation. The accompanying stabilisation of political authority on the frontier depended heavily on whether expanding core institutions chose to integrate local sacred networks or legally exclude them from the machinery of the state. Before turning to the primary material, this section establishes the necessary historical contexts based on existing historiography, providing the institutional backdrop required to understand how Welsh and Vlach communities navigated pressures.

The subordination of the four ancient Welsh sees of St Davids, Llandaff, Bangor, and St Asaph (see Fig. 11 below) to the metropolitan authority of Canterbury was a legacy of the

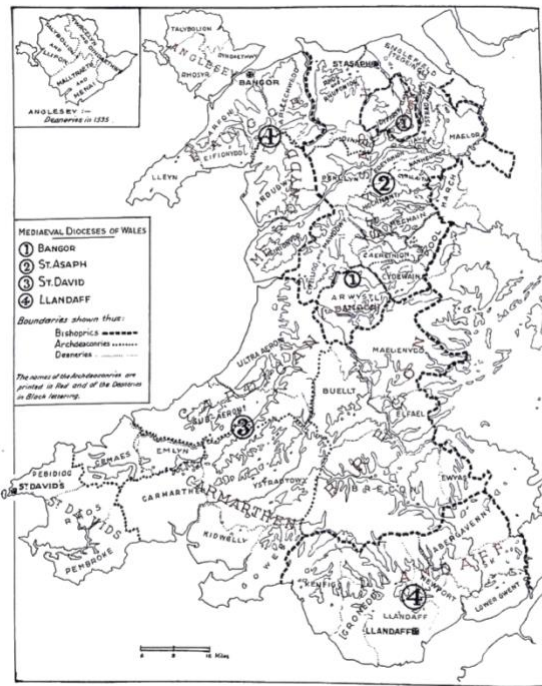


Fig. 11. Medieval bishoprics of Wales.
Source: Rees, *Historical Atlas*.

early Norman expansion into Wales, which had long turned the Welsh church into a contested periphery of the English church.⁴⁰³ This takeover was fiercely resisted from its outset: writing in the wake of the Norman conquests of South Wales in 1093, the Bishop of St. David's Rhygyfarch lamented in his *Planctus* that "free necks are subjected to the yoke" of Norman aggression.⁴⁰⁴ Particularly at St Davids, the seat of the Welsh patron Dewi Sant, this ecclesiastical domination acted like a red rag to a bull. Possessing a sacred prestige that local elites fiercely defended, they insisted that St Davids was historically an independent archbishopric that should not bow to English rule, a status heavily emphasised in Rhygyfarch's *Vita S. David*.⁴⁰⁵ Hence, from the 12th century onwards, repeated attempts were made to resist this hegemony and rectify what the native Welsh perceived to be an unsatisfactory situation.⁴⁰⁶ Around the turn of the 13th century,

Gerald of Wales famously petitioned the papal curia to recognise St Davids' independent metropolitan authority.⁴⁰⁷ Although his efforts failed, the dream endured under the surface. By the late medieval period, this spirit was powerfully sustained by a strong bardic tradition surrounding Saint David as protector of Wales: Dafydd Llwyd calls upon the saint in his *Moliant i Dewi* (Eulogy to David) to aid the Welsh in gaining their freedom, and responsibility echoed in Gwynfardd Brycheiniog's *Canu i Dewi* (Song for David) and Ieuan ap Rhydderch's *Awdl i Ddewi Sant* (Ode to Saint David).⁴⁰⁸ This underlying resistance, kept alive by local clergy and *cyfarwyddiaid* (storytellers) alike, viewed Canterbury's oversight as oppressive.⁴⁰⁹ It ultimately erupted into open defiance during the Owain Glyn Dŵr rebellion, when prominent Welsh churchmen broke ranks with the English establishment.⁴¹⁰ Most notably, Bishop John Trefor II of St Asaph defected to the rebel cause and helped author the "Pennal policy" of 1406; a manifesto demanding the creation of an independent Welsh province with St Davids as its metropolitan head, completely free from Canterbury's grip.⁴¹¹

Beyond these high-level institutional disputes, the reality of English ecclesiastical control on the ground was enforced through monastic networks. What happened was not merely a nominal submission: the new regime weaponised the continental diocesan and parish

⁴⁰³ Davies, *Age of Conquest*, 172-8; Karen Stöber, "Ecclesiastical Identity in the Making: The Medieval Cathedral and Bishopric of St David's (Wales)," *Imago Temporis: Medium Aevum* 14 (2020): 188.

⁴⁰⁴ For and edition and translation of the poem, see Michael Lapidge, "The Welsh-Latin Poetry of Sulien's Family," *Studia Celtica* 8 (1973): 89-93.

⁴⁰⁵ Stöber, "Ecclesiastical Identity," 186; see also Elissa R. Henken, "Welsh Hagiography and the Nationalist Impulse," in *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults*, ed. Jane Cartwright (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), 32-6.

⁴⁰⁶ Stöber, "Ecclesiastical Identity," 188.

⁴⁰⁷ Brynley F. Roberts, *Writers of Wales: Gerald of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1982), 42-5; Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146-1223* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 58-64. See also: Michael Richter, *Giraldus Cambrensis: Growth of the Welsh Nation* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1976).

⁴⁰⁸ DewiDL II. 89-90; DewiRh II. 125-6; DewiGB II. 35-40

⁴⁰⁹ Davies, *Age of Conquest*, 145-50.

⁴¹⁰ Williams, *The Welsh Church*, 212-45; Stöber, "Ecclesiastical Identity," 194; see also Robert Rees Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, 213-4.

⁴¹¹ Ibid. *The Welsh Church*, 225. Considered earlier, see Chapter 3.3.

structures that had been incrementally filtering into the Marcher borders since the Norman expansion of the early 12th century.⁴¹² Benedictine priories, long embedded in southern lowland garrison towns such as Abergavenny and Monmouth, provided a pre-existing infrastructure of English control (see Fig. 11).⁴¹³ From an identitarian perspective, these ‘alien’ priories were deeply problematic for the native population, as they remained dependent on their continental or English mother abbeys and were physically leaning on newly established Norman castles.⁴¹⁴ Hence, they were often perceived as spiritual strongholds for the occupying elite, rather than spaces of pastoral care. Conversely, other prominent orders such as the Cistercians and the Augustinian canons were more favourably received (see Fig. 1). While the latter played a key role in the repopulation and continuation of some of the ancient Welsh monasteries, the former became deeply integrated into native Welsh patronage, thus both contributing to an autonomous sacred counter-landscape of the native Welsh.⁴¹⁵



Fig. 12. From left to right: Benedictine priories, Cistercian abbeys and Augustinian canons. Geographical dispersion of the latter two shows their favourable position (rather than being centred in one region). Source: Burton and Stöber, *Abbeys and Priories of Medieval Wales*.

In stark contrast, Orthodox Vlach communities in Transylvania developed within a more fluid political and confessional environment in which they were not initially constructed as a fixed ecclesiastical and social “Other”, though over time they increasingly came to occupy and internalise that position.⁴¹⁶ During the 13th and early-14th century, Orthodox Vlachs still participated in the political life of medieval Transylvania alongside Hungarian nobles, Saxons, and Szeklers, as evidenced by their participation in general assemblies.⁴¹⁷ The latter groups adhered predominantly to the Latin rite, while the Vlachs observed Eastern Orthodoxy. At this point, Hungary was neither a tolerant nor a persecuting society, making it an insightful case to consider the complex web of factors that together determined Christian policies.⁴¹⁸ Although the conquest of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade (1204) and the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) contributed to a growing emphasis on ecclesiastical unity and papal authority

⁴¹² Stöber, “Hagiography and National Consciousness: The Case of Sant Beuno of Wales,” *Imago Temporis: Medium Aevum* 13 (2019): 45.

⁴¹³ Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (eds.), *Abbeys and Priories of Medieval Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015), 7-10. For Abergavenny, see 36-40; for Monmouth, see 144-6.

⁴¹⁴ Burton and Stöber (eds.), *Abbeys and Priories*, 9.

⁴¹⁵ Stöber, “Hagiography,” 45.

⁴¹⁶ For a theoretical framework on how sovereign institutions codify difference through systemic categorisation and discipline, see Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977); and on the mechanisms of cultural and legal othering, see Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

⁴¹⁷ For earlier discussion of Vlach participation in general assemblies, see Chapter 2 (pages).

⁴¹⁸ Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, 53.

within Latin Christendom, their immediate impact on Hungary remained limited.⁴¹⁹ The reign of Ladislaus IV (r. 1272-1290) illustrates the extent to which the enforcement of Latin religious norms remained uneven: his close association with “pagan” (Cuman) customs repeatedly drew reactions from the Holy See.⁴²⁰ However, the 14th century heralded a new era under the Angevin dynasty. As Latin Christendom increasingly came to be regarded as the kingdom’s official religion (*religio recepta*), political legitimacy and social status became more closely linked to religious affiliation. This culminated in the Decree of Turda (1366), which effectively reduced the status of Vlach elites without membership in the Latin Church to that of mere rural magistrates.⁴²¹ Although this removal of the Vlachs from “collegiate” administration was driven by religious rather than ethnic motivations, it accelerated their marginalisation. The Hungarian Crown could neither conceive of nor accept an Orthodox group holding positions of authority in a kingdom explicitly framed as a bulwark against the Orthodox East.⁴²² The model of the Church of Rome remained dominant, in this case settled in the influential bishopric of Alba, setting the hierarchical parameters until Transylvania fell in 1541.⁴²³

Yet, these developments coincided with the consolidation of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia bordering Transylvania, and the gradual emergence of autonomous Orthodox metropolitanates there – respectively Ungrovlachia (1359) and Moldavia (1401) – beyond the direct reach of the Hungarian church officials representing the Church of Rome.⁴²⁴ As the Hungarian Crown prohibited the establishment of an official Orthodox hierarchy within Transylvania, these metropolitan sees under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, became vital sanctuaries for Transylvanian Orthodoxy. Vlach priests routinely crossed the Carpathians to be ordained by these foreign metropolitans, effectively creating a transnational network of religious resilience. Internally, the Vlach Church historically lacked a written constitution and was loosely governed by a synodal organisation of regional bishops who convened primarily for hierarchical consecrations. Deeply rooted in rural life, its monasticism consisted largely of peasants, while priesthood was a hereditary office deeply shaped by Old Church Slavonic liturgy.⁴²⁵ During the 14th and 15th centuries, as the Ottomans increasingly advanced into the Balkans, the geopolitical ties between these three regions transformed into a lifeline for Transylvanian Orthodoxy. While Transylvania’s own John Hunyadi (Voivode, 1441–1446) demonstrated how Vlach nobles had to convert to Western Christianity to achieve political status in Hungary, his contemporaries across the mountains remained staunch defenders of the Eastern faith. Rulers like Vlad Țepeș of Wallachia (r. 1456–1462) and Stephen the Great of Moldavia (r. 1457–1504) actively sustained Romanian Orthodoxy by funding stone churches and supporting monasteries.⁴²⁶ Consequently, the close relations between these three provinces were deeply intertwined through a shared interest in preserving the Orthodox faith under Latin rule well into the 16th century.⁴²⁷

⁴¹⁹ Ioan-Aurel Pop, “Religiones and Nationes in Transylvania during the 16th Century,” *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies* 12 (2013): 214.

⁴²⁰ Ibid. 215.

⁴²¹ See Chapter 2 of this thesis for a detailed discussion on the Decree of Turda (1366) and its socioeconomic impacts, On the Unio Trium Nationum, see also Chapter 3 of this thesis.

⁴²² Pop, Ioan-Aurel. “Religiones and Nationes in Transylvania during the 16th Century,” *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies* 12 (2013): 215.

⁴²³ Engel, *Realm of St Stephen*, 370-1.

⁴²⁴ Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500-1453* (New York: Cardinal, 1971), 335.

⁴²⁵ Nicolae Iorga, *A History of Roumania: Land, People, Civilisation* (London: Histrion Books, 2019), 120.

⁴²⁶ Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria românilor din cele mai vechi timpuri pînă astăzi* (Bucharest: Albatros, 1975), 61.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 62.

4.2 HAGIOGRAPHY AND WELSH IDENTITY: THE CASE OF SAINT BEUNO

Having traced how ecclesiastical power reshaped identity on both frontiers, we return to Wales to see how the native communities strategically revived native hagiography. Confronted with their new administration (both political and ecclesiastical), the Welsh clergy sought to defend and consolidate their position. It was precisely this context of alienation that urged the reinstatement and promotion of native saint cults. Welsh monastic scriptoria, most notably within Cistercian houses such as Strata Florida (Mid-Wales), Valle Crucis (North Wales and Margam Abbey (South Wales), actively revitalised the cults of indigenous saints.⁴²⁸ First and foremost among them was the cult of Saint David, followed two centuries later by the revitalisation of the cult of Saint Beuno.⁴²⁹ The strategic promotion of these saintly figures and their far-reaching cults aimed to lend weight and credibility to a Welsh church under threat.⁴³⁰ By constructing an independent spiritual genealogy that bypassed Anglo-Norman claims and relied on its ancient origins, native hagiography transformed the Welsh literary landscape into an exclusive reservoir of collective memory. In these narratives, the saints often appear as heroic figures defending their country and its people, and as such played a crucial role in the creation of a mythical golden age of a splendid Wales.⁴³¹ As Elissa Henken states: “those 5th- and 6th-century men and women [...] were local heroes whose cults did not extend far beyond their own immediate territories. [...] But some expanded their influence from local to regional and even national levels, playing a role in the politics of both Church and State.”⁴³²

Latin *vitae* of the Welsh saints were composed in both strongly Welsh houses and more Norman ones, but Welsh translations exist for only two Welsh saints: David at St Davids, and Beuno at Clynnog Fawr.⁴³³ While David’s national pre-eminence is undisputed, focusing on Beuno offers a crucial regional counterweight: whereas David’s cult was co-opted by the establishment, Beuno provides a clearer lens onto the distinct, localized resistance of North Wales. As Wales’s proverbial “second saint” after David, the 7th-century north Welsh abbot Saint Beuno and the cult surrounding him provide a clear case study.⁴³⁴ Together with David’s *vita*, Beuno’s translated story, known as *Buchedd Beuno*, was written into the so-called *Book of the Anchorite of Llandewibrefi* (*Llyfr Ancr*; Jesus College Oxford, MS 119), a monumental vernacular manuscript compiled and dated 1346.⁴³⁵ This manuscript has been described as “the fullest and most significant compendium of medieval religious and philosophical texts extant in Welsh,” pointing to its high-ranking ecclesiastical patronage.⁴³⁶

The lost Latin original, likely dating from the 12th or early 13th century and from which this translation of *Buchedd Beuno* was made, has presumably not survived.⁴³⁷ It is also unlikely to determine the exact place of its composition or author. It seems logical, however, to assume that the original Latin text was composed either in the scriptorium of Clynnog Fawr (the centre

⁴²⁸ Burton and Stöber (eds.), *Abbeys and Priors*. For Strata Florida, see 191, 215; for Valle Crucis, see 215; for Margam Abbey, see 141-2. See also: Helen Fulton, “The Geography of Welsh Literary Production in Late Medieval Glamorgan,” *Journal of Medieval History* 41 (2015): 325-40.

⁴²⁹ For David’s *vita*, see: Rhygyfarch, *The Life of St. David*, translated by D.P. Curtin (Wilmington: Dalcassian Press, 2023). Originally written in Latin and translated into Welsh in the 14th century; the translation is significant for the saint’s cult and a major milestone in Welsh literary landscape. Canonized in 1120, Saint David has been the patron saint of Wales ever since.

⁴³⁰ Elissa Henken, “Welsh Hagiography and the Nationalist Impulse,” 29-30.

⁴³¹ Stöber, “Hagiography,” 47.

⁴³² Henken, “Welsh Hagiography and the Nationalist Impulse,” 26.

⁴³³ *Ibid.* 37.

⁴³⁴ See *Buchedd Beuno: The Middle Welsh Life of St Beuno*, ed. Patrick Sims-Williams (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2018), 1. South Wales is considered as David’s realm, North Wales that of Beuno.

⁴³⁵ Stöber, “Hagiography,” 47.

⁴³⁶ Williams, *The Welsh Church*, 104.

⁴³⁷ *Buchedd Beuno*, 19.

of the cult of St Beuno) or commissioned by Beuno's disciples there.⁴³⁸ The Welsh translation itself has come down to us in four manuscripts: apart from the version preserved in the 14th-century *Llyfr Ancr*, surviving copies include redactions in Llanstephan MS 27 (late 14th century), Peniarth MS 15 (last quarter 14th century) and Llanstephan MS 4 (early 15th century).⁴³⁹ This high concentration of copies within just a few decades illustrates the sudden ideological relevance of such text. Indeed, it can be considered one of the few texts of ecclesiastical origin that clearly contrasts the region's indigenous population with the 'invaders', thereby offering a view, through the eyes of the clergy, of the conflict over political and property interests that unfolded. Some of these themes and details associated with St Beuno's tradition, can likewise be found in the *vita* of the Saint Winifred, whose cult was, in all likelihood, derivative of that of her uncle Beuno.⁴⁴⁰ Furthermore, these regional traditions and ancestral connections are preserved and elaborated upon in *Bonedd y Saint*, an authoritative medieval genealogical treatise mapping out the lineages and foundational legends of native saints such as Beuno.⁴⁴¹

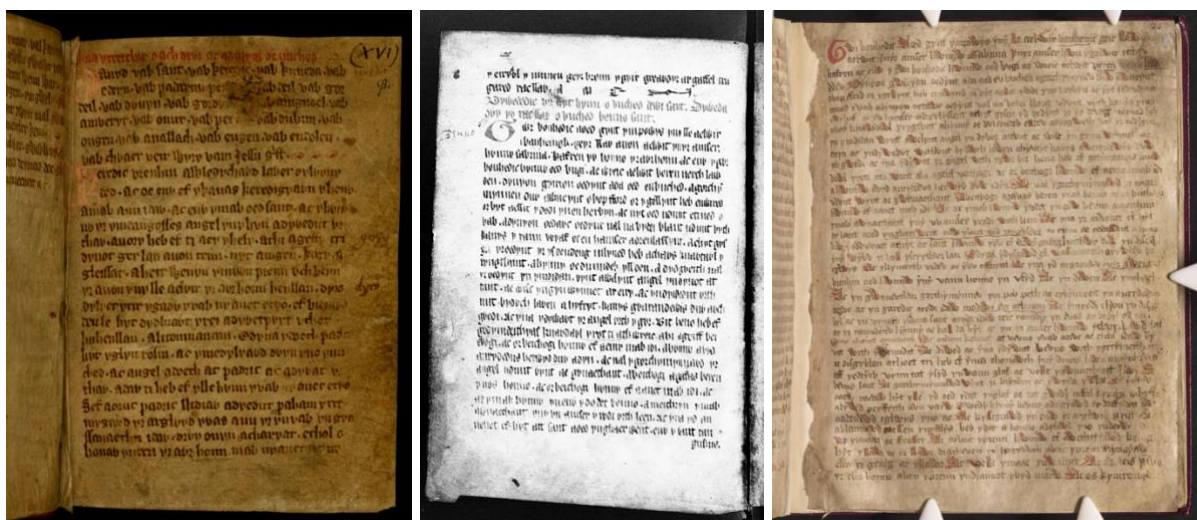


Fig. 13. From left to right, first page of *Buchedd Beuno* in: *The Book of the Anchorite* (1346, f. 104r), Llanstephan 27 (late 14th century, f. 71v), and Peniarth 15 (early 15th century, p. 25).

Sources: Digital Bodleian and National Library of Wales.

Buchedd Beuno spans the entirety of Beuno's life, tracking his trajectory from the miraculous circumstances surrounding his birth to his death in the mid-7th century.⁴⁴² According to the narrative, his "aged" parents in Powys had long abandoned any expectation of offspring when an angel appeared to inform his father on Beuno's imminent birth, providing advice that led to a prompt pregnancy:

§2. On a day, whilst they were conversing, they saw an angel coming to them with his raiment as white as snow, and saying to them, "Be glad and pleasant, because God has heard your prayer." And then the angel said to the man, "Let

⁴³⁸ Patrick Sims-Williams, "Clas Beuno and the Four Branches of the Mabinogi," in *150 Jahre 'Mabinogion': Deutsch-walische Kulturbeziehungen*, ed. Bernhard Maier et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2001), 123. The hagiography may have reflected Clynngog Fawr's fears of losing part of their income due to active hostilities in eastern Wales.

⁴³⁹ *Buchedd Beuno*, 8-14.

⁴⁴⁰ On the cult of Saint Winifred and her relationship to Beuno, see also the detailed discussion later in this thesis regarding medieval pilgrimage networks and sacred landscapes: Chapter 5.2.

⁴⁴¹ For a full edition of the text, see: *Bonedd y Saint. An Edition and Study of the Genealogies of the Welsh Saints*, ed. Barry J. Lewis (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, School of Celtic Studies, 2023).

⁴⁴² "Buchedd Beuno," in *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, ed. Arthur W. Wade-Evans (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1944), 16-22. For English translation by Wade-Evans published later, with annotations: "Beuno Sant," *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 85 (1930): 315-41. Transcripts of both are included in Appendix 12. Further on referred to as Appendix 12 (VSBG).

there be (said he) carnal connection tonight between thee and thy wife. And she shall have conception, and from that conception a son will be born to her. And he will be honourable before God and man.” And as the angel bade them, so they did. And conception Beren had that night. And from that conception there was born to her a son. And on that son was imposed for a name Beuno.⁴⁴³

While his parents fade from the narrative thereafter, this episode does crucial ideological work. By framing Beuno’s conception through direct angelic intervention, echoing biblical announcements of holy births, the text endows the saint a spiritual pedigree. This divine sanction is further reinforced by the extensive genealogical list appended to the end of the life, which anchors Beuno within an elite matrix tracing back through generations of rulers to Anna, whose mother was supposedly “cousin to Mary the Virgin, the mother of Christ.”⁴⁴⁴

This sets the stage for his ecclesiastical training and initial territorial footprint. After his education under St Tangasius in Caerwent (§3), a major educational hub in southern Wales, Beuno was granted “three share-lands in Ewys” (§4) at a site later known as Llanfeuno (Gwent, South Wales), where he established his first monastery.⁴⁴⁵ Seemingly settled and surrounded by disciples and monks, Beuno’s stability was abruptly cut short by his father “sickened of a hopeless disease,” requesting Beuno “to come to his weakness and his ending.”⁴⁴⁶ Upon receiving this news, Beuno travelled back to Powys. This was a pivotal event that effectively launched his peregrination across North Wales. The remainder of the narrative recounts his wandering, interspersed with conventional wonders such as the resuscitation of his niece Saint Winifred (§13), and political encounters with contemporary secular rulers including King Cadfan of Gwynedd (§13), who is in fact a historical figure who died c. 616.⁴⁴⁷ His final years are spent founding the monastery Clynnog Fawr (§16) on the northern coast of North Wales, which does not survive. What does remain is a monumental late-medieval parish church, which given its size and the nearby curative holy well Ffynnon Beuno (St. Beuno’s Well), proves how Clynnog Fawr has been a site of religious significance that reflects the immense prestige of Beuno’s cult.⁴⁴⁸ The text fittingly concludes Beuno’s earthly trajectory with a vision, wherein dying on the seventh day after Easter, he beholds the open heavens:

§22. As Beuno's life was ending and his day approaching, the seventh day after Easter, he saw heaven opened, and angels descending and ascending up again. And then Beuno said: "I see," said he, "the Trinity, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and Peter and Paul, and David the innocent, and Deiniol, and the

⁴⁴³ Appendix 12 (VSBG), §2: “A dydgweith val yr oedynt yn ymdidan, wynt a welynt angel yn dyuot attunt ae wisc yn gynwynnet ar eiry, ac yn dywedut vrthynt, “Bydwch lawen a hyuryt, kanys gwerendewis Duw ych gwedi.” Ac yna y dywat yr angel vrth y gwr, “Bit heno (heb ef) getymeithas knawdawl yrothi ath wreic, a hi a geiff veichogi, ac or beichogi hwnnw ef a enir mab idi, a hwnnw a uyd anrydedus herwyd Duw a dyn.” Ac val y gorchymynnawd yr angel vdunt, wynt ae gwnnaethant. A beichogi a gauas Beren y nos honno. Ac or beichogi hwnnw ef a anet mab idi. Ac ar y mab hwnnw y dodet yn enw Beuno.”

⁴⁴⁴ Appendix 12 (VSBG), §23: “Here is the pedigree of Beuno. Beuno, son of Bugi, son of Gwynlliw, son of Tegid, son of Cadell Drynlluc, son of Categyrnn, son of Gortheyrnn, son of Gortheyrnn, son of Rittegyrnn, son of Deheuwynnt, son of Eudegan, son of Eudegern, son of Elud, son of Eudos, son of Eudoleu, son of Auallach, son of Amalech, son of Belim, son of Anna. The mother of that Anna was cousin to Mary the Virgin, the mother of Christ.”

⁴⁴⁵ Appendix 12 (VSBG), §3: “And then he was sent to a saint who was in Caerwent. The name of the saint was Tangusius.” §4: “...a rodi idaw teir ranndir yn Ewas...”

⁴⁴⁶ Appendix 12 (VSBG), §5: “Ac yn yr amsser hwnnw y cleuychawd tat Beuno o heint annobeith”

⁴⁴⁷ Appendix 12 (VSBG), §13: “And when the mass was ended, the virgin arose quite well, and she dried her sweat from her face. And God and Beuno made her quite well... And one of those, who then believed, was Cadfan, king of Gwynedd. And he gave to Beuno much land and soil.”

⁴⁴⁸ For a study on the pervasive role of holy wells (*ffynhonnau*) in mapping the sacred landscape and folk culture of Wales, see Francis Jones, *The Holy Wells of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1954; repr. 2003). These wells often functioned as essential stations on late-medieval regional pilgrimage networks, bridging the gap between local topographic memory and institutional hagiography. This topic remains to be covered in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

saints and the prophets, and the apostles and the martyrs, appearing to me. And I see in the midst thereof seven angels standing by the chair of the supreme Father, and all the fathers of heaven, whilst the singing says 'Blessed is he, whom thou hast chosen and hast received and who will dwell [with thee] eternally.'"⁴⁴⁹

By deliberately inserting regional heavyweights such as David, and Deiniol of Bangor (North Wales), into Beuno's celestial reception committee, the text binds these northern and southern cults into a unified, sacred Welsh ecosystem. This literary alignment envisioned and reinforced a collective ecclesiastical identity that transcended regional divisions and was rooted in saints.

Within this life story, two episodes stand out as nationalistic confrontations aimed at defining Welsh identity against an English threat. The first takes place back in Powys, where the death of Beuno's father serves as the catalyst for the first miraculous event of his adult life. After burying his father, Beuno plants an acorn at the side of the grave, which grows into an immense oak tree possessing a violently exclusionary power:

"[St Beuno] planted an acorn in the side of his father's grave. And that grew there into an oak enormous in height and girth. And on top of that tree a branch counter-grew to the ground, and from the ground back as high as the top of the tree. And the bend of the branch stayed on the ground. And thus it is still. And if a [Seis (Englishman)] goes between that bend and the trunk of the tree, he will die without delay. And if a [Kymro (Welshman)] goes there, he will be none the worse."⁴⁵⁰

This "Englishman-killing tree" represents a blatantly hostile, xenophobic miracle.⁴⁵¹ Aside from the supernatural occurrences surrounding Beuno's birth, it is telling that the very first wonder associated with Beuno's active ministry is the creation of a lethal, biological border marker that executes immediate transcendental justice upon the *Seis* while leaving the *Kymro* unscathed. By embedding this anti-English mechanism into the natural growth of a tree guarding a native ancestral grave, the hagiographer establishes an indissoluble link between Welsh soil, blood lineage, and divine protection. The choice of an oak is highly deliberate here, leveraging the tree's Celtic symbolism as an emblem of enduring native sovereignty.⁴⁵² The landscape itself is thus depicted as inherently Welsh and hostile to English presence. Crafted within the clerical milieu of the northern *clasau* (native Christian churches such as Clynnog Fawr), such motifs reflect the institutional anxieties and defensive posture of the native church elite rather than a universal folk sentiment, operating in a vacuum where English administrative and chronographic sources (indifferent to such Welsh saints) left the indigenous cult undisturbed.

Following this foundational miracle, Beuno travels on to secure political patronage from the king of Powys, who granted him further territories upon which to settle his community (§7). The material memory of this settlement remains visible in the modern landscape through *Maen*

⁴⁴⁹ Appendix 12 (VSBG), §22: "Ac val yr oed hoedyl Beuno yn daruot ae dyd yn dyuot, y seithuet dyd gwedy y Pasc, ef a welei y nef yn agoret ac englyonn yn gogwstwn ac yn dyrchael y vynydracheuen. Ac yna y dywat Beuno, "Mi a welaf (heb) y Trindawt, y Tat ar Mab ar Yspryt Gian, a Pheder, a Phawl, a Daid wirion, a Deyinoel, ar seint, ar prophwydi, ar ebestyl, ar merthyri yn ymdangos ym. A mi a welaf ymlyth hynny seith angel yn seuyll ger bronn kadeir y goruchel Dat, a holl dadeu nef, ar kannyadaeth yn dywedut, "Gwynnydded yw yr hwnn, a etholeisti ac a gymereist ac a bresswyla ygyt yn dragwydawl."

⁴⁵⁰ Appendix 12 (VSBG), §6: "... ac a blannawd vessen yn ystlys bed y dat, a honno a dyfawd yno yn derwen diruawr y huchet ae frasset. Ac ar vric y prenn hwnnw ef a wrthtyfawd keing hyt y llawr, ac or llawr dracheuen yn ogyuuch a bric y prenn, a thrig yaw elin yr geing ar y llawr. Ac velle y mae yn wastat. Ac od a Seis yrwng yr elin honno a bon y prenn, yn diannot y byd marw. Ac os Kymro a a yno, ny henuyd gwaeth."

⁴⁵¹ Stöber, "Hagiography," 49.

⁴⁵² For the symbolical significance of the oak tree in Celtic tradition, see: Carole M. Cusack, "Sacred Trees in Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sources: Druids, Kings and Saints," in *The Sacred Tree: Ancient and Medieval Manifestations* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 57-88.

Beuno (Beuno's Rock), a prominent stone close to the current national border where, according to popular legend, Beuno stood to preach to the local people.⁴⁵³ It was during his residence at this frontier site, surrounded by his disciples, that the next highly significant episode of his *vita* occurred: an encounter with an English huntsman. When walking along the banks of the river Severn that demarcates the southern frontier of Wales with England, Beuno suddenly hears from across the water a foreign voice inciting hunting dogs, an event that instantly triggers his departure:

§8. And on a day as Beuno was walking by the river Severn about his corn, lo, he heard on the other side of the river the cry of an Englishman inciting his dogs in hunting a hare. What the Englishman said at the top of his voice is "Kergia, Kergia." What that was in his language was inciting his dogs. And when Beuno heard the cry of the Englishman, he immediately turned again and came upon his disciples and said to them, "Put your clothes on you, my sons, and your footwear and let us leave this place. The nation of the man of strange speech, whose cry I heard the other side of the river inciting his dogs, will overcome this place, and it will be theirs, and they will keep it in their possession."⁴⁵⁴

True to the narrative's borderland anxieties, this language use immediately betrays the hunter's identity. Indeed, the *vita* explicitly brands him as a "man of strange speech" (*gwr angkyuyeith*) as well as openly identifying him as an Englishman ("Seis"). While the historical 7th-century Beuno would have encountered Old English-speaking Anglo-Saxons, the late medieval hagiographer here intentionally projects a contemporary Middle English loanword into the past.⁴⁵⁵ This anachronistic projection underlines how language forms a natural social boundary, here used to enforce geopolitical borders as symbolised by the Severn. A clear binary is established: to hear a foreign tongue is to recognise an invader, while to stay behind under the protection of a sacred cross (as one of Beuno's disciples does) is to anchor native rights.⁴⁵⁶ Long before any physical weapons are drawn, the clash is already defined by the linguistic barrier along the river. In this context, the foreign tongue (*anghyfiaith*) automatically signals a threat to native property and territorial rights.

Strictly speaking, this episode contains no miracle. However, the extraordinary element lies in Beuno's retroactively granted capacity to recognize existential geopolitical ruin through a single linguistic marker. The scribe's choice of a huntsman is deeply symbolic and must have resonated with his contemporaries. In the 14th-century borderland reality, the hunt was a highly contested marker of aristocratic privilege and territorial usurpation, explicitly associated with the aggressive expansion of English royal forests onto native lands. Beuno, as such, perceives the foreign language as a harbinger of territorial conquest; he recognises the impending danger but remains powerless to prevent the structural shift. He can only retreat, bearing the heavy hagiographical responsibility for the cultural security of his community. As Elissa Henken notes:

⁴⁵³ Stöber, "Hagiography," 49.

⁴⁵⁴ Appendix 12 (VSBG), §8: A dydgweith, val yd oed Beuno yn gorymdeith geir llaw auon Hafren yngkylch y yt, nachaf, y clywei or tu arall yr auon llef Seis yn annoc y gwn yn hely ysgyfuarnnawc. Sef a dywedei y Seis hyt y benn, "Kergia kergia." Sef oed hynny yn y ieith ef, annoc y gwn. A phann gogleu Veuno lief y Seis, ymhoelut yn diannot a oruc dracheuen a dyuot ar y disgyblon a dywedut vrthunt, "Gwisgwch amdanawch ych dillat, vy meibon i, ach archennat, ac adawn y lle hwnn. Kenedyl y gwr angkyuyeith a gogleu vi y lef tu draw yr auon yn annoc y gwn a oresgynnant y lle hwnn ac a vyd eidunt, ac ae kynnhalyant dan eu meddyant."

⁴⁵⁵ Stöber, "Hagiography," 50.

⁴⁵⁶ Appendix 12 (VSBG), §8: And then Beuno said to one of his disciples (Rithwlint was his name), "My son," said he, "be obedient to me. I will that thou shouldst dwell here, and my blessing with thee, and I will leave with thee a cross which I made." And that disciple took the blessing of his master and dwelt there.

“Like other rulers, [the saints] bear responsibility for the total welfare of the land and people, for ensuring fertility, justice, peace and security.”⁴⁵⁷

Consequently, *Buchedd Beuno* operates as a highly charged site of “national” consciousness. The *vita* artificially binds the historically fractured Welsh kingdoms into a unified defensive entity, tied together by a shared language (*Cymraeg*) and common law (*Cyfraith Hywel*). The demand for such vernacular texts in the 14th century exposes a society seeking refuge from deep despair within a heavily romanticized, heroic past.⁴⁵⁸ These contrived memories provided the exact ideological framework needed to sustain political ambition amidst structural subjugation.⁴⁵⁹ When stripped of its theological veneer, the structural plot of *Buchedd Beuno* operates essentially as a narrative of sacred land acquisition and territorial mapping. In fact, its focus on land reflects the actual political situation at the time of the composition: territorial incursion and the loss of territory to foreign invaders.⁴⁶⁰ Crucially, the miracles Beuno experiences along his way serve as supernatural title deeds that retroactively legitimise the property claims and autonomy of Welsh parishes that inherited his name. By weaving these miracles into specific topographies, such as the lethal anti-English oak tree or the prophetic retreat from the River Severn, the hagiographer transforms Beuno’s wanderings into a highly politicised drawing of boundaries. The miracles function as mechanisms of spatial exclusion, carving out a sacred counter-landscape across Wales as defensive shield.⁴⁶¹

4.3 ORTHODOX ICONOGRAPHY AND VLACH SACRED SPACE IN STREISÂNGEORGIU

The strategic instrumentalization of the sacred, however, was not unique to Wales. While the Welsh clergy relied primarily on textual and narrative strategies to preserve an autonomous space within an assimilated institutional framework, the Vlach community of Transylvania faced an entirely different structural challenge. Relegated to a status of institutional exclusion within a dominant kingdom adhering to the Latin Church and operating within a strongly rural society slowly moving into literacy, the Transylvanian Orthodox population turned decisively towards material and visual culture.⁴⁶² Parish churches hereby served as visible, iconographic *lieux de mémoire* that marked social boundaries, while simultaneously acting as sites of cultural translation. Religious space is thus transformed into a material middle ground where Eastern Orthodox liturgical traditions directly interacted with, and both changed and assimilated, the high-prestige architectural features of Western European traditions. Put simply, the material reality of medieval Transylvanian Orthodoxy leaves us with virtually no comparable vernacular texts. Instead, identity must be read directly from the built environment.

⁴⁵⁷ Henken, “Welsh Hagiography and the Nationalist Impulse,” 27. For a nuanced study of the ambiguous relationship between Welsh saints and secular power, see: Elissa Henken, “The Saint as Secular Ruler: Aspects of Welsh Hagiography,” *Folklore* 98, no. 2 (1987): 226–32.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid. 37; Davies, *The First English Empire*, 45.

⁴⁵⁹ Davies, *The First English Empire*, 45; Williams, *The Welsh Church*, 49.

⁴⁶⁰ Stöber, “Hagiography,” 52.

⁴⁶¹ On how this textual boundary-drawing was physically enacted through regional devotional networks, see the case of Beuno’s niece, Saint Winifred, whose resuscitation features in *Buchedd Beuno*. Her independent cult would later transform these topographies into a highly politicised pilgrimage network; a dynamic that will be examined as a ritual of nationalistic resistance in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

⁴⁶² Adinel C. Dincă, “Medieval Literacy in Transylvania: Selective Evidence from Parish Churches,” *Transylvanian Review* 24 (2015): 109-21.

Most medieval stone churches founded by Vlach *knezes* (chieftains) have been preserved in southwestern Transylvania and were built between the 13th and 15th centuries (see Fig. 14).⁴⁶³ Although they are often considered as knezial foundations in essence, it has also been argued that in some cases the *knezes* took over Latin churches and thereafter remodelled them.⁴⁶⁴ However, epigraphic and documentary evidence also reveals a far more socially layered and communal reality of patronage instead of a mere top-down prestigious project. Alongside the *knezes*, the wider rural community (*cnezaț*) often acted as patron (*ktitor*), with local village priests (*popa*), craftsmen, and shepherds or peasants pooling their (often meagre) resources to commission a master painter.⁴⁶⁵ In the acute absence of any institutional or financial backing from an official Orthodox diocesan structure, church building and decoration was thus transformed into a grassroots communal enterprise; making the church a collective monument in its truest sense.



Fig. 14. Transylvanian regions containing the 15 surviving medieval Orthodox churches with frescoes: Țara Hațegului (purple), Țara Zarandului (green) and Alba (orange). Numbers per region in circles. Focus of thesis is on Streisângeorgiu, Crișcior and Ribîța. Source: WikiCommons, marks added.

To date, 15 of these medieval Orthodox churches preserve wall paintings dating from the 14th and 15th centuries, albeit fragmentarily and in a poor state of conservation.⁴⁶⁶ Rather than serving as a passive substitute for literature, these church walls functioned as an active pedagogical space. The murals arrived first, effectively setting the visual and cultural codes,

⁴⁶³ Dragoș Gh. Năstăsioiu, "The Social Status of Romanian Orthodox Noblemen in Late-Medieval Transylvania According to Donor Portraits and Church Inscriptions," in *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines*, ed. Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca and Alexandru Madgearu (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2016), 207.

⁴⁶⁴ Adrian A. Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara și Românii din Vremea Sa* (Cluj: Editura Presa Universitară, 1999), 268-70.

⁴⁶⁵ Năstăsioiu, "The Social Status of Romanian Orthodox Noblemen," 230-2. As this chapter continues to show, the Saint George Church in Streisângeorgiu can be understood as the result of multiple *ktitors* over time.

⁴⁶⁶ See Năstăsioiu's study on different churches, amongst other studies.

thus establishing a shared *Erwartungshorizont* that sustained an Orthodox identity.⁴⁶⁷ These frescoes contain Old Church Slavonic inscriptions, which may be considered an argument for the Orthodox rite of their donors, although their styles vary greatly.⁴⁶⁸ By intertwining general sacred imagery with such inscriptions, the murals naturally became a place of visual and cultural hybridity. As Agrigoroaei has demonstrated, this frontier synthesis produced a form of iconographic transculturality in which Western motifs, such as the sinner cycles within the Last Judgment, were accommodated within Eastern frameworks.⁴⁶⁹ The frescoes reflect a rural society gradually made literate, navigating its position between a Latin core and an Orthodox periphery. To explore this dynamic, this section focuses primarily on the Church of Saint George in Streisângeorgiu, before tracing how these visual strategies evolved into the sophisticated political realism found at other churches such as those in Crișcior and Ribița (Fig. 14 above).



Fig. 15. Saint George's Church in Streisângeorgiu before the renovations of 1975-1977.
Source: Popa, *Streisângeorgiu*.

Saint George's Church in Streisângeorgiu (Hunedoara) still stands as a complex architectural palimpsest. Archaeological excavations performed in the years 1975-1976 in connection with the restoration of the church, revealed that the current stone monument was built over the foundations of an older, wooden one dating back to the period between 1130-1140.⁴⁷⁰ Given that people were buried around this wooden monument, the funerary inventory of their tombs confirms the estimated dating at the beginning of the 12th century. Hence, the monument itself

⁴⁶⁷ Vladimir Agrigoroaei, "The Issue of Cretan or Serbian Models in the Depiction of the Individual Punishments in the Medieval Churches of Leșnic and Ribița: Once Again About the First Endogenous Testimony of the Romanian Language," *Annales Universitatis Apulensis Historica* 28 (2025): 24.

⁴⁶⁸ Due to their complex nature, these murals have a rich historiography consisting of both general studies and articles dedicated to individual churches. For an overview, see Elena Dana Prioteasa, "Medieval Wall Paintings in Transylvanian Orthodox Churches and Their Donors," PhD (Budapest: Central European University, 2011), 2-4.

⁴⁶⁹ Agrigoroaei, "The Issue of Cretan or Serbian Models," 20-1.

⁴⁷⁰ Șerban Popescu-Dolj, "Rezultatele cercetărilor de arhitectură la biserica din Streisângeorgiu, județul Hunedoara," *Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor - Monumente Istorice și de Artă* 47 (1978), 46.

serves as testament to the relation between architecture in wood and masonry, illustrating the taking over by the latter. The masonry pillars supporting the inside tower also date from this early phase of construction, while the upper part of the tower was constructed in 1408-1409.⁴⁷¹ In the mid-18th century, the church came under the Greek Catholic jurisdiction of the Bishop of Făgăraș, Ioan Inocențiu Micu-Klein, according to an 1743 inscription.⁴⁷² This century saw the addition of a wooden narthex and a new layer of murals. Ultimately, 20th-century research and conservation efforts established the church as one of the eldest medieval Vlach monuments standing and continuing to serve its original liturgical purpose.

Its designation of “oldest Romanian church in Transylvania” is based on a votive inscription on the eastern wall of the sanctuary, painted on a second layer of plaster in the 14th century (Fig. 16).⁴⁷³ The placement on the eastern wall, which is the most sacred zone of the church where the Eucharist is consecrated, enables the text to transcend its role as historical record and become a liturgical performance in itself: the names of the founders are visually integrated into the heavenly hierarchy.⁴⁷⁴ Between the two fresco figures of Saint Basil and Saint Nicholas (Fig. 17), the inscription explicitly names the founders and records the church’s consecration in 1313:

“In the year six thousand eight hundred and two I started this church with the help of Saint George and the Mother of God and all saints, for the aid and forgiveness of the sins of knez Balotă, as well as for the aid and salvation of Naneș the priest, and Teofil the painter.”⁴⁷⁵

The inscription mentions together a knez, a priest, and a painter as active participants in the religious foundation. The joint patronage of these *ktetors* suggests both the modest economic standing of Orthodox Vlachs in the early 14th century, and the relatively minor social distinctions separating these founders, who functionally mirrored the classis tripartite division of medieval society into nobility, clergy and labouring people.⁴⁷⁶ This horizontal collaboration collapses rigid hierarchies, demonstrating “how un-feudal Vlach feudalism was.”⁴⁷⁷ Knez Balotă is otherwise unattested by written sources, as are Naneș and Teofil, which hints that they belonged to a modest, provincial elite. It has been suggested that Balotă would be a common ancestor of the knezial families of Strei and Streisângeorgiu, both belonging to the Vlach knezat of Streisângeorgiu mentioned in patrimonial documents around 1400.⁴⁷⁸ Members of this knezial

⁴⁷¹ Radu Popa, “Streisângeorgiu: Mărturii de Istorie Românească din Secolele XI-XIV în Sudul Transilvaniei,” *Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor - Monumente Istorice și de Artă* 47 (1978), 32.

⁴⁷² The term “Greek Catholic” refers to Romanians who accepted papal authority around 1700 in exchange for political rights, while retaining their Byzantine liturgy. Outlawed by the communist regime in 1948, the church’s vast properties were transferred to the Romanian Orthodox Church and the faithful were forced to convert. Re-established since the Revolution of 1989, Greek Catholics now form a small minority, leaving Eastern Orthodoxy as Romania’s prevalent religion. See: Cristian Vasile, “The Suppression of the Romanian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church,” *East European Quarterly* 36 (2002): 313-22.

⁴⁷³ Popa, “Streisângeorgiu,” 23-4.

⁴⁷⁴ The positioning of Saint Basil and Saint Nicholas on the eastern wall reflects a local continuation of older eastern iconographic traditions that accords these bishops an exceptional liturgical prominence. See: Teodora Smultea, “Figuri din Sfinți Ierarhi in Iconografia Ortodoxă de Secol XIV în Spațiul Românesc,” *Studia UBB Historia Artium* 67 (2022): 75.

⁴⁷⁵ Ion-Radu Mircea, “Quelques considérations paléographiques et linguistiques au sujet de l’inscription votive de 1313-1314 à Streisângeorgiu,” *Dacia* 20 (1976): 63-9. Via Vladimir Agrigoroaei, “An Interpretatio Wallachica of Serbian Cultural Patterns: The Cases of Ribița, Streisângeorgiu and Crișcior (but also Râmet),” *Annales Universitatis Apulensis Historica*, 16 (2012): 106. For a transcription and translation of the Old Church Slavonic inscriptions, see Năstăsioiu, “The Social Status of Romanian Orthodox Noblemen,” 242-3.

⁴⁷⁶ Năstăsioiu, “The Social Status of Romanian Orthodox Noblemen,” 215.

⁴⁷⁷ Agrigoroaei, “An Interpretatio Wallachica,” 107.

⁴⁷⁸ Radu Popa, *La Începuturile Evului Mediu Românesc: Țara Hațegului* (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1988), 124; Popa, “Streisângeorgiu,” 13.

family moreover repeatedly appear in 15th-century sources, showing their integration into the local lesser nobility over time.⁴⁷⁹



Fig. 16. The 1313 Slavonic inscription of Streisângeorgiu (right) with a modern reproduction (left).
Source: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.



Fig. 17. Interior view of the sanctuary of St. George's Church (Streisângeorgiu), showing the east wall with 14th-century frescoes. Source: WikiMedia.

⁴⁷⁹ Prioteasa, "Medieval Wall Paintings," 43.

Crucially, the chronological and linguistic elements of this inscription serve as an undeniable cultural fingerprint of the community's religious alignment. The year 6802 follows the Byzantine Anno Mundi system, counting from roughly 5509/5508 BCE. By utilising this computation rather than the Western Anno Domini system favoured by the Roman church, the text firmly positions Streisângeorgiu within the spiritual orbit of Constantinople. This ecclesiastical orientation is heavily enforced by the linguistic features of the text (Fig. 16 above). Although formally written in Old Church Slavonic, the inscription displays several orthographic and morphological features characteristic of provincial Slavonic usage in Vlach principalities.⁴⁸⁰ Such vernacular interferences, including phonetic spellings and irregular flexions, are well attested in other regional sources.⁴⁸¹ The most striking peculiarity here is the phonetic transliteration of the non-Slavic, local Vlach names Balotă and Naneș, directly into the Slavonic script. These features, identifiable together with locally inflected forms in the murals of Streisângeorgiu, reinforce the church's complex context: even in its irregular, rustic form, the use of Old Church Slavonic situates the liturgy firmly within the Eastern rite. Ultimately, Teofil's visual work operates in tandem with this localised linguistic identity, with both elements reinforcing one another. By embedding these names directly into a Byzantine sacred epigraphic and iconographic layout, the visual language powerfully expands upon the written word.

The second votive inscription dates from 1408 and is accompanied by a donor painting in the nave of the tower. This is now poorly preserved, but the church's model and the ktetors' outlines remain legible enough to contextualise the text (Figs. 18-19). The inscription records that:

“In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, Master Chendreș and his Mistress Nistora and his sons built this monastery in honour of the great saint, martyr and soldier of Christ George; and it was finished and painted ... for bodily health and for the salvation of the soul in the days of King Jicmon [Sigismund] and of the Transylvanian voivodes Ioaneș and Iacov, October 2nd 6917.”⁴⁸²

Although the inscription assigns to Chendreș the role of building and decorating Saint George's Church in 1408, he was in fact only responsible for the construction of the western tower, and the partial decoration with murals.⁴⁸³ Furthermore, it reveals the building's composite institutional character: while its architectural form and village setting indicate a functioning parish church, the explicit association with King Sigismund and the Transylvanian voivodes points to its role as a court chapel, and the dedication itself describes the structure as a monastery, signalling a concurrent monastic dimension.⁴⁸⁴ This way the inscription clarifies the scope of patronage, while also framing the iconography within a layered institutional setting.

⁴⁸⁰ Dan Ioan Mureșan, “The Romanian Tradition,” in *The Orthodox Christian World*, ed. Augustine Casiday (London: Routledge, 2012), 143.

⁴⁸¹ For a brief note on Slavonic language use in other Vlach churches, see: Agrigoroaei, “The Issue of Cretan or Serbian Models,” *Annales Universitatis Apulensis Historica* 28 (2025): 16. See also Constanța Burlacu, “The Rendering of Infinitival Constructions in the Psalter Text: Greek to Slavonic, and Slavonic to Romanian,” *Palaeobulgarica* 1 (2021): 37-56.

⁴⁸² Gheorghe Mihăilă, “Cele mai vechi inscripții cunoscute ale românilor din Transilvania (1313-1314 și 1408, Streisângeorgiu-orașul Călan, județul Hunedoara,” *Revista Muzeelor și monumentelor istorice. Monument e istorice și de artă* 47 (1978): 38. Via Agrigoroaei, “An Interpretatia Wallachica,” 108.

⁴⁸³ Năstăsioiu, “The Social Status of Romanian Orthodox Noblemen,” 212.

⁴⁸⁴ Agrigoroaei, “An Interpretatia Wallachica,” 108.

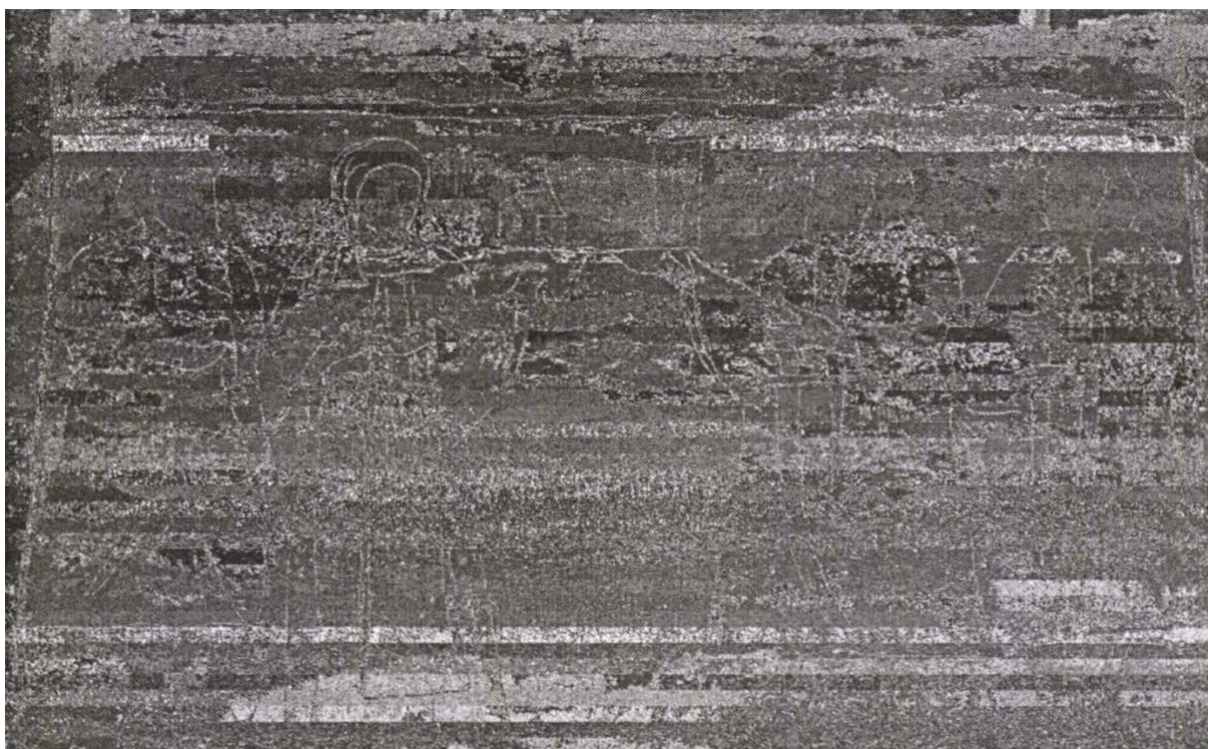


Fig. 18. Votive composition and drawing with the ktetors' outline, 1743 repainting over the 1408 fresco, western wall of the nave (inner, eastern wall of the western tower). Currently awaiting further restoration.
Source: Dragoş Gh. Năstăsoiu.



Fig. 19. Watercolour reproduction (2008) of the 1408 donor portrait and accompanying inscriptions. Figures from left to right: Laţco, Nistora, Chendreş and Vlaico (son of Chendreş).
Source: Ileana Burnichioiu via Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

The visual depiction of the *ktetors* holding the church's model was meant as a display of their social status and economic strength. Next to the figures, the following lines are inscribed: "servant of God jupan Lațco;" "servant of God jupanița Nistora;" "the ktetor Chendreș passes the monastery to Saint George;" and "servant of God Vlaico, son of Chendreș."⁴⁸⁵ Around 1400, knez Chendreș is attested in several records, either in connection with his land or role as royal agent in the implementation of specific orders.⁴⁸⁶ Vlach Orthodox social and economic status was conferred by their landholdings, which enabled them to finance church works. Their foundations were typically situated at the heart of their power, creating a close link between territorial possession and religious patronage. It is therefore unsurprising that donor portraits and dedicatory inscriptions reflected changes in social, economic, and legal status over time.⁴⁸⁷ The medieval church in Streisângeorgiu should therefore be understood as the result of the actions of at least three groups of *ktetors* (the actual founders, the 1313 donors, and the 1408 patrons) who contributed in various ways and degrees, and in distinct periods and contexts.⁴⁸⁸

However, while these prominent donor portraits project an image of exclusive elite patronage, caution is required when assuming that such aristocratic figures single-handedly financed the entire structure. As Gabriel Byng has convincingly demonstrated for late medieval parish churches, where building costs were vastly higher, grand visual markers such as donor portraits or stained glass often functioned to spotlight the elite while eclipsing the broader financial contributions of the wider community.⁴⁸⁹ Even in a modest structure, like Streisângeorgiu, an individual knez would need extraordinary wealth to bear the total cost of construction alone. This reinforces the idea that these painted spaces were not merely elite vanity projects, but flashpoints of collective community formation, where a thin layer of local leadership relied on, and cooperated with, a wider network of rural participants.

The complex social and political context reflected by the dedicatory inscriptions at Streisângeorgiu is also confirmed by an iconographic feature clearly shown in the Orthodox churches of Crișcior and Ribița. In both cases, the donors' portraits are accompanied by mounted military saints and by the three Catholic holy kings of Hungary.⁴⁹⁰ The presence of military saints can be read as a consequence of the prominent military role of Vlach Orthodox noblemen in the kingdom's frontier defence against Ottoman advances. The depiction of the Catholic royal saints was then understood as an expression of loyalty to the Hungarian crown. This iconographic choice mirrors the broader socio-political reality of medieval Hungary, in which Vlach Orthodox nobility sought to be integrated into the political hierarchy, while using central royal power as source of legitimacy for their own local authority.⁴⁹¹

This way, the inscriptions in Vlach churches cover a wide range of meanings: economic (building and decorating required a significant financial effort), social and political (the integration of the *ktetors* strengthened their authority and status), or even legal (dedicatory references reinforced and confirmed the *ktetor's* juridical status as *knez*).⁴⁹² However, one

⁴⁸⁵ Năstăsioiu, "The Social Status of Romanian Orthodox Noblemen," 242-3. The term "jupan" corresponds to the sense of "master", though the original title is retained in the present translation.

⁴⁸⁶ Popa, *La Începuturile Evului Mediu Românesc*, 124.

⁴⁸⁷ Năstăsioiu, "The Social Status of Romanian Orthodox Noblemen," 213. See also: Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu, "From Kenezii to Nobiles Valachi: The Evolution of the Romanian Elite of the Banat in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 6 (2000): 109-28.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 233.

⁴⁸⁹ Gabriel Byng, *Church Building and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2020).

⁴⁹⁰ Agrigoroaei, "Interpretatio Wallachica," 123-8; Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei, "Implicatii sociale si politice în iconografia picturii medievale românești din Transilvania, secolele 14-15: Sfintii militari," *Studii si Cercetari de Istoria Artei* (1981): 31.

⁴⁹¹ Năstăsioiu, "The Social Status of Romanian Orthodox Noblemen," 215.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.* 220.

should not overlook the spiritual motivation of these donors; their sponsoring was often motivated by their high piety and strong hope that the gesture will ensure the forgiveness of their sins and, ultimately, the salvation of the founder and his family.⁴⁹³ Ultimately, the Vlach iconographic material mirrors the Welsh hagiographical landscape: both deploy the sacred as a medium through which political loyalty, social self-definition, and devotional intent converge, producing frontier communities whose identities were shaped as much by spiritual narratives as by secular hierarchies.

In brief, looking beyond the specific case studies of Wales and Transylvania reveals a shared medieval mechanics of borderland identity formation. Whether through the hostile, exclusionary hagiography of Welsh saints, or the material and iconographic syncretism of Vlach parish churches, marginalized communities on the fringes of expanding realms utilized the sacred to negotiate their survival. Bound by distinct structural realities, namely the Welsh clergy relying on a rich textual and narrative corpus, and their Transylvanian counterparts turning to a built and painted environment, both groups transformed the sacred into a dynamic political arena. In doing so, they constructed enduring frontiers where spiritual narratives or images and social self-definition coalesced into a resilient sense of native autonomy.

⁴⁹³ Ibid. 232.

5. MOBILISING SANCTITY: PILGRIMAGE, DEVOTION AND THE PERMEABILITY OF THE FRONTIER

From Late Antiquity through the 16th century, pilgrimage was one of the most significant and demanding undertakings in the lives of both men and women, fraught with dangers of every kind.⁴⁹⁴ These journeys were deeply imbued with symbolism and ritual and were often undertaken in the company of fellow travellers. Although the practice of pilgrimage has evolved over time, its essential character has remained remarkably intact.⁴⁹⁵ The most striking parallel between medieval and modern pilgrimage lies in the way pilgrims in both periods find solace in shared experiences of sacrifice, endurance, and communal devotion.⁴⁹⁶ Motivated by a wide range of aspirations, from spiritual fulfilment and personal transformation to the pursuit of adventure, pilgrims did more than merely travel to sacred destinations. Through the movement of people, relics, stories, and rituals, pilgrimage functioned as a dynamic process through which both personal and communal identities were negotiated and expressed.⁴⁹⁷ It thus offers valuable insights into human experience, systems of belief, cultural exchange, and social fabric across time and space.

The significance of pilgrimage as a cultural phenomenon has recently attracted growing scholarly attention, particularly within the fields of identity studies, and the history of religion.⁴⁹⁸ Remarkably, previous scholarship has often privileged the so-called “great pilgrimages” to Rome, Jerusalem, and Santiago de Compostela, often overlooking the dynamics of smaller-scale, regional shrines and their surrounding communities.⁴⁹⁹ This neglect is especially evident in medieval frontier regions, where sacred landscapes frequently transformed into arenas in which political authority intersected with communal devotion. Therefore, this chapter examines how frontier shrines functioned simultaneously as spaces of mobility and identity formation. By bringing together the cases of Holywell in Wales and Putna along the Transylvanian border, it argues that pilgrimage fostered transregional devotional networks, while also contributing to the articulation of indigenous Welsh and Vlach collective identities. Holywell connected Wales with the English Marches and beyond, nurturing a distinctly Welsh identity centred on the native saint Winifred. Likewise, although founded by the Moldavian voivode Stephen the Great in 1466, the monastery of Putna attracted pilgrims from neighbouring regions, including Transylvania, creating a transregional Orthodox devotional network. While Holywell reflects the negotiation of Welsh identity within a politically subordinate frontier, Putna illustrates the consolidation of Vlach identity within a contested area. Pilgrimage thus connected communities across porous frontier zones while contributing to the articulation of indigenous identities.

⁴⁹⁴ Larissa Juliet Taylor, “Introduction,” in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, eds. Larissa J. Taylor et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), viii.

⁴⁹⁵ Especially identity tourism has given a new impetus to pilgrimage studies by emphasising the link between cultural identity, ethnic heritage and tourism. See Dionigi Albera and John Eade, eds. *New Pathways in Pilgrimage Studies* (London: Routledge, 2017); Claudia Damari and Yoel Mansfeld, “Reflections on Pilgrims’ Identity, Role and Interplay with the Pilgrimage Environment,” *Current Issues in Tourism* 19, nr.3 (2016): 199-222; Alison J. McIntosh, Tom Hinch and Takiora Ingram, “Cultural Identity and Tourism,” *International Journal of Arts Management* 4, nr. 2 (2002): 39-49.

⁴⁹⁶ Nancy Frey, *Pilgrim Stories: On and Off the Road to Santiago* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 13.

⁴⁹⁷ Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage c. 700-1500* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 71.

⁴⁹⁸ For a comprehensive study and state-of-the-art overview of identity tourism, see Susan Pitchford, ed. *Identity Tourism: Imaging and Imagining the Nation* (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2008). Regarding the revival of spirituality, see Lluís Oviedo, Scarlett de Courcier and Miguel Farias, “Rise of Pilgrims on the ‘Camino’ to Santiago: Sign of Change or Religious Revival?” *Review of Religious Research* 56, nr. 3 (2014): 433-42.

⁴⁹⁹ The rich literary tradition concerning medieval pilgrimages, in particular, bears witness to their social impact; see e.g. Beatrice Groves, “Those Sanctified Places Where Our Saviours Feet Had Trode: Jerusalem in Early Modern English Travel Narratives,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 43, nr. 3 (2012), 681-700.

5.1 PILGRIMAGE AS SOCIAL TISSUE AND MEDIUM OF SPATIAL NEGOTIATION

Rather than viewing pilgrimage merely as religious travel, recent scholarship firmly established it as a social practice through which sacred landscapes, devotional communities, and collective identities were continuously produced and reproduced.⁵⁰⁰ Such a perspective shifts attention away from the individual motivations of pilgrims towards the wider social processes that enabled pilgrimage to function as one of medieval Christianity's most enduring institutions. Far from being an isolated phenomenon, pilgrimage was deeply embedded within the broader cult of saints, forming one of its most visible and dynamic expressions.⁵⁰¹ The cult of saints formed an integral part of Christianity from its earliest centuries, as these figures were understood to act as accessible intermediaries between the faithful and the divine.⁵⁰² Communities derived a sense of collective identity from their patron saints, to whom they also looked for protection and support. In this sense, pilgrimage can be understood as a key devotional practice through which saintly cults were sustained and expanded across space. Holy places did not simply exist because miracles had occurred there or because relics were preserved within their walls. Rather, they acquired and maintained their authority through the continual circulation of people, stories, objects, and rituals that transformed local shrines into centres of regional and even transregional devotion.⁵⁰³ Pilgrimage should therefore be seen less as movement towards sanctity than as one of the principal mechanisms through which sanctity itself became mobile.

In a similar vein, this perspective reflects a broader debate within the social history of religion on the topic of belief. Instead of treating belief as a purely internal or psychological state, historians and anthropologists have increasingly emphasised its performative and communal dimensions.⁵⁰⁴ John H. Arnold argues that belief should be considered as something societies continually enacted through so-called "belief acts"; that is, both verbal and embodied actions where the mere doing of it "is not a sign of belief that somehow exists elsewhere but is constitutive in itself of belief."⁵⁰⁵ Religious life was thus sustained because communities collectively performed belief through liturgy, processions, prayer, charity, pilgrimage, and countless other recurring practices that rendered the invisible visible. Faith and belief, in this view, existed because they were repeatedly performed through social actions. In fact, as Arnold further observes, "the combination of saintly image, communal worship and a collective investment in the miraculous could be seen as one of the defining features of pre-Reformation Christianity."⁵⁰⁶ Because these practices were inherently collective, they simultaneously fostered a shared understanding of social belonging. Pilgrimage thus formed one of the many ways through which medieval communities recognised themselves as such via collective acts of worship and memory.

For medieval Christians, saintly devotion permeated the rhythm of everyday life. Saints were invoked not only for spiritual salvation, but also for help in times of distress, whether during illness, famine, natural disasters, the loss of livestock, personal hardships such as debt,

⁵⁰⁰ Within a vast literature, see, for example: Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage c. 700-1500*; Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 343-405; Simon Coleman and John Eade, eds., *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion* (London: Routledge, 2004), 1-25.

⁵⁰¹ Patrick J. Geary, "Peasant Religion in Medieval Europe," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 12 (2001): 201.

⁵⁰² Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 1-22.

⁵⁰³ Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, particularly ch. 8: "Relics and Shrines." (239-332).

⁵⁰⁴ John H. Arnold, "Believing in Belief: Gibbon, Latour and the Social History of Religion," *Past & Present* 260 (2023): 239.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 254.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 244.

conflict or impotence, or oppression by local authorities.⁵⁰⁷ Their feast days structured both the liturgical and agricultural calendar, while their shrines became places where communities sought healing, justice, fertility, or divine intervention.⁵⁰⁸ This way, the cults of saints embedded Christian belief within the practical realities of everyday existence, while transforming local landscapes into sacred sites around which communal memory and identity could crystallise. This understanding also reshapes the study of saints and their cults. As Robert Bartlett among many others has demonstrated, sanctity was never simply an intrinsic quality permanently attached to individuals or relics.⁵⁰⁹ Nor were saints tied to any particular social group. They were invoked both by individuals as miraculous intercessors, and by monastic and civic communities as more constant protectors.⁵¹⁰ Their authority therefore depended upon the continuous interaction between miracle traditions, relics, liturgical commemoration, institutional patronage, and popular devotion.⁵¹¹ In brief: saints remained powerful because their cults remained active.

Pilgrimage formed one of the principal mechanisms through which this process unfolded. Every parish church, as centre of local religious activity, was deemed to retain the physical remains of a recognised saint, be it the body or only a small portion of the remains enshrined in ornamented containers.⁵¹² Pilgrims travelled to these sacred sites, but so too did miracle narratives, manuscripts, relics, donations, and institutional influences. Every successful healing enhanced a shrine's reputation; every copied *vita* extended the reach of a saint; and every translated relic established new devotional centres while maintaining connections with older ones.⁵¹³ Sacred geography consequently emerged as an interconnected landscape sustained through continual circulation. Regional shrines thus functioned as nodal points within wider devotional networks that frequently transcended political and cultural boundaries. At the same time, they provided an accessible form of devotion within pilgrims' immediate geographical horizon, as most lacked the resources, time, or physical capacity to undertake long-distance journeys to the great destinations of Jerusalem, Rome or Santiago de Compostela. Yet, such connections did not produce a homogenous Christian landscape. On the contrary, pilgrimage often reinforced regional identities precisely because it centred authority upon places whose sanctity was inseparable from their surrounding communities.⁵¹⁴ Participation in these regional cults therefore enabled believers to belong to a wider Christian world while reinforcing regional identity and communal cohesion via shared engagement with nearby sacred spaces.

This dynamic becomes particularly significant within frontier societies. As discussed in Chapter 1, medieval frontiers are best understood as permeable zones of interaction characterised by negotiation and continual exchange. Political authority and religious affiliation rarely coincided neatly in such regions. Pilgrimage offered one of the most effective means through which these different spheres intersected. Pilgrims routinely crossed political borders

⁵⁰⁷ Geary, "Peasant Religion," 201.

⁵⁰⁸ This pattern was broadly pan-European, observable across both the Western and Eastern peripheries. In Wales, specialised cults such as that of Saint Winifred focused heavily on healing and water miracles, whereas in Transylvania, local communities anchored their agricultural and protective needs in the veneration of Mary or military saints such as Saint George.

⁵⁰⁹ Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things*, 282. Another seminal work is offered by Peter Brown, who presents sanctity as a dynamic social relationship maintained between the saint and the community that venerated him/her. See: Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 1–22.

⁵¹⁰ Arnold, "Believing in Belief," 243.

⁵¹¹ Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things*, 284; Geary, "Peasant Religion," 198–205.

⁵¹² Geary, "Peasant Religion," 200.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.* 350.

⁵¹⁴ See f.i. Kathryn Hurlock, *Medieval Welsh Pilgrimage, c. 1100–1500* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

in pursuit of healing or the veneration of saints, while monasteries and patronage networks likewise operated across territorial divisions. At the same time, the very mobility that connected frontier regions often strengthened attachment to sacred sites. Local saints became symbols of indigenous traditions; miracle stories reinforced communal memories; and shrines offered stable points of reference within unstable environments. Frontier pilgrimage consequently operated according to a dual logic: it facilitated the circulation of people, objects and ideas across frontiers while reinforcing the cultural significance of the places to which these movements converged. Mobility and rootedness were therefore mutually reinforcing processes rather than opposing.

This analytical perspective provides a useful framework for understanding the frontier shrines examined in this chapter. Both Holywell in Wales and Putna in Moldavia emerged as centres whose influence extended well beyond their immediate surroundings through the mentioned circulation of pilgrims, relics, manuscripts, and patronage. Yet both remained firmly embedded within their own sacred landscapes and communities that had produced them. At Holywell, the cult of Saint Winifred connected a distinctly Welsh devotional identity centred upon a healing spring with the Anglo-Norman Marches and beyond. Likewise, Putna's institutional and spiritual networks crossed the Carpathians into Transylvania without diminishing its role as one of the principal symbols of Moldavian Orthodoxy. In both cases, pilgrimage mobilised sanctity across porous frontiers, while reinforcing regional identities rooted in indigenous traditions. It is precisely this productive tension between transregional mobility and local rootedness that underpins the following analyses of Holywell and Putna.

5.2 OVERLAPPING DEVOTIONS: HOLYWELL, SHREWSBURY AND WINIFRED

To understand how Holywell (*Ffynnon Gwenfrewi*) in the borderlands of North Wales became a highly contested site of royal power and regional identity between the 13th and 16th centuries, it is first necessary to trace the spiritual and physical geography established by its foundation myth. According to medieval Welsh tradition, the sacred site emerged at the place where the virgin Winifred was decapitated by the thwarted prince Caradog after rejecting his sexual advances.⁵¹⁵ Restored to life by her uncle Saint Beuno, Winifred's miraculous resurrection, together with the following appearance of her healing spring, anchored her cult firmly within the landscape of Flintshire; earning Holywell its later reputation as the so-called "Lourdes of Wales". The late-12th-century *Buchedd Beuno* briefly recounts this double miracle, presenting both the saint's restoration to life and the sudden appearance of a spring:

"Then Beuno took the head of the virgin and put it to the body. And he spread his own mantle over the body, and said to her father and her mother, who were above her head bemoaning her, "Be still a little while," said he, "and leave her as she is until the mass is over." And Beuno then sacrificed to God. And when the mass was ended, the virgin arose quite well, and she dried her sweat from her face. And God and Beuno made her quite well. In the place where her blood fell on the earth, a well sprang up therefrom, and that well till today gives health to persons and animals from their diseases and their wounds. And that fountain is named from the name of the virgin and is called Ffynnawn Wenvrewy, Winifred's Well."⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁵ Appendix 13 (VSW), §12: And so Caradog, seeing that he had been tricked by the virgin's plan, filled with rage, struck his horse strongly with his spurs, seeking to catch the girl. But the girl had gone ahead of the man to the point that she had reached the doorway of the church, desiring to attain the protection of peace from God and Beuno. And when she was about to put her foot inside the threshold, the man caught up to her with a sword, cutting off her head. See: *Vita Sancte Wenefrede* (Anonymous; Claudius), ed. David Callander.

⁵¹⁶ "Beuno Sant." See Appendix 12 (VSBG), §12.

Such sacred wells often appear in Welsh hagiography as liminal markers within a contested political landscape.⁵¹⁷ In a region such as Northeast Wales, which was constantly fractured by internal Welsh rivalries and external pressure from the bordering County Palatine of Chester, the spring offered a tangible and stable focal point for locals.⁵¹⁸ Yet Holywell was more than a place of miraculous healing. As a sacred landscape rooted in indigenous tradition, it embodied a distinctly Welsh devotional identity whose authority derived precisely from its immovable association with the well. On this highly charged frontier, the indigenous, water-bound devotion to Winifred stood in direct competition with the civic and comital devotion to Saint Werburgh, Chester's own celestial patron.⁵¹⁹ It is precisely within this context of external pressure and competitive hagiography that the previously oral traditions surrounding Winifred were gradually codified and solidified into a formal textual tradition; allowing a regional cult to acquire an increasingly durable and far-reaching devotional authority.

The two principal Latin *vitae* recording the legend of Saint Winifred emerged almost simultaneously during the 12th century, yet independently of each other: an anonymous *Vita Sanctae Wenefrede*, generally dated to around 1130, and another account composed by Prior Robert of Shrewsbury shortly before the translation of Winifred's relics to his abbey in 1138.⁵²⁰ A third redaction, usually referred to as the *Lansdowne Life*, is thought to have been produced much later during the 14th century for the Benedictine nuns of Romsey and combined elements of both earlier texts.⁵²¹ Although the two original *vitae* recount the same fundamental narrative, they differ in numerous details, suggesting that they are ultimately not based on a single lost original exemplar, but instead drew upon separate oral traditions surrounding the same saint.⁵²² This is firmly supported by a substantial body of hagiographical evidence from medieval Welsh tradition, suggesting that among the Welsh a more reliable knowledge of the historical Winifred survived throughout the Middle Ages. While many native saints survive only partially in the historical record, some existing in placenames, genealogies, or medieval calendars (e.g. Wrw and Gwenog), others appearing only in vernacular poetry (e.g. Tydecho and Mwrog), and some merely surviving as brief mentions in the *vitae* of other saints (e.g. Dunod); Winifred's story is preserved in all of these diverse sources.⁵²³ This ubiquitous presence demonstrates that her legend was a culturally saturated narrative deeply woven into the fabric of Welsh memory long before it was committed to Latin prose. Crucially, these early textual traditions remained largely localised; it was not until the 14th century that her cult gained transregional significance.⁵²⁴

⁵¹⁷ Jones, *The Holy Wells of Wales*; Williams, *The Welsh Church*, 491.

⁵¹⁸ A county palatine was an administrative region possessing near-royal jurisdiction. The first surviving reference to the earl of Chester as *comes palatinus* is in 1293; a status that was heavily legitimised by a foundation myth originating from the early/mid 13th-century. The core of the myth is William the Conqueror's grant of Chester to its first Norman earl, Hugh d'Avranches (nicknamed Lupus) ca. 1070. Henry Bradshaw's *Life of Saint Werburge* (1521) describes the ceremony, illustrating its prevailing importance for the palatine. See: Robert W. Barrett, *Against All England: Regional Identity and Cheshire Writing, 1195-1656* (Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 2009), 3; 6-7.

⁵¹⁹ St. Werburgh, an Anglo-Saxon princess whose relics were enshrined in Chester Abbey, was actively cultivated by Chester's comital and ecclesiastical authorities as the guardian of the palatinate. In regional narratives, Werburgh was frequently credited with miraculously repelling Welsh incursions across the river Dee.

⁵²⁰ David Callander, "Introduction," *VSW*, 7.

⁵²¹ Jane Cartwright, "The Welsh Versions of the Life of Gwenfrewy," in *Seintiau Cymry, Sancti Cambrenses. Astudiaethau ar Seintiau Cymru/Studies in the Saints of Wales*, ed. David N. Parsons and Paul Russell (Aberystwyth: University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2022), 240.

⁵²² Prior Robert of Shrewsbury himself notes that he drew on both written and oral sources when compiling his text. See: Cartwright, "The Welsh Versions," 239.

⁵²³ *Ibid.* 237.

⁵²⁴ The medieval historian Giraldus Cambrensis, who visited the region in 1188, makes no mention of Winifred or the well, and she is not listed in the 12th-century Calendar of Welsh Saints. Robert of Shrewsbury's account of her "Life" was epitomised by John of Tynemouth in the 14th century, and this became the popular version, fixed by the

Structurally, the anonymous *Vita* consists of two clearly defined sections: the saint's life (§1-20) and a substantial collection of posthumous miracles (§21-48), recounting episodes on what happens to "cure the locals or to punish the ungodly," while including several anti-Norman motifs.⁵²⁵ Robert of Shrewsbury's version omits much of these *mirabilia* but maintains a similar structure, concluding instead with an excursus on his journey to Gwytherin in search of Winifred's relics and their subsequent translation to Shrewsbury in 1138. Although the identity of the anonymous author remains a mystery, the text itself offers revealing philological clues. While the saint's life employs a distinctly British-based vocabulary, the miracle section exhibits a hybrid mixture of British and Welsh elements, pointing to a Cambro-Norman monk associated with nearby Basingwerk Abbey.⁵²⁶ Throughout the text, the composer consistently distinguishes himself from the inhabitants living near Holywell, referring to them as *incole* (§21) and *indigene* (§45, §48).⁵²⁷ However, the retention of correct Welsh orthography for placenames and actors, the exclusively local focus of Winifred's *mirabilia*, and the text's occasional anti-Norman sentiment together suggest a highly literate bilingual author operating within the cultural milieu of the frontier itself. This hybrid identity is perhaps most clearly reflected in the double tautology of the name *Candida Wenefreda*, in which both the Latin *candida* and the Welsh root *gwen* convey the meaning of "white" or "pure".⁵²⁸ Such a construction would have been redundant for a wholly Welsh readership, yet makes perfect sense as a deliberate attempt of cultural translation intended for a non-Welsh or partially Welsh audience.

The question of authorship naturally raises that of audience. Internal textual cues reveal a multi-layered target audience. The author explicitly addresses both *fratres* (§21, §30) and, more broadly, men and women ("*perpendite viri, perpendite mulieres*"; §30), suggesting that although the primary context for the *vita*'s reading and preservation was a monastic community, it also possessed a pastoral and promotional function exceeding abbey walls. It was almost certainly designed to be read aloud, serving both the internal spiritual life of the monastics and the public instruction of lay pilgrims visiting the shrine. The text's geographical focus likewise points towards its place of composition. Chester, for instance, can be dismissed given the text's total silence on the high-profile translation of Winifred's relics to Shrewsbury in 1138, while the distant monastery of Clynnog Fawr remains improbable despite its close association with Beuno.⁵²⁹ Instead, the evidence overwhelmingly favours composition at the very heart of the cult: either a local clerical community at the well itself or, more plausibly, at Basingwerk Abbey just a mile from the shrine.⁵³⁰ As a monastery that would later develop into a renowned patron of Welsh poetry and a hub for bilingual scribes, Basingwerk provided an ideal intellectual environment for such a work. The anonymous *Vita* should therefore be understood not merely as a record of an existing cult, but as an active participant in its consolidation and a true frontier product before it was swept up in larger geopolitical currents.⁵³¹

Beyond its theological significance, the anonymous *Vita Sanctae Wenefrede* also provides a rare glimpse into the contemporary appearance of the well and the ritual practices surrounding it. At this early stage, the spring had not yet acquired the monumental stone

English translation and publication by William Caxton in 1485. See: Catherine Hamaker, "Winefride's Well-Cult," in *Two Mediaeval Lives of Saint Winefride*, ed. Ronald Pepin and Hugh Feiss (Toronto: Peregrina, 2000), 121–2.

⁵²⁵ Appendix 13 (VSW), §48. The anti-Norman elements refer to the expulsion of the Normans from Gwynedd.

⁵²⁶ David Callander, "Introduction," VSW, 3.

⁵²⁷ Ibid., 6; Fiona Winward, "The Lives of St Wenefred (BHL 8847–8851)," *Analecta Bollandiana* 117 (1999), 116.

⁵²⁸ Ibid., 5.

⁵²⁹ Callander, "Introduction," VSW, 5.

⁵³⁰ On the site of the abbey, see: Burton and Stöber (eds.), *Abbeys and Priors*, 46–50.

⁵³¹ David H. Williams, "Basingwerk Abbey," *Cîteaux* 32 (1981): 100.



Fig. 20. St. Winefride's Well in Holywell. The 16th century chapel and well, renowned as one of the very few Catholic shrines in Britain to survive the Reformation. Source: Elisabeth Goemaere.

architecture that characterises the site today (Fig. 20). Although the current chapel has traditionally been attributed to Margaret Beaufort, the mother of King Henry VII, shortly after the Battle of Bosworth (1485), no contemporary evidence supports this claim; with literature and dendrochronological analysis placing the chapel in the early 16th century instead.⁵³² The *Vita* simply describes the spring as a well (*fons*, §22; §45), situated near a parish church (*ecclesia*, §23) that also served as the Winifred's shrine, variously termed a *basilica*, *templum*, *umbraculum*, or *tabernaculum*.⁵³³ Regular ecclesiastical services were performed there, while pilgrims also kept vigil throughout the night before entering the waters. The pilgrims, then as now, bathed three times, offered votive gifts in thanksgiving for their recovery, and collected pebbles from the spring as relics.⁵³⁴ At the centre of this landscape stood

Saint Beuno's Stone, within the spring itself.⁵³⁵

The *Vita* underscores both its immovability and spiritual authority through a narrative warning: when a Norman knight attempted to displace the

stone for the construction of a nearby mill, it remained rooted, while the knight's disrespectful kick left him permanently crippled.⁵³⁶ This early account suggests that long before any major stone canopy stood over the well, Holywell itself was densely saturated with protective, miraculous agency:

§27. Truly it was fair for those who came into the inherited land of the martyr and defiled its consecrated ground improperly that they should afterwards become a mockery and derision, an object of contempt and shame, to all around them.

⁵³² Hurlock, *Medieval Welsh Pilgrimage*, 125; Rick Turner, "The architecture, patronage and date of St Winefride's Well, Holywell," *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 168 (2018): 262-5. The Welsh poet Siôn ap Hywel names the Abbot Thomas Pennant of Basingwerk as patron of the chapel in 1512; and tree-ring dating shows the building's principal roof timbers were likely installed in 1525.

⁵³³ Appendix 13 (VSW).

⁵³⁴ Appendix 13 (VSW). For the practice of bathing three times, see §29 ("after having washed himself for the third time"). For votive offerings left in the church in thanksgiving, see §29 (a wealthy man donates all his fortune to the church as thanks) and §30 ("he hung up the same fetters there as a sign"). On the tradition and miraculous status of the stones/pebbles from the spring, see §14 and §21 ("stones confirmed the martyr's power [...] holy fathers carried stones as testimony").

⁵³⁵ Appendix 13 (VSW), §15, where Saint Beuno tells Winifred: "There is a rock in the middle of the stream of the spring, upon which I have been accustomed to say my prayers. Place the chasuble upon this at the appointed time, and if it should come to me, let it come." Not to be confused with the aforementioned *Maen Beuno* (see Chapter 4).

⁵³⁶ Appendix 13 (VSW), §26: Likewise at that time, a certain Norman soldier, owner of the same estate, measuring out a mill above the spring's stream, began to dam off the water. Moreover, the soldier perceived that the water burst forth up to Beuno's rock, which was by chance below the pool in the middle of the stream. He ordered that it should be placed in the pool. But even if a hundred pairs of oxen should be applied to it, truly it would not rise from its place. For it remained as immovable as if it could not be torn away from fixed roots. But finally the soldier, thinking that his labourers were doing that by pretence, forced them on again and again. Thinking that he alone could roll away the stone with his foot and roused up by his mind's anger, he struck the rock with his foot, but at once the tendons in the hollow of his knee bent backwards and hardened. He was made lame for the rest of his life.

Winifred also represents a rare example of a Welsh female saint whose cult acquired political clout beyond the Welsh border.⁵³⁷ Although this was partly fuelled by the growth of Marian culture throughout Europe, which caused a surge of interest in female saints; the primary driver of Holywell's rising popularity was its strategic political value to both Welsh and English rulers.⁵³⁸ The political dimension of the cult first erupted into overt conflict with the translation of Winifred's relics in 1138 from their original resting place at Gwytherin, deep within North Wales, to Shrewsbury Abbey.⁵³⁹ The Benedictine abbey, founded between 1083-1087 and dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul, lacked the relics of a prominent founder saint, making the acquisition of Winifred's remains particularly desirable.⁵⁴⁰ During the following centuries, relics of other Welsh saints, including Beuno and Eleri, were likewise translated to Shrewsbury; illustrating how sacred remains became closely intertwined with frontier politics.⁵⁴¹

Robert of Shrewsbury further documents that the translation was undertaken with assistance from the monks of Chester.⁵⁴² This cooperation was hardly coincidental. Chester possessed extensive estates in north-east Wales, including Holywell itself at that time, although jurisdiction over the shrine shifted repeatedly between the earls of Chester and the newly founded Cistercian abbey of Basingwerk after 1131.⁵⁴³ The translation of Winifred's relics should therefore be understood as far more than a devotional event. By acquiring the physical body of North Wales's foremost female saint, the Benedictines of Shrewsbury appropriated a powerful symbol of Welsh sanctity and projected their ecclesiastical authority across a politically unstable frontier. Yet the transfer never entirely displaced the cult from its place of origin. Instead, it created a remarkably durable duality: while Winifred's bones resided within an Anglo-Norman monastic powerhouse, the immovable waters of her spring remained permanently rooted in Wales. Rather than diminishing Holywell, the translation effectively split the saint's cult across the porous border, allowing sanctity to circulate through relics while remaining simultaneously anchored to the sacred geography from which it had emerged.

In response to this external pressure, the Welsh elite and local monastic networks sought to re-anchor the cult within its native landscape. In 1240, under Prince Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, Holywell was officially entrusted to the nearby Cistercian abbey of Basingwerk.⁵⁴⁴ These Cistercians acted as vital cultural and diplomatic agents for the princes of Gwynedd. As Glenn Williams has demonstrated, the Cistercian houses of North Wales occupied a unique position within the frontier, simultaneously serving the universal ideals of their monastic order while supporting the political ambitions of Welsh rulers.⁵⁴⁵ Although the earliest foundations, including Tintern (1131), Neath (1147) and Basingwerk (1131; Cistercian 1147) were products of the Anglo-Norman expansion (Fig. 2), they rapidly became integrated into the social fabric of the Welsh principalities.⁵⁴⁶ Their pastoral economy aligned closely with Wales's livestock-based economy, while their monasteries evolved into centres of learning, patrons of Welsh

⁵³⁷ Cartwright, "The Welsh Versions," 238.

⁵³⁸ Hamaker, "Winefride's Well-Cult," 121–2.

⁵³⁹ Callander, "Introduction," in *Vita Sancte Wenefrede (Robert of Shrewsbury, Laud. Misc. 114 Version)*, ed. David Callander, www.welshsaints.ac.uk/theedition, 5.

⁵⁴⁰ Nigel Baker, "The Historical Context," in *Shrewsbury Abbey: Studies in the Archaeology and History of an Urban Abbey*, ed. Nigel Baker (Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society, 2002), 17.

⁵⁴¹ James Ryan Gregory, "A Welsh Saint in England: Translation, Orality, and National Identity in the Cult of St. Gwenfrewy, 1138–1512," unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Georgia, 2012), 83; 227.

⁵⁴² *Vita Sancte Wenefrede (Robert of Shrewsbury)*, see §30–1.

⁵⁴³ Winward 1999: 98–9.

⁵⁴⁴ Burton and Stöber (eds.), *Abbeys and Priories*, 46–7.

⁵⁴⁵ Williams, *The Welsh Church*, pp.

⁵⁴⁶ Burton and Stöber (eds.), *Abbeys and Priories*, 204; 145; 46.



Fig. 21. Spatial distribution of Cistercian and Tironensian houses across Wales. Note the concentration along coastal regions and river valleys. Source: Janet Burton and Karen Stöber.

literary culture, major landholders, and pioneers in the art of flock-management and wool-production.⁵⁴⁷ This ready assimilation brought them substantial fondness and patronage from the Welsh people and princes, which in turn deepened their institutional alignment with Welsh interests. It comes as no surprise that Cistercian houses, became natural partners of the ruling dynasties of Deheubarth and Gwynedd. By the later 12th and 13th centuries, houses such as Strata Florida (1164), Aberconwy (1186) and Valle Crucis (1200) consequently emerged as strongholds of Welsh historical memory.⁵⁴⁸ By entrusting the administration of the healing spring to Basingwerk, Llywelyn and his successors effectively reclaimed Holywell as a centre of indigenous religious authority. The shrine was no longer merely a place of miraculous healing, but a frontier pilgrimage hub through which Welsh power, Cistercian monasticism, and native devotional traditions mutually reinforced one another in the face of Anglo-Norman pressure.

Secular English rulers were quick to recognise the political potential of a shrine whose spiritual authority increasingly transcended regional boundaries. While the earliest recorded noble pilgrimage dates to Earl Richard of Chester in 1119, it was only from the late 14th century onwards that English monarchs systematically appropriated Holywell's prestige. The first known royal visit was that of King Richard II in 1398, accompanied by the establishment of a perpetual chaplaincy at the site.⁵⁴⁹ This marked the beginning of sustained royal patronage. Henry IV (1403), Henry V (1415), and Edward IV (1461) all undertook pilgrimages to Holywell, each associating military successes and dynastic legitimacy with Winifred's reputation.⁵⁵⁰ In the immediate aftermath of his 1403 victory at the Battle of Shrewsbury, Henry IV visited Holywell to openly credit Saint Winifred for the survival of his wounded son, the future Henry V. He formalised his gratitude through the construction of a permanent stone monument on the site.⁵⁵¹ Henry V visited before setting sail to the Battle of Agincourt (1415) and returned to give thanks in 1416 on foot from Shrewsbury Abbey to Winifred's well.⁵⁵² Edward IV reportedly incorporated moss from the well into his coronation symbolism, and Richard III endowed a permanent priest in 1484, a position which continued to be patronised by Henry VII and Henry VIII.⁵⁵³ As Kathryn Hurlock suggests, this continued Tudor patronage served to "reinforce the idea that the new dynasty was the natural inheritor of these earlier kings of England."⁵⁵⁴ Across successive dynasties, Holywell thus became an increasingly attractive site through which English rulers could perform both royal piety and political legitimacy within the unstable Welsh borderlands.

Crucially, beneath these high-political manoeuvres of kings and abbots lay the resilient identity of the local Welsh population. For the native *Cymry*, Gwenfrewi was never merely an

⁵⁴⁷ Williams, *The Welsh Church*, 20.

⁵⁴⁸ Burton and Stöber (eds.), *Abbeys and Priories*, 204; 145; 46.

⁵⁴⁹ Hurlock, *Medieval Welsh Pilgrimage*, 185; Thomas William Pritchard, *St Winefride, Her Holy Well and the Jesuit Mission, c.650-1930* (Wrexham: Bridge Books, 2009), 63-4.

⁵⁵⁰ Cartwright, "The Welsh Versions," 238.

⁵⁵¹ Turner, "The architecture, patronage and date of St Winefride's Well," 247; 250.

⁵⁵² Hurlock, *Medieval Welsh Pilgrimage*, 186; 202.

⁵⁵³ Cartwright, "The Welsh Versions," 238.

⁵⁵⁴ Hurlock, *Medieval Welsh Pilgrimage*, 187.

abstract saint to be traded or translated. While the Anglo-Norman monks of Shrewsbury claimed her physical relics in 1138, Welsh vernacular texts such as Winifred's *vitae*, the genealogical compilation *Bonedd y Saint* or references in later *cywydd* poetry within the Gogynfeirdd and local traditions steadfastly ignored this loss, maintaining that her true efficacy remained bound to the living waters of Flintshire. In the Welsh collective memory, Gwenfrewi's miracle of surviving decapitation mirrored the survival of the Welsh language and culture against borderland encroachment. The immovable St. Beuno's Stone which, as the Vita recorded, struck down the Norman knight who attempted to displace it, served as a psychological marker of indigenous resistance: the sacred landscape itself refused to be colonized. Ultimately, this grassroots devotion transformed Holywell into a cornerstone of Welsh regional identity, ensuring that even as political independence waned, the spring remained an unyielding bastion of native spiritual heritage.

5.3 OUTSTEPPING THE PRINCIPALITY: PUTNA AS A TRANSCARPATHIAN HUB OF ORTHODOX IDENTITY

While Holywell illustrates how a frontier shrine could become a contested site of competing royal claims and divided sacred geography in the Anglo-Welsh borderlands, Putna Monastery in Moldavia reveals a complementary dynamic in which a monastic centre acted as a unifying institutional node projecting authority across the Carpathian Mountains. Founded in 1466 by the Moldavian voivode Stephen the Great (r. 1457-1504) as a royal necropolis and one of his foremost monasteries, Putna occupied a remarkable geographical position in the far northwest of the principality (Fig. 23).⁵⁵⁵ Positioned at the intersection of key Carpathian passes and the northern frontier bordering Polish Lithuanian Ruthenia, its location placed the monastery along a vital corridor of communication linking Moldavia with both Transylvania and the wider East Slavic Orthodox world.⁵⁵⁶ Although the monastery attracted pilgrims from across these frontiers, its significance rested upon more than merely its role as devotional destination. Through the circulation of clergy, relics, manuscripts, and institutional authority, Putna became a dynamic hub and intermediary space within a wider Orthodox network. Sanctity was therefore not confined to a single sacred site but continuously projected beyond geographical borders.

This cross-Carpathian entanglement lay at the very foundation of Moldavia's statehood. Rather than emerging *ex nihilo*, the principality evolved through successive waves of political movement from the Vlach elite of Maramureş in Transylvania across the mountains. As recounted in Moldavian chronicles and analysed by scholars such as Mircea Eliade and Lucian Boia, the founding myth traces the origins of the principality to 1345, when Dragoş, a Vlach noble from Maramureş, crossed the Carpathians on an aurochs or bison hunt, ending with his "dismounting" and settlement by the Moldova River.⁵⁵⁷ However, because Dragoş ruled under the Hungarian suzerainty of King Louis I (r. 1342-82), this initial settlement has sparked enduring historiographical debate over whether this border mark can be truly defined as the birth of Moldavia, or merely as territorial extension of the Hungarian Crown. Genuine political independence was achieved in 1359, when Bogdan I (another Vlach noble from Maramureş,

⁵⁵⁵ Alice Isabella Sullivan, *The Eclectic Visual Culture of Medieval Moldavia* (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 159.

⁵⁵⁶ Highly contested area, see: Aurelian Lavric, "The Emergence of the Problem of Bukovina within the European Geopolitical Space," *Codrul Cosminului* 18 (2012): 57.

⁵⁵⁷ For the mythological structure of the *descălecat* and the ritual origin of the aurochs hunt, see Mircea Eliade, *Zalmoxis, the Vanishing God: Comparative Studies in the Religions and Folklore of Dacia and Eastern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 131–163. For a critical historiographical analysis of the myth and its enduring heraldic symbolism, most notably the head of the aurochs (*capul de bour*) on the state emblem of Moldavia) see Lucian Boia, *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2001), 58–61.

in open rebellion against Louis I) crossed the Carpathians, expelled Dragoș's successor Balç, and established the sovereign principality of Moldavia. Modern historiography therefore emphasises Bogdan I as the founder of Moldavia's independent statehood; a polity whose sovereignty was forged through cross-Carpathian conflict originating in Transylvania.⁵⁵⁸



Fig. 22. Cartographic reconstruction of Moldavia under the reign of Stephen the Great, displaying the widespread distribution of his foundational work. Putna is the furthest northwestern institution. Source: Putna Monastery.

For the Orthodox Vlachs of Transylvania, pilgrimage to Putna therefore constituted a spiritual connection with a polity whose ruling dynasty traced its own origins to the Vlach communities north of the Carpathians. As discussed in earlier chapters, the Decree of Turda (1366) and the Unio Trium Nationum (1437) progressively excluded Orthodox Vlachs from political representation and reinforced the privileged position of the kingdom's recognised estates and Latin ecclesiastical institutions.⁵⁵⁹ Equally significant was the absence of a stable, officially recognised Orthodox church, leaving local communities dependent on ecclesiastical contacts abroad. In this context, the Carpathians functioned as a porous frontier through which cross-border support from Moldavia became even more important. Putna emerged as one of the principal spiritual centres sustaining Orthodox religious life beyond its principality's borders.

Such cross-Carpathian connections were sustained by a dense network of commercial routes and political relationships rendering the Carpathians remarkably permeable.⁵⁶⁰ Particularly throughout the 14th and 15th centuries, Braşov (Kronstadt) developed into one of the primary commercial hubs in Transylvania connecting it with both Moldavia and Wallachia.⁵⁶¹ Merchants, envoys, and goods routinely traversed the mountain passes, creating durable networks that would likewise facilitate religious circulation of both clergy and lay pilgrims. Privileges issued by the voivodes of these kingdoms bear witness to the growing

⁵⁵⁸ Lavric, "The Emergence of the Problem of Bukovina," 54.

⁵⁵⁹ See Chapter 3.2 for Turda and Chapter 3.3 for Unio Trium Nationum.

⁵⁶⁰ Adrian Andrei Rusu, "Ştefan cel Mare şi Transilvania. Un Inventar Critic, Date Nevalorificate şi Interpretări Noi," *Analele Putnei* 2 (2005): 93.

⁵⁶¹ Bolovan and Bolovan, "Transilvania," 415.

importance of these inter-Carpathian exchanges: both Vlad II Dracul (r. 1436-42, Wallachia) and Stefan II of Moldavia (r. 1434-47) granted trade rights to Braşov and its surrounding territory in April 1437 (Fig. 24).⁵⁶² Although primarily commercial in character, the coincidence of these privileges with the outbreak of the Transylvanian Peasant Revolt suggests that maintaining cross-Carpathian communication and trade possessed not only economic but also wider strategic significance. Economic integration created the practical conditions through which other forms of exchange could operate; including the movement of devotional networks.



Fig. 23. Letters of Vlad II Dracul (left) and Stefan II of Moldavia (right) granting commercial rights to Braşov. Both currently preserved at the National Archives (Braşov). Source: Arhiva Medievala.

Beyond trade and economic connectivity, Moldavian authority was directly embedded within Transylvania through extensive land holdings. This territorial presence began in 1489, when Stephen the Great acquired the domains of Ciceu and Cetatea de Baltă as compensation for losing the port city Chilia to the Ottomans led by sultan Bayezid II in 1484.⁵⁶³ His successors maintained and expanded these domains, notably Petru Rareş (r. 1527-38, 1541-46) who added further Transylvanian regions such as Bistriţa.⁵⁶⁴ Although the original charters dating from King Matthias Corvinus' reign have been lost, King Vladislaus II formally confirmed these possessions in 1492 together with their associated jurisdictions, revenues, and feudal rights.⁵⁶⁵ Far from constituting honorary gifts, these lordships yielded substantial economic benefits while providing the Moldavian voivodes with a crucial political foothold to cultivate ties with the Transylvanian Vlach elite. Strategically, situated beyond the reach of Ottoman incursions, both domains functioned as secure refuges during periods of invasion or internal revolt.⁵⁶⁶ Crucially, this territorial presence also acquired a vital religious dimension: these estates served as bridges linking the Moldavian court directly with the Orthodox population across the border.

⁵⁶² *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. IV. 1416-1437, ed. Franz Zimmermann and Gustav Gündisch, docs. 2282 and 2284. Sibiu: Krafft & Dorteiff, 1937.

⁵⁶³ Ştefan Gorovei, "Feudele Ardelene ale lui Ştefan cel Mare: Observaţii pe Marginea Izvoarelor," *Analele Putnei* 1 (2005), 123.

⁵⁶⁴ Marius Diaconescu, "Contribuţii la Datarea Donaţiei Ciceului şi Cetăţii de Baltă lui Ştefan cel Mare," *Analele Putnei* 9 (2013): 91-112.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid. 96. Vladislaus II's mandate for the transfer of possession is published by Endre Veress, "39. DL 27 740," in *Acta et epistolae relationum Transilvaniae Hungariaeque cum Moldavia et Valachia, I: 1468-1540* (Budapest: Fontes Rerum Transylvanicarum, 1914), 43-4.

⁵⁶⁶ Diaconescu, "Contribuţii la Datarea," 109.

Unlike Holywell, whose sanctity originated in an indigenous miracle tradition centred upon the martyrdom of Saint Winifred, Putna began as an unmistakably princely foundation. Stephen the Great laid the monastery's foundations only a decade after consolidating his rule of Moldavia and designated it primarily as a dynastic mausoleum of the ruling house.⁵⁶⁷ While royal burial and princely patronage were ubiquitous across the Latin West; as in our case was demonstrated by Strata Florida in Wales as the final resting place of the native princes of Deheubarth.⁵⁶⁸ However, the ideological framework within which such practices operated in the Orthodox world differed markedly. Grounded in Byzantine imperial models, dynastic mausolea and monastic foundations functioned as integrated instruments of power.⁵⁶⁹ Putna belonged firmly within this tradition. Stephen furthermore endowed the monastery within a broader programme of ecclesiastical patronage through which he sought to present himself as both defender of the Orthodox faith and legitimate ruler of Moldavia. Following intense military consolidation, Putna served as site of commemoration and as visible manifestation of both divine favour and princely responsibility.



Fig. 24. The 'miraculous' icon of the *Mother of God with the Child* (possibly 17th-century).
Source: Putna Monastery.

While the surge of interest in Winifred's cult during the Late Middle Ages was partially fuelled by the broader rise of Marian devotion across Europe, Putna engaged with this culture directly. From its foundation, the monastery was dedicated to the Dormition of the Theotokos (the Virgin Mary), connecting Stephen's polity to the primary heavenly protector of the Christian realm. This devotional framework was further reinforced through Stephen's marriage to Maria of Mangup, a princess of imperial Byzantine lineage.⁵⁷⁰ The marriage also brought to Moldavia sacred heirlooms, including a miraculous icon of the Virgin Mary from Constantinople (Fig. 24). Although the style is renaissance, dating it possibly to the 17th century, the traditional 15th-century option remains from the historical narrative of the monastic community. Entrusted to Putna, this sacred image altered the monastery into a transregional Marian sanctuary.

Putna's significance as pilgrimage site was further reinforced through the material commemoration of its founders.⁵⁷¹ Among the most significant surviving objects associated with the monastery are the embroidered funerary coverings (*pocrovețe*) of Stephen the Great

⁵⁶⁷ Sullivan, *The Eclectic Visual Culture*, 159.

⁵⁶⁸ Burton and Stöber (eds.), *Abbeys and Priories*, 188.

⁵⁶⁹ Ellen C. Schwartz, *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Art and Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2021), 313.

⁵⁷⁰ Maria Magdalena Székely, "Mănăstirea Putna: Loc de Memorie," *Ștefan cel Mare și Sfânt. Atlet al Crediinței Creștine* (Putna: Simpozion, 2004), 70.

⁵⁷¹ Irina Petroviciu et al., "Analysis of dyestuffs in 15th–17th-century Byzantine embroideries from Putna Monastery, Romania," *Dyes History Archaeology* 24 (2017): 208–24.

and his second wife Maria of Mangup (Fig. 25). These transformed the royal tombs into sites of visual devotion and dynastic memory. In the Orthodox tradition, the commemoration of the dead was inseparable from the continuous offering of prayers for their souls; consequently, the monastery that housed a ruler's remains also became a permanent place of remembrance. The funerary covering of Maria of Mangup is particularly revealing in this regard. As a descendant of the Byzantine imperial dynasty of Trebizond, Maria embodied the connection between Moldavian rulership and the wider Orthodox world⁵⁷². Her marriage to Stephen embedded the Moldavian court within the symbolic inheritance of Byzantium at a moment when Constantinople had recently fallen to the Ottomans and the Orthodox principalities increasingly assumed the role of guardians of imperial Christian traditions. The visual language of her funerary textile reflects this broader cultural environment. Combining Byzantine, Balkan, and local Moldavian elements, it materialised the monastery's position between regional identity and transregional Orthodox belonging.⁵⁷³



Fig. 25. Left: Burial cover of Maria of Mangup, second wife of Stephen the Great (ca. 1477). Right: Burial cover of Stefan the Great (ca. 1504). Both embroidered with gold and silver thread, and colored silk, on a red Italian satin foundation. Currently preserved at Putna. Source: Putna Monastery.

The funerary textiles of Stephen the Great similarly reveal how Putna transformed dynastic memory into a devotional resource. Although Stephen was not canonised until 1922, his medieval reputation as a pious ruler and defender of Orthodoxy endowed his burial place with exceptional symbolic significance.⁵⁷⁴ His tomb became a material site where the dual nature of sovereign authority was negotiated. In this configuration, the physical sepulchre

⁵⁷² Székely, "Mănăstirea Putna," 40.

⁵⁷³ Ibid., 44.

⁵⁷⁴ Jonathan Eagles, *Stephen the Great and Balkan Nationalism: Moldova and Eastern European History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 78.

housed the voivode's mortal body (*corpus naturale*), while the elaborate funerary textiles draped above enacted his immortal political body (*corpus politicum*), projecting his supreme authority and legitimacy beyond the limits of his earthly reign.⁵⁷⁵ Through the continued presence of his burial monument and the ritual practices surrounding it, Putna preserved the memory of an ideal Orthodox ruler whose protection across generations. Both funerary artifacts likewise underscore the dual character of Putna's sacred identity. On the one hand, they anchored the monastery within Moldavia's dynastic landscape, preserving the memory of its ruling family. On the other, their artistic hybridity mapped the monastery's participation in wider Orthodox networks stretching from Byzantium through the Balkans and across the Carpathians.

Yet dynastic patronage and material splendour alone did not transform Putna into a pilgrimage centre. Unlike Holywell, where sanctity preceded institutional development through the martyrdom of Winifred and her miraculous spring, Putna followed the reverse trajectory originating as a royal foundation that only subsequently acquired narratives of divine favour. These foundation myths, preserved in later Moldavian chronicles, retrospectively sacralised the monastery's origins: whether through Stephen the Great's miraculous arrow marking the providential site, or the association with the ascetic hermit Daniil Sihastrul, who provided a charismatic authority independent of princely power.⁵⁷⁶ In both Holywell and Putna, however, the functional outcome was identical. Sacred geography was forged through foundational narratives that bound place, memory, and devotion together, convincing pilgrims that the site possessed a unique, irreplaceable relationship with the divine.

The most famous of these myths concerns the selection of Putna's location through Stephen the Great's miraculous arrow, as recounted by 18th-century chronicler Ion Neculce:

When Stephen the Good set about building Putna Monastery, he shot an arrow from a mountain peak near the monastery. And where the arrow landed, there they built the altar in the sanctuary. [...] There used to be a small wooden church on that little hill, but it has since fallen into ruin, being made of wood. And so, the monastery was made beautiful, entirely gilded with gold, more gold than paint, both inside and out, and covered with lead.⁵⁷⁷

According to this account, the voivode ascended a nearby hill and released an arrow into the surrounding landscape, declaring that the monastery should be built where the projectile fell. The chosen site was thus not a product of political calculation or geographical convenience, but a place marked by providential intervention. The narrative transformed the act of foundation from a human decision into an expression of divine will, placing Putna within a broader medieval pattern in which sacred places were understood as revealed rather than constructed.

Closely associated with this foundational legend is the figure of Daniil Sihastrul, one of the most revered ascetic figures in Moldavian religious memory.⁵⁷⁸ Later traditions portray Daniil as a hermit dwelling in the densely forested aread of Vițâu, near Putna, and as a spiritual adviser whose counsel guided Stephen towards the foundation of two prominent monasteries: Putna and Voroneț.⁵⁷⁹ Although the precise historical relationship between the two figures

⁵⁷⁵ Székely, "Mănăstirea Putna," 70. Székely applies Kantorowicz's body politics.

⁵⁷⁶ Emil Preda, *Dicționar al sfinților ortodocși* (Bucharest: Editură Lucman, 2000), 71-72.

⁵⁷⁷ Ion Neculce, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei și O Samă de Cuvinte* (Bucharest: Editură de Stat pentru Literatură și Arte, 1955), 106: Ștefan-vodă cel Bun, când s-au apucat să facă mănăstirea Putna, au tras cu arcul Ștefan-vodă dintr-un vîrvu de munte ce este lîngă mănăstire. Și unde au agiunsu săgeata, acolo au făcut prestolul în oltariu. Și este mult locu de unde au tras până în mănăstire. [...] Fost-au și biseriçuță de lemnu întru acel delușel și s-au răsipit, fiind de lemnu. Și așe au fost făcut mănăstirea de frumoasă, tot cu aur poleită, zugrăvală mai mult aur decît zugrăvală, și pre dinlăuntru și pre denafară, și acoperită cu plumbu.

⁵⁷⁸ Preda, *Dicționar*, 71-72.

⁵⁷⁹ For the myth surrounding the founding of Voroneț, see: Neculce, *Letopisețul*, 107.

remains difficult to reconstruct, the persistence of this association is significant. Through Daniil, Putna acquired a vital layer of charismatic authority independent of secular princely power: the monastery was framed as both the project of a ruler, and an institution sanctioned by a holy man whose spiritual insight harmonised earthly authority with divine purpose. The significance of these traditions lies therefore not in their literal historical accuracy, but in the devotional function they performed. In this respect, Putna followed a pattern familiar from other pilgrimage centres, in which sanctity depended upon sacred objects, ritual practices, and mostly narratives that communicated why a particular place possessed spiritual authority.

The spiritual gravity of Putna extended far beyond the immediate confines of Moldavia, sustained by its dual role as a major scriptorial centre and a sanctuary for Transylvanian orthodoxy.⁵⁸⁰ In a region where local ecclesiastical infrastructure was severely limited by political exclusion, this monastery across the Carpathian frontier functioned as an intellectual lifeline. Through the production and distribution of richly decorated Church Slavonic manuscripts, Putna actively maintained Orthodox liturgical standards. For example, a certain monk called Gennadius executed an *Octoichos* that was given to Războieni Monastery in 1495, while in 1504, Monk Paisius produced a *Menaion* for Dobrovăț Monastery (both in Moldavia).⁵⁸¹ Though no records survive of donations crossing the mountain range, it is highly plausible that this did indeed happen. Surviving marginal annotations in Transylvanian churches confirm that these intellectual outputs became physically embedded in the religious life of communities in Maramureș, Făgăraș, and Hunedoara. These traces are particularly revealing because they show that Putna's influence was not merely symbolic: its intellectual and liturgical output became physically embedded within the religious life of Orthodox communities living under Hungarian rule.

Manuscripts, however, represented only one dimension of Putna's trans-Carpathian reach. They were mirrored by the physical mobility of the clergy and monastic networks themselves. Monks and scribes trained within Moldavian environments crossed the mountain passes, bringing liturgical traditions and institutional connections that bridged the gap left by the absence of a recognised Orthodox hierarchy in Hungary. This institutional radiation culminated in the establishment of Moldavian-supported episcopal sees at Feleacu and Vad, though highly contested by historian Adrian Andrei Rusu.⁵⁸² For Rusu, these Transylvanian bishoprics were localised, sporadic phenomena rather than a coherent expansion of Moldavian state power. However, the physical and structural ties remain unmistakable, given that a continuity strongly echoed in their architectural design and liturgical layout. Operating in territories where Moldavia held no formal sovereignty, these bishoprics provided the structural framework through which Transylvanian Vlachs maintained their connection to the wider Orthodox world.

Ultimately, pilgrimage completed this circuit of exchange. Transylvanian believers travelled to Putna not simply to visit a foreign monastery, but to physically re-enact a devotional affiliation rooted in shared history and dynastic memory. Through the arrival of pilgrims, the exchange of offerings, and the recording of donors in monastic prayer lists (*pomelnice*), Putna stood its ground within a transnational economy of devotion. Manuscripts, clergy, and episcopal institutions carried Orthodox culture outward from the principality, while pilgrims brought new forms of memory and patronage back across the mountains, cementing Putna as an institutional and spiritual heartbeat of the trans-Carpathian frontier.

⁵⁸⁰ Sullivan, *The Eclectic Visual Culture*, 171.

⁵⁸¹ *Holy Putna Monastery, 1466–2016: 550 Years Since the Laying of the Foundational Stone* (Putna: Editura Mitropolit Iacov Putneanul, 2016), 447–8.

⁵⁸² Rusu, "Ștefan cel Mare și Transilvania," 99.

Ultimately, while both Holywell and Putna anchored vibrant transregional networks of devotion, their divergent paths underscore the contrasting mechanics of medieval sacred geography. Where Holywell operated from the bottom up with its sanctity rooted in an indigenous martyr's cult that pre-dated and frequently defied central political control, Putna functioned from the top down, deliberately engineered by a sovereign ruler to project dynastic legitimacy and institutional stability across a porous frontier. Yet, despite these inverse trajectories, both shrines achieved the same ultimate outcome: transforming raw borderlands into deeply embedded spaces of spiritual resistance and collective identity.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has interrogated four different mechanisms of indigenous identity formation within the late medieval borderlands of Wales and Transylvania. By examining the interplay of legal pluralism and religious negotiation, this study has moved beyond traditional historiographical silos. Yet, as the medieval world is increasingly subjected to globalised and comparative analytical frameworks, this conclusion serves as both a synthesis of our findings and a manifesto for future historical inquiry – advocating for an interdisciplinary approach that treats borderlands as the multi-sensory landscapes they are.

A central tenet of this research has been the role of legal pluralism. In Wales, the English attempt to superimpose Common Law over the existing Welsh tradition of *Hywel Dda* was met with a nuanced form of resistance. The persistence of *Cyfraith Hywel*, even in a diminished or marginalised state, served as a crucial repository of community norms and ancestral claims and allowed for the internal settlement of disputes in a way that reinforced communal identity. The legal realm thus became a theatre of cultural memory. In contrast, the Transylvanian experience, characterised by the *ius valachicum*, highlighted a different survival mechanism within a corporatist feudal order. Here, the lack of recognised political status for the Vlach population necessitated a more decentralised approach, resulting in a largely uncoded body of source material. The *ius valachicum* was therefore not merely a set of rules. It was rather a socio-economic status that defined the relationship between the ruler and the community, facilitating certain forms of local autonomy. This enabled the Vlach population to endure centuries of institutional exclusion while maintaining distinct cultural, religious, and economic practices that functioned as a durable shield.

The comparative analysis of these legal sources thus confirms that law was not merely a mechanism of top-down state control, but a contested space of indigenous agency. The future of this field lies in moving from the study of “law as text” to “law as social performance”. Prosopography could be applied to track the litigants who invoked customary law in royal courts. For example, did the Vlach *knezes* or the Welsh *uchelwyr* utilise royal legal jargon to legitimise indigenous land claims? Which social actors functioned as intermediaries between local communities and central institutions, translating customary claims into the language of royal law? Did patterns of kinship, landholding, occupation, or office determine who was able to invoke customary law successfully? A systematic digital mapping of legal disputes in the Welsh Marches compared against Transylvanian royal land grants would reveal whether these populations were effectively ‘playing the system’ to secure communal autonomy, providing a more concrete metric for measuring the efficacy of resistance through legal material.

The other thematic part of this thesis then, i.e. the interplay of religious identification and territoriality, provided the spiritual dimension to the legal struggles explored earlier. In Wales, the synthesis of local hagiography with the physical landscape transformed geography into a sacred text of resistance. The sanctity of the land was inherently tied to the legitimacy of the Welsh people, and the preservation of church structures and local cults ensured that indigenous identity remained anchored, despite the changing political reality. Religion, in this context, served as an expansive umbrella for identification. Conversely, in Transylvania, the religious boundary (defined by the East-West Schism of 1054) functioned as a structural barrier. The institutional failure to integrate the Orthodox Church into the formal power structures of the Transylvanian ‘Three Nations’ enabled the preservation of a distinct Vlach identity. Orthodoxy instead provided an external reference point and thus formed a source of cultural continuity that was independent of, and often in opposition to, the state apparatus. This fostered a profound sense of ‘otherness’ that became foundational to the Vlach community’s endurance for centuries to come.

While this study highlighted the role of local hagiography in Wales and the structural boundary of Orthodoxy in Transylvania, we must advance towards an archaeology of the sacred. Religion was also lived, not just preached. Here, I propose a comparative inquiry into the materiality of religious boundary-markers. How did the dedication of mountain-top chapels such as the Soar-y-Mynydd Chapel in the Cambrian Mountains, or St. Issui's Church in Patrishow (Black Mountains) mirror the construction of wooden Orthodox churches in the southern Carpathians? By integrating GIS-mapping of religious sites with environmental historical data, researchers can determine whether these regions were chosen specifically to reclaim physical space from the encroachment of foreign diocesan administrative networks. This transition from textual analysis to spatial history will eventually redefine our understanding of how landscape served as a persistent, unconquerable agent of cultural identity too.

This thesis has likewise argued that the periphery often anticipated the centralisation processes typically attributed to the centre. The qualitative core of medieval borderland studies therefore offers an important antidote to binary centre-periphery models. By placing *microstoria* at the centre of comparative analysis, it becomes possible to examine how large-scale processes of state formation and political integration were experienced and negotiated at the level of individual communities. The significance of the borderland consequently lies not only in its position at the geographical margins of political power, but also in its capacity to expose the limits of that power on a local level. Future research could develop this approach through a systematic comparison of small histories reconstructed from petitions, court rolls, land grants, ecclesiastical records, and other administrative fragments. Rather than treating these records as isolated illustrations of broader political developments, such an approach would reconstruct the hidden transcripts embedded within them: the repeated complaints, carefully formulated claims, strategic silences, appeals to custom, and subtle negotiations through which individuals sought to navigate structures of authority. Comparing such microhistories across Wales and Transylvania (or other frontier regions) could reveal whether similar strategies of negotiation and resistance emerged in otherwise very contexts. It could also illuminate the extent to which apparently marginal actors could shape the practical operation of central institutions.

Finally, we must acknowledge the limitation of the written word and the lack of surviving sources. Medieval archives are notoriously biased towards the powerful. The future, therefore, must turn to the silent history of non-elites. In this case, a more robust integration of oral and linguistic history can be fruitful, given that identity in these frontier regions was often maintained through oral traditions and folk practices that bypassed the written records. By mapping motif patterns in local tales and ballads against political stressors, folk narrative offers a useful tool to consider social cohesion. Anthropological perspectives, specifically theories of liminality or *communitas*, provide the necessary framework then to analyse how borderland communities thrived in states of permanent political transition. Moreover, linguistic remnants such as toponyms or agricultural terminology are often the only remaining footprint of the medieval subaltern, making a collaborative project between historical linguists and medieval historians to map the persistence of such vocabulary equally fruitful. Such a study would confirm whether the persistence of these terms correlates with the survival of specific legal structures, thus providing a concrete proxy for social and cultural continuity over centuries.

The medieval borderland was a crucible, but also a connector. The resilience of these communities demonstrates that identity is not a static inheritance but a highly adaptive process. By shifting our methodological gaze toward the specific, material everyday reality, we move closer to a history that does justice to the complexity of the human experience in the Middle Ages. In that context, this research is but one step toward an integrated vision of a European past that is as diverse and contested as its present.

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APPENDIX 1: CRISTIAN CONCORDIA (1383)

Transcription from *Urkundenbuch*, charter no. 1170. Translation and line numbers added.¹

Grossau, 1383 Januar 13. Stadt und Stuhl Hermannstadt bezeugen die von ihnen mit den umwohnenden Walachen getroffene Vereinbarung, betreffend die Unverantwortlichkeit hinsichtlich der vor dieser Vereinbarung verübten Gewalttätigkeiten, das Weideverbot, den Wachdienst auf den Gebirgen bei Talmesch, die Strafe für Beherbergung von Verbrechern, für Brandstiftung, Raub und Mord und für unbefugtes Waffentragen.

Grossau [Cristian], 1383 January 13. The city and chapter of Hermannstadt [Sibiu] attest to the agreement they have reached with the surrounding Vlachs concerning the immunity from liability of acts of violence committed prior to this agreement, the ban on grazing, the guard duty on the mountains near Talmesch [Tălmăciu], the penalty for harboring criminals, for arson, robbery and murder, and for the unauthorized carrying of weapons.

5 Nos Nicolaus dictus Wychin villicus civitatis Cybiniensis, Johannes dictus Crispus villicus de Helta et Heyczmamms Tawsintschon dictus totaque villicorum et seniorum civitatis et sedis Cybiniensis universitas memoriae commendamus tenore praesentium significantes quibus expedit universis, quod cum Walachi nobis circumsedentes omnibus villis
10 sedis ante dictae diversa incommoda et damna incomparabilia, furta, incendia, spolia, morticina intulissent nosque de consilio venerabilis in Christo patris et domini, domini Goblini episcopi
15 Transsiluani talem concordiam cum Walachis ante fati inivimus, articulos infra scriptos inter nos et ipsos Walachos ad eorum supplicationem instantem statuimus pacis tranquillitate in
20 perpetuum conservandos.

We, Nicolaus Wichin, bailiff of the city of Sibiu, Johann Crisp, bailiff of Cisnădie and Heyczmamms Tawsinthschon, together with the entire community of bailiffs and elders of the city and seat of Sibiu, commit to this memory and make known through the tenor of the present document to all whom it may concern, that since the Vlachs surrounding us had inflicted various troubles and incomparable damages upon all the villages of the aforesaid district, thefts, arson, plundering, killings, and since, on the advice of the venerable father in Christ and lord, Lord Goblinus, bishop of Transylvania, we have entered into an agreement with the aforementioned Vlachs, we have, at their urgent supplication, established the articles written below between us and the said Vlachs, to be preserved forever for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity.

25 Primus articulus est iste, quod Fladmerus et omnes ceteri Walachi morantes sub castro omnes mortificationes seu interemptions, quas ipsi et eorum amici sustinuerunt, has omnes pacis propter communitatem amicabiliter deposuimus ita, quod nullus eorum dictam reconciliatam causam et sopitam de cetero debet iterando renovare taliter,
30 quod si aliquae mulieres vel viri de partibus Transalpinis essent interempti, quibus emenda reconciliationis fieri

Article 1. Vladimir and all other Vlachs living under the castle, and all the killings or slayings which they and their relatives have suffered, we have amicably set aside for the sake of the community. No one among them may ever again revive this reconciled and extinguished matter. If any women or men from Transalpina were killed for whom a reconciliation payment ought to be made, especially concerning the death of the woman once called Drossa, and the death of a certain

¹ Source text: *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. II. 1342-1390, edited by Franz Zimmermann, pp. 564-6 [doc. 1170]. Sibiu: Verlag bei Michaelis, 1897.

35	debet signanter de morte mulieris quondam Drossa et de morte cuiusdam Walachi Transalpini, quem Dobrin nominavit proximum suum, sive de quacumque morte habita per Insulanos inter Walachos, onera emendationum illarum in se assumpserunt Walachi supra scripti cum suis posteris nunc et in futurum, e contra ipsi Insulani assumpserunt ignoscere pure ipsis Walachis omnia homicidia, incendia, furta, depraedationes hactenus habita per ipsos Walachos in Insulanos et cum eis perpetuam pacem habituros.	Transalpine Vlach whom Dobrin names as his kinsman, or concerning any death caused by the locals among the Vlachs, the burden of these compensations has been assumed by the aforesaid Vlachs and their descendants, now and in the future. In return, the locals have undertaken to forgive the Vlachs entirely for all homicides, arson, thefts, and plundering committed by the Vlachs against them up to this point, and to maintain perpetual peace with them.
50	Secundus articulus est iste, quod assumpserunt ipsi Walachi, quod numquam pascere pecora nec pecudes in territorio Theutunicorum nisi liberrima licentia et admissione Theutunicorum in quorum territoriis pascere.	Article 2. The Vlachs have undertaken that they will never pasture cattle or sheep on the territory of the Germans, unless they have the free permission and approval of the Germans on whose land they pasture.
55	Tertius articulus est iste, quod assumpserunt ipsi Walachi custodiam servandam in omnibus alpebus ad Tolmacz usque ad Magnam villam Walachikalem.	Article 3. The Vlachs have undertaken to maintain guard duty on all the alpine pastures up to Tălmăciu and up to the great Vlach village [i.e. Săliste].
60	Quartus articulus est iste, quod assumpserunt ipsi Walachi, quod crematorem, interfectorem, nocivum seu malevolum nullum debent hospitare hominem, si tales nocivos hospitaverint, cum ipsis sint comburendi.	Article 4. The Vlachs have undertaken that they shall not host any arsonist, murderer, harmful or malicious person. If they do host such harmful individuals, they shall be burned together with them.
65	Quintus articulus est iste, quod si aliquis minaretur incendium, tali si convinci posset septem iuramentis, statim debet cremari, modo simili quicumque Walachorum convinceretur septem iuramentis, quod furtum, spolium, incendium aliquod vel huiusmodi commisisset, simili modo statim deberet cremari.	Article 5. If anyone threatens arson, and this can be proven by seven oaths, he must be burned immediately. Likewise, any Vlach who is convicted by seven oaths of having committed theft, plunder, arson, or similar acts must likewise be burned immediately.
75	Sextus articulus est iste, quod assumpserunt Walachi, quod eorum nullus arcum regere vel portare audeat, nisi necessitas et utilitas requireret, quicumque arcum portaret ultra hoc, talis in rebus et corpore sit puniendus.	Article 6. The Vlachs have undertaken that none of them shall dare to carry or use a bow unless necessity and usefulness require it. Whoever carries a bow beyond such necessity shall be punished in both goods and body.
80	Ex parte castri praesentibus Walachis infra scriptis primo Fladmir, Schuka Petril	Present on behalf of the castle were the following Vlachs: Fladmir, Schuka Petril

85	Schereban, magnus Neg, Schereb, Rodbansch, Thomas, Oldamar Straw, niger Bansch, ex parte civitatis Kende Knez, Lud, dives Neg, niger Radul, Daud, Stanbescht, Drewgysch, Dragmer Bobusch, ex parte comitissae de Helta Theodir, Juba, Cristian Phaff et filius suus	Schereban, magnus Neg, Schereb, Rodbansch, Thomas, Oldamar Straw, Black Bansch. On behalf of the city: Kende Knew, Lud, dives Neg, Black Radul, David, Stanbescht, Drewgysch, Dragmer Bobusch. On behalf of the comity of Cislădie: Theodir, Juba, Cristian Phaff and his son Radul. On behalf of the community of Cislădie: Gros Schramchet Clos et frater suus.
90	gros Schramchet Clos et frater suus.	
95	Acta sunt haec in insula Christiana coram iudicibus, civibus iuratis senioribus et communitate civitatis et sedis Cybiniensis et munita sigillo nobilis viri domini Johannis de Scharffenek necnon sigillo consulum civium civitatis Cybiniensis et sigillo comitatus sedis Cybiniensis, anno domini M ^o C ^o C ^o C ^o LXXX III ^o , in octavis	These acts were carried out in Cristian in the presence of the judges, sworn citizens, elders, and the community of the city and district of Sibiu, and were confirmed with the seal of the noble lord Johannes of Scharffenek, as well as the seal of the consuls of the city of Sibiu and the seal of the district of Sibiu, in the year of the Lord 1383, on the octave of the Epiphany.
100	epiphaniarum domini.	

APPENDIX 2: BOOK OF BOUNDARIES OF RĂȘINARI (1488)

Transcription from Tatiana Onilov. Translation and line numbers added.²

	CU NUMELE TATĂLUI ȘI AL FIOLUI ȘI AL SFÂNTULUI DUH.	IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER AND OF THE SON AND OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.
5	Și cu voia Măririi sale de Dumnezeu Cîstitului și Îmbodobitului cu toate bunătățile, dimpreună și cu paza hotarilor a Măririi sale de Dumnezeu Cîstit Matiaș Craiu, Prefăcutusau și sau	And with the will of His Majesty, by the grace of God, the Honoured and Adorned with all goodness, together also with the guardianship of the borders of His Majesty, the God-honoured King Matthias [Corvinus], the 'Boundary Book' of the
10	prea înnoit Cartea Ocolnița a Hotarului Rășinariului Orașu, prin îndemnarea și ruga a scaun de Lege Patruzăci de Bătrâni Jurați; pentru ca să se știe și să se păzască pe ounde merg marginile Hotarului Nostru al Rășinariului peste tot împrejur, precum Veachiea carte	territory of the town Rășinari has been renewed and greatly restored, at the urging and request of the Court of Law of the Forty Sworn Elders; so that it may be known and preserved where the limits of our territory of Rășinari run, just as the old
15	Ocolnița cea de la Bunul și Vechiul Craiu Atila din Anul 420 și mai pe ourmă în Anul 1488: în Zilele Măririi sale Matieaș Craiu însuși datu-ni-l-au mai pidin jos mult, și mai pe larg; iară acum pe aici întărit cu	'Boundary Book' of the Good and Ancient King Attila of the year 420, and later in the year 1488: in the days of His Majesty King Matthias himself, who gave it to us below, much expanded and more detailed; and
20	Hialmuri, și cu Cruci pin pietri.	now here strengthened with boundary-markers and with crosses carved in stone.
25	Înceeapem din jos de lângă Pădure de Stăejărișu cu vecinii cei mari Ciznădii meargem dumnealor pi din jos. Noi Rășinariul, pi din sus. Meargem spre răsăritul de iarnă de la Hialmul Cel mare curmând Lunca, dă în gura Văii Albinelor în râu despre răsărit Hialm. Mearge pe apă în Sus ca o pistreală de loc Hialm. Fereaște Spre Stânga pin Pădure	We begin below, near the Oak Forest, with the great neighbours of Ciszădie on the lower side. We of Rășinari are on the upper side. We go toward the winter sunrise from the great boundary-marker, crossing the meadow, into the mouth of the Valley of the Bees, into the stream toward the eastern-boundary marker. It goes up along the water like a small stretch of
30	amesteacată, Sue și mearge peste Vinele Văii Albinelor, iase în față cu Năsip, mearge puținel, coboară pe oun Gruiu în jos, dă în Valea Calbau de la Coșteiu mai sus ca o pistreală de loc într-un Gruiu Hialm, mearge puținel iară dă în	marked land. It turns left through the mixed forest, climbs and goes over the ridges of the Valley of the Bees, comes out facing the Sandbank, goes a little further, descends a hill, and enters the Calbău Valley at Coșteiu, higher up, like a small, marked place on a hill. It goes a little
35	Valea Calbau, merge pe Apă în Sus pe supt piatra Cojbiată, mearge pe văile reale în vârf Cruce în piatră, mearge Spre apus, coboară în curmătură la Fântăna Neagră, mearge de coboară pe valea Cărligelor dă în Apă cea Mare, mearge	further and again enters the Calbău Valley, follows the water upstream beneath the Cojbiată rock, goes along the real valleys to the summit where a cross is carved in stone, goes westward, descends into the pass at the Black Spring, descends along the Valley of the Hooks and enters the
40	pe apă în sus. Noi pe de cătră Față, Vecinii Cei Mari pe de cătră Dos. Și făcându-să doao râuri meargem pe Apa	Great Water. It goes upstream along the

² Tatiana Onilov, *Documente din Rășinari. Copiile Româno-Chirilice de Secol XVIII ale Cărții Ocolniță (1488) și Extrasului Actului de Danie (1383)*. „Anuarul Institutului de Istorie «G. Barițiu»”. Series Historica”, Supliment LIX (2020), 273-86.

- 45 ce vine despre Munteani Buceeaiul, iase
în Curmătură, aici dina Stânga rămân
Vecinii Cei Mari, Suim Alătura cu
Munteanii, suim Muntele Buceeaiul al
50 Marelui Herțeg Radu Vodă Negru Cel de
la Anii 6748. Meargem fiind tot Vârful
Muntelui Clăbuc, și Muntelui Neagoe
Ivan până la Țăcu Înalt; Aici ne despărțim
de Munteani, venim Spre Miază Noapte
pe fața Izvorului Celui Mare după Vârful
55 Muntelui lui Neagoe Ivan, Mearge pe
picior în jos, dă în gura Izvorului Celui
Mare, Mearge pe Apa Cea Mare în Sus,
treace Izvorul Adâncii Gropi mai Sus pe
oun pisc suim în Vârful Muntelui Cindrea.
- 60 Meargem prin trei Cruci, luom câțva șes
de al Muntelui Cindrea, cobărâm în
lazerul Cel despre apus mărgem pe Izvor
în jos pe supt Munții Răci, iase pe piciorul
Beșinovului în Curmătura cu Jipu, venim
65 pe Vârful Muntelui Bătrân și Vârful
Muntelui Găujor care caută Spre răsăritul
de Vară aici Cruce în piatră, mearge pe
Izvorul dina Stânga coboară în Izvoru ce
vine despre răsăritul de Iarnă, mearge pe
70 Izvor în jos până în Izvorul Dnes de sus,
mearge pe potecu Dnes prin Crâng, iase
în capul Muntelui Vălari Cobărâm Venim
pe Valea Mărăjda, suim în Curmătură,
sue muntele Ganțul, venim puținel Hialm,
75 Aici ne despărțim de Cristin. Venim
Alătura cu Turnu mult Supărându-ne și
luându-ne, cobărâm pe râpe pin Stejeriș
Hialm; mearge peste Vinele Văii
Plopișului, sue obârșiea cu Năsip
80 mearge pe Vale până la un părau glodos,
sue într-un cap de Dealu, Hialm lângă
Pădure de Stejeriș prin Hialmuri, mearge
în cap de Dealu cu Năsip roșu Hialm
mearge în jos zboară rogozu Hialm, în
85 Stejerișu Hialm, mearge prin Stejerișu pe
lângă Tănaci, ne întâlnim cu Vecinii Cei
mari Hialm.
- water. We go on the front side, the great
neighbours on the back side. And when
the two streams divide, we follow the water
that comes from the mountain people of
Bucea, and it comes out in the pass; here
on the left remain the great neighbours.
We climb alongside the Mountain People,
we ascend Mount Bucea of the Great
Duke Radu Vodă Negru, from the year
6748. We go keeping to the ridge of Mount
Clăbuc and of Mount Neagoe Ivan until the
High Peak of Țăcu. Here we part from the
Mountain People, and we come toward the
North on the face of the Great Spring
beneath the summit of Mount Neagoe
Ivan. It goes down the ridge, enters the
mouth of the Great Spring, goes upstream
along the Great Water, crosses the Spring
of the Deep Pit, higher up climbs a peak
and ascends to the summit of Mount
Cindrea.
- We go through three Crosses, take some
of the plateau of Mount Cindrea, descend
into the western Lake, go down the Spring
beneath the Răci Mountains, come out on
the ridge of Beșinov in the Pass of Jipu,
come to the summit of the Old Mountain
and the summit of Mount Găujor, which
looks toward the summer sunrise; here is
a Cross in stone. It goes along the Spring
on the left, descends into the Spring that
comes from the winter sunrise, goes down
the Spring until the Upper Dnes Spring,
goes along the Dnes path through the
Grove, comes out at the head of Mount
Vălari. We descend, come along the
Mărăjda Valley, climb into the Pass,
ascend Mount Ganțu, come a little to the
boundary-marker. Here we part from
Cristian. We come alongside Turnu, much
troubling and taking from us, descend the
cliffs through the Oak Forest
boundary-marker; it goes over the ridges
of the Valley of the Poplars, climbs the
source with the Sandbank, goes along the
Valley until a muddy stream, climbs onto a
hilltop boundary-marker near the Oak
Forest through boundary-markers, goes to
the hilltop with the red Sandbank
boundary-marker, goes down, the sedge
flies, boundary-marker in the Oak Forest,
goes through the Oak Forest near Tănaci,
and we meet the great neighbours,
boundary-marker.

- 90 Ce este înlăuntru aceştii Ocolniţă este
pământ rumânesc al Satului Răşinariului
Nimurui înduplicat, n-are nime a-i
porunci, nici în pământ, nici în apă, nici în
ghinde, nici în jir, nici în alunişu, nici în
rânsă. Şi s-au prea înnoit această Carte
95 Ocolniţă de pe Izvodul alţia în Zilele
Măririi sale de Dumnezeu Cînstilului
Matiaşu Craiu când au fost cursul Anilor
a mundi Salvatione 1488 die 22 Maii (de
la mântuirea lumii 1488, în ziua a 22-a a
lui mai).
- 100 Măririi Sale Preotii Popa Iacov, Popa
Vasilie Tomuzea, Popa Petru, Popa Iosif
Petriţi din sus de Besearică, Popa Sain,
şi Popa Manasie Iliia.
- 105 Şi au fost Cneaz Bunea, şi Sândie
Coman Desea, Pătru Codrus, Oprea
Codrea, Şerban, patruzăci de juraţi,
Radu Nistor, Alăman Galea, Toma
Mineia, Pătru Tomuzea, Radu Băncilă,
Rădoiţă, Radu Pinciu, Sain, Bucur
110 Oance, Comşe Omotă, Răpă, Cârstea
Cacăş, Comşe Băra, Savu Hoadrea,
Maniu Morariul Besearecii. Bucur Băilă
vornik.
- 115 Hramu Sfintei Beseareci Prea Cuviosa
Paraschiva. Pentru Moşiile Bisearecii trei
ceale date de Marele Hearteg Domn
Radu Vodă Negru în Câmpu din jos de
calea Coşteiului, până în Strâmtu
jumătate despre Pădure a Besearecii,
120 jumătate Popilor. Alta din jos de calea
Coşteiului din Gura Văii cu năsip cu
pietrişu rătund precum mearge vărsătura
pin râu pe lângă Merii Popii Oprea Petriţă
pe lângă Stupină din calea Coşteiului;
125 dară cea din calea Coşteiului dată de
Mircea Vodă Basarab.
- Anno a creatione Mundi 6891: die 7a
January (Anul de la facerea lumii 6891,
în ziua a şaptea a lui ianuarie).
- What lies within this Boundary Book is
Vlach land of the Village of Răşinari,
belonging to no one else; no one has the
right to command it, neither in land, nor in
water, nor in acorns, nor in beech nuts, nor
in the hazel grove, nor in the catkins. And
this Boundary Book has been renewed
from the earlier copy in the days of His
Majesty, the God-Honoured King Matthias,
when the course of the years from the
salvation of the world was 1488, on the
22nd day of May.
- His Majesty's priests: Father Iacov, Father
Vasilie Tomuzea, Father Petru, Father Iosif
Petriţi from above the Church, Father Sain,
and Father Manasie Iliia.
- And the cneaz was Bunea, and Sândie
Coman Desea, Pătru Codrus, Oprea
Codrea, Şerban, the forty jurors, Radu
Nistor, Alăman Galea, Toma Mineia, Pătru
Tomuzea, Radu Băncilă, Rădoiţă, Radu
Pinciu, Sain, Bucur Oance, Comşe Omotă,
Răpă, Cârstea Cacăş, Comşe Băra, Savu
Hoadrea, Maniu the Miller of the Church.
Bucur Băilă, vornic.
- The patron saint of the Holy Church is the
Most Venerable Paraschiva. Concerning
the three estates of the Church, those
given by the Great Duke Lord Radu Vodă
Negru in the Field below the road of
Coşteiu, up to the Narrow Place, half
belonging to the Forest of the Church, half
to the priests. Another below the road of
Coşteiu, from the Mouth of the Valley with
sand and round gravel, as the outflow
goes through the river near the Apple
Trees of Priest Oprea Petriţă, near the
Apiary on the road of Coşteiu; but the one
on the road of Coşteiu was given by Mircea
Vodă Basarab.
- Annos mundi 6891; the 7th January. (Year
of the creation of the world 6891, the 7th
day of January).

APPENDIX 3: STATUTES OF FĂGĂRAȘ (1508)

Transcription and translation from Victor Vizauer. Line numbers added.³

	Nos Ioannes Bornemizza Castellanus huius Castri Bwdensis Consiliariusque Regiae Maiestatis memoriae commendamus universis, quod Egregius Paulus Thomori Castellanus Castri nostri Fogaras videns gravitates Boyarorum et universorum aliorum Walachorum nostrorum in Districtu et Pertinentiis dicti Castri nostri Fogaras, quas in	We, Ioannes Bornemisza, castellan of this Fortress of Buda and counsellor of the Royal Majesty, let everyone know that the distinguished Paulus Thomory, castellan of our Fortress of Făgăraș, seeing the hardships of the boyars and of all our other Vlachs in the district and in the dependencies of our mentioned Fortress of Făgăraș, oppressions which they endure because of the collecting the taxes which were imposed to them since ancient times, according to the course of the law, and also seeing that they suffered even more often from all sorts of unusual taxes invented by the previous castellans, because of which the district and the possessions of this Citadel could not be restored, so, for all these reasons, the same Paulus, together with the boyars and all the Vlachs of our same district of Făgăraș, has disposed and ordered that this district and the dependencies of our mentioned Fortress of Făgăraș should be populated with a multitude of people, concomitantly with the moderation and reduction of charges and taxes, such a provision and ordinance being comprised in the articles written below.
5	exactionibus birsagiorum ab antiquo consuetorum secundum processum iuris paterentur et item sepius etiam per Castellanos praeteritos diversis adinventionibus birsagiorum	
10	inconsuetorum passi fuissent, propter quas Districtus et Pertinentiae eiusdem Castri non poterant restaurari, ob hoc ipse Paulus cum Boyaronibus uniuersisque Walachis eiusdem	
15	Districtus nostri Fogaras cum moderamine et diminutione birsagiorum et exactionum, ut huiusmodi Districtus et Pertinentiae dicti Castri nostri Fogaras	
20	multitudine populorum decorentur, fecit dispositionem et ordinationem, quae infra scriptis articulis continentur.	
25		
	Item primo. Ex quo hucusque universi Boyarones, dum casualiter in homagio hominis in aliqua causa iudicialiter convicti fuerint, tunc semper	Thus, firstly: All the boyars, whenever they happened to have to ransom a homicide, were always fined 66 florins by the officials of the Fortress, namely by the judges and the castellans, wherefore it has been decided that the boyars punished with the ransom of homicide should always pay only 33 florins to the castellans and to the above-mentioned officials, or how much they may agree with each other less, but in no case a number higher than 33 florins.
30	extorquebantur per Officiales, Iudices et Castellanos florenos sexaginta sex. Quare statutum est, ut de cetero Boyarones in homagio convicti semper	
35	solvant tantummodo 33 florenos Castellanis et Officialibus supradictis aut, qualiter cum ipsis conuenire possunt, infra numerum triginta tres florenis, sed altius non ascendant.	
40	Rusticis Walachis similiter primitus fuit talis consuetudo, ut, dum iudicialiter in homagio hominis convicti fuerint, solvebantur pro homagio floreni triginta	Similarly, the custom of the Vlach peasants was at first that, whenever they were punished for the ransom of homicide, they had to pay for the ransom of the crime

³ Victor Vizauer, "The Statutes of the Transylvanian Romanians from Făgăraș (1508). A Historical Perspective and a Comparison with the Transylvanian Saxon and Szekler Customary Laws," *Balkanica Posnaniensia* 31 (2024): 51-75.

45	tres. Igitur statutum est, ut tales rustici, qui iudicialiter convicti fuerunt, solum in florenis 25 conuincantur, vel infra viginti quinque florenos concordare valeant et possint.	33 florins. It was therefore decided that the peasants in question who had been punished with the ransom of homicide should be fined only 25 florins or less than 25 florins should they be able to agree upon this.
50	Proditores, infideles Castri, capite priventur vel, si possunt, obtineant gratiam Domini Nostri.	Traitors, unbelievers of the Fortress should be beheaded, or, if they can, they should benefit of our Lord's pardon.
55	Ex quo ab antiquo consuetum erat, quod Officiales, dum aliquos Praedones vel Fures aut alios quoslibet malefactores in Regno vel extra Regno captivassent et pro conservatione et introductione ad Castrum alicui Villano sive Rustico assignavissent, si huiusmodi captivus aliquo casu inopinato evasisset, tunc	As a result of the fact that it was a custom since ancient times that, whenever robbers or thieves or any other villains, from the country or from abroad, were entrusted to a villager or a peasant for guarding and taking them to the Citadel, if it happened that the prisoner escaped by fleeing, then the ransom of the crime was
60	homagium semper per Possessionem talis loci exigeretur. Quare ordinatum est, ut de cetero, dum Officiales huiusmodi captivum haberent et ad importandum ad Castrum ad alicuius vel aliquorum manus	demanded to be paid by the possession of that place. Therefore it was decided that, moreover, whenever the officials seize such a captive and deliver him into the hands of another or others in order to take
65	darent, ab illo vel illis repetant et, si reddere non possint, tunc alios propterea impedire non praesumant; si autem manibus Villanorum assignaverint et reddere non possent vel de captivitate emitterent — prout non fuit auditum, quod aliquo modo voluntarie eliberassent — et tunc humagium insimul persolvant; sed, si tantummodo personae vel	him to the Citadel, then they should demand him from them, and if they are not able to fetch him, they should not dare to prevent others from doing so; but if they have delivered him into the hands of the villagers, who are unable to return him or they release him from captivity – anyway nobody has heard that somebody was ever willingly released – then the village
70	personis accomodaverit, a tali vel talibus homagium malefactoris exposcant.	community must pay the ransom of the crime; and also if the villagers have housed him in someone's house or houses, the ransom of the wrongdoer must be demanded from the respective individual or individuals.
80	Prius erat consuetudo, quod pro effusione sanguinis florenos 13 pro birsagio exigebant. Igitur pro commoda utilitate et restauratione pertinentiarum conclusum est, ut de caetero tales per adversarium iudicialiter convicti solum florenos quattuor pro birsagio solvant. Puer infra decem annorum existens	In older times it was a custom to pay for bloodshed a fine of 13 florins. But, for the safe benefit and restoration of the dependencies, it has been decided that individuals defeated in law by the opposite side should pay a fine of only 4 florins. A child under ten years, who commits bloodshed, should not have to pay any
85	faciens casu sanguinis effusionem birsagium non solvat, sed soli ipsi inter se disponent, prout honestum erit.	fine, yet this should be agreed by the officials as they would find it to be most righteous.
	Qui domum vel curiam vel hortum in aliqua villa, vel terris, agris, sive pratis eiusdem absque iuris ordine potentialiter	If some have forcibly occupied a house or a yard or a garden in any village, or have entered unlawfully the lands, fields, or

90	occupaverint, si tandem ordine iuris observato iudicialiter convicti fuerint, pro huiusmodi potentia 13 florenos solvere tenentur.	pastures of the same village, and if, finally, after the lawful order was imposed, they were punished for this transgression let them be made to pay a fine of 13 florins.
95	Antea erat consuetum, quod, qui fecit actus potentiarum in territoriis, puta arando terras vicinorum, ac prata falcando, segetes cum pecudibus perlustrando pro talibus similibus solvebantur floreni tres.	Formerly it was the custom that whoever committed an act of violence in this region, namely by ploughing the lands of his neighbours and mowing pastures or crushing the cornfields underfoot with their beasts, had to pay 3 florins for such acts.
100	Pro restauratione pertinentiarum conclusum est, ut tales iudicialiter convicti solvant solum florenum unum.	In order to restore the dependencies, it was decided that those punished by law should have to pay a fine of only 1 florin.
105	Ordinatum est, quod, prout solent nonnullae puellae Valachales absque consensu parentum ire ad matrimonium ex voluntate ambarum partium, et, si postea maritus suus cum ipsa matrimonialiter perseverare vellet, extunc soluat florenos duos pro birsagio, prius autem pro tali facto habebant soluere florenos sex.	It has been ordered that, just as some Vlachs girls used to engage, without the consent of their parents, into a matrimony by will of both parties, and if afterwards the husband wished to continue the marriage, then he should have to pay 2 florins as a fine, whereas before, for such a deed, they had to pay 6 florins.
110		
115	Ordinatum est, quod, si aliquis filiam alterius virginem aut sororem violenter oppresserit et deturbaverit, extunc birsagium solvant florenos tredecim.	It has been ordered, too, that if anyone exerted violence and desecrated the virgin daughter or sister of another, then he should have to pay a fine of 13 florins.
120	Si vero violatam puellam ad se maritus recipere vellet, et e converso, si puella cum marito manere non vellet, solvat birsagium solum quattuor florenorum, prius autem solvebant florenos 12.	And if the raped girl wanted to receive him as her husband, but also, on the contrary, if the girl did not want to stay with her husband, he would have to pay a fine of only 4 florins, although previously he used to pay 12 florins.
125	Boyarones, si more et lege ipsorum uxores a se abiicere vellent et cum eisdem amplius manere nollent, pars separans Castellano seu Officiali solvat pro birsagio florenum unum.	If the boyars, according to their custom and law, wish to repudiate their wives and do not wish to remain with them any longer, the separating part shall have to pay to the castellan or servant a fine of 1 florin.
	Rusticus Valachicus similiter, si uxorem abiicere vellet, modo prenominato pars separans Boyaroni suo, sub quo existit, solvat aspras novem.	Likewise, if a Vlach peasant wants to repudiate his wife, the separating part has to pay to the boyar he serves 9 aspros.
130	Boyarones sive Rustici Valachi uxoribus propriis matrimonialiter iuncti, si maritus vel uxor verum matrimonium non observaret, extunc talis pars non observans portionem suam tam in	With regard to Vlach boyars or peasants bound in marriage to their own wives, if the husband or wife does not respect the true marriage, then the part not respecting the matrimony should lose its portion in both

135	hereditatibus quam in rebus amittat, portio vero partis observantis unacum hereditatibus suis sola remaneat.	inheritances and assets, and the part respecting the marriage contract should keep his or her portion together with the inheritance.
140	Consuetum erat prius, quod Boyaro vitam claudens equum sellatum cum hasta Castellano dare coactus fuerit, si vero equo deficiebat, etiam equum dare pro ipso oportebat. Igitur ordinatum est, quod de caetero Boyaro equo carens post mortem teneatur Castellano pro equo solvere solum florenos tres.	It was another custom in elder times that a boyar who was ending his life (dying) was obliged to give to the castellan a saddled horse and a spear and, even if he was deprived of a horse, he had to give another horse in exchange. It has been therefore ordered that, moreover, the horseless boyar should be kept to pay for the horse only 3 florins to the castellan after death.
150	Haeretici vel opera illorum exercentes consanguineos usque ad tertium gradum opprimentes vel violantes sive etiam cum brutis vel aliter qualitercumque haeretica pravitae se defoedentes sine misericordia aliqua, ut hactenus consuetum fuit, ignis incendio comburantur.	Heretics or those who carry out their work by oppressing and violating their relatives up to the third degree of consanguinity, or who mercilessly defile themselves with animals or in any other way through heretical crookedness, are to be burned at the stake, just like it used to be hitherto.
155	Incendiarii falsarum monetarum cussores similiter ignis incendio comburantur.	Similarly, the executioners should burn at the stake the counterfeiters of money, too.
160	Singulis annis ad Castrum portent duo plaustra lignorum per singula capita semel: in festo Natalis Domini, altera vice in profesto Beati Michaelis Archangeli.	Every year, the boyars should carry to the Citadel each of them two carts of firewood: once on the feast of the Nativity (at Christmas), the second time on the eve of the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel.
	Falcare debeant more alias consueto tantum duabus diebus et tandem accumulare et importare teneantur.	They should have to mow, according to the custom once observed, only two days a year and at the end they are compelled to collect the hay and transport it.
165	Quando aliquo Boyarorum mori contigerit et heredes non habuerit, extunc prima uxori de bonis mobilibus extradetur tertia pars, aliae vero duae partes Domino simul cum hereditatibus remaneant, ex quo non parturit.	When it happens that a boyar dies and he has no heirs, then first of all a third of his movables will be given to his wife, and the other two thirds will remain with the landlord, because she did not bear a son.
170	Si aliquis masculo caruerit et filiam habuerit, extunc filiae omnia bona mobilia succedant: de hereditatibus autem cum quarta parte puellari eiiciatur tali ordine observato iuxta aestimationem, quod a singulis sessionibus populosis dentur puellae denarii decem et duo, a desertis denarii sex; de desertis vero aedificiis penitus	If a boyar shall have been deprived of a male son, and should he have only one daughter, then all the movables are inherited by the daughter; but she is to be deprived of her inheritance, as well as of the daughter's quarter, according to the following order, by virtue of a just appraisal: the girl should receive 12 dinars for each populated plot of land and for

180	carens denarii tres et, si fratres divisionales habuerint, is vel tales prefatam puellam contentant et hereditatem cum prefata aestimatione ad se redimant. Casu vero, quod fratribus divisionalibus deficeret — quod raro vel 185 nunquam eueniet —, Dominus Terrestris cum praefata aestimatione huiusmodi puellam de talibus hereditatibus excludere valeat hoc non pretermisso, si filia fuisset ante obitum patris maritata, 190 nullas portiones de rebus mobilibus auffere queat, sed in Dominum Terrestrem conferatur, tantummodo de hereditatibus cum aestimatione praefata excludatur, quia in lege Valachorum 195 hereditates sexum foemineum non concernunt, demptis semper portionibus uxorum, quemadmodum sepius praefatum est.	each deserted plot of land 6 dinars. And if she has one or more brothers enjoying communal property, let the latter compensate the aforesaid girl, and appropriate their inheritances by observing the above-mentioned appraisal. But in case she has no brothers – which seldom or never happens – by virtue of a due appraisal, the landlord may exclude the girl from her inheritance, yet without overlooking the fact that, if the girl has married before her father's death, she will not be able to seize any portion of the movables. Instead, these [movables] should be assigned to the landlord, and she should be excluded only from inheritance, after a due appraisal: because in the law of the Vlachs, inheritance does not concern the female sex, the portions of the wives being always deducted (lessened), as mentioned here several times before.
200	Si quis filiam vel filias optans in rebus hereditariis prefacere heredem masculinum, extunc primum a Domino Terrestri et tandem a Iuratis habeat litteras efficaces sigillo munitas et sic tandem huiusmodi hereditates ad talem 205 tanquam virum masculinum succedant.	If a boyar would wish to change his daughter into a male heir of his hereditary assets, then he must obtain a certificate reinforced with a seal first from the landlord and then from the jurors, and thus finally a heritage of this kind can be transmitted by succession to her [the boyar's daughter] as a heir of male rank.
	Alias redemptiones linguae fuerint in floreis 13, conclusum est, quod tales ab Officialibus pro redemptione eiusdem linguae convincantur in florenis 6.	Formerly, the ransoms of the tongue used to be 13 florins: instead, it has now been decided that such persons should pay to the officials for the ransom of the tongue a fine of 6 florins.
210	Si in Sede Iudiciaria alter alteri verba dehonestatoria dixerit, tunc ille convincatur in floreno uno, quia Sedes Iudiciaria debeat libera et honesta esse.	If a boyar addresses to another heavy words in the Seat of Law, he'll be fined 1 florin, because the Seat of Law has to be free and honest.
215	Si quis Sigillo Castellani monitus vel Officialis eiusdem et non curaverit, extunc in floreno uno convincatur.	If any boyar is warned by the castellan or his officer's seal and disobeys [the warning], let him be fined 1 florin.
220	Alias consuetum fuit, quod sive quis accedens erga Officiales et susurravit sibi aliquem, quod is talis est, Fur vel Latro vel cuiusvis mali patrator, quibus auditis Officiales talium bona abstulerunt, ita ut se velint a tali fama expurgare et rectificare, ille autem, qui ad illum conquestus est, saltem subticuit vel	Once it was a custom that if anyone went to the officials and accused another one, whispering in their ears that he was so and so, namely a thief or a robber or any kind of wrongdoer, upon hearing these things the officials confiscated the assets of the defendant, as if they wanted to cleanse themselves of such rumour and to rectify

225 aliquando iudex fuit, quod contra Deum
et eius iustitiam fuit et Officiales fuerunt
eius causidici. Ut igitur tales e medio
nostri evellantur, statutum est quod de
230 cetero nullus Castellanorum seu
Officialium ante decisionem litis et
causae aliquem de predare valeat vel
birsagiare, sed prius sedendo pro
Tribunali et, si talis se iustificare poterit,
bene quidem, alioquin iuxta
235 deliberationem sedis soluat birsagium. Si
autem compertus fuerit inanius, extunc
Officiales in partem alteram querelatam
birsagium illius noxii e conuerso
extorqueant et exigendi habeant
240 facultatem.

it, while the complainant – who was maybe
a former judge – kept silent about the fact
that he was against God and His justice,
and the officials were his false advocates.
Therefore, in order to remove such
individuals from among us, it has been
decided that none of the castellans or
officials can injure or fine any one before
the verdict of the litigation or of the case is
given, but first the complaint must be
brought to the court of law, and if he is able
to exonerate himself, good for him,
otherwise he'll have to pay the fine
according to the judgement of the Seat of
Law. But if it has been discovered that he
has made a false claim then the officials
can fine him for that guilt and transfer the
fine to the other part, the accused one.

Ex parte Furum observetur antiquus
modus, ita videlicet quod, si unum ovem
vel porcum, sine alias pecudes et pecora
furaverit duodecies tantum solvat et sic
245 caput suum redimat a patibulo, sicuti
hucusque consuetum fuit in talibus; ita
etiam ad futura observetur eadem
consuetudo, si unum equum furaverit,
teneatur solvere duodecim equos aut pro
250 singulo equo florenos duos, hoc est
florenos 24, et sic vitam suam a pahibulo
redimere valeat.

With regard to the thieves, the ancient
measure must be observed, that is, if one
has stolen a sheep or a pig or other beasts
and cattle, he should pay only 12 florins,
and thus he can save his head from the
gallows, as it was the custom hitherto in
such cases. So in the future, too, the same
custom will be observed: if one has stolen
a horse, let him be made to pay 12 horses
or for each horse 2 florins, that is, 24
florins, and thus he'll be able to save his
life from the gallows.

Si in furtu vestigia quarumlibet animalium
vel pecudum aut aliarum rerum ad
255 aliquam possessionem portaverint et
persecuti fuerint et damnificati ad
vestigium intraverint, Possessio autem
talis loci furtum negat ibi esse, ordinatum
est, si tota Possessio iuramento se
260 expurgauerint, extunc illa Possessio fiat
pacifica, casu autem, quo iurare nollent,
extunc talis Possessio damnificatum
contentet, insuper consuetum birsagium
talis exolvat.

If, in the case of a theft, the traces of
animals or beasts or others lead to a
particular possession and they are
followed by the injured who is on the
tracks, yet the possession of that place
denies that the theft was there, it has been
ordered that, if the whole possession shall
be cleansed by oath, then let that
possession be peaceful, but if they do not
want to swear, then such possession must
compensate the injured. Moreover, it
should also pay the usual fine.

265 Si quando Castellani prohiberent, quod
nullos equos, boves, oves vel alia extra
Regnum vendere auderet et aliquis
violaret, extunc illius pecuniae
medietatem, pro qua summa vendidisset,
270 Castellani et Officiales a talibus
venditoribus contra prohibitionem
extorquere valeant, alia vero medietas illi
venditori pacifice remaneat.

If at sometimes the castellans will forbid
anyone to dare to sell horses, oxen,
sheep, or other beasts outside the country,
and this prohibition shall be violated, then
the castellans and officials shall be able to
confiscate from such sellers half of the
amount for which they have sold, and the
other half can remain peacefully upon that
seller.

275	Ordinatum est, quod more alias consueto, qui false iurauerint, prout Christiani solent, ut humanitatem et res amittant, hoc non assumptum, sed tantummodo solvat Officiali florenum	It has been also ordered that, according to the custom once observed, those who have sworn crookedly shall not lose their humanity and goods, as Christians use to do, but without assuming the [old] law, they shall have only to pay the official 1 florin
280	unum et pristino honore permaneat, prout ab antiquo observatam fuit.	and so they can keep their old esteem, as it has been observed since ancient times.
285	A scrophis Colonom huius Districtus et Pertinentiarum more alias consueto, dum glandines erunt et contingunt esse, nec Domini Terrestres, nec Boyarones a Colonis Pertinentiarum huius Districtus Castri exigere valeant quicquam excepto hoc, ut in cuius silva crescunt glandines, Villani aliorum Villis residentes a Boyaronibus talis loci debeant reconciliare Boyaronem cum uno cubulo avenae vel una pinta vini.	As regards the sows of the serfs of this district, and according to the custom formerly observed, whenever the acorns shall and happen to be ripe, neither the landlords, nor the boyars can claim anything from the serfs belonging to this district of the Citadel, unless the villagers living in the villages of other boyars must reconcile the boyar – of the place with the forest where the acorns grow is located – with a bucket [approximately 100 kg] of oats and a pint of wine.
	Qui domos aliorum foderint vel de fenestra intraverint, capite priveentur.	Those who have broken into other people's homes or have entered through windows should be beheaded.
295	Qui ex ipsis contra Castellanos vel Officiales et homines eorum insurgere auderent, extunc capite priventur.	Let those of them who dare to rebel against the castellans or officials and their men be beheaded when they do it.
300	Pro sedatione igitur prefatorum birsagiorum et allevatione, unanimi proposito et consilio et pro conservatione [pertinentiarum] Castri Castellanis per singula capita florenum unum dare et solvere ordinavimus et conclusimus demptis prioribus uno cubulo tritici et uno cubulo avenae.	Therefore, in order to relief and remove the above-mentioned fines, as well as to preserve [the dependencies of] the Citadel, we have ordered and decided, by unanimous resolution and advice, the castellans to be given and paid 1 florin per capita, also deducing beforehand subtracting a bucket of wheat and a bucket of oats.
305	Qui vicinum suum siue absque aliqua prodicione domus, hoc est extra domum, puta in curiis, stabulis, hortis subtraheret aliquas res, extunc convincatur in florenis sex, ut intelligatur Fur iste solito more vocatur Induspes.	He who would steal from his neighbour certain stuff, even without entering his house, that is, from his yards, stables, gardens, should be fined with 6 florins, so that anyone can understand that he is to be called "a thief who enters in the back of the house" or "a thief who sneaks in".
315	Petendo et supplicando nobis, ut huiusmodi articulos ratos, gratos et acceptos haberemus, quos nos de verbo ad verbum acceptavimus et approbavimus et, si quid ulterius pro commodo, bono et statu eorundem et pro augmentatione et nobis significaverint	We were asked and begged to hold on to these articles, which we have accepted and approved word for word, and if anything else – for their advantage, welfare and good condition, as well as for their increase – is brought to our further attention, we will not withdraw our goodwill

320 nostram benevolentiam ab eisdem non from them, through the vigour and
retrahemus harum nostrarum vigore et testimony of this letter of ours.
testimonio litterarum mediante.

Datum Budae in festo Beatae Sophiae Given at Buda, on the feast of Saint
Viduae anno Domini millesimo quingen- Sophia the Widow [15 May 15] in the year
tesimo octauo. of the Lord one thousand five hundred and
eight [1508].

APPENDIX 4: DIPLOMA ANDREANUM (1224)

Transcription from *Urkundenbuch*, charter no. 43. Translation and numbering added.⁴

1224 nach November 30. König Andreas II. bestimmt Rechte und Pflichten der Siebenbürger Deutschen von Broos bis Draas („Andreanum“).

After November 30 1224. King Andrew II confirms the rights and obligations of the Transylvanian Saxons from Broos [Orăștie] until Draas [Drăușeni] („Andreanum“).

5 In nomine sanctae trinitatis et individuae unitatis. Andreas dei gratia Hungariae, Dalmaciae, Croaciae, Ramae, Seruiae, Galliciae Lodomeriaeque rex in perpetuum. Sicut ad regalem pertinet dignitatem, superbiorum contumaciam potenter opprimere, sic etiam regiam decet benignitatem, oppressiones humilium misericorditer sublevare et
10 fidelium metiri famulatum et unicuique secundum propria merita retributionis gratiam impertiri. Accedentes igitur fideles hospites nostri Theuthonici Ultrasilvani universi ad pedes maiestatis nostrae humiliter nobis conquerentes sua
15 questione suppliciter nobis monstrayerunt, quod penitus a sua libertate qua vocati fuerant a piissimo rege Geysa avo nostro excidissent, nisi super eos maiestas regia oculos solitae pietatis nostrae aperiret, unde prae nimia paupertatis inopia nullum maiestati regiae servitium poterant impertiri.

In the name of the Holy Trinity and the indivisible Unity. Andrew, by the grace of God forever king of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, Rama, Serbia, Galicia and Lodomeria. Just as it pertains to royal dignity to powerfully suppress the obstinacy of the proud, so it likewise befits royal kindness to mercifully relieve the oppressions of the humble, to reward the service of the faithful, and to grant to each one the grace of recompense according to his own merits. Therefore, when all our faithful Teutonic guests beyond the forest came humbly to the feet of our majesty and laid before us their complaint, they showed us with supplication that they had entirely fallen away from the liberty under which they had been called by our most pious grandfather King Géza, unless the royal majesty would open toward them the eyes of our accustomed mercy. Because of the extreme poverty afflicting them, they were unable to render any service to the royal majesty.

25 Nos igitur iustis eorum querimoniis aures solitae pietatis inclinantes ad praesentium posterorumque notitiam volumus devenire, quod nos antecessorum nostrorum piis vestigiis inhaerentes pietatis moti visceribus
30 pristinam eis reddidimus libertatem. Ita tamen quod universus populus ineipiens a Waras usque in Boralt cum terra Syculorum terrae Sebus et terra Daraus unus sit populus et sub uno iudice
35 censeantur, omnibus comitatibus praeter Chybiniensem cessantibus radicitus. Comes vero quicumque fuerit Chybinienensis nullum praesumat statuere in praedictis comitatibus, nisi sit infra eos
40 residens, et ipsum populi eligant, qui melius videbitur expedire, nec etiam in

We, therefore, inclining the ears of our accustomed mercy to their just complaints, wish to bring to the knowledge of those present and those to come that we, following the pious footsteps of our ancestors and moved by the bowels of compassion, have restored to them their former liberty. However, in such a way that the whole people, beginning from Orăștie as far as Baraolt, including the land of the Székelys, the land of Sebeș, and the land of Drăușeni, shall be one people and shall be judged under one judge, all counties being abolished entirely, except that of Sibiu. And whichever count shall be of Sibiu, let him presume to appoint no one in the aforesaid counties unless he resides among them, and let the people

⁴ Source text: *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. II. 1342-1390, edited by Franz Zimmermann, pp. 564-6 [doc. 1170]. Sibiu: Verlag bei Michaelis, 1897.

45	comitatu Chybiniensi aliquis audeat comparare peeunia. Ad lucrum vero nostrae camerae quingentas marcas argenti dare teneantur annuatim, nulluni praedialem vel quemlibet alium volumus infra terminos eorundem positum ab hac excludi redditione, nisi qui super hoc gaudeat privilegio speciali.	themselves elect him who shall seem most suitable. Nor shall anyone dare to purchase office in the county of Sibiu with money. For the profit of our chamber, they shall be bound to pay annually five hundred marks of silver, and we will that no estate or any other person placed within their boundaries be exempt from this payment, unless he enjoys a special privilege concerning it.
50	Hocetiam eisdem concedimus, quod pecunia, quam nobis solvere tenebuntur seu dignoscuntur, cum nullo alio pondere nisi cum marca argentea quam piissimae recordationis pater noster Bela eisdem	We also grant them that the money they are bound or known to owe us, shall be paid with no other weight than the silver mark which our father of most pious memory, Béla, established for them:
55	constituit videlicet quantum dimidium fertonem Chybiniensis ponderis cum Coloniensi denario, ne discrepent in statera solvere teneantur. Nunciis vero, quos regia maiestas ad dietam pecuniam colligendam statuerit, singulis diebus,	namely four and a half fertos of the Sibiu weight in Cologne denarii, so that they do not differ in weight. To the messengers whom the royal majesty shall appoint to collect this money, they shall not refuse to pay three <i>lotones</i> per day for their expenses during their stay.
60	quibus ibidem moram fecerint, tres lotones pro eorum expensis solvere non recusent.	
65	Milites vero quingenti infra regnum ad regis expeditionem servire deputentur, extra vero regnum centum, si rex in propria persona iverit, si vero extra regnum iobagionem miserit sive in adiutorium amici sui sive in propriis	Five hundred soldiers shall serve within the kingdom for the king's campaign; outside the kingdom one hundred, if the king goes in person. But if he sends a royal vassal outside the kingdom, whether to aid a friend or for his own affairs, they shall be bound to send only fifty soldiers; and the king may not demand more, nor shall they be obliged to send more.
70	negotiis quinquaginta tantummodo milites mittere teneantur nec regi ultra praefatum numerum postulare liceat nec ipsi etiam mittere teneantur.	
75	Sacerdotes vero suos libere eligant et electos repraesentent et ipsis decimas persolvant et de omni iure ecclesiastico secundum antiquam consuetudinem eis respondeant.	They may freely choose their priests and present the elected ones, and pay them tithes, and they shall answer for all ecclesiastical rights according to ancient custom.
80	Volumus et etiam firmiter praecipimus, quatenus ipsos nullus iudicet nisi nos vel comes Chybiniensis, quem nos eis loco et tempore constituemus. Si vero coram quocumque iudice remanserint, tantummodo iudicium consuetudinarium	We will and firmly command that no one shall judge them except us or the count of Sibiu, whom we shall appoint for them at the proper place and time. If they appear before any other judge, they shall be bound to render only the customary judgment; nor shall anyone presume to summon them into our presence, unless the case cannot be settled before their own judge.
85	reddere teneantur, nec eos etiam aliquis ad praesentiam nostram citare praesumat, nisi causa coram suo iudice non possit terminari.	

90	Praeter vero supra dicta silvam Blacorum et Bissenorum cum aquis usus communes exercendo cum praedictis scilicet Blacis et Bissenis eisdem contulimus, ut praefata gaudentes libertate nulli inde servire teneantur.	Besides the above, we grant them the forest of the Vlachs and the Pechenegs with the waters, exercising common uses with the said Vlachs and Pechenegs, so that enjoying the aforesaid liberty they shall be bound to serve no one on that account.
95	Insuper eisdem concessimus, quod unicum sigillum habeant, quod apud nos et magnates nostros evidenter cognoscatur.	Furthermore, we grant them that they shall have one single seal, which shall be clearly recognized by us and by our magnates.
100	Si vero aliquis eorum aliquem convenire voluerit in causa pecuniali, coram iudice non possit uti testibus, nisi personis infra terminos eorum constitutis, ipsos ab omni iurisdictione penitus eximentes.	If any one of them wishes to bring another to court in a monetary case, he shall not be able to use witnesses before the judge unless they are persons established within their boundaries, we entirely exempting them from all other jurisdiction.
105	Salesque minutos secundum antiquam libertatem circa festum beati Georgii octo diebus, circa festum beati regis Stephani octo et circa festum beati Martini similiter octo diebus omnibus libere recipiendos concedentes.	We also grant that they may freely receive small quantities of salt according to ancient liberty for eight days around the feast of St George, eight around the feast of St Stephen the king, and likewise eight around the feast of St Martin.
110	Item praeter supra dicta eisdem concedimus, quod nullus tributarium nec ascendendo nec descendendo praesumat impedire eos.	Moreover, we grant them that none of the toll-collectors shall presume to hinder them, whether going up or down.
115	Silvam vero cum omnibus appendiciis suis et aquarum usus cum suis meatibus, quae ad solius regis spectant donationem, omnibus tam pauperibus quam divitibus libere concedimus exercendos.	The forest with all its appurtenances and the use of the waters with their courses, which pertain to the king alone to grant, we freely allow to be used by all, both poor and rich.
120	Volumus etiam et regia auctoritate praecipimus, ut nullus de iobagionibus nostris villam vel praedium aliquod a regia maiestate audeat postulare, si vero aliquis postulaverit, indulta eis libertate a nobis contradicant.	We also will and command by royal authority that none of our serfs shall dare to request from the royal majesty any village or estate; but if anyone should request it, let them, enjoying the liberty granted to them, oppose it.
125	Statuimus insuper dictis fidelibus, ut cum ad expeditionem ad ipsos nos venire contigerit, tres descensus tantum solvere ad nostros usus teneantur. Si vero vaivoda ad regalem utilitatem ad ipsos vel per terram ipsorum transmittitur, duos descensus, unum in introitu et unum in exitu solvere non recusent.	We further establish for the said faithful that when it happens that we come to them for a campaign, they shall be bound to pay only three descents for our use. But if the voivode is sent to them or through their land for royal business, they shall not refuse to pay two descents, one on entry and one on exit.

135	Adiicimus etiam supra dictis libertatibus praedictorum, quod mercatores eorum ubicumque voluerint in regno nostro libere et sine tributo vadant et revertantur, efficaciter ius suum regiae serenitatis intuitu prosequentes. Omnia etiam fora eorum inter ipsos sine tributis 140 praecipimus observari.	To the above liberties we add that their merchants may go and return freely and without toll wherever they wish in our kingdom, effectively pursuing their right under the regard of royal serenity. All their markets among themselves we command to be held without toll.
	Ut autem haec quae ante dicta sunt firma et inconcussa permaneant in posterum, praesentem paginam duplicis sigilli nostri munimine fecimus roborari.	And that all these things previously stated may remain firm and unshaken in the future, we have caused the present charter to be strengthened with the protection of our double seal.
145	Datum anno ab incarnatione domini M. CC. XXIII., regni autem nostri anno vicesimo primo.	Given in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1224, in the twenty-first year of our reign.

APPENDIX 5: DECREE OF TURDA (1366)

Transcription from *Documenta Romaniae Historica*. Translation and line numbers added.⁵

	92. 1366 iunie 28. Ludovic I, regele Ungariei, acordă drept deplin nobilimii din Transilvania de a nimici pe „rufăcătorii” de orice neam și, mai ales, pe români, stabilește norme de judecată pentru locuitorii de orice stare și neam din voievodat și întărește aceleași nobilimi privilegiile de care se bucura ea din vechime: valoarea măturiei cnezilor întăriți cu diplome regale în cnezatele lor este egală cu cea a nobililor.	92. June 28, 1366. Louis I, King of Hungary, grants the nobility of Transylvania full authority to destroy “rebels” of any ethnicity and, especially, Vlachs; establishing the judicial norms for the inhabitants of any social class and ethnicity in the voivodeship and confirms to the same nobility the privileges they have enjoyed since ancient times: the testimony of boyars confirmed by royal charters in their boyarates is equal to that of nobles.
5	Lodovicus, dei gracia, Hungarie, Dalmacie, Croacie, Rame, Servie, Bulgarie, Gallicie, Lodomerie, Cumanieque rex, princeps Sallernitanus et honoris Montis Sancti Angeli dominus, omnibus Christi fidelibus, tam presentibus quam futuris, presencium noticiam habituris, salutem omnium salvatore.	Louis, by the grace of God King of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, Rama, Serbia, Bulgaria, Galicia, Lodomeria, and Cumania, Prince of Salerno and honorable lord of Monte Sant’Angelo, to all Christ’s faithful, both present and future, who shall come to know these presents, greeting in the Saviour of all.
10	Regalis benignitatis provida deliberacio et circumspecta benignitas remediis invigilat subiectorum, quia, dum pro studio subiectorum nostrorum onera alleviamus, dum scandala removemus,	The prudent deliberation and circumspect kindness of royal benevolence keep watch for remedies for our subjects, for when, out of concern for our subjects, we lighten their burdens and remove scandals, we
15	nos, in ipsorum statu pacifico et tranquillo, quiescimus in pace. Proinde, ad universorum noticiam harum serie volumus pervenire quod, quia fideles nostri, universi nobiles terre nostre	ourselves rest in peace within their peaceful and tranquil condition. Therefore, we wish it to come to the knowledge of all, through the tenor of these presents, that because our faithful subjects, all the
20	Transilvane, propter presumptuosam astuciam diversorum malefactorum, specialiter Olachorum, in ipsa terra nostra existencium, eorundemque statum simul et usum inordinatum,	nobles of our land of Transylvania, were suffering daily and countless inconveniences on account of the presumptuous cunning of various malefactors, especially of the Vlachs, dwelling in that same land of ours, and because of their condition and disordered customs, we have therefore granted to those same faithful nobles of ours and of our land of Transylvania, from the fullness of our royal power and by special grace, the following liberty for the extermination or removal of malefactors of whatever nation, especially Vlachs, from that land. Namely, that whoever shall be notoriously accused of theft, robbery, or any other
25	incommoda patiebantur cottidiana et infinita, igitur eisdem fidelibus nobilibus nostris et nostre terre Transilvane, ad exterminandum seu delendum in ipsa terra malefactores quarumlibet	
30	nacionum, signanter Olachorum, talem de plenitudine regie nostre potestatis et gracia speciali consessimus libertatem, quod quicumque homo in furto vel latrocinio aut .lio criminali facto fuerit	
35	notorie inculpatus, quamvis non sit	

⁵ Decree of Turda, 28.06.1366, in *Documenta Romaniae Historica: Transilvania (1366-1370)*, ed. Ioan Dani et al. (Cluj: Editura Academiei Române, 1994): 159-65.

40 manifeste pro tunc, cum inculpatur,
 apprehensus, si erit nobilis, cum
 approbacione quinquaginta nobilium, si
 vero fuerit ignobilis, cum atestacione
 45 quinquaginta hominum ignobilium,
 iuridice interimi possit per partem
 adversam. Is autem, qui in aliquo
 premissorum maleficiorum publice fuerit
 apprehensus, necari per suum
 50 adversarium possit iuridice sub
 attestacione septem sibi personarum
 quoequalium. Et si Olachus communis
 fuerit inculpatus vel manifeste
 apprehensus, possit fieri contra ipsum
 55 probacio per quoslibet homines
 communes, et, e converso, Olachus
 communis in casu consimili contra
 hominem communem alterius nacionis
 per communes Olachos vel alios
 60 homines communes suam legitime
 probare possit accionem; si vero
 communis Olachus aliquem nobilem
 hominem in publico maleficio inculpans
 non posset totaliter per nobiles suam
 65 probare accionem, tunc probacionem
 ipsam faciat prout potest, videlicet vel per
 nobiles vel per kenezos aut per
 communes homines seu Olachos, usque
 ad plenarium numerum quinquaginta
 70 nobilium personarum, ubi unusquisque
 kenezus, per nostras literas regales in
 suo keneziatu roboratus, pro uno vero
 nobili acceptetur, communis autem
 kenezus pro villico fidei unius fertonis
 75 computetur, et communes homines seu
 Olachi recipiantur pro hominibus fidei
 medii fertonis in approbacione prenotata
 et, eodem modo, Olachus communis
 suam accionem probare possit contra
 nobilem, quem publice apprehenderet in
 aliquo huiusmodi maleficiorum.

80 Deinde volumus quod nobiles dicte terre
 et eorum iobagiones in civitatibus vel
 villis liberis non detineantur pro furto vel
 latrocinio aut alio criminali facto, si non
 fuerit in aliquo ipsorum factorum ibidem
 manifeste apprehensi, nec in ipsis
 civitatibus vel villis aliquis nobilis de
 85 provincia proscribatur. Preterea volumus
 quod patiens violenciam seu potenciam
 se non vindicet per consimilis violencie
 vel potentie perpetracionem, sed contra
 suum in hac parte adversarium legitime
 procedat, alioquin penam duppli

criminal act, even if he is not at that
 moment manifestly apprehended, may be
 lawfully put to death by the opposing party.
 If he is a noble, with the approval of fifty
 nobles, if he is ignoble, with the testimony
 of fifty ignoble men. But he who is publicly
 apprehended in any of the aforesaid
 misdeeds may be lawfully killed by his
 adversary upon the attestation of seven
 persons of equal status. And if a common
 Vlach is accused or manifestly
 apprehended, proof may be made against
 him by any common man, and, conversely,
 a common Vlach, in a similar case against
 a common man of another nation, may
 lawfully prove his action through common
 Vlachs or other common men. But if a
 common Vlach accuses a noble of a public
 crime and cannot fully prove his case
 through nobles, then he shall make his
 proof as he is able to, namely through
 nobles or through *knezes*, or through
 common men or Vlachs, up to the full
 number of fifty noble persons, where each
knez who is confirmed in his *keneziat*e by
 our royal letters shall be accepted as
 equivalent to one true noble; but a
 common *knez* shall count as a village
 reeve of the value of one *fer-ton* of faith in
 the aforesaid approval. And in the same
 manner a common Vlach may prove his
 action against a noble whom he publicly
 apprehends in any such misdeeds.

Furthermore, we will that the nobles of the
 said land and their serfs shall not be
 detained in towns or free villages for theft,
 or robbery, or any other criminal act,
 unless they have been manifestly
 apprehended in the performance of such
 things, nor shall any noble of the province
 be banned in those towns or villages.
 Moreover, we decree that the person who
 suffers violence or force shall not take
 vengeance by committing similar violence
 or force, but shall proceed lawfully against
 his adversary in this matter; otherwise he

90	huiusmodi perpetracionis contra partem adversam incurrat et adversus wayuodam nostrum Transilvanum in facto potencie subcumbat.	shall incur the penalty of double these perpetrations thus committed against the opposing party, and in that case, he shall submit to the power of our Transylvanian <i>voivode</i> .
95	Preterea statuimus quod nullus iobagionum nostrorum aut nobilium vel aliorum quorumcumque in ipsa terra nostra iobagiones habencium alibi in rebus vel persona arrestetur vel in pignoretur aut iudicetur, nisi per suum dominum vel officialem. Quiquidem domini vel officiales, si querelantibus satisfacere non curaverint, possint et debeant coram wayuoda vel vices eius gerentibus iuridice conveniri per querelantes, facientes autem contra premissa penam actus potencie incurrant. Castellani eciam et officiales, tam nostri regales et wayuodales, quam aliorum quorumlibet hominum possessiones in dicta terra nostra habencium de dampnis vel super excessibus, quos in quascunque personas committerent, possint in eorum officiolatibus ad presenciam wayuode vel vicewayuode legitime citari, rationem sufficientem de commissis reddituri.	Furthermore, we decree that none of the serfs of our nobles, nor of our own, nor of any others who hold serfs in that land of ours, shall be arrested, distrained, or judged elsewhere, either in their goods or in their persons, except by their own lord or his official. And if such lords or officials do not care to satisfy the complainants, they may and must be lawfully summoned before the voivode or those exercising his office by the complainants; and those who act contrary to the aforesaid shall incur the penalty for an act of unlawful force. Likewise, castellans and officials, whether royal and voivodal, or belonging to any other persons holding estates in that land of ours, may be lawfully cited in their offices before the presence of the voivode or vice-voivode concerning damages or excesses which they commit against any persons whatsoever, and they shall render sufficient account for what they have done.
120	Ceterum volumus et committimus quod quilibet homines communes seu Olachi, qui fuerint in congregacionibus vel iudicibus wayuode aut vicewayuode vel eius comitum, habencium tamen ad hoc facultatem iuridice extradati et proscripti, dum et ubi per quoscunque homines apprehendi poterunt, si nostram regiam gratiam non habebunt, secure capiantur et secundum sua demerita puniantur absque omni requisicione et nota gravaminis aliqualis. Nobiles autem, qui non alias, nisi in specialibus wayuode Transilvani congregacionibus seu iudicibus proscribi possint, cum fuerint per aliquos apprehensi et detenti, regiamque super indulsione suorum excessuum gratiam non habuerint eidem wayuode assignentur puniendi. Infideles vero regie nostre maiestatis et proscriptos quicumque capere possent et non caperent et captos regiis manibus non assignarent puniendos vel eorum partem foverent, ipsi tales, cuiuscunque eciam existant status aut condicionis,	Moreover, we will and command that any common men or Vlachs who have been lawfully extradited and proscribed in the assemblies or courts of the voivode or vice-voivode, or of his <i>comites</i> who have the authority to do so, and who can be apprehended by any persons wherever and whenever they may be found, shall, if they do not possess our royal grace, be safely seized and punished according to their demerits without any requisitions or marks of grievance whatsoever. But nobles, who may be proscribed only in the special assemblies or courts of the voivode of Transylvania, when they have been apprehended and detained by anyone, and do not have royal grace for the remission of their excesses, shall be handed over to the same voivode for punishment. And those who are disloyal to our royal majesty, and all proscribed persons whom anyone is able to capture but does not capture, or whom, once captured, they do not deliver into royal hands for punishment, or whose cause

homines eandem incurrant notam infidelitatis et proscricionis eo facto.

they support, such persons, of whatever status or condition they may be, shall by that very act incur the same mark of disloyalty and proscription.

145 Item si aliqua causa contra hominem, literas regias super donacione possessionaria aut alia gracia habentem, coram wayuoda vel vicewayuoda susscitaretur, si ille, qui causam susscitatur, non habuerit in ipsa causa aliquas ex adverso literas rationabiles
150 volueritque suam humano solum testimonio probare accionem, causam huiusmodi committimus in curiam nostram transferendam et ibidem iudicandam; alie vero dictorum nobilium
155 cause per wayuodam aut vicewayuodam in eadem terra nostra Transilvana iudicentur, prout hactenus fuit consuetum, nec possint prelati vel barones nostri possessiones in ipsa terra
160 habentes, causas suas communes in curiam nostram transferre de presencia wayuode vel vicewayuode Transilvani.

Likewise, if any case should be raised against a man who possesses royal letters concerning a donation of land or any other grace, before the voivode or vice-voivode, and if the one who raises the case has no reasonable letters in opposition in that matter and wishes to prove his action solely by human testimony, we commit that such a case can be transferred to our court and judged there. But the other cases of the said nobles shall be judged by the voivode or vice-voivode in that our land of Transylvania, as has been customary until now; nor may our prelates or barons who hold estates in that land transfer their common cases from the presence of the voivode or vice-voivode of Transylvania to our court.

165 Ceterum, quia dictos nobiles et eorum possessiones a solucione lucri camere, victualium amministrazione et exercituacione invitus facienda graciose duximus eximendos, igitur volumus ut hiidem nobiles teneantur et debeant nobis vel, in nostra persona, wayuode
170 nostro Transilvano aut eius vicewayuode auxiliari ad conterendum seu destruendum nostros et sancte corone nostre illarum parcium infideles, contumaces et rebelles.

Furthermore, because we have graciously deemed it right to exempt the said nobles and their estates from the payment of the chamber's profit, from the administration of provisions, and from military service performed unwillingly, therefore we will that these same nobles shall be bound and obliged to assist us, or, in our person, our voivode of Transylvania or his vice-voivode, in suppressing or destroying the disloyal, disobedient, and rebellious enemies of us and of our holy crown in those parts.

175 Insuper statuimus ordinando quod homo capituli vel alicuius conventus, cum per aliquem causantem fuerit ad provinciam eductus, si proprium habebit equum, tunc unum fertonem, si vero equum eiusdem causantis equitabit, tunc medium
180 fertonem, denariorum pro tempore currencium, et non plus singulis diebus recipere possit pro labore suo, causans tamen ipse teneatur homini eidem quotidie dare comedere et bibere
185 sufficienter, sed homo ipse sollicitus et diligens esse studeat; in causantis negotii prosecucione. Litere autem capituli et conventus eorundem et eciam aliarum

Moreover, we decree by way of ordinance, that when a man of a chapter or of any convent is brought into the province by someone who is pursuing a case, if he has his own horse, then he may receive one *fer-ton*; but if he rides the horse of the party pursuing the case, then he may receive half a *fer-ton* of the current *denari*, and no more, for each day of his labour. The party pursuing the case shall, however, be bound to provide that man each day with sufficient food and drink; and the man himself shall strive to be diligent and attentive in the prosecution of the pursuer's business. Furthermore, the

190 ecclesiasticarum personarum
communes, si fuerint clause, decem
denarium, patentes vero et fuerint, viginti
denarium pro tempore currencium
solucionem non excedant, in
195 emanacione siquidem maiorum literarum
antiqua institutio per omnia debet
observari.

letters of the chapter and of the same
convent, and likewise of other
ecclesiastical persons, if they are closed
letters, shall not exceed a payment of ten
denarii of the current coinage; but if they
are open letters, they shall not exceed
twenty *denarii*. In the issuing of more
important letters, however, the ancient
institution must be observed in all
respects.

Finaliter autem et ultimatim per omnia
volumus quod dicti nobiles terre nostre
200 Transilvane eisdem consuetudinibus et
libertatibus, per nos datis, fruantur et
gaudeant, quibus hactenus pacifice usi
fuerunt de graciola admissione regie
nostre maiestatis. Ut igitur premissa
libertas, a nobis concessa, sit perpetuo
205 valitura nec possit ab aliquo in posterum
retractari, presentes concessimus literas
nostras privilegiales, dupplicis sigilli
nostri munimine roboratas.

Finally, and ultimately, in all things we will
that the said nobles of our land of
Transylvania shall enjoy and possess the
same customs and liberties granted by us,
with which they have hitherto peacefully
made use by the gracious admission of
our royal majesty. And so that the
aforesaid liberty granted by us may endure
in perpetuity and may not hereafter be
revoked by anyone, we have issued these
our letters of privilege, strengthened with
the protection of our double seal.

210 Datum per manus venerabilis in Christo
patris, domini Nicolai, ecclesie
Strigoniensis archiepiscopi locique
eiusdem comitis perpetui, aule nostre
sumpni cancellarii, fidelis nostri et dilecti,
215 anno ab incarnatione domini Millesimo
trecentesimo LX^{mo} sexto, quarto
Kalendas Julii, regni autem nostri
vigesimo quinto. Venerabilibus in Christo
patribus dominis: Thoma Colocensi,
Nicolao Jadrensis, Hugolino Spalatensis
220 archiepiscopis, necnon Colomanno
Jauriensi, Wilhelmo Quinqueecclesiensi,
comite capelle nostre et secretario
cancellario nostro, Stephano
Zagrabiensi, tenente vicariatum tocius
225 banatus regni nostri Slavonie, Demetrio
Waradiensis, Michaelae Agriensis,
Dominico Transilvanensi, Dominico
Chanadiensi, Ladislao Wesprimiensi,
Demetrio Syrimiensi, Petro Boznensi,
230 Johanne Wachiensis, Stephano Nitriensi,
Nicolao Tinniniensi, sedece Corbauiensis
vacante, Nicolao Traguriensi, Johanne
Sibinicensi, Demetrio Nonensi, Michaelae
Scardonensi, Stephano Farensi et
235 Michaelae Corezulensi ecclesiarum
episcopis, ecclesias dei feliciter
gubernantibus, item magnificis viris
Nicolao Kont, regni nostri palatino et
iudice Comanorum, Stephano Bubek,

Given by the hand of the venerable father
in Christ, Lord Nicholas, Archbishop of the
Church of Esztergom and perpetual
comes of the same place, our court's
supreme chancellor, our faithful and
beloved, in the year of the Lord's
Incarnation 1366, on the fourth day before
the Kalends of July, in the 25th year of our
reign. Present were the venerable fathers
in Christ, the lord: Thomas, Archbishop of
Kalocsa; Nicholas, Archbishop of Zadar;
Hugolin, Archbishop of Split; and also
Coloman, Bishop of Győr; William, Bishop
of Pécs, count of our chapel and our
secretary-chancellor; Stephen, Bishop of
Zagreb, holding the vicariate of the whole
banat of our realm Slavonia; Demetrius,
Bishop of Oradea; Michael, Bishop of
Eger; Dominic, Bishop of Transylvania;
Dominic, Bishop of Csanád; Ladislaus,
Bishop of Veszprém; Demetrius, Bishop of
Syrmia; Petrus, Bishop of Bosnia; John,
Bishop of Vác; Stephen, Bishop of Nitra;
Nicholas, Bishop of Tinnin; the see of
Korbava being vacant; Nicholas, Bishop of
Trogir; John, Bishop of Šibenik;
Demetrius, Bishop of Nin; Michael, Bishop
of Skradin; Stephen, Bishop of Faro; and
Michael, Bishop of Korčula, happily
governing the churches of God. Likewise,
the magnificent men Nicholas Kont,

240 245 250 255	iudice curie nostre, Dionisio, wayuoda Transilvano et capitaneo civitatis et districtus Bidiniensis regni nostri Bugarie, Nicolao de Zeech, tocius Dalmacie et Croacie, et Nicolao de Gara, Machouiensi banis, necnon Johanne nostrorum et Georgio Bubek reginalium tavarnicorum, Emerico, ipsius Dyonisii wayuode fratre, agazonum, Petro dicto Zudar pincernarum, Paulo de Liczkow dapiferorum et Johanne, filio Thome de Gwnew, ianitorum nostrorum magistris, ac Ladizlao, filio Zobonia, comite Posoniensi, aliisque quampluribus comitatus regni nostri tenentibus et honores.	palatine of our realm and judge of the Cumans; Stephen Bubek, judge of our court; Dionysius, voivode of Transylvania and head of the city and district of Vidin of our realm of Bulgaria; Nicholas of Szécs, [ban] of all Dalmatia and Croatia; and Nicholas of Gara, ban of Mačva; as well as our John and George Bubek, masters of the queen's chief treasurers; Emeric, brother of the said voivode Dionysius, master of the stables; Peter called Zudar, master of the cupbearers; Paul of Liczkow, master of the stewards; John, son of Thomas of Gúnyó, master of the doorkeepers; and Ladislaus, son of Zobonya, count of Pozsony, together with many others holding counties and honours of our realm.
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APPENDIX 6: TRIPARTITE INDENTURE (1405)

Transcription and translation taken from Michael Livingston. Line numbers added.⁶

5	Hoc anno Comes Northumbrise fecit legiam et confederationem et amicitiam cum Owino Glendor et Edmundo de Mortuomari, filio quondam Edmundi Comitum Marchias, in certis articulis continentibus formam quas sequitur et tenorem:	In this year the Earl of Northumberland made a league and confederation and friendship with Owain Glyndwr and Edmund Mortimer, son of Edmund earl of March, in certain articles of the following form and tenor:
10	Primo quod iidem domini — Owinus, Comes, et Edmundus — erunt amodo ad invicem conjuncti, confœderati, uniti, et ligati vinculo veri foederis et verse amicitiae, certaeque et bonae unionis. Iterum quod quilibet ipsorum dominorum honorem et commodum alio volet et	In the first place that these lords — Owain, the Earl, and Edmund — shall henceforth be joined to one another, confederate, united, and bound by the bond of a true federation and true friendship, and certain and good union. And furthermore that each of these lords shall will and pursue, and
15	prosequetur, ac etiam procurabit, dampnaque et gravamina quae ad unius ipsorum notitiam devenerit, per quoscumque alicui ipsorum inferenda, impediunt bona fide. Quilibet quoque	also procure, the honor and advantage of one another, and they shall in good faith prevent any losses and distresses that shall come to the knowledge of any of them, by anyone whatsoever, intended to be inflicted on any of them. Each of them
20	ipsorum apud alium aget et faciet ea omnia et singula quae per bonos, veros, et fidos amicos, bonis, veris, et fidis amicis agi et fieri debent et pertinent, fraude et dolo cessantibus	also shall act and do with one another each and all of those things that ought to be observed and done by good, true, and loyal friends to good, true, and loyal friends, laying aside all fraud and deceit. Also, if and whenever any of these lords
25	quibuscumque. Item, si et quotiens aliquis ipsorum dominorum sciverit vel cognoverit aliquid gravaminis sive dampni procurari sive ymaginari per quoscumque contra alium, ipse aliis,	shall know or learn of any loss or damage brought about or intended by anyone against another of them, he shall signify it to the others as quickly as possible, and he
30	quam citius commode fieri poterit, ea significabit, et ipsos de et super hoc adjuvabit, ut adversus malicias hujusmodi, prout ei visum fuerit, sibi valeat providere. Solliciti quoque erunt	will help them in this matter, in order that against malice of this kind each might take such measures as he is able to provide. Each of these lords shall also take care to
35	quilibet ipsorum dominorum impedire dampna et gravamina praedicta bona fide. Item, quilibet ipsorum dominorum in tempore necessitatis, prout decet, juxta posse, alium adjuvabit. Item, si	prevent damage and injuries to each other in good faith. Also, each of these lords shall in time of need help each other, as is fitting, as they are able. Also, if by God's dispensation it should appear to these
40	disponente Deo apparent praefatis Dominis ex processu temporis, quod ipsi sunt eadem persona; de quibus Propheta loquitur, inter quos regimen Britanniae Majoris dividi debeat et parti,	lords in process of time that they are the same persons of whom the Prophet speaks, between whom the government of Great Britain ought to be divided and
45	tunc ipsi laborabunt et quilibet ipsorum laborabit, juxta posse, quod id ad effectum efficaciter perducatur.	partitioned, then they, each alone and together, shall labor to their utmost so that it may be brought about effectually.

⁶ Source text: Michael Livingston, "Owain Glyndŵr's Grand Design: The Tripartite Indenture and the Vision of a New Wales," *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 33 (2013): 145-68.

50 Quilibet quoque ipsorum contentus erit
 portione regni praedicti sibi ut infra
 scribitur limitata, absque ulteriori
 exactione seu superioritate quacunque.
 Ymmo quilibet ipsorum in portione
 huiusmodi sibi limitata aequali libertate
 gaudebit. Item, inter eosdem Dominos
 55 unanimiter conventum et concordatum
 existit, quod praefatus Owinus et
 haeredes sui habeant totam Cambriam
 sive Walliam, sub finibus, limitibus, et
 bundis infrascriptis, a Leogrea, quae
 60 vulgariter Angliam nuncupatur, divisam;
 viz. a mari Sabrino sicut flumen
 Sabrinum ducit de mari, descendendo
 usque ad Borialem Portam civitatis
 Wigorniae; et a porta illa directe usque ad
 65 arbores fraxineas in lingua Cambriensi
 sive Wallensi Onnene Margion vulgariter
 nuncupatas, quae in alta via de
 Brigenorth ad Kynvar ducente crescunt;
 deinde directe per altam viam, quae
 70 vetus sive antiqua via vulgariter
 nuncupatur, usque ad caput sive ortum
 fluminis de Trent; deinde directe usque
 ad caput sive ad ortum fluminis Meuse
 vulgariter nuncupati; deinde, sicut illud
 75 flumen ad mare ducit, descendendo infra
 fines, limites, et bundas suprascriptas. Et
 praefatus Comes Northumbriae habeat
 sibi et haeredibus suis comitatus
 infrascriptas; viz. Northumbr.,
 80 Westmorland., Lancast., Ebor.,
 Lincolniam, Notyngam, Derb., Stafford.,
 Leycestr., Northampton, Warwic., et
 Norffolch. Et dominus Edmundus habeat
 totum residuum tocus Angliae integre
 85 sibi et successoribus suis.

90 Item, quod pugna, riota, seu discordia
 inter duos dominorum ipsorum — quod
 absit — oriatur, tunc tertius ipsorum
 dominorum, convocato ad se bono et
 fideli consilio, discordiam, riotam, seu
 pugnam huiusmodi debite reformabit;
 cujus laudo sive sententiae discordante
 huiusmodi obedire tenebuntur. Fideles
 quoque erunt ad defendendum regnum
 95 contra omnes homines, salvo juramento
 ex parte praefati domini Owini
 illustrissimo principi, Domino Karolo, Dei
 gratia Francorum regi, in ligea et
 confederatione inter ipsos initis et factis
 100 prasstito.

Each of these shall also be content with
 the portion of the kingdom aforesaid,
 assigned as described below, without
 further charge or superiority among them
 of any kind. In fact, each of them in the
 portion assigned to him shall enjoy equal
 liberty. As such, between these lords it is
 unanimously covenanted and agreed that
 the aforementioned Owain and his heirs
 shall have the whole of Cambria or Wales,
 within the borders, limits, and boundaries
 underwritten, divided from Loegria, which
 is commonly called England; namely, from
 the Severn coast where the River Severn
 leads from the sea, going down to the
 North Gate of the city of Worcester; and
 from thatate directly to the ash trees
 commonly called Onnenau Meigion g in
 the Cambrian or Welsh language, which
 grow on the high road from Bridgnorth to
 Kinver; thence directly by the high road,
 which commonly is called the old or
 ancient way, as far as the head or source
 of the River Trent; thence directly to the
 head or source of the river commonly
 called the Mersey; and thence, as that
 river leads to the sea, going down within
 the borders, limits, and bounds written
 above. And the aforesaid Earl of
 Northumberland shall have to himself and
 to his heirs the counties written below;
 namely, Northumberland, Westmorland,
 Lancashire, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire,
 Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire,
 Staffordshire, Leicestershire,
 Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, and
 Norfolk. And the lord Edmund shall have
 the whole of the remainder of England
 entirely to himself and his successors.

Also, should any battle, riot, or discord
 arise between two of these lords — God
 forbid it — then the third of these lords,
 calling to himself good and faithful
 counsel, shall duly rectify such discord,
 riot, and battle; his commendation or
 condemnation of such a dispute they shall
 be bound to obey. Faithful they shall also
 be to defend the kingdom against all men;
 excepting only the oath on the part of the
 aforesaid lord Owain given to the most
 illustrious prince, Lord Charles, by the
 Grace of God king of the French, in the
 league and covenant between them begun
 and executed.

Et ut prasdicta, omnia et singula, bene et
fideliter observentur, ipsi domini —
Owinus, Comes, et Edmundus, ad
sacrum corpus dominicum quod
105 perseverant jam contemplans et ad
sancta Dei Evangelia per eosdem
corporaliter tacta —jurarunt praemissa,
omnia et singula, sicut posse eorum,
inviolabiliter observare, et sigilla sua
110 alternatim praesentibus in testimonium
apponi fecerunt.

And in order that the aforesaid things,
each and all, be well and faithfully
observed, these lords — Owain, the Earl,
and Edmund, now continually
contemplating the sacred body of the Lord
and touching the Holy Gospels of God —
have sworn to observe inviolably the
premises all and each to their utmost and
have caused their seals to be mutually
affixed hereto.

APPENDIX 7: PENNAL LETTER (1406)

Translation taken from Thomas Matthews.⁷

[PART ONE]

Most serene prince, you have deemed it worthy on the humble recommendation sent, to learn how my nation, for many years now elapsed, has been oppressed by the fury of the barbarous Saxons; whence because they had the government over us, and indeed, on account of the fact itself, it seemed reasonable with them to trample upon us. But now, most serene prince, you have in many ways, from your innate goodness, informed me and my subjects very clearly and graciously concerning the recognition of the true Vicar of Christ. I, in truth, rejoice with a full heart on account of that information of your excellency, and because, inasmuch from this information, I understood that the Lord Benedict, the supreme pontifex intends to work for the promotion of an union in the Church of God with all his possible strength. Confident indeed in his right, and intending to agree with you as indeed as far as it is possible for me, I recognize him as the true Vicar of Christ, on my own behalf, and on behalf of my subjects by these letters patent, foreseeing them by the bearer of their communications in your majesty's presence. And because, most excellent prince, the metropolitan church of St. David was, as it appears, violently compelled by the barbarous fury of those reigning in this country, to obey the church of Canterbury, ad de facto still remains in the subject of this subjection. Many other disabilities are known to have been suffered by the Church of Wales through these barbarians, which for the greater part are set forth full in the letter patent accompanying. I pray and sincerely beseech your majesty to have these letters sent to my lord, the supreme pontifex, that as you deemed worthy to raise us out of darkness into light, similarly you will wish to extirpate and remove violence and oppression from the church and from my subjects, as you are well able to. And may the Son of the Glorious Virgin long preserve your majesty in the promised prosperity.

Owain Glyndwr, Prince of Wales

Dated at Pennal the last day of March (1406)

Yours avowedly

Owen, Prince of Wales.

Endorsement: To the most serene and most illustrious prince, lord Charles, by the grace of God, King of France.

[PART TWO]

To the most illustrious prince, the lord Charles, by the grace of God, King of the French, Owen by the same grace, sends the reverence due to such a prince with honour. Be it known to your excellency that we have received from you the articles following, brought to us by Hugh Eddowyer, of the Order of Predicants, and Morris Kery, our friends and envoys, on the eighth day of March, A.D. 1406, the form and tenor of which follow:

In the first place they express the cordial greeting on the part of our lord the king, and of his present letter to our said lord the prince. In this manner, our lord the king greatly desires to know of his good state and the happy issue of their negotiations. He requests Owen, that he will write as often as an opportunity offers, as he will receive great pleasure, and he will inform him, at length, concerning the good state of the said lord, the king, of the queen, their children, and of the other lords, the princes of the royal family, how my lord the king, and the other princes of the royal family have and intend to have sincere love, cordial friendship, zeal for his honour, the prosperity and well-being of the state of the said prince, and in this the said lord, the prince, can place the most secure faith.

⁷ Thomas Matthews, *Welsh Records In Paris* (Carmarthen: W. Spurrell and son, 1910). For a modern edition, see: Dylan Rees and John Gwynfor Jones (eds.), *Thomas Matthews' Welsh Records in Paris: A Study in Selected Welsh Medieval Documents* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010).

They also explain to the same lord, the prince, how our lord, the king, who esteems him with sincerity and love, greatly desires that, as they are bound and united in temporal matters, so also will they be united in spiritual things, and they may be able to walk to the house of the Lord together. My lord, the king, also requests the same lord, the prince, that he wishes him to consider, with a favourable disposition, the rights of my lord, the pope, Benedict XII, the supreme pontiff of the universal church, that he may himself learn and cause all his subjects to be informed. Because my lord the king, holds that it shall be to be health of his soul and of the souls of his subjects, to the security and strength of his state, and that their covenants shall be laid in a stronger and more powerful foundation in the advantage of faith and in the love of Christ. Again, even as all faithful Christians are held to keep themselves well informed concerning the truth of schisms. Princes, however, are so held even more than others, because their opinion can keep many in error, especially their subjects, who must conform with the opinion of their superiors. It is, also, even to their advantage, on account of their duty, to keep themselves informed in all things, that such a schism may be entirely removed and that the Church may have unity in God. Because he, who is the true Vicar of Christ, should be known and acknowledged by all the faithful in Christ, while he, who is an intruder, and know to have by nefarious means usurped the holy apostolic see, shall be expelled and cast aside, by all the faithfully, as anti-Christ. To this purpose they should bind themselves to strive, to their utmost, according to the decrees of the holy fathers. To which purpose the said lord, the king, has striven, not without great burdens and expense, and will strive unweariedly.

Following the advice of our council, we have called together the nobles of our race, the prelates of our Principality and others called for this purpose, and, at length, after diligent examination and discussion of the foregoing articles and their contents being thoroughly made by the prelates and the clergy, it is agreed and determined that we, trusting in the rights of the lord Benedict, the holy Roman and supreme pontiff of the universal church, especially because he sought the peace and unity of the church, and as we understood daily seeks it, considering the hard service of the adversary of the same Benedict, tearing the seamless coat of Christ, and on account of the sincere love which we specially bear towards your excellency, we have determined that the said lord Benedict shall be recognized as the true Victor of Christ in our lands, by us and our subjects, and we recognize him by these letters.

Whereas, most illustrious prince, the underwritten articles especially concern our state and the reformation and usefulness of the Church of Wales, we humbly pray your royal majesty that you will graciously consider it worthy to advance their object, even in the court of the said lord Benedict:

First, that all ecclesiastic censures against us, our subjects, or our land, by the aforesaid lord Benedict or Clement his predecessor, at present existing, the same shall by the said Benedict be removed.

Again, that he shall confirm and ratify the orders, collations, titles of prelates, dispensations, notorial documents, and all things whatsoever, from the time of Gregory XI, from which, any danger to the souls, or prejudice to us, or our subjects may occur, or may be engendered.

Again, that the Church of St. David's shall be restored to its original dignity, which from the time of St. David, archbishop and confessor, was a metropolitan church, and after his death twenty-four archbishops succeeded him in the same place, as their names are continued in the chronicles and ancient books of the church of Menevia, and we cause these to be stated as the chief evidence, namely, Eliud, Ceneu, Morfael, Mynyw, Haerwnen, Elwaed, Gwrnwen, Llewddwyd, Gwrwyst, Gwgawn, Glydâwg, Aman, Elias, Maeslyswyd, Sadwrnwen, Cadell, Alaethwy, Novis, Sadwrnwen, Drochwel, Asser,

Arthwael, David II, and Samson; and that as a metropolitan church it had an ought to have the undermentioned suffragan churches, namely, Exeter, Bath, Hereford, Worcester, Leicester, which see is now translated to the churches of Coventry and Lichfield, St. Asaph, Bangor and Llandaff. For being crushed by the fury of the barbarous Saxons, who usurped to themselves the land of Wales, they trampled upon the aforesaid church of St. David's, and made her a handmaid to the church of Canterbury.

Again, the same lord Benedict shall provide for the metropolitan church of St. David's and the other cathedral churches of our principality, prelates, dignitaries, and beneficed clergy and curates, who know our language.

Again, that the lord Benedict shall revoke and annul all incorporations, unions, annexions, appropriations of parochial churches of our principality made so far, by any authority whatsoever with English monasteries and colleges. That the true patrons of these churches shall have the power to present to the ordinaries of those places suitable persons to the same or appoint others.

Again, that the said lord Benedict shall concede to use and to our heirs, the princes of Wales, that our chapels, &c., shall be free, and shall rejoice in the privileges, exemptions, and immunities in which they rejoiced in the times of our forefathers the princes of Wales.

Again, that we shall have two universities or places of general study, namely, one in North Wales and the other in south Wales, in cities, towns, or places to be hereafter decided and determined by our ambassadors and nuncios for that purpose.

Again, that the lord Benedict shall brand as heretics and cause to be tortured in the usual manner, Henry of Lancaster, the intruder of the kingdom of England, and the usurper of the crown of the same kingdom, and his adherents, in that of their own free will they have burnt or have caused to be burnt so many cathedrals, convents, and parish churches; that they have savagely hung, beheaded, and quartered archbishops, bishops, prelates, priests, religious men, as madmen or beggars, or caused the same to be done.

Again, that the same lord Benedict shall grant to us, our heirs, subjects, and adherents, of whatsoever nation they may be, who wage war against the aforesaid intruder and usurper, as long as they hold the orthodox faith, full remission of all our sins, and that the remission shall continue as long as the wars between us, our heirs, and our subjects, and the aforesaid Henry, his heirs, and subjects shall endure.

In testimony whereof we make these our letters patent. Given at Pennal on the thirty-first day of March, A.D. 1406, and in the sixth year of our rule.

Owain Glyndw'r, Prince of Wales.

Endorsement: The letter by which Owen, Prince of Wales, reduces himself, his lands, and his dominions to the obedience of our lord the Pope Benedict XIII.

APPENDIX 8: TREATY OF CLUJ-MĂNĂȘTUR (JULY 1437)

Transcription from *Revista Transilvania*. Translation and line numbers added.⁸

1437. 6. Julii. Tractatu de pace, inchiassetu indat dupa batalia cea mare dela Bobalna si Alparetu, intre aristocrația si democrația, intre boieri si tierani, seu cumu se esprime acestu documentu, intre universitatea nobililoru si universitatea locuitoriloru tieiei, unguri si romani.

1437. 6 July. The peace treaty, concluded immediately after the great battle of Bobâlna and Alparetu, between the aristocracy and the democracy, between the boyars and the peasants, or as this document puts it, between the nobility and the common people, Hungarians and Romanians.

5 Conventus Monasterii Beate Mărie Virginis de Klus-Monostra, omnibus Christi fidelibus, tam presentibus, quam futuris presentium notitiam habituris, salutem in nomine Salvatoris.

Convent of the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Cluj-Mănăștur, to all Christ faithful, both present and in the future who shall come to know this, greeting in the name of the Saviour.

10 Ad Universorum notitiam harum serie volumus pervenire: quod Nobiles viri Ladislaus filius Benedicti de Farkas, alter Ladislaus filius Gereu de Zamusfalva, Benedictus de Suk et
15 Dionisius de Farnas, per Universitatem Nobilium ab una, parte vero ab altera providi viri Ladislaus Bird, Vincentius Judex, et Ladislaus Bana, Egregii Ladislai filii Johannis Bani de Maróth in Alpréth et Antonius Egregii Déseu de Losontz Jobagiones in Magyar Bogáth commorantes, per Antonium Magistrum et Gallum in Kend, Thomam Magistrum
20 in Zéék, Johannem filium Magistri Jacobi in Kluswár ex Hungarorum et Ladislaum filium Galii in Anthus residentes Capitaneos et Belligeros, nec non Paulum Magistrum de Vajdaháza
25 Vexilliferum Universitatis Regnicolarum Hungarorum et Valachorum hujus Principatus Transylvanie, et pereandem Universitatem ad infrascripta effectui deducenda electi, coram nobis
30 personaliter constituti parili voce et unanimi relatu detexerunt et confessi sunt in hunc modum:

We wish to bring to the knowledge of all by this series: that the noblemen Ladislaus, son of Benedict of Farkas; the other Ladislaus, son of Gereu of Zamusfalva; Benedict of Suk; and Dionysius of Farnas, on behalf of the whole community of nobles on one side, and on the other side the prudent men Ladislaus Bird, Vincent the Judge, and Ladislaus Bana, the honourable Ladislaus, son of John Ban of Maróth in Alpréth, and Anthony, the honourable Déseu of Losontz, royal retainers residing in Magyar Bogáth, together with Anthony the Master and Gallus in Kend, Thomas the Master in Zéék, John, son of Master Jacob in Kluswár among the Hungarians, and Ladislaus, son of Gallus residing in Anthus as chiefs and warriors, as well as Paul, Master of Vajdaháza, standard-bearer of the community of the inhabitants of the kingdom, Hungarians and Vlachs of this Principality of Transylvania, and, elected by the same community, to carry out the matters written below — all these persons, having personally appeared before us, declared and confessed with equal voice and unanimous report as follows:

35 Quod quamquam predicta Universitas Hungarorum et Valachorum in his Partibus Transylvanie et quorumcumque possessionibus commorantium, tum pro eo, quia

That, although the said community of Hungarians and Vlachs residing in these parts of Transylvania and in whatever estates they inhabit, had suffered, first, because the Reverend in Christ Father

⁸ "Colectiune de diplome," *Revista Transilvania* 4 (1873), 39-45.

Reverendus in Christo Pater Dominus
 Georgius Lepes Episcopus
 40 Transylvanus suas Decimas ex parte
 ejusdem Universitatis Hungarorum sibi
 debendas currente moneta vilium
 Denariorum exigere nolens fere tribus
 45 tempore cum magna et ponderosa
 moneta extorquere voluisset, ipsos
 manifeste et indebite pregravando;
 propter quarum Decimarum non
 solutionem injuste imposuisset
 50 interdictum, sub quo interdicto Parentes
 ipsorum Patres scilicet et Matres, fratres
 et sorores, Filios ac Filias, aliosque ad
 eos pertinentes absque perceptione
 55 Sacramenti Eucharistie ac ceterorum
 Sacramentorum Ecclesiasticorum ab
 hac luce transmigrantes, extra
 Ecclesiam ac Cemeterium humi
 tumulassent, amarissimo corde ac
 dolore mestissimo; ceterum Sorores ac
 60 Filias eorum contra statuta ac ritum
 Sancte Romane ac Universalis Ecclesie
 observandum, ab Ecclesia minime
 observatum maritassent, seu nuptui
 tradidissent; dein item quia per ipsorum
 65 Dominos terrestres velut emptitii in
 gravem servitutem fuerint redacti, cum
 enim de aliquorum possessionibus ad
 alia loca se transferre voluissent
 moraturos, rebus et bonis eorum etiam
 70 omnibus spoliatis abire minime
 permetterentur, et omnibus eorum
 Juribus libertatum privati penitus
 oppressi et importabilibus oneribus
 aggravati, pro reacquirendis et
 75 reobtinendis pristinis libertatibus, per
 Sanctos Reges cunctis hujus Regni
 Hungarorum Incolis datis et concessis,
 importabilibus onerum sarcinis
 deponendis et abjiciendis maturo inter
 80 se inito Consilio in montem Bábolna in
 territorio possessionis Alpréth predictae
 adjacentes convenientes, super eorum
 negotiis maturius deliberando, missis
 nuntiis ab ipsorum Dominis in dictis
 85 libertatibus Sanctorum Regum se
 conservari et a iugo intolerabilis
 servitutis colla eorum exsolvi humillime
 et devote supplicarunt.

90 Hujusmodi ipsorum supplicationibus
 iidem Domini ipsorum obtusis auribus
 non accedentibus, sed prefatis nuntiis

Lord George Lepes, Bishop of
 Transylvania, refused for nearly three years
 to collect the tithes owed to him by the said
 community of Hungarians in the current
 low-value currency, allowing them to
 accumulate, and now wishing to extort
 them with heavy and burdensome coin,
 manifestly and unjustly oppressing them;
 and because of the non-payment of these
 tithes, he had unjustly imposed an interdict
 upon them, under which interdict their
 family members, namely their fathers and
 mothers, brothers and sisters, sons and
 daughters, and others belonging to them,
 passed away without receiving the
 sacrament of the Eucharist and the other
 ecclesiastical sacraments, and were buried
 outside the church and cemetery, with a
 most bitter heart and the most sorrowful
 grief; and furthermore, because their
 sisters and daughters had been married off
 contrary to the statutes and observed rites
 of the Holy Roman and Universal Church,
 which ought to be observed but were not
 observed; and furthermore, because they
 had been reduced into grievous servitude
 by their lords, as if they were purchased
 slaves, for when they wished to move from
 some estates to other places to reside, they
 were not permitted to depart, even when
 deprived of their property and goods, and
 stripped entirely of all their rights and
 liberties, utterly oppressed and burdened
 with intolerable loads — therefore, wishing
 to recover and regain their ancient liberties
 granted to all inhabitants of this Kingdom of
 Hungary by the Holy Kings, and to cast off
 the newly imposed unbearable burdens,
 they held a mature counsel among
 themselves and gathered on Mount
 Bábolna, adjacent to the estate of the
 aforesaid Alpréth, and, having deliberated
 more fully on their affairs, sent messengers
 to their lords, humbly and devoutly praying
 that they might be preserved in the
 aforesaid liberties of the Holy Kings and
 that their necks be released from the yoke
 of intolerable servitude.

But their lords turned deaf ears to their
 requests, and after these messengers were
 ordered by the magnificent László Csáki,

	eorum per Magnificum Ladislaum Chaák Wayvodam Transylvanie detineri jussis et truncari et dimembrari, cum	Voivode of Transylvania, to be detained, beheaded, and dismembered, the lords
95	ejusdem Wayvode, Lorandi Vice Wayvode ipsorum et Magnificorum Henrici de Thamasi et Michaelis Jakch de Kusal Comitum Siculorum auxiliis Belii certamine insilentes, se ipsis	Lórand the Vice-Voivode, and of the magnificent Henrik of Tamási and Mihály Jakcs of Kusaly, Counts of the Székelys, opposed themselves to the peasants, and the battle began.
100	opposuissent, et inito conflictu.	
	Multi ex utraque parte corruentes interiissent, tandem Omnipotentis Dei annuente Clementia ex eorundem Nobilium ac Regnicolarum seu	Many on both sides fell and perished; at last, by the merciful favour of Almighty God, the hearts having been softened of certain
105	Populorum Universitatibus certorum Deum timentium Nobilium et proborum virorum per Gratiam Spiritus Sancti illustratorum cordibus ad faciendam pacem inter partes se interponentium	God-fearing nobles and honest men from the communities of nobles and inhabitants of the realm, enlightened by the grace of the Holy Spirit, they interposed themselves to make peace between the parties, and the battle was calmed and quieted. They
110	mitigatis, et sedatis ipsius belii certaminibus ad totalis pacis et concordie devenissent unionem, quod se se mutuo et eorum alterutrum super universis, et quibuslibet interfectionibus	came to a union of complete peace and concord, mutually discharging and absolving one another from all killings, mutilations, dismemberments, and other kinds of harm done and inflicted by them upon each other. With unanimous will, they
115	ac mutilationibus, dimembrationibus, ceterorumque malorum generibus per eos sibi ipsis alternatim factis, et irrogatis expeditos, quietos et per omnia absolutos committentes, talem unanimi	made the following ordinance and disposition, to be inviolably kept among themselves under the penalty of breach of faith, declaring principally:
120	voluntate fecissent ordinationem et dispositionem sub gravimine fractionis fidei inter se inviolabiter observandam, hoc principaliter declarato:	
	Quod ipsi cum subscriptis eorum	That they, together with their vassals, did
125	dispositionibus, Deo et ejus Justitie, ac Sancte Matri Ecclesie, Sacreque Sancte corone, nec non Serenissimo Domino ipsorum Naturali, Domino Sigismundo Dei Gratia Romanorum Imperatori	not intend by these dispositions to prejudice God and His justice, the Holy Mother Church, and the Sacred Holy Crown, nor their most serene natural lord, Lord Sigismund, by the grace of God
130	semper Augusto, ac Hungarie, Bohemie, Dalmatie, Croatie etc. Regi, Juribusque Regalibus in nullo prejudicare intendentes, sed omni fidelitate servata — solum libertates	Emperor of the Romans, always August, and King of Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, etc., nor the royal rights; but, keeping all fidelity, they laboured only to reclaim the liberties long ago granted to
135	ipsorum dudum a Sanctis Regibus concessas, nunc vero diversis superinductis abusionibus notabiliter oppressas et omnino abolitas, reassumere satagentes laborassent ipsi	them by the Holy Kings, now notably oppressed and almost entirely abolished by various newly imposed abuses. They did not wish to rebel against the lords of the kingdom, that is, the nobles or
140	Incole; Regni Dominis ipsis scilicet Nobilibus seu Ecclesiasticis personis in qualicunque dignitate constitutis et preeminentibus rebellare, et malum inferre eisque nocere noluissent, imo	ecclesiastical persons of whatever dignity and pre-eminence; nor to bring evil and to harm them, nor would they attempt such in the future. And since the payment of the episcopal tithes had been hindered due to

145 nec attentaverint in futurum — et quum
ex variatione monetarum Denarii pro
tempore currentium non solutione
Decimarum Episcopatum dum se (inter)
contrarietates, et discordie ac pericula
150 premissa facta fuissent et enata, pro
precavendis in futurum talibus periculis
et vitandis disposuissent, et
ordinassent: quod a modo in futurum in
solutione ipsarum Decimarum
155 Episcopatum pro viginti Capeciis unum
florenum aut centum Denarios pro
tempore currentes, ipsos florenos auri
equivalentes dare, et solvere teneantur,
tempore autem dicationis ipsarum
160 Decimarum Episcopatum Decimator
eorundem familiaris et fautor Nobilium
dicare non valeat; nonas autem frugum
et quorumcumque Bladum sive
seminum vel vinorum nullus omnino
165 Magnatum, Nobilium et virorum
Magnificorum aut quorumcumque
hominum tam a propriis Jobbagionibus
quam extraneis terrarum vel vinearum
cultoribus de cetero accipere nulla tenus
170 presummat.

Illi vero qui in tenutis aliorum Dominorum
vineas seu terras habere dignoscuntur,
de vineis terragium consuetum, de terris
arabilibus census seu proventus
175 solitum solvere teneantur.

Quum dein omnis violenta predatio et
opressio Incolarum Regni ex eo oriri
videbatur, ut qui voluissent se alias
transferre moraturos, etiam spoliati
180 abire non permittebantur, ideo
ordinassent, ut universi et singuli libere
conditionis homines justo ipsius
deposito terragio, suisque debitis
persolutis, quocumque maluerint liberam
185 et securam se transferendi habeant
facultatem.

Si quis autem Nobilium tales
Jobbagiones alias ire volentes,
calumniare et in eorum rebus
190 damnificare vellet, tunc Comes
Provincialis cum tribus marcis deducere
teneatur.

Illi autem, qui pro eorum excessibus
iudicio aut terragii depositione
195 convenirentur, non alias nisi expurgati

the fluctuation of the currency of the denarii
at the time, and the aforementioned
contrarieties, conflicts and dangers had
arisen therefrom, they ordained for the
prevention of such dangers in the future:
that henceforth, in the payment of the
episcopal tithes, they shall be obligated to
pay either one florin or one hundred *denarii*
current pennies of equal value for every
twenty *capecii*; and that at the time of the
collection of the said episcopal tithes, the
tax collector shall not be permitted to collect
them if he is a kinsman and supporter of the
nobles. Furthermore, no magnate, noble,
lord, or any other landlord whatsoever shall
henceforth presume to extort the 'ninth tax'
on grains, crops, seeds, or wine from either
their own serfs or from foreign cultivators
working the land and vineyards.

Those, however, who hold vineyards or
lands in the estates of other lords shall be
bound to pay the customary land tax for the
vineyards, and the usual rent or customary
share of harvest for their arable land.

Since all violent plundering and oppression
of the inhabitants of the kingdom seemed
to arise from the fact that those who wished
to move elsewhere to reside were not
permitted to depart, even when despoiled,
they ordained that all persons of free
condition, having duly paid the land tax and
their debts, shall have the free and secure
faculty to transfer themselves wherever
they wish.

If, however, any nobleman should wish to
harass such serfs wishing to depart, or
damage their goods, then the provincial
count is bound to fine him with three marks.

Those, however, who are summoned to
judgment for their offenses or for unpaid
land tax shall not depart unless they have

200	abire valeant, Jobbagiones vero clam, terragio minime deposito recedentes, seu a facie Juris et Justicie se absentantes, Dominus eorum juridice, Juris Regni consuetudine, a suo Iudice ordinario repetat, suo proprio, ac aliorum duorum Juramentis clam recessos, seu a facie Juris absentantes comprobando. Item ordinassent quod de rebus illorum qui absque sobolis solatio, uxore remanente, decessissent.	been cleared; but serfs who secretly depart without paying the land tax, or absent themselves from the face of law and justice, shall be reclaimed by their lord legally from the local magistrate according to the customary law of the realm, proving by his own oath and that of two others that they departed secretly or absented themselves. Likewise, they ordained the following concerning the goods of those who die, leaving behind a wife with no children to comfort her.
210	Dominus Terrestris non plus, quam unam pecudem triennem recipere valeat, et omnes res sic decedentium ad uxores et consanguineos eorum, si quos habuerint, condescendant.	The lord of the land shall not take more than one three-year-old animal, and all the remaining goods shall pass to the wife and their kinsmen, if they have any.
215	Si qui vero uxore, heredibus ac consanguineis forent destituti, de rebus et bonis eorum, quibus maluerint, testamentum facere valeant; et talium Testamentum Domini Terrestres mutare non valeant, illorum autem res, qui uxore, prolibus et consanguineis carerent et absque Testamento decederent, Domini Terrestres possideant.	If they have no wife, heirs, or kinsmen, they may make a testament concerning their goods as they wish; and the landlords shall not have power to alter such a testament. But the goods of those who have no wife, offspring, or kinsmen, and die without a testament, shall belong to the lords of the land.
225	Ordinassent etiam et firmiter observandum statuissent, quod singulis annis perpetuis futuris temporibus semper ante Festum Ascensionis Domini de quibuslibet villis et possessionibus ac Oppidis duo senes, animo sagatiores et fidedigniores, una cum prefatis Capitaneis, vel aliquibus saltem eorum, aut aliis pro tempore constituendis, ad predictum montem Babolna conveniant, ibique iidem Capitanei vel alter eorundem ab eisdem senibus inquirere et investigare valeat, utrum Domini eorum ipsos in eorum libertatibus conservaverint, aut non, et si aliquis Nobilium premissam ordinationem cum infrascriptis clausulis in toto vel in aliqua parte violasse; et eisdem contrarium fecisse repertus fuerit, perjurus habeatur, et ceteri nobiles ab illius defensione se retineant, et retrahant.	They further ordained and firmly decreed that every single year, in perpetuity, always before the Feast of the Ascension of the Lord, two of the wisest and most trustworthy elders from every village, estate, and town shall assemble at the said Mount Bábolna alongside the chiefs or their appointed representatives for the time, and there, the chiefs may inquire and investigate the said elders on whether their lords have preserved them in their liberties or not; and if any nobleman is found to have violated the said ordinance or its clauses in whole or in part, he shall be formally declared a perjurer, and all the other noblemen shall be bound to withdraw their protection from him and refuse to defend him.
245	Item in censibus solvendis, muneribus dandis, servitiis exhibendis ordinassent	Likewise, on the payment of taxes, festive gifts, and the performance of services, they

250	quod si Literas Sancti Stephani Regis, aut successorum eiusdem in quibus libertates et Statuta habentur ab Imperiali Majestate possent impetrare, censum annualem solvere, munera dare et servitia exhibere hoc modo teneantur; quod pro censu annuali quilibet Jobbagionum decem Denarios pro tempore currentes, non plures, in Festo Sancti Stephani solvere teneantur.	have ordained that if the peasants are able to obtain from the Imperial Majesty the Letter of King Saint Stephen, or of his successors, which hold their ancient liberties and statutes, they shall be bound to pay their annual taxes, give gifts, and perform services under specific conditions; that for the annual rent, every serf shall be bound to pay ten current denarii's, and no more, on the Feast of Saint Stephen.
255	Pro muneribus autem eorum ... talibus Dominis Terrestribus qui molendinum, seu molendina habent, in Festo Nativitatis Domini unum cubulum avene et duas tortas, in Pasca similiter duas tortas, et in Festo Patroni Ecclesiarum similiter duas tortas et unum pullum dare teneantur.	For gifts, they shall be bound to give to those lords who have a mill or mills, on the Feast of the Nativity of the Lord [Christmas], one measure of oats and two cakes; likewise at Easter two cakes; and on the Feast of the Patron of the local parish likewise two cakes and one chicken.
260		
265	Illis autem Dominis qui molendina non habent in Festo Nativitatis Domini unum cubulum avene, et similiter duas tortas — et in predictis aliis Festivitatibus alia ut prenarrantur dare debeant, in servitiis vero exhibendis una die falcare, aut metere, et obstacula molendinorum relevare, suoque more alias consveto in debita structura conservare teneantur.	But to those lords who do not have mills, the peasants shall give one measure of oats and two cakes at Christmas — and on the abovementioned feasts the other gifts as detailed above. Regarding services, they shall be bound to mow grass or reap grain for one day, and to clear debris from the milldams, and maintain the mills in their proper condition according to their custom.
270		
275	Item Decimam seu alium censum porcorum et apum, sicuti in aliquibus tantum temporibus, signantur sub castris tam ab Hungaris quam a Valachis huc usque exigebantur, et censum vulgo Ako appellatum Dominis Terrestribus nemo solvere teneatur.	They further ordained that no one shall be bound to pay the tithe or any other tax on pigs or bees, as was sometimes demanded by the castle authorities, from Hungarians and Vlachs alike up to now, nor the wine barrel tax commonly called Ako, to the landlords.
280	Item in locum Camerarii Salium Regalium justa et consueta servitia Regie Majestatis Jobbagiones in eisdem locis Camerariis residentibus semper fideliter exhibere debeant, ad coacta autem servitia, tam in salibus quam aliis oneribus deferendis Camerarius eosdem violenter compellere non presumat.	They further ordained that on the estates of the Royal Salt Chamberlain, the serfs residing in those mining districts shall always faithfully render the just and customary services owed to his Royal Majesty; but the chamberlain shall not presume to compel them violently to forced services, whether to carry salts or other heavy burdens.
285		
290	Item idem Camerarius vina non in aliis domibus vel locis, quam in propria domo Camere propinare valeat, et tempore propinatorum vinorum suorum, alios a propinatione . . . vina propinantes interdicere non valeat.	They further ordained that the chamberlain shall not sell and serve wines in any houses or places other than the chamber's own house, and that while his own wines are sold, he shall not forbid others from selling their own wine.

295 Item hoc declarando statuunt, quod si, in
 Literis Sancti Stephani Regis seu
 tenoribus earundem totales
 constitutiones, et ordinationes
 consuetudinis expresse non habentur,
 300 sub quibus ipsi Regnicole sub Dominis
 constituti remanere debeant, ex tunc ipsi
 Regnicole ex se ipsis dictos fidedignos,
 et Deum timentes atque in gremio
 sagaces eligere debeant, qui electi una
 305 cum ceteris et probis Nobilibus per
 Universitatem Nobilium ad id eligendis,
 simul considentes, et super his mature
 tractantes disponant et ordinent in
 quibus ritibus et consuetudinibus
 310 perpetuis temporibus tam ipsi, quam
 successores eorum pacifice et quiete
 valeant permanere.

They further declared and ordained that if
 in the letters of King Saint Stephen, or their
 surviving copies, do not explicitly contain
 the full constitutions and ordinances of
 custom under which the inhabitants of the
 realm subject to their lords ought to live,
 then the same inhabitants shall choose
 from among their own ranks trustworthy,
 God-fearing, and wise men, who, once
 elected, shall sit together with other
 honourable nobles chosen by the
 Assembly of the Nobility for this purpose.
 After mature deliberation, this joint
 assembly shall dispose and ordain the
 permanent rights and customs under which
 both they and their successors may remain
 peacefully and secure for all time.

Item statuissent et ordinassent ac
 irrefragabiliter observandum
 315 commisissent, ut quacunque
 exercitualis Expeditionis necessitate
 superveniente, prefati Domini
 Episcopus, Wayvode et Comites
 Sicularum atque Regnicole seu alii
 320 cuiuscunque status et conditionis
 homines, qui exercituare tenebuntur,
 victualia necessaria hoc modo recipiant,
 quod tempore estivali in campo,
 tempore hyemali in villis seu civitatibus
 325 descendant, et Ductor Belli seu
 Capitaneus Villicos circum jacentium
 Possessionum vel Judicem Civitatis ad
 se convocare, et super eo, quod
 victualia Foro seu precio chariori
 330 vendere non permittant, nec aliqui
 presumant—jurare faciat et sic
 exercituantes ipsa victualia justo precio
 estimato et non violentia ac defalcato
 valore, sicuti huc usque fecisse
 335 perhibentur—emant, et in quantum ipsa
 victualia inveniri possunt non
 abnegentur et abunde administrentur;
 voluissent etiam et ordinassent, quod
 Barones qui juxta preceptum Regium et
 340 dispositionem Regie Majestatis pro
 tuitione Regni Banderia sua semper
 prompto apparatu habere tenentur, et
 certos exploratores atque fideles
 conservare, in futurum tales
 345 exploratores teneant, et ipsos
 Regnicolas pro incerto exercitualmente
 consurgere non adstringant, et per
 frivolas et vanas, atque fictitias

They further ordained and decreed, to be
 observed inviolably, that whenever the
 necessity of a military expedition arises, the
 aforementioned Bishop, Voivode, Counts
 of the Székelys, the inhabitants of the realm
 and any other persons of whatever status
 or condition, bound to serve in the army,
 shall receive necessary provisions under
 the following rules: during summer, they
 shall encamp in open fields; during winter,
 they shall lodge in villages or cities; and the
 leader of the army or captain shall summon
 the local village headmen or the town
 magistrate and force them to swear an oath
 that they will not allow merchants to inflate
 prices or price-gouge the troops. And thus,
 those serving in the army shall buy their
 supplies at a just and estimated price,
 without physical violence or without forcing
 sellers to accept depreciated currency, as
 the troops have notoriously done until now;
 and insofar such supplies can be found,
 they shall not be denied and abundantly
 supplied. They further wished and ordained
 that the barons, who according to the royal
 command and the disposition of the royal
 majesty are bound always to have their
 banners ready for the defence of the
 kingdom, must employ trustworthy and
 faithful scouts, and shall not force the
 common inhabitants of the realm to rise in
 arms for uncertain threats, nor can they
 oppress the kingdom and its people with
 frivolous, vain, and completely fabricated
 rumours of war.

350 novitatum adinventiones Regnum et
Regnicolas non opprimant.

Item ordinassent et commisissent ut
quiscunque et ubicunque quispiam
Nobilium, in qualicunque animi sui
merore, seu indignatione interfectiones
355 seu verberationes, aut sanguinum
effusiones prenarratas Jobbagionibus
suis, aut extraneis premissis factis
interessentibus exprobrandi, vel
vindican di animo in facie opponeret, et
360 hoc adminus duobus aut tribus testibus
idoneis legitime comprobari posset, ex
tunc talis fidefragus, sive perjurus
habeatur et Regni Nobiles a defensione
eiusdem se abstrahant; e contrario si
365 etiam quicunque ex Jobbagionibus
ipsorum Nobilium tam propriis Dominis,
quam aliis Nobilibus se extollentes hoc
idem facere attentarent, aut previa
ratione contra eosdem Nobiles
370 insurgerent, et in eos modo simili
duobus aut tribus testibus
comprobarent, in Capitali sententia et
amissione omnium bonorum
convincantur ipso facto.

375 Item firmiter inhibendo commisissent, ut
nullus ex Universitate Nobilium
prenominatos Capitaneos et electos
homines, aut quospiam ex eorum
Universitate, ratione premissa,
380 motivoque ullo unquam tempore,
impedire, perturbare, molestare, et
damnificare et eis quoquo modo nocere
presumant, aut quoseunque Domini
Wayvode et Comites Siculorum seu
385 Dominus Episcopus, nec non Lorandus
Vice Wayvoda, vel Comites
provinciales, sive quicunque alii
cujuscunque status et dignitatis, ac
preeminentie homines, et quocunque
390 forsitan inducti ingenio contra
prenotatos Capitaneos, ipsorumque
Universitatem, aut quempiam ex ipsis
insurgere attentarent, et eis nocere
vellent, ex tunc perjuri habeantur.

395 Commisissent etiam ut Decimas
Episcopales aliquibus annis non
solutas, cum quinque Denariis nunc
currentibus, videlicet pro viginti Capecijs
centum Denarios, quinquagesimas vero
400 Regali juridicatas, prout est dicata, non

They further ordained and decreed that for
any nobleman, in any grief or indignation of
mind, should reproach or oppose his own
serfs or outside peasants present at the
aforementioned killings, beatings, or
bloodshed, with the intention of accusing or
avenging them, a strict penalty will apply.
And if this harassment can be proved by at
least two or three suitable witnesses, then
such a noble shall be declared a breaker of
faith and perjurer, and the nobles of the
kingdom shall withdraw from his defence.
Conversely, if any of the serfs of the nobles,
rise against their own landlords or any other
nobleman, and attempts to do the same
thing, or should rise against them without
prior cause, and this is similarly proved by
two or three witnesses, that serf shall be
condemned to capital punishment and the
loss of all their goods.

They have further strictly forbidden and
decreed that any member of the community
of nobles shall presume at any time, for any
reason, to hinder, disturb, molest, damage,
or harm the aforesaid peasant captains and
elected men, or any of their community;
and if the Voivode, the Counts of the
Székelys, the Bishop, Loránd the
Vice-Voivode, or the Provincial Counts, or
any other persons of whatever status,
dignity, or pre-eminence, induced by
whatever device, should attempt to rise
against the aforesaid captains or their
community, or to harm them, they shall be
held perjured.

They further decreed that the episcopal
tithes not paid for some years shall be paid
with five denarii now current, that is, one
hundred denarii for twenty capecii; and that
the royal fiftieth [quinquagesima], as it is
collected, shall be paid without awaiting a

	expectando relationem a Regia Majestate super alleviatione ejusdem, exsolvant.	report from His Royal Majesty concerning a possible alleviation.
405	Statuissent preterea et firmiter observandum ordinassent; ut si Litteras Sancti Stephani Regis, aut earum tenores sub sigillo Regie Majestatis, aut Domini Palatini, sive Comitum Curie Regie Majestatis, vel alterius Capituli, nuncii Nobilium et Regnicolarum ab ipsa Regia Majestate obtinere et apportare voluerint, ex tunc prescriptis constitutionibus et ordinationibus cassatis, et annihilatis juxta libertates, per ipsum Sanctum Regem Stephanum concessas.	They further ordained and firmly decreed that if the envoys chosen by both the nobles and the inhabitants of the realm successfully obtain and bring from His Royal Majesty the letters of King Saint Stephen, or their official copies under the seal of His Royal Majesty, or of the lord Palatine, or of the count of the royal court, or of another chapter, then the aforesaid constitutions and ordinances shall be annulled and abolished, according to the liberties granted by Saint Stephen.
420	Litterasque super eisdem emanatas, aut in quibus tenores earundem continentur, invenire et habere non possent, ex tunc prenotate constitutiones, seu decretationes cum constituendis, ut premittitur, et decretandis in eorum vigoribus perpetuis futuris temporibus permaneant irrevocabiliter valiture.	But if they cannot find or obtain those charters issued concerning them, or any official copies containing their text, then the aforesaid constitutions and decrees, together with those to be constituted and decreed as mentioned, shall remain in full force and effect, irrevocably valid for all future times.
425	Tali obligationis vinculo interposito, ut si que partium predictarum Universitatum Nobilium scilicet et Regnicolarum, vel quivis ex iisdem Universitatibus singularis videlicet persona, in premissis omnibus, aut premissorum aliquo articulo, vel aliquibus articulis persistere nollet, aut quoquo modo retractare attentaret, ex tunc talis ipse, vel quispiam ex ipsis, contra partem alteram in premissis perseverantem fidefragus habeatur, et Regnicole a defensione talium se retineant et abstrahant.	They bound themselves with such a bond of obligation that if any of the aforesaid communities of nobles or of inhabitants, or any individual belonging to these assemblies, refuses to stand by these terms or attempts to retract any article of this agreement, that person or party shall be formally declared an oath-breaker, against the party that remains loyal to the treaty. The inhabitants shall be bound to withdraw all protection and completely isolate such traitors.
440	Adque omnia premissa et premissorum singula, prenominati Ladislaus filius Benedicti, alter Ladislaus filius Gereu, Benedictus de Suk, et Dionisius de Farnas se personaliter, dictorum vero Nobilium Universitatem auctoritate per eandem ipsis concessa, annotati vero Ladislaus Biro, Vincentius Judex, Ladislaus Bana et Antonius se similiter personaliter — memoratos vero Capitaneos, seu Belligeros et Vexilliferum eorum, ipsorumque Universitatem auctoritate modo simili ipsis concessa obligarunt coram nobis;	To all these matters, László, son of Benedek, the other László, son of Geréb, Benedek of Szúk, and Dénes of Fornos bound themselves personally and the community of nobles under oath, by the authority granted to them; and likewise, László Biro, Vincent the Judge, László Bán, and Antal [Budai Nagy] bound themselves personally and the chiefs, warriors, and standard-bearer, as well as their union, by the authority similarly granted to them. In perpetual memory and to ensure the enduring strength of this peace treaty, we have ordered our present official charter to

in cuius rei memoriam firmitatemque be issued, authenticated with the
perpetuam presentes Litteras nostras appendage of our formal seal.
privilegiales sigilli nostri appensione
455 munitas duximus concedendas.

Datum Sabatho proximo post Festum Given on the next Saturday after the Feast
Visitatiouis Beate Marie Virginis. — of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary,
Anno Domino millesimo in the year of the Lord 1437.
quadringentesimo trigesimo septimo.

APPENDIX 9: FRATERNA UNIO (SEPTEMBER 1437)

Transcription from *Urkundenbuch*, charter no. 2293. Translation and line numbers added.⁹

Kápolna/Căpâlna, 1437 September 16. Roland Lepas, Vizewoiwode von Siebenbürgen, bezeugt, dass die Adligen, die Sachsen der Sieben und Zwei Stühle und von Bistritz, sowie die Sekler eine Union abgeschlossen haben.

Kápolna/Căpâlna, September 16, 1437. Roland Lepas, Vice-Voivode of Transylvania, attests that the nobles, the Saxons of Siebenbürgen [Transylvania] and Two Chairs [Mediaș and Șeica Mare] and of Bistritz, as well as the Székelys, have formed a union.

5 Nos Loraudus Lepas de Varaskezy vicevaivoda Transsiluanus per praesentes omnibus tam praesentibus quam futuris recognoscimus, quomodo
10 feria secunda proxima post festum exaltationis sanctae crucis nobiscum magnificis Micaeli Jach de Kusal et Henrico de Thamasi comitibus Siculorum una cum regni nobilibus, septem ac duarum sedium
15 Saxonalium ac Bistriciensis Saxonibus omniumque sedium Siculorum in oppido Capolna congregati et constituti eramus, arduas causas harum partium tractaturi.

We, Loraudus Lepas of Varaskezy, Transylvanian vice-voivode, hereby make known to all, both present and future, how on the second feria immediately following the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, we, together with the magnificent Michael Jach of Kusal and Henry of Thamasi, counts of the Székelys, as well as with the nobles of the realm, seven and two Saxon seats and the Saxons of Bistrița, and all the seats of the Székelys, were gathered and assembled in the town of Căpâlna to treat the difficult matters of these regions.

15 Inter praedictos nobiles ac Saxones et Siculos talem fraternam disposuimus unionem tactoque ab his dominicae crucis signo iuramento proclamato aevo tempore iuraverunt observare, quomodo
20 sacrae coronae atque invictissimo principi et domino domino Sigismundo Romanorum imperatori ac Hungariae, Bohemiae, Dalmachiae, Churuachiae et cetera regi domino nostro naturali metuendissimo fidelitatem aeviter observandam et ad resistendum omnibus hoc regnum impugnantibus cuiuscumque conditionis inimici existant et se inseparabiles ab invicem
25 iuraverunt in defensione huius regni observaturos tali tamen conditione, ut dum et quando invictissimus princeps et dominus dominus noster Sigismundus dei gratia Romanorum imperator ac
30 Hungariae, Bohemiae, Dalmachiae, Curuachiae et cetera [S. 639] rex alicuius voluntatis vel actionis versus harum trium partium ut puta nobilium, Saxonum vel Siculorum habere

Between the aforementioned nobles, Saxons, and Székelys we established a fraternal union, and after they had touched the sign of the Lord's Cross and sworn an oath, they proclaimed that they would observe it for all time. They swore that they would faithfully and perpetually uphold loyalty to the Holy Crown and to the most invincible prince and lord, Lord Sigismund, Emperor of the Romans and King of Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, etc., our most feared natural lord, and that they would resist all who might attack this kingdom, whatever the condition of the enemy might be. They further swore that they would remain inseparable from one another in the defence of this kingdom. This, however, under the following condition: whenever our invincible prince and lord Sigismund, by the grace of God Emperor of the Romans and King of Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, etc., should intend any action or exercise any will against one of these three groups, i.e. the nobles, the Saxons, or the Székelys,

⁹ *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. IV. 1416-1437, edited by Franz Zimmermann and Gustav Gündisch, pp. 638-40 [doc. 2293]. Sibiu: Krafft & Dortleff, 1937.

40	intenderet, tunc aliae duae partes non aliter nisi flexis gemibus gratiam tertiae parti impetrare succurrerent nec aliud iuvamen ullomodo praestare teneantur nec ausis in modo aliquali.	then the other two groups shall intercede for the third only by humble supplication on bended knees, and shall not be bound to offer any other form of assistance, nor dare to do so in any way.
45	Insuper statuerunt, ut dum et quando aliqua illarum partium modum exercituandi intenderent tunc temporibus aestivalibus descensum campestrum teneantur et seniores villae propinquioris vel vicinioris supra tactis exercituantibus victum administrare teneantur nec carius sed pro tali pretio, uti ipsis villanis dare permittant, qui exercituantibus modum solvendi non recusent; quicumque autem carius dare praesumserit, a iudice suo non rebus sed poena capitali puniatur.	They further decreed that whenever any of these groups should intend to undertake military service, then in the summer season they must take up field quarters, and the elders of the nearest village shall be obliged to provide provisions to those performing military service, not at an inflated price, but at such a price as is permitted to the villagers themselves, and the soldiers shall not refuse to pay it. Whoever presumes to charge more shall be punished by his judge not with confiscation of goods, but with the death penalty.
60	Ordinarunt etiam, ut temporibus hiemalibus in civitalibus, oppidis et villis descensum habeant et illis hospitia praebeantur, tali tamen conditione, ut nullus cuiuscumque conditionis nobilis aut Saxo vel Siculus alicuius damni nocumentum suo hospiti inferat nec facere praesumat. Qui autem damnum fecerit, iudex cum ductore belli ab eodem rigorem iuris extorqueat et illum poena capitali vel iuxta demeritum punire teneatur.	They also ordained that in wintertime they shall have quarters in towns, boroughs, and villages, and that lodging shall be provided to them, under the condition that no noble, Saxon, or Székely of whatever rank shall inflict any harm or damage upon his host. Whoever does cause damage shall be compelled by the judge and the commander of the army to submit to the full rigor of the law and shall be punished with death or according to the gravity of the offense.
70	Si autem alicuius nobilis vel Saxonis aut Siculi famulus vel satrapa profugus efficeretur, tunc dominus illius satrapae recessum non suo consilio nec voluntate fuisse iurare non recuset sed teneatur iuramentoque finito a suis propriis rebus idem dominus satisfactionem impendat. Insuper a ductore belli literam exclusionis seu registrum insertionis extorqueat, famulum suum imitando quaerat et iuxta demeritum secundum contenta literae sententiam exsequatur ubicumque invenire maluerit.	If the servant or retainer of any noble, Saxon, or Székely should flee, then the master of that servant shall not refuse to swear that the servant's departure occurred neither by his counsel nor by his will; and after the oath is completed, the master shall provide compensation from his own goods. Furthermore, he shall obtain from the commander of the army a letter of exclusion or a record of registration, seek out his servant, and execute judgment according to the contents of the letter wherever he may find him.
85	Statuerunt etiam firmiter observandum, ut dum et quando alicuius hostilitatis impugnatio seu controversiae cuiuscumque conditionis evenire contingent et inter partibus suprascriptis nobilium, Saxonum et Siculorum pars partem in subsidium invocaverit,	They also firmly decreed that whenever any hostile attack or dispute of whatever kind should arise, and one of the aforementioned groups—the nobles, the Saxons, or the Székelys—should call upon another for assistance, the group so invoked shall set out on the second day,

90	secundi die exire pars invocata et singulis diebus tria milliaria parte invocante in succursum transire non obmittat, sed festine in auxilium venire teneatur. Quaeque autem pars in	and each day shall advance three miles toward the aid of the group that summoned them, and shall not fail to come swiftly to their assistance. Any group acting contrary to this—whether nobles, Saxons, or Székelys—shall be punished with death
95	contrarium fecerit ut puta nobiles, Saxones et Siculi, illa pars poena capitali et non rebus puniatur iuridice.	and not with confiscation of goods.
100	Ordinaruntque et iuramento firmiter concluderunt, ut omnis antecessa invidia vel inimicitiae causa cuiuscumque materiae existat, inter reverendum in Christo patrem et dominum Georgium Lepes episcopum Transsilvanum et eiusdem ecclesiae capitulum quoque inter nobiles, Saxones et Siculos integre et omnino abluta et sedata [S. 640] exsistat nullaue illarum partium a modo in antea renovare nec motionem facere praesumat. Si qua autem pars praedictarum partium innovationem faceret, fide fraga permaneat et nulla aliarum partium illi in auxilium succurrere praesumat.	They further ordained and confirmed by oath that all previous hatred or enmity, whatever its cause, between the reverend father in Christ George Lepes, bishop of Transylvania, and the chapter of the same church, as well as between the nobles, Saxons, and Székelys, shall be entirely and completely washed away and settled, and none of these groups shall henceforth dare to renew or revive any such quarrel. If any group should attempt such renewal, it shall be held faithless, and none of the other groups shall presume to come to its aid.
110		
115	Si autem pars contra partem alicuius actionis vel motionis causam habuerit iure et iuridice coram suo iudice exsequatur et iudex partis adversae iustitiam in continenti administrare teneatur.	If, however, one group should have a legal claim or cause of action against another, it shall pursue it lawfully before its own judge, and the judge of the opposing party shall be bound to administer justice immediately.
120		
125	Huius autem fraternae unionis supratactae partes, nobiles, Saxones et Siculi nos precibus humillimis petierunt, ut praesentes literas eisdem in confirmationem et sempiternam stabilitatem sigillo nostro muniri fecimus et ratificare.	The parties to this fraternal union—the nobles, Saxons, and Székelys—have humbly petitioned us to confirm these present letters and to strengthen them with our seal for everlasting stability. We have therefore caused them to be sealed and ratified.
130	Datum die et termino praenotato, anno domini millesimo quatuorcentesimo tricesimo septimo.	Given on the day and at the term above written, in the year of our Lord 1437.

APPENDIX 10: TREATY OF APATIU (OCTOBER 1437)

Transcription from *Revista Transilvania*. Translation and line numbers added.¹⁰

1437. 9. Oct. *Alu donilea tractatu de pace inchiaietu de nou intre aristocrația si poporu, dupa aduo'a bătălia mare dein acelasiu anu.*

1437. 9 October. *This was the second peace treaty concluded between the aristocracy and the people, following the second major battle of that same year.*

5 Nos Conventus monasterii Beatae Mariae Virginis de Clus-Monostra. Memoriae commendamus, quod Ladislaus filius Gyreu de Samosfalva, et Benedictus Parvus de Vulko in eorum, et universorum Regni nobilium harum partium Transilvanarum ab una, parte siquidem ex alia, Michael Volachus de Virágosberch Capitaneus, item
10 Benedictus Gazda de Dios, et Michael alter in Chehi commorantes, similiter in ipsorum, et universorum populorum earumdem partium Transilvanarum personis, nostram venientes in
15 praesentiam exhibuerunt, et praesentaverunt nobis quoddam Registrum Clausum super dispositione, ac unione pacis, inter universitatem dictorum nobilium, nec non Capitaneos, et universitatem populorum, totamque
20 communitatem Rusticorum celebratae factura, certis sigillis magnificorum Michaelis Jacks de Kusal, et Henrici de Tamási, comitum sicularum, ac Egregii Lorandi Lépes de Varoskezi vice
25 vajvodae Transylvaniae consignatum, petentes nos debita cum instantia, ut tenorem ejusdem Registri de verbo ad verbum nostris literis inseri faciendo
30 ipsis dare dignaremur infrascriptum Registrum fuit conclusum et terminatum Octavo die festi Beati Michaelis Archangeli (6. Oct.) et aliis diebus ad id aptis, et sufficientibus in villa Apathi.

We, the Convent of the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary of [Cluj-Mănăstur], record in memory that László, son of Gyreu of [Someșeni], and Benedict the Small of Vulko, in their own names and on behalf of all nobles of the Kingdom in these Transylvanian parts, on the one side; and on the other side captain Michael the Vlach of Virágosberch [Florești], as well as Benedict Gazda of [Deușu], and another Michael residing in [Panticeu], similarly in their own names and on behalf of all people of those Transylvanian parts; came into our presence, and presented to us a certain sealed register concerning the settlement and union of peace concluded between the union of the said nobles, as well as the peasant captains and the whole community of the people, and union of the peasants. It is secured with the reliable seals of the magnificent Michael Jakcs of [Coșeu] and Henry of Tamási, counts of the Székelys, and of the distinguished Lorand Lépes of Varoskezi, vice-voivode of Transylvania. They earnestly requested us that we deign to grant them the text of that same register, word for word into our letters. The Register written below was concluded and completed on the eighth day of the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel (6 October) and on other days suitable and sufficient for that purpose, in the village of [Apahida].

35 Universi nobiles harum partium Transilvanarum ab una, pro quorum parte infrascripti nobiles, per eosdem universos nobiles fuerunt electi, item Joannes de Suk, Ladislaus ... de Reud, Stephanus de Buda, Jacobus de Dragh, Nicolaus filius Beke de Iklod, Benedictus de Valko, Petrus de Badok, Johannes Farkas de Szezerma ... filius Johannis

On the one part, all the nobles of these Transylvanian parts, on whose behalf the nobles listed below were elected: John of Suk, László ... of Reud, Stephen of Buda, Jacob of Dragh, Nicholas, son of Beke of Iklod, Benedict of Vulko, Peter of Badok, John Farkas of Szezerma, ... son of John of Kodor, Dionysius of Farnas, Peter of Thur, Ladislaus son of Torda of Chan, Peter

¹⁰ "Colectiune de diplome," *Revista Transilvania* 6 (1873), 55-7.

- 45 de Kodor, Dionisus de Farnas, Petrus de
Thur, Ladislaus filius Torda de Chan,
Petrus de Bogath, Nicolaus filius
Barnabae de Zentpál ... Darlatz,
Nicolaus filius apa de Almakerék,
Michael filius Salamonis de Fejéregház,
50 Michael de Dyogh, Jacobus de Cheztve,
Nicolaus de Aran, et alter Nicolaus ...;
ex altera nomine, et in personis
praefatorum Capitaneorum, ac tota
communitate Rusticorum, Anthonius
55 Magnus de Buda, Thomas similiter
magnus de Zeek, Michael et Gallus . . .
. ah de Virágosberg, et Johannes Mester
de Clusvár, Capitanei, item Benedictus
Gazda de Villa Diot, Paulus Magnus de
60 Vajdaháza, Valentinus Faber de Vyfalu,
Gregorius Chegeu, Blasius Gréb de
Buza, Elias Magnus de Almás,
Stephanus Hencz de Sombor, Ladislaus
Ban de Alpreth, Nicolaus Valkay de
65 Hunyad per easdem universitates
populorum, et rusticos ex eorum
voluntate electi, et ad infrascripta
facienda, seu terminanda deputati,
praefati nobiles, in ipsorum, ac
70 universorum nobilium; iidemque
Capitanei et Rustici similiter in ipsorum
ac Universorum Rusticorum personis,
interim, quousque ipsorum nuncii modo
infrascibendo ad Dominum
75 Imperatorem transmittendi, ab
eodemque Domino nostro Imperatore
redirent, pro unione et concordia
utrisque partibus pacem inter se
ediderunt isto modo:
- 80 Item, quod quilibet jobbagionalis
conditionis homo, seu Rusticus Domino
suo terrestri per unum integram annum,
de uno integro aratro per tracturam octo
pecorum computando, unum fiorenium
85 auri solvere debeat, et de medio aratro
medium fiorenium, et de duobus bobus
vel equis (Urbarium) araturis viginti
quinque denarios praesentis monetae.
- 90 Si qui enim Rusticorum pecora arabilia
non haberent, sed alias pecudes vel res,
videlicet, oves, capras, et vac cas, ac
vina ad valorem ejusdem unius aratri se
extendentia similiter unum fiorenium auri
dare debeat, qui vero minus, quam ad
95 unum aratrum se extendentia, de
eisdem animalibus haberent, aut rebus
- of Bogath, Nicholas son of Barnabas of
Zentpál, ... Darlatz, Nicholas son of Apa of
Almakerék, Michael son of Salamon of
Fejéregház, Michael of Dyogh, Jacob of
Cheztve, Nicholas of Aran, and another
Nicholas; and, on the other side, in the
names and persons of the aforesaid
Captains and the whole community of
peasants: Anthony the Great of Buda,
Thomas likewise the Great of Zeek,
Michael and Gallus [the Vlachs] of
Virágosberg [Florești], and John Mester of
Clusvár, captains; also Benedict Gazda of
the village of Diot, Paul the Great of
Vajdaháza, Valentine Faber of Vyfalu,
Gregory Chegeu, Blasius Gréb of Buza,
Elias the Great of Almás, Stephen Hencz of
Sombor, Ladislaus Ban of Alpreth, Nicholas
Valkay of Hunyad, elected by the same
communities of the people and peasants
according to their free will and deputed to
carry out and conclude the matters written
below. The aforesaid nobles, in their own
names and on behalf of all nobles; and the
Captains and peasants, likewise in their
own names and on behalf of all peasants,
have in the meanwhile (until their envoys,
to be sent as written below to the Lord
Emperor, should return from the same Lord
Emperor) issued peace between both
parties for the sake of union and concord in
the following manner:
- Every man of the condition of a serf, or
peasant, shall pay to his landlord for one
full year, calculated for one full plough-team
reckoned at eight oxen, one golden florin;
and for a half-plough, half a florin; and for
two oxen or horses ploughing (urbarium),
twenty-five denars of the current coinage.
- If any of the peasants do not have cattle for
ploughing, but other livestock or goods,
namely, sheep, goats, cows, and wine,
extending to the value of one plough, they
shall likewise pay one golden florin. Those
who have less than the value of one plough
shall pay according to valuation. Those
who have no animals at all, that is, no

- secundum computationem, seu aestimationem solvere debeant, qui vero animalia non haberent, scilicet pecora, et pecudes, nisi tantum propriis manibus in ligonizando, vel trituratione frugum, victum et amictum acquirunt, tali modo, ut dimidietatem omnium praemissarum solutionum Dominis ipsorum terrestribus, iidem Rustici in festo Beati Martini contessoris nunc venturo plenarie exolvere teneantur.
- Item, similiter quilibet Rusticorum, seu Jobbagionum in eodem integro anno more alias consveto tria munera Dominis ipsorum in terminis solitis administrare teneantur, et consimiliter quilibet ipsorum per unam Diem annuatim Domino suo, quodcunque servitium, per ipsum Dominum suum eidem committetur, servire teneatur tali modo, ut qui hoc anno eundem Diem Dominis ipsorum servivissent, isti sint per id expediti, qui vero non servivissent, illi servire teneantur.
- Item quilibet nobilis in sua possessione in medio suorum Jobbagionum more alias consueto justitiam judicariam faciendi habeat facultatem, et juridice quovis modo, si aliqui Jobbagiones sui fuerunt convicti, vel aggravati, idem nobilis super suos Jobbagiones liberam habeat extorquendi, et eosdem eadem ratione aggravandi habeat facultatem tali modo quod si aliquis Jobbagio suus, super aliquo iudicio ipsius Domini sui terrestres contentari noluerit, ex tunc more alias consueto, in alteram villam, videlicet oppidum ad interrogandum transducendi habeat facultatem, ubi quidquid de ipso concluderetur, uterque ipsorum tam Dominus terrestris, quam jobbagio super eo debeat se contentari.
- Item, si aliqui Rusticorum seu Jobbagionum de Dominis ipsorum terrestribus minus juste, non data eis licentia, nec justo terragio deposito, debitisque suis non persolutis, in praesenti duntaxat insultu ad aliena loca se transtulissent moraturi, ex tunc talem hominem, seu Rusticum ipse nobilis, de cujus possessione recessisset, secundum approbatam hujus Regni livestock, but acquires food and clothing only by their own labour in ploughing or threshing, shall in the same way be bound to pay half of all the aforesaid dues to their landlords, and shall fully pay these at the forthcoming feast of Saint Martin the Confessor [11 November].
- Likewise, any peasant or serf shall be bound to deliver to their landlords three gifts at the usual terms, in the same full year; and each of them shall serve their lord for one day annually in whatever service the lord commands, in such a way that those who have already served that day to their lord this year shall be exempted; while those who have not served, shall be bound to serve.
- Likewise, every nobleman shall have the right, as customary, to exercise judicial justice within his own estate among his own serfs; and, in law, in whatever way, if any of these serfs are convicted or found guilty, the nobleman shall have full authority to extract penalties and to aggravate them accordingly in such a way that if any of his serfs refuse to accept a judgment of his lord on any matter, then, as customary, he may be taken to another village or market town for interrogation; and whatever is decided there, both landlord and the concerned serf must abide by it.
- If any peasants or serfs unjustly leave their landlords without permission, without paying the lawful land tax, and without settling their debts, and flee to other places during this present disturbance, then the noble from whose estate he departed shall have the power, according to the approved custom of the Realm, to bring him back. This in such a way that after the return of the serf, he must remain for fifteen days in

- 150 consuetudinem, ad propria reducendi habeat facultatem, et hoc taliter, quod post reductionem ejusdem jobbagionis, et redditum, idem jobbagio per quindecim dies ibidem, unde indebite recesserat, perseverare, et sui debitis satisfacere
- 155 debeat, et post modum, si se ad aliena loca transferre voluerit moraturus, habita licentia, justoque terragio deposito, et aliis suis debitis persolutis liberam transeundi habeat facultatem.
- 160 Item, simili modo, dum quicunque Rusticorum vel Jobbagionum se ad aliena loca transferre voluerit, moraturus, tunc habita licentia justoque terragio deposito, de omnibusque suis
- 165 debitis, et signanter de praescripta directa dimidietate praescriptae solutionis Domino suo terrestri debendo, ex integro persolutis absque omni calumpnia, quovis modo ex parte
- 170 Domini sui terrestri imponenda, liberam habeat recedendi facultatem.
- Item, quilibet Jobbagionum, more alias consueto structuras, et clausuras molendinorum ipsorum Dominorum terrestrium, aliosque quoslibet labores
- 175 necessarios molendinis requirentes conservare et facere teneatur.
- Item, nullus Rusticorum familiares eorundem nobilium quovis colore quaesito verbis vel factis minus juste absque justituario processu impedire, et
- 180 molestare praesumat, sed pacifice debeat, sub favore pacem conservare.
- Item praefati nobiles, neque praefatos Capitaneos, et Rusticos, vel verbis vel
- 185 factis usque tempus vel terminum praefixum impedire, et de praesenti insultu aliquod crimen in ipsorum oculos imponere debeat, seque modo praescripto pacifice teneantur
- 190 conservare, et e converso, nullus Capitaneorum, vel Rusticorum praefatorum praefatos nobiles verbis vel factis aliquatenus per injactantiam praesentis eorum insultus molestare
- 195 quovis modo praesumat; ubi autem aliquis nobilium id infringeret, ex tunc ... subsistat, et vojvoda, vel vice-vojvoda superinde ex parte talis nobilis
- that same place from which he had unduly departed, and satisfy his debts; afterwards, if he wishes to move elsewhere, having obtained licence, and deposited the just land tax, and having paid his other debts, he shall have free liberty to depart.
- Likewise, whenever a peasant or serf wishes to move elsewhere to reside, then, once having obtained permission, paid the land tax, and having settled all debts, in particular the aforementioned due half of the payment owed to his landlord in full, he shall have the free right to depart, without any false accusations to be imposed in any matter on the part of his landlord.
- Also, every serf shall be bound, as is customary, to maintain and repair the structures and enclosures of the mills of their landlords, and perform all other necessary labour required for the mills.
- Further, none of the peasants shall presume, under any pretext, to hinder or molest the household servants of the nobles by words or deeds without due judicial process; but he shall peacefully maintain the peace.
- Likewise, the nobles shall not hinder or accuse the captains and peasants, either by word or deed, until the appointed time, nor throw any crime from the present uprising as an accusation; and they are bound to maintain themselves peacefully in the manner prescribed above. And conversely, no captain or peasant shall molest the aforesaid nobles by word or deed, in any way, through boasting about their present uprising. If any noble violates this, the voivode or vice-voivode shall impose satisfaction. If any captain or peasant violates it, then ... let it cease, and the voivode, or vice-voivode shall thereupon be bound to provide satisfaction

200 satisfactionem impendere teneatur. Si
autem aliquis Capitaneorum, vel
Rusticorum infringeret, ex tunc idem
nobilis, cujus jobbagio istius non
205 observator dispositionis esset, talem
super caput, et res, et bona sua
condemnandi habeat facultatem.

Item, dum Vajvoda vel Vice-Vajvoda
praefatis Rusticis et populis more
exercituantium contra emulos hujus
210 Regni mediantibus suis literis insurgere
praeciperet, ex tunc statim iidem Rustici
seu populi more exercituantium
insurgere, et secundum mandatum
eorumdem Vajvodarum sub exercitu
215 proficisci teneantur.

Item, praemissa dispositio, quoad
omnes articulos et clausulos tali vinculo
mediante, inter praefatas partes
disposita est: quod si qua partium
220 praescriptarum usque terminum
praefixum uti praefertur, usque quo
nuncius eorum superinde a Domino
Imperatore reverteretur, praemissae
dispositioni, seu concordiae
225 contradiceret, aut rigore non
observaret, ex tunc talis pars infractione
suae fidei catholicae convincatur, et
perjurus habeatur, et casu si fuerit
nobilis tunc Vajvoda, vel Vice-Vajvoda
230 tanquam perjurus domnificare solet, et
condemnare, liberam aggravandi
habeat facultatem; si vero Rusticus,
talem Dominus suus terrestris
recaptivandi, universaque bona sua, et
235 res quaslibet recipiendi habeat
facultatem.

Item, praemissam dispositionem quoad
omnes suos articulos, et clausulas
tantum ad vigorem concluserunt,
240 quousque praefati eorum nuncii a
Domino Imperatore reverterentur, et
tales ipsorum nuncios utraque pars
scilicet, tam praefati nobiles et Rustici
usque festum omnium sanctorum
245 proxime affuturum sub gravamine
praefati vinculi ad ipsum Dominum
Imperatorem transmittere teneantur, ubi
autem, si qua partium transmittere
noluerit, aut neglexerit, ex tunc eo facto
250 perjurus habeatur.

on behalf of such noble. However, if any of
the captains or peasants were to violate
this, then the same noble whose serf had
not observed this provision, shall have the
right to condemn such a perjurer and oath-
breaker of the settlement, both as to his life,
his property and goods.

Whenever the voivode or vice-voivode, by
their letters, orders the aforesaid peasants
and peoples to rise as soldiers against the
enemies of this realm, they shall from that
moment be bound to rise as soldier and, in
accordance with the same voivodes'
orders, they must set out under arms.

Hence, this settlement, with regard to all
articles and clauses, is made between the
aforementioned parties by means of such a
binding tie: if either party should make use
of the prescribed term until their envoys
return from the Lord Emperor, they would
contradict the aforesaid arrangement, or
concord, or did not strictly observe it, then
such a party shall be convicted of violating
its Catholic faith, and be held a perjurer. If
it is a nobleman, the voivode or
vice-voivode shall have the right to punish
and condemn him as a perjurer, and to take
further action at his discretion; if, however,
a peasant, his lord shall have the right to
recapture him and seize all his goods and
chattels.

They concluded this settlement, in all its
articles and clauses, to be in force only until
their aforesaid envoys should return from
the Lord Emperor; and both parties, the
said nobles and peasants, shall be bound,
under the weight of the aforesaid bond, to
dispatch such envoys of theirs to the Lord
Emperor by the next Feast of All Saints [1
November]. Whoever refuses or neglects to
send these envoys, shall thereby be
considered as perjurer.

	Hoc siquidem Registrum sigillis nostris, puta Michaelis Jachs, et Henrici de Tamásy comitum siculorum, ac Lorandi vice-vajvodae consignatum in Conventu	This Register, sealed with our seals, namely those of Michael Jakcs and Henry of Tamási, Counts of the Székelys, and of Lorand the vice-voivode, is acknowledged
255	Ecclesiae de Clusmonostra fatentur nomine, et in personis universorum nobilium Benedictus de Valko, et Ladislaus filius Gyreu de Zamosfalva, in personis vero ... Michael Vohlak de	in the Convent of the Church of Cluj-Mănăştur, in the name and on behalf of all nobles, by Benedict of Valko and László, son of Gyreu of Zamosfalva; and in the persons of [the peasantry] Michael the
260	Viragosberh, et Antonius Magnus, vel absente Antonio Benedictus Gazda de Dios.	Vlach of Viragosberh and Anthony the Great, or in the absence of Anthony, Benedict Gazda of Dios.
	Quo quidem Registro licet in quibusdam articulis pleno sensu carente, et de limitatione praesentibus literis nostris de verbo ad verbum interserto, memorati	Although this Register lacks full clarity of sense in some articles, and concerning its limitation, although we have inserted it word for word into our present letter, the
265	Ladislaus filius Gyreu, et Benedictus de Valko, item annotati Michael Valachus, et Benedictus Gazda, et Michael alter,	said László, son of Gyreu and Benedict of Valko, and likewise the said Michael the Vlach, Benedict Gazda, and the other
270	nominibus quibus supra, universa praemissa, et quaevis praemissorum singula, prout praenarrantur per praenominatos electos nobiles	Michael, in the names stated above, affirmed before us unanimously and concordantly that all the aforesaid matters were indeed arranged and concluded by
	nominibus universorum nobilium harum partium Transylvanarum ab una, ab altera vero parte per praenarratos	the elected nobles on behalf of all nobles of these Transylvanian parts on one side; and by the captains and elected peasants on
275	Capitaneos, ac electos Rusticorum, in personis universorum populorum jobbagionalis conditionis eorum	behalf of all people of condition of serf on the other, before the mentioned magnificent
280	memorata magnifico Michaelae Jachs de Kusal, et Henrico de Tamásy comitibus siculorum, et Lorando vice-vajvoda disposita, et celebrata fore unanimi et concordi relatu affirmarunt coram nobis.	Michael Jakcs of Kusal, Henry of Tamási, Counts of the Székelys, and Lorand, the vice-voivode.
285	In cujus testimonium praesentes literas nostras appensione sigilli nostri munitas, eisdem partibus duximus concedendas.	In witness of which we have granted this present letter, secured with the impression of our seal, ought to be granted to the same parties.
290	Datum feria quinta proxima post festum Dionisii martiris anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo septimo.	Given on the next Thursday [12 October] after the Feast of Dionysius the Martyr [9 October; 12 October], in the year of our Lord 1437.

APPENDIX 11: UNIO TRIUM NATIONUM (FEBRUARY 1438)

Transcription from *Urkundenbuch*, charter no. 2302. Translation and line numbers added.¹¹

Thorenburg, 1438 Februar 6. Der Vizewoiwode Roland Lepes bezeugt, dass der Adel, die Szekler und die Sachsen der Sieben Stühle ihre im Vorjahr abgeschlossene Union erneuert haben.

Turda, 6 February 1438. Vice-Voivode Roland Lepes attests that the nobility, the Székelys and the Saxons of the Seven Chairs have renewed the union they had concluded the previous year.

Nos Lorandus Lopes de Waraskezy, vicevaivoda Transsiluanus, memoriae commendamus per praesentes, quod cum pridem videlicet circa festum sanctae crucis in possessione Kapolna vocata una cum baronibus et nobilibus nec non Saxonibus potioribus septem sedium Saxonicalium et Sicularum dictae, partis Transsilvaniae fuissemus congregati, inter cetera tractantibus uti protervia et rebelliones nefandissimorum rusticorum contritione et eradicatione nec non sicuti contra insultus Thurcorum saevissimorum has defensari partes, coram nobis et baronibus universi nobiles et Saxones praefatae sedis inter se ipsos talem fecerant unionem et fraternitatem, quod dum et quando casu contingenti praefati Turci has invadere subintrare conarentur satagentium partes, tunc praefati nobiles in succursu annotatorum Saxonum mutuaeque sincerae unionis fraternitates venire et accelerare deberent et tenerentur, praedicti etiam Saxones contra aemulos seu inimicos nobilium, signanter autem ad conterrendum praedictorum nefandissimorum rusticorum protervione venire et accelerare deberent et tenerentur.

We, Lorand Lepes of Városkeszi, Vice-Voivode of Transylvania, commit to memory to all those present, that when recently, around the Feast of the Holy Cross [14 September 1437], we were assembled at the estate of [Căpâlna] together with the barons and nobles, as well as the more powerful Saxons of the Seven Saxon Seats and the Székelys of the said Transylvanian parts; while debating among other things how the insolence and rebellion of the most nefarious peasants might be crushed and eradicated, and also how these parts might be defended against the onslaughts of the Turks; the collective nobles and Saxons of the aforementioned seats made such a union and fraternity among themselves in our presence and that of the barons, that if and when, by any chance, the aforesaid Turks should attempt to invade and enter these said parts, then the aforesaid nobles should and were bound to come and hasten to the aid of the said Saxons in mutual and sincere union; and likewise, the said Saxons also ought to and would be bound to come and hasten against the rivals or enemies of the nobles, especially to crush the insolence of the aforesaid most infamous peasants.

Ad quod se partes sponte obligarunt iuramento coram nobis. Praescripti vero nobiles et Saxones pridem Thordae in generali congregatione nostra, videlicet in festo purificationis virginis gloriosae nunc praeterito praemissam dispositionem et ordinationem ipsorum nec unionem fraternitatis confirmarunt coram nobis harum nostrarum testimonio literarum.

To which the parties voluntarily bound themselves by an oath in our presence. The prescribed nobles and Saxons recently confirmed before us their aforementioned arrangement, ordinance, and union in our general assembly at [Turda], namely on the most recent Feast of the Purification of the Glorious Virgin [2 February 1438], confirmed by us through our letters.

¹¹ *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. IV. 1416-1437, edited by Franz Zimmermann and Gustav Gündisch, doc. 2302. Sibiu: Krafft & Dortleff, 1937

- 40 Datum Thordae praedictae in festo
beatae Dorotheae virginis, anno domini
millesimo quadringentesimo tredecimo
octavo. Given at aforesaid [Turda] on the Feast of
the Blessed Virgin Dorothea [6 February],
in the year of our Lord 1438.

APPENDIX 12: BUCHEDD BEUNO (14TH CENTURY)

Transcription and translation by Arthur W. Wade-Evans.¹²

§1. Gwr bonnhedic a oed gynt ym Powys yn y lle a elwir Banhenic ger llaw auon a elwit yn yr amser hwnnw Sabrina (yn yr amser hwnn y gelwir hitheu Hafren), ac enw y gwr bonnhedic hwnnw oed Bugi, ae wreic a elwit Beren verch Lawdden. Dynyon gwiryon oedynt a da oed eu buched a gorchymynnev Duw a wneynt o bop fford or y gellynt heb ennwired or byt a ellit y doddi yn y herbyn. Ac nyt oed vdunt etiued o vab. A dynyon oedawc oedynt val na bydei blant vdunt vyth, kannys y rann vwyhaf oc eu hamsser a dreulyssynt. A chyt gyscu yd oedynt yr ys deudeg mlyned heb achos knawdawl yrygtunt a hynny oe duhundeb ell deu.

§1. A man of lineage there was formerly in Powys in the place, which is called Banhenic, near a river which was called at that time Sabrina (at this time it is called Hafren, Severn), and the name of that man of lineage was Bugi, and his wife was called Beren, daughter of Llawdden. They were guileless persons and good their lives, and the commandments of God they did in every way that they could without any evil in the world that could be set against them. And they had no son as heir, and they were aged persons so that there would be no children to them ever, for they had spent the greater part of their time. And sleeping together they were these twelve years without a carnal occasion between them, and that by agreement between them both.

§2. A dydgweith val yr oedynt yn ymdidan, wynt a welynt angel yn dyuot attunt ae wisc yn gynwynnet ar eiry, ac yn dywedut vrthynt, "Bydwch lawen a hyryt, kanys gwerendewis Duw ych gwedi." Ac yna y dywat yr angel vrth y gwr, "Bit heno (heb ef) getymeithas knawdawl yroti ath wreic, a hi a geiff veichogi, ac or beichogi hwnnw ef a enir mab idi, a hwnnw a uyd anrydedus herwyd Duw a dyn." Ac val y gorchymynnawd yr angel vdunt, wynt ae gwnnaethant. A beichogi a gauas Beren y nos honno. Ac or beichogi hwnnw ef a anet mab idi. Ac ar y mab hwnnw y dodet yn enw Beuno.

§2. On a day, whilst they were conversing, they saw an angel coming to them with his raiment as white as snow, and saying to them, "Be glad and pleasant, because God has heard your prayer." And then the angel said to the man, "Let there be (said he) carnal connection tonight between thee and thy wife. And she shall have conception, and from that conception a son will be born to her. And he will be honourable before God and man." And as the angel bade them, so they did. And conception Beren had that night. And from that conception there was born to her a son. And on that son was imposed for a name Beuno.

§3. A meithrin y mab a wnaethant yny uu amser y rodi vrth leen. Ac yna yr anuonet ef hyt ar sant a oed yng Kaerwent. Enw y sant oed Tangusius. Ae reeni ae rodassant, a hynny drwy odduunet. A chyt ar sant hwnnw y bu ef drwy gannhorthwy Duw yn dyscu yny wybu yr holl yscrythur lan. Odyna y dysgawd ef wassannaeth a ryoleu yr Eglwys, ac y kymmerth vrdeu ac y bu offeirant.

§3. And they nursed the son until it was time to put him to learning. And then he was sent to a saint who was in Caerwent. The name of the saint was Tangusius. And his parents gave him, and that by agreement. And with that saint he was, through God's help, learning until he knew all the Holy Scripture. After that he learned the service and the rules of the Church. And he took orders and was a priest.

¹² Transcript of Middle Welsh text: *Buchedd Beuno*. In *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, edited by Arthur W. Wade-Evans, 16-22. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1944. English translation by Wade-Evans published later, with annotations: "Beuno Sant." *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 85 (1930): 315-41.

§4. Ac yna yd argannuu Ynyr Gwent ef. Brenhin oed hwnnw yn y vann honno yn vfyd ac yn diweir ac ynn hael ac yn gwnneuthur gorchymynnev ympob peth. Ae erbynnyeit yn anrydedus a oruc ac yn garedic a rodi idaw modrwy eur a choron, ac ymrodi ehun yn disgybyl ac yn vynach y Veuno sant, a rodi idaw teir ranndir yn Evas ar bopyl oll a oed ar yr ranndireu hynny ae holl da byt.

§4. And then Ynyr Gwent took note of him. A king he was in that place, humble and chaste and generous and doing God's commandments in everything. And he received him honourably and kindly and gave him a gold ring and a crown, and surrendered himself a disciple and a monk to Beuno Sant, and gave him three share-lands in Ewyas, and all the people who were on those share-lands and all their worldly goods.

§5. Ac yn yr amsser hwnnw y cleuychawd tat Beuno o heint annobeith, ac anuon kennat at Veuno y vab a oruc, ac erchi idaw dyuot vrth y wenndit ae diwed. Ac yna y dywat Beuno vrth y getymeithon ae disgyblon, "Arhoet tri (heb ef) yma ohonawch yn y dinas hwnn, a mynheu a af y edrych vynn tat yssyd yn wann glaf." Ac velly y gwnaethant hwy. A Beuno sant ae gorchymynnawd wynt yr brenhin ac y wyrda y wlat. Ac ynteu a aeth racdaw hyt y lle yd oed y dat yn glaf. Ae tat gwedy caffel kymyn a chyffes a diwed perffeith a vu varw.

§5. And at that time the father of Beuno sickened of a hopeless disease, and he sent a messenger to Beuno, his son, and besought him to come to his weakness and his ending. And then spoke Beuno to his companions and his disciples, "Let three of you," said he, "stay here in this monastery, and I will go to see my father who is weakly ill," and so they did. And Beuno Sant commended them to the king and to the nobles of the country. And he himself went forwards to the place, where his father was sick. And his father, after receiving communion and confession and a perfect ending, died.

§6. Gwedy hynny Beuno a drigyawd ar dref y dat, ac a adeilawd eglwys yno, ac ae kyssegrawd yn enw yr arglwyd Grist, ac a blannawd vessen yn ystlys bed y dat, a honno a dyfawd yno yn derwen diruawr y huchet ae frasset. Ac ar vric y prenn hwnnw ef a wrthtyfawd keing hyt y llawr, ac or llawr dracheuen yn ogyuuch a bric y prenn, a thrigyaw elin yr geing ar y llawr. Ac velle y mae yn wastat. Ac od a Seis yrwng yr elin honno a bon y prenn, yn diannot y byd marw. Ac os Kymro a a yno, ny henuyd gwaeth.

§6. After that Beuno sojourned on his patrimony, and built a church there, and consecrated it in the name of the Lord Christ. And he planted an acorn on the side of his father's grave, and that grew there an oak very large as to its height and its girth. And on the top of that tree there counter grew a branch to the ground, and from the ground again as high as the top of the tree, and a bend of the branch rested on the ground. And so it is always. And if there goes an Englishman between that bend and the stock of the tree, he forthwith dies. And if a Welshman goes there, he will be no worse.

§7. A gwedy trigyaw Beuno ar tref y dat ar dalym o amser, y gedewis tref y tat, ac y kerdawd racdaw hyt at Vawn vab Brochwel. A hwnnw ae herbynnawd ef yn garedic ac ynn vonedigeid o achos y gyfueillach ae haeloni ae vfyldawt yn gorchymynnev Duw. Ac yna y rodes Mawn dros y eneit ef ac eneit y dat Aberriw y Duw a Beuno.

§7. And after Beuno had dwelt on his patrimony for some time, he left his patrimony and he proceeded forwards to Mawn son of Brochwel, and he received him kindly and graciously on account of his friendship and his generosity and his humility in the commandments of God. And then Mawn gave for his soul and the soul of his father Aberriw, Berriew, to God and Beuno.

§8. A dydgweith, val yd oed Beuno yn gorymdeith geir llaw auon Hafren yngkylch y yt, nachaf, y clywei or tu arall yr auon llef Seis yn annoc y gwn yn hely ysgyfuarnnawc. Sef a dywedei y Seis hyt y benn, "Kergia kergia." Sef oed hynny yn y ieith ef, annoc y gwn. A phann gogleu Veuno lief y Seis, ymhoelut yn diannot a oruc dracheuen a dyuot ar y disgyblon a dywedut vrthunt, "Gwisgwch amdanawch ych dillat, vy meibon i, ach archennat, ac adawn y lle hwnn. Kenedyl y gwr angkyueith a gogleu vi y lef tu draw yr auon yn annoc y gwn a oresgynnant y lle hwnn ac a vyd eidunt, ac ae kynnhalyant dan eu meddyant." Ac yna y dywat Beuno vrth vn oe disgyblonn (Rithwlint oed y enw), "Vy mab (heb ef), byd vfud ym. Mi a vynna trigyaw ohonat ti yma, am bendith i ygyt ath ti, ac adaw gennyt a wna croes a wneuthum i." A chymryt bendith y athro a oruc y dysgybyl hwnnw a thrigyaw yno.

§9. Beuno a deuth, ef ae disgyblonn, hyt ym Meivot, ac yno y trigyawd ef ygyt a Thyssyliaw sant deugein nieu a deugein nos.

§10. Odyna ef a deuth hyt at Kynan vrenhin vab Brochwel, ac erchis idaw le y wediaw dros y eneit ae gyfueillonn. Ac yna y rodes y brenhin idaw Gwydelwernn, y lle a gauas y enw ygann yr Yscot a gyuodes Bevno o varw yno ae wreic a uuassei achwyssawl y angeu ef. Ac yno y gwnaeth Beuno eglwys hyt yr amser y doeth nyeint Kynan o hely ar Veuno y erchi bwyd idaw gann trigyaw yno yn wastat. Ac yna yd erchis Beuno y weisson kyrchu ych ieuaneg yr mynyd ae lad y arlwyaw bwyd yr gwyr a oed yn y erchi idaw. A hynny a oruc y gweisson. Ar kic a dodet ar y tan ymywn crochan y verwi y tryded awr or dyd, a hyt brynnhawn y bu ar y tan, ar gwyr heb orffwys yn kynneu y tan dan y crochann. A phrynnhawn ny thwymassei y dwfyr etwa, ac nyt amliwassei y kic. Ac yna y dywat vn or lleygyon, "Yr yscolheic hwnn (heb ef) oe geluydyt yssyd yn gwneuthur hynn, val na chaffom ni dim y vwytta." A phann gogleu Veuno yr ymadrawd hwnnw oe benn, rodi y emelliith arnnaw a oruc Beuno, a marw

§8. And on a day as Beuno was walking by the river Severn about his corn, lo, he heard on the other side of the river the cry of an Englishman inciting his dogs in hunting a hare. What the Englishman said at the top of his voice is "Kergia, Kergia." What that was in his language was inciting his dogs. And when Beuno heard the cry of the Englishman, he immediately turned again and came upon his disciples and said to them, "Put your clothes on you, my sons, and your footwear and let us leave this place. The nation of the man of strange speech, whose cry I heard the other side of the river inciting his dogs, will overcome this place, and it will be theirs, and they will keep it in their possession." And then Beuno said to one of his disciples (Rithwlint was his name), "My son," said he, "be obedient to me. I will that thou shouldst dwell here, and my blessing with thee, and I will leave with thee a cross which I made." And that disciple took the blessing of his master and dwelt there.

§9. Beuno came, he and his disciples, to Meifod. And there he dwelt with Tysilio Sant forty days and forty nights.

§10. Then he came to King Cynan son of Brochwel, and besought of him a place to pray for his soul and his friends. And then the king gave him Gwyddelwern, the place which got its name from the Irishman, whom Beuno raised from death there. And it was his wife who had been the occasioning of his death. And there Beuno made a church till the time that the grandsons of Cynan came from hunting upon Beuno to request food of him, while dwelling there continuously. And then Beuno requested his servants to fetch a young ox from the mountain and to kill it to provide food for the men who were asking him for it. And this the servants did. And the flesh was put on the fire in a pot to boil the third hour of the day, and till the afternoon it was on the fire, and the men without ceasing kindling the fire under the pot. And in the afternoon the water had not yet warmed, and the flesh had not coloured. And then said one of the laymen, "This clerk," said he, "by his art it is, who is doing this, so that we may not have anything to

uu ynteu kynn diwed y dyd. Yna yr ymhoelawd Beuno hyt ar veibon Selyf a dywedut vrthunt, "Y peth a rodes ych teit chwi y Duw yn ryd, a vynnwch chwithieu rodi mal ar ardreth, a cheithiwet arnnaw ? Ys rodho Duw y mi, ac ys gwnel yrof y gwr yr wyf vi yn gwassannaethu idaw, na medo ych etiued chwi byth euo, ach distryw chwithieu or teyrnnas honn a teyrnnas rac llaw." Ac yno val yd erchis Beuno yn y wedi y cauas.

eat." And when Beuno heard that saying from his mouth, Beuno placed his curse upon him, and he was dead before the end of the day. Then Beuno turned upon the sons of Selyf and said to them, "What your grandfather gave to God free, will you give it as with revenue, and restraint on it? May God grant me, and may he whom I serve, act for me, that your offspring never own it, and that yourselves be destroyed from this kingdom and a kingdom hereafter." And there as Beuno asked in his prayer, he got.

§11. Odyo y gedewis Beuno y lle hwnnw ac y kerddawd hyt ynglan Dyfyrdwy avon y geissaw lle y wediaw Duw. Ac nys cauas nny doeth hyt at Temic vab Eliud. Ar Temic hwnnw a rodes y Veuno yn dragywydawl ac yn diosgrynn tref. Ac yno yr adeilawd Beuno eglwys ac y kyssegrawd y Duw. Temic kynn penn hayach o amser a edewis y lle diffeith hwnnw y Veuno.

§11. Then Beuno left that place and walked to the bank of the river Dee to seek a place to pray to God. And he got it not, till he came to Temic son of Eiludd. And that Temic gave to Beuno eternally and permanently a township, and there Beuno built a church and consecrated it to God. Temic before the end of much time left that desert place to Beuno.

§12. A dydgweith y daeth Temic ae wreic yr eglwys y warandaw offeren a phregeth ygann Veuno, ac adaw gartref y verch yn gwarchadw. A morwyn deccaf yn y byt oed honno, ac ny rodassit hi y wr yna etwa. Ac val yd oed hi ehun yn gwarchadw, nachaf, y gwelei hi y brenhin, a oed ar y lle hwnnw, yn dyuot y mywn attei, a Charadawc oed y enw. Sef a wnaeth hitheu, kyuodi yn y erbyn a bot yn llawen vrthaw. Sef a oruc y brenhin, gouyn idi pa le yr athoet y that. "Ef a aeth (heb hi) yr eglwys. Or byd yt neges a uo ac efo, aro ef, ac euo a daw yr awr honn." "Nac arhoaf (heb ynteu) onny bydy orderch ditheu ym." Heb y vorwynn, "Ny wedaf vi yn orderch ytt ti, kannys brenhin wyt ti, ac o vrenhined y hanwyt a mynheu nyt kyuuch vygwaet ac y gwedwyf yn orderch yt. Eissoes (heb hi) aro di yma nny delwyf i om sambyr a mi a wnaef a vynnych." Ac yn rith mynet y sambyr, ffo a oruc hi a chyrchu tu ar eglwys yr athoet y that ae mam idi. Ar brenhin ae hargannu hi yn ffo, ae hymlit a oruc. Ac a hi yn caffel drws yr eglwys y gordiwes a oruc ynteu, ac ae gledyf taraw y phenn nny vu yn yr eglwys ar corff ymaes ohonei. Beuno ae that ae mam a arganuuant hynny, a Beuno a dywat yna vrth y brenhin gann edrych yn y wyneb, "Mi a archaf y Duw

§12. And on a day Temic and his wife came to the church to hear mass and a sermon from Beuno, and he left his daughter at home to keep watch. And the fairest virgin in the world was she, and at that time she had not yet been given to a man. And as she by herself was keeping watch, lo, she saw the king, who was over that place, coming in to her. And Caradog was his name. What she did was to rise to meet him and to be pleasant to him. What the king did was to ask her where her father had gone. "He has gone," said she, "to the church. If thou hast business to transact with him, await him, and he will come this hour." "I will not wait," said he, "unless thou be mistress to me." Said the virgin: "I am not fitting to be mistress to thee, because a king thou art and from kings hast thou sprung. And myself, not so high my blood that I may be fitting to be mistress to thee. Nevertheless," said she, "stay thou here until I come from my chamber, and I will do what thou desirest." And under pretence of going to her chamber, she flew and made for the church whereinto her father and her mother had gone. And the king saw her flying, and he pursued her. And as she reached the door of the church, he overtook her and with his sword struck her head till it was in the church and the body outside it. Beuno

(heb ef) nat arbetto ef didi ac nath barcho moe noc y percheist titheu y vorwyn da honn." Ac yn yr awr honno y todes y brenhin yn llynn tawd, ac ny welat moe no hynny yn y byt hwn.

and her father and her mother saw that. And Beuno said then to the king, whilst looking in his face, "I ask of God," said he, "that he does not spare thee and that he respects thee no more than thou has respected this good virgin." And in that hour the king melted into a dissolved lake, and he was not seen more than that in this world.

§13. Yna y kymerth Beuno penn y vorwyn ac y dodes vrth y corff, a thannv y vantell ehun ar hyt y corff, a dywedut vrth y that ae mam a oedynt vch y phenn yn y chwynaw, "Tewch origin (heb ef) a gedwch hi val y mae yny darffo yr offerenn." A Beuno yna a aberthawd y Duw. A phan daruu yr offeren, y vorwyn a gyuodes yn holl yach, ac a sychawd y chwys y ar y hwyneb, ac ae gwnaeth Duw hi a Beuno yn holl yach. Yn y lle y syrthyawd y gwaet ar y dayar, y kyuodes ffynnyawn odyo, ar ffynnawn honno hyt hediw yssyd yn rodi yechyt y dynyon ac anyueileit oc eu heinyeu ae clwyfeu. Ar ffynnawn honno a enwit o enw y vorwyn, ac a elwit Ffynnawn Wenvrewy. A llawer or a welsant hynny a gredassant y Grist. Ac vn o rei a gredawd yna vu Gatuan, vrenhin Gwynedd. A hwnnw a rodes y Veuno lawer o dir a dayar.

§13. Then Beuno took the head of the virgin and put it to the body. And he spread his own mantle over the body, and said to her father and her mother, who were above her head bewailing her, "Be still a little while," said he, "and leave her as she is until the mass is over." And Beuno then sacrificed to God. And when the mass was ended, the virgin arose quite well, and she dried her sweat from her face. And God and Beuno made her quite well. In the place where her blood fell on the earth, a well sprang up therefrom, and that well till today gives health to persons and animals from their diseases and their wounds. And that fountain is named from the name of the virgin and is called Ffynnawn Wenvrewy, Winifred's Well. And many, who saw that, believed in Christ. And one of those, who then believed, was Cadfan, king of Gwynedd. And he gave to Beuno much land and soil.

§14. A gwedy marw Katuan yd aeth Beuno y ymwelet a Chadwallawn vab Catuan, oed vrenhin gwedy Catuan, ac erchi a oruc Beuno tir y Catuan, kanyt oed idaw yny kyuyll hwnnw le y wediaw Duw nac y bresswylaw yndaw. Ac yna y brenhin a rodes y Veuno le yn Aruon a elwir Gwardawc. A Beuno a rodes yr brenhin gwaell eur, a rodassei Gynan vab Brochwel idaw yntev pann uassei varw, ar waell honno a dalei trugein mu. Ac yno yr adeilawd Beuno eglwys, ac y dechreuawd adeilat mur yn y kylch. Ac val yd oed dydgweith yn gwneuthur y mur hwnnw ae disgyblon ygyt ac ef, nachaf, y gwelynt yn dyuot attunt gwreic a mab newyd eni yn y harffet, ac yn erchi y Veuno vendigaw y mab. Heb y Beuno, "Ha, wreic, arho origin yny orffennom hynn." Ar mab yn wylaw val nat oed hawd y diodef, "Ha, wreic," heb y Beuno, "ffest a beth yr wyl y mab." "Ha, wrda sant," heb

§14. And after the death of Cadfan, Beuno came to visit Cadwallon, son of Cadfan, who was king after Cadfan. And Beuno asked for land of Cadwallon, for he had not in that neighbourhood a place to pray God or to dwell in. And then the king gave to Beuno a place in Arfon, which is called Gwardawc. And Beuno gave to the king a gold rod, which Cynan ap Brochwel had given to him, when he had died. And that rod was worth sixty cows. And there Beuno built a church. And he began to build a wall about it. And as he was one day making that wall and his disciples with him, lo, they saw coming to them a woman with a son newly born in her bosom, and requesting Beuno to bless her son. Said Beuno, "Ah, woman, wait a little until we finish this," whilst the son wept so that it was not easy to endure him. "Ah, woman," said Beuno, "briskly weeps the son." "Ah, holy noble," said the woman, "there is cause with him

y wreic, "y mae achos idaw y hynny." "Ha, wreicda," heb y Beuno, "pa achaws yw hwnnw?" "Dyoer," heb y wreic, "y tir yr wyt ti yn y veddyannv ac yn adeilat arnnaw, tref tat y mab yw." Yna y dywat Beuno vrth y disgyblonn, "Tynnwch ych dwylaw (heb ef) y vrth y gweith, y tra vedydywyf yma, a pharatowch ym vyngkerbyt. Ni a awn ygyt ar wreic honn ar mab y ymwelet ar brenhin, y gwr a rodes y mi y tref tat ef."

§15. Ac yna y kychwynnawd Beuno ae disgyblonn ygyt ar wreic ar mab, ac y doethant hyt yngKaer Seint, yr lle yr oed y brenhin. Yr awr honn y gelwir y lle hwnnw Kaer yn Aruon. Ac yna y dywat Beuno vrth y brenhin, "Paham (heb ef) y rodeisti ymi tref neb na dylyet?" "Pa hachos (heb y brenhin) py le y mae y neb ae dyly ef?" "Y mab (heb y Beuno) yssyd yn arffet y wreic racco, a dyly y tir, ac yssyd etiued arnaw. Dyro di (heb y Beuno) yr mab y tir, a dyro y mynheu tir arall am hwnnw, neu dyro ym y rod a rodeis i y ti, sef yw honno, y waell aryant." Sef ateb a rodes y brenhin trahaus, balch, y Beuno, "Ni newidyafi (heb ef) a thidi vn tir. Y rod a rodeisti ditheu y mi, mynheu ae roessum hi y arall." Sef a oruc Beuno llidyaw a dywedut y brenhin, "Mi a archaf (heb ef) y Duw na bo hir y medych ti ar tir a dayar." A mynet ymeith a oruc Beuno ae adaw ynteu yn emelltigedic.

§16. Keuenderw oed yr brenhin, a elwit Gwideint, a hwnnw a gerdawd yn ol Beuno, ac ae gordiwedawd y tu arall yr auon, a elwir Seint, lle yr oed Beuno yn eisted ar vaen ynglan yr auon. A hwnnw a rodes dros y eneit ehun ac eneit Cadwallawn y geuynderw y Duw a Beuno y dref ehun a elwit Kellynnawc yn dragywydawl, heb val a heb ardreth, a heb vedyant y dyn or byt na bawl arnei, ac yno y gwnaeth Beuno lawer o wyrtheu drwy nerth Duw, y rei ny allei dyn or byt hwnn eu rifaw.

§17. Ac yn yr amser hwnnw ef a damweinawd mynet vn o weithwyr Aberffraw hyt yn llys Ynyr Gwent, ac or byt

for that." "Ah, lady," said Beuno, "what cause is that?" "Truly," said the woman, "the land, which thou art taking possession of, and which thou art building upon, is the son's patrimony." Then Beuno spoke to his disciples, "Take your hands off the work," said he, "whilst I baptize here, and prepare for me my chariot. We will all go with this woman and the son to visit the king, the man who gave me his patrimony."

§15. And then Beuno and his disciples started together with the woman and the son. And they came to Kaer Seint, to the place where was the king. That place is now called Kaer yn Aruon, Caernarvon. And then Beuno said to the king: "Why," said he, "didst thou give me somebody's township, which thou shouldst not?" "Wherefore," said the king, "where is the somebody who is entitled to it?" "The son," said Beuno, "who is in the bosom of the woman yonder, is entitled to the land, and is heir to it. Give thou," said Beuno, "the land to the son. And give to me other land for that, or give to me the gift, which I gave to thee, that is, the silver rod." This is the answer, which the proud, haughty king gave to Beuno: "I will not change with thee anv land," said he, "the gift also, which thou gavest to me, I have given it to another." What Beuno did was to be angry, and to say to the king: "I beg of God," said he, "that not for long thou bearest rule on land and soil." And Beuno went out and left him accursed.

§16. There was a cousin to the king, who was called Guideint, and he walked after Beuno and overtook him the other side of the river, which is called Seint [Saint], where Beuno was sitting on a stone on the bank of the river. And he gave for his own soul and the soul of Cadwallon, his cousin, to God and Beuno his own township, which was called Kellynnawc, Clynnog, for ever, without payment, and without tribute, and without authority over it of any secular person or claim. And there Beuno performed many miracles through the power of God, such as no person of this world could count.

§17. And at that time it happened that one of the workmen of Aberffraw went to the court of Ynyr Gwent, and there was not a

nyt oed was ieuancg degach no hwnnw. A phann welas merch Ynyr Gwent y gwas ieuancg hwnnw, hyt ae carawd hyt na mynhei hi vot hebdaw ef. Ar brenhin a adnabu hynny yn y lle ac ae gwybu, ac a dewissawd rodi yr gwas hwnnw y verch yn briawt rac y gymryt ohonei hi euo o aruer arall, dieu oed gantaw, rac tecket y gwas ae adwynnet y vot yn vab y vrenhin ac yn dyledawc.

§18. A gwedy talym o amsser ef a ymhoelawd y gwas ieuanc hwnnw ae wreic ygyt ac ef tu ae wlat, ac a doethant hyt y lle a elwit Pennard yn Aruon, ac yna y disgynasant y ar eu meirch, a gorffwys a wnaethant yno, ac o trablinder a lludet, kyscu a syrthyawd ar yr vnbennes. Sef a wnaeth ynteu, ar vnbennes yn kyscu, yn y vedwl kewilydyaw yn ormod y vot yn mynet y tu ae wlat a gwreic kymoned a honno y gyt ac ef, ac nat oed le y gyrchu a hi, onyt bot yn reit idaw mynet dracheuen yr gweith, lie y buassei gynt yn ennill y vwyt yndaw. Ac odynd, o annoc kythreul, ae gledyf, a hi yn y chwsc, llad y phenn, ac yna kerdet a oruc ef racdaw tu ae wlat, ar meirch da ar eur ar aryant gantaw hyt at y brenhin. Ac or da hwnnw prynu y gann y brenhin medyant a swyd, nyt amgen, bot yn distein idaw.

§19. Sef a oruc bugelyd Beuno, arganuot y corff, ac yn ebrwyd dyuot y venegi y Veuno hynny. Sef a wnaeth Beuno yna, dyuot yn dilesc y gyt ac wwynt hyt y lie yr oed y corff. Ac yn y lle kymryt y penn ae wasgu vrth y corff, a syrthaw ar dal y linyeu a gwediaw Duw val hynn, "Arglwyd, creawdyr nef a dayar, y gwr nyt oes dim anwybot idaw, kyuot ti y corff hwnn yn yach." Ac yn y lle kyuodi a oruc y vorwyn y vyny yn holl yach a menegi y Veuno y holl damwein. Ac yna y dywat Beuno vrthi hi, "Dewis ti (heb ef) ae mynet tuath wlat ae trigyaw yma yn gwassanaethu Duw." Heb y vorwyn da adwyn, "Yma (heb hi) y mynnafi trigyaw ger dy law di ynn gwassanaethu Duw, y gwr am kyuodes i yn vyw o varw." Ac yn y lie y syrthawd y gwaet yr llawr, yr ymdangosses ffynnawn loew, ac o enw y vorwyn y kauas y ffynnyawn y henw, nyt amgen, Ffynnawn Digiwc.

fairer young lad than he in the world. And when the daughter of Ynyr Gwent saw that young lad, she loved him so that she would not be without him. And the king had knowledge of this in the place and perceived it, and chose to give to that lad his daughter in marriage lest she might take him in another way. Certain he was on account of the lad's beauty and gentleness that he was a king's son and noble.

§18. And after a space of time that young lad returned, and his wife with him, to his country. And they came to the place, which is called Pennardd in Arfon, and then they alighted from their horses and rested there. And from over-weariness and fatigue, sleep fell on the princess. What he did, while the princess slept, was to be overmuch ashamed in his mind, that he was going towards his country with a wife as noble as this one with him, and that there was no place to go with her, but that he must go again to the work, whereby he had formerly been earning his food. And thereupon, at an instigation of a devil, with his sword he cut off her head, while she was in her sleep. And then he walked ahead towards his country, and the "good horses" and the gold and the silver with him to the king. And with those goods he bought of the king authority and office, to wit, to be his steward

§19. What the shepherds of Beuno did was to see the body and straightway come to report it to Beuno. What Beuno did then was to come hurriedly with them to the place where the body was. And on the spot he took the head and pressed it to the body, and he fell on his knees and prayed God like this: "Lord, creator of heaven and earth, thou, to whom there is not anything unknown, raise thou this body whole." And on the spot the maiden rose up perfectly whole and related to Beuno the whole of her fate. And then Beuno said: "Choose thou," said he, "either to go to thy country or to dwell here serving God." Said the good meek maiden, "Here," said she, "I wish to dwell near thee, serving God, the man who raised me alive from death." And in the place where her blood fell to the ground, there appeared a clear well. And from the name of the maiden the well received its name, to wit, Ffynnawn Digiwc.

§20. A gwedy talym o amser y deuth brawt yr vnbennes, Iddon vab Ynyr Gwent, hyt at Veuno y amouyn y chwaer. A phann deuth ef yno, yr oed y vorwynn y gyt a Beuno yn gwassannaethu Duw. A gouyn a oruc ef y chwaer, a doeï hi y gyt ac ef oe wlat. Ac yna y dywat hi na mynhei hi vynet na gadaw y lle y kyuodyssit hi o veirw. A gwedy gwelet o Iddon na thyckyei idaw yr oed arnaw eruynnyeït a oruc ef y Veuno dyuot y gyt ac ef hyt yn Aberffraw y eruynneït yr brenhin kymell idaw y meirch ar eur ar aryant a dugassei y gwr ygan y chwaer. Ac yna y kerdassant wy ell deu hyt yn llys y brenhin. Ac Iddon a argannuu y gwr yr oed ef yn y geissaw, ac yn y lle tynnv cledyf a dwyn ruthyr idaw a llad y benn. Sef a oruc y brenhin yna, llidyaw ac erchi dala y gwr a ladassei y gelein. Ac yna y dywat Beuno, "Na dodwch (heb ef) ych llaw ar y gwr, a deuth y gyt a miui." Yna y tynnawd y brenhin trwy y lit ymdeith, ac y tynghawd y parei ef diuetha y gwr yn diannot, onny wnelei Veuno y gwr a ladyssit yn vyw. Sef a wnaeth Beuno yna yn diargysswr gann ymdiret yn Duw, kyuodi yn vyw y gwr a ladyssit. Sef a oruc y brenhin, ydiuarhav ry broui o honaw y sant a rodi yna y Veuno y plas, yn yr hwnn y mae Aelwyt Veuno.

§20. And after a space of time came the brother of the princess, Iddon ab Ynyr Gwent, to Beuno to seek his sister. And when he came there, the maiden was with Beuno serving God, and he asked his sister, whether she would come with him to his country. And then she said she would not go or leave the place where she had been raised from the dead. And after Iddon perceived that what he was at availed him not, he besought Beuno to come with him to Aberffraw to request the king to secure for him the horses and the gold and the silver, which the man had taken from his sister. And then they proceeded, the two of them, to the court of the king. And Iddon perceived the man whom he was seeking, and on the spot he drew his sword and made a rush at him and cut off his head. What the king did then was to be angry and bid take the man who had slain the dead. And then said Beuno, "Put not your hand," said he, "on the man who has come with me." Then the king, in his wrath, dragged him away and swore he would cause the man to be destroyed immediately, unless Beuno made the man, who had been slain, alive. What Beuno did then at once, trusting in God, was to raise to life the man who had been slain. What the king did was to repent him of having tried the saint and then give to *Beuno y plas*, the mansion, in which is *Aelwyt Veuno*, Beuno's hearth.

§21. Llawer o betheu ereill a beidyassam ni ac wynt ac adawssom heb y dywedut rac barnnv y llyuyr hwnn yn ankryno. Ychydic yw hynn o wyrtheu Beuno. Ac ny wyr neb dyn a wnaeth Duw yr Beuno onnyt Duw ehun. A phwybynnac hysbys yw a wnnel da, Duw a vyd kannhorthwyr idaw. Kwbyl o orchymynnev Duw a wnaey Beuno. Bwyt a diawt a rodei yr neb a welei newyn a sychet arnaw, dillat y noeth, lletty y bellynnic. Gofuwyaw cleifyon a charcharoryon a wnaey. Pob ryw da or a orchymynnei yr yscrythur lan y wneuthur a gwpplaei.

§21. Many other things there are we desist from and leave without mention, lest this book be judged inconcise. A few are these of the miracles of Beuno. And no man knows what God did for Beuno except God alone. And whosoever (it is evident) does good, God will be a helper to him. All the commandments of God did Beuno. Food and drink he gave to anyone, whom he perceived to be in hunger and thirst. Clothes to the naked, lodging to the stranger. He visited sick folk and prisoners. Every good thing, which holy scripture bade be done, he performed.

§22. Ac val yr oed hoedyl Beuno yn daruot ae dyd yn dyuot, y seithuet dyd gwedy y Pasc, ef a welei y nef yn agoret ac englyyonn yn gogwstwnng ac yn dyrchauel y vynydr dracheuen. Ac yna y dywat Beuno, "Mi a welaf (heb) y Trindawt, y Tat

§22. As Beuno's life was ending and his day approaching, the seventh day after Easter, he saw heaven opened, and angels descending and ascending up again. And then Beuno said: "I see," said he, "the Trinity, the Father and the Son and the Holy

ar Mab ar Yspryt Gian, a Pheder, a Phawl, a Daid wirion, a Deyinoel, ar seint, ar prophwydi, ar ebestyl, ar merthyri yn ymdangos ym. A mi a welaf ymplith hynny seith angel yn seuyll ger bronn kadeir y goruchel Dat, a holl dadeu nef, ar kannyadaeth yn dywedut, "Gwynuydedic yw yr hwnn, a etholeisti ac a gymereist ac a bresswyla ygyt yn dragywydawl." Mi a glywaf (heb ef) lef cornn y goruchel Tat ym gwahawd, ac yn dywedut vrthyf, "Vy mab i, bwrw di oreilyt dy gnawt y vrthyt. Llyma yr amsser yn dyuot, ac yr ydys yth wahawd y gymryt y wled ny deruyd ygyt ath vrodyr. Trigyet ynteu dy gorff di yn y dayar. Dy eneit titheu bidinoed nef ar englylon ae harwed y teyrnnas nef, yr hynn a heideist ti yma drwy di weithredoed".

Ghost, and Peter and Paul, and David the innocent, and Deiniol, and the saints and the prophets, and the apostles and the martyrs, appearing to me. And I see in the midst thereof seven angels standing by the chair of the supreme Father, and all the fathers of heaven, whilst the singing says 'Blessed is he, whom thou hast chosen and hast received and who will dwell [with thee] eternally.' I hear," said he, "the sound of the trumpet of the supreme Father, inviting me, and saying to me 'My son, cast away from thee the burden of thy flesh. Here is the time coming. And thou art welcomed to partake of the feast, that ends not, with thy brethren. Tarry then thy body in the earth. Thy soul, the armies of heaven and the angels will bear to the kingdom of heaven, which thou hast merited here through thy works.'"

§23. Yr awr honn moe vyd dydbrawt, pann dywetto yr Arglwyd vrth y seint. "Meibon benndigedic vyn Tat i, dewch chwi y veddv y deyrnnas a barattoet ywch yr dechreu byt," y lle y byd buched heb angheu, a ieuegtit heb heneint, a iechyt heb dolur, a llewenyd heb tristit, y seint yn y rad vchaf y gyt a Duw Dat yn vnolyaeth ar englylon ar archenglylon, yn vnolyaeth a dysgyblon lessu Grist, yn vnolyaeth naw rad nef, y rei ny phechassant, yn vnolyaeth y Tat ar Mab ar Yspryt Gian, Amen.

§23. Now moreover will be doomsday, when the Lord will say to his saints: "Blessed sons of my Father, come ye to possess the kingdom, which was prepared for you since the beginning of the world," where will be life without death, and youth without old age, and health without pain, and gladness without sadness, the saints in the highest rank with God the Father, in unity with the angels and the archangels, in unity with the disciples of Jesus Christ, in the unity of the nine grades of heaven, who sinned not, in the unity of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Archwn nynheu trugared Duw holl gyuoethawc drwy gannhorthwy Beuno sant, val y gallom nynheu gaffel ygyt ac euo buched tragwyd ynn yr oes oessoed, Amen.

Let us, too, beseech the mercy of Almighty God through the assistance of Beuno Sant, that we may receive with him everlasting life for ever and ever. Amen.

Llyma ach Beuno.

Beuno vab Bugi, vab Gwynlliw, vab Tegit, vab Kadell Drynlluc, vab Categoryrnn, vab Gortheyrnn, vab Gorthegyrnn, vab Rittegyrnn, vab Deheuwynt, vab Eudegan, vab Eudegern, vab Elud, vab Eudos, vab Eudoleu, vab Auallach, vab Amalech, vab Belim, vab Anna. Mam yr Anna honno oed gefnitherw y Veir Wry, Mam Grist.

Here is the pedigree of Beuno.

Beuno, son of Bugi, son of Gwynlliw, son of Tegid, son of Cadell Drynlluc, son of Categoryrnn, son of Gortheyrnn, son of Gorthegyrnn, son of Rittegyrnn, son of Deheuwynt, son of Eudegan, son of Eudegern, son of Elud, son of Eudos, son of Eudoleu, son of Auallach, son of Amalech, son of Belim, son of Anna. The mother of that Anna was cousin to Mary the Virgin, the mother of Christ.

APPENDIX 13: VITA SANCTE WENEFREDE (12TH CENTURY)

Transcription and translation by David Callander.¹³

Incipit uita sancte Wenfrede uirginis et martyris.

Here begins the Life of St Winefride, virgin and martyr.

§1. Quanto opere regis archanum operire salubre est, tantopere Dei magnalia non reuelare tormentuosum est. Quamobrem quicquid de beata Wenefreda fauente Deo nobis traditione ueterum manifestatum est ad laudem ipsius Dei et ad uirginis sue merita declaranda, ut pote dignum est, inchoandum.

§1. It is as beneficial to conceal the king's secret as it is agonizing not to reveal the powers of God. For which reason, with God's approval, we should begin to tell all that has been revealed to us of blessed Winefride from the tradition of the elders, to praise God himself and to demonstrate the merits of his virgin, as is fitting.

§2. In diebus igitur quibus Katuanus super Venedocie prouintias regnabat, strenuus quidam miles, trium dumtaxat possessor uillarum, nomine Teuyth Eylud filius, in Tekeynglia manebat. Quarum prima Abeluyc, secunda Maynguen, tertia Guenphennaun appellabantur.

§2. So, in those days when Cadfan was reigning over the territories of Gwynedd, a certain bold soldier called Tyfid son of Eiludd, owner of no less than three estates, was living in Tegeingl. The first of these was called Abeluyc, the second Maenwen, and the third Gwenffynnon.

§3. Huic Teuyth propago non fuit data filia sola excepta Wenefreda numpcupata. Hec statim ab ineunte cepit etate sponsum adamare celestem, hominesque transitorios respuens sibi soli suam dicauit uirginitatem. Quod illius genitor comperiens ex parte sollicitatur mestus, ex parte exultabat gratulabundus. Sibi enim inerat mesticia, eo quod prole carebat illa sola excepta. Et quod quidem grauius ferebat, ad obseruandum inposterum patrimonium uiro illa nubere renuebat. E contra uero gratulatio inerat sibi, suam prolem Dei se subdere dicioni. Cuius gratie causa, proposuit heros liberalibus artibus suam tradere satam.

§3. This Tyfid had not been granted any children apart from his daughter, called Winefride. From a very early age she began to love a celestial bridegroom and, rejecting transitory men, dedicated her virginity to him alone. When her father discovered this, he was in part concerned and sorrowful and in part rejoiced full of thankfulness. For he was sorrowful as he had no children other than she alone. Indeed he bore it all the more heavily that she refused to marry a man to preserve the estate in the future. On the other hand, he was truly joyful that his daughter was committing herself to God's authority. Because of this grace, the good man planned to commit his child to the liberal arts.

§4. Dumque in tali existebat proposito, beatus Bennonus pre superfluitate filiorum Selym mansionem suam priuatus in domo descendit ipsius. Quem heros bene literatum atque religiosum animaduertens, de sua eum consuluit nata, sibi eiusdem uotum enucleans. Perpensis itaque prorsus militis elogiis, Bennonus inquit, 'Si Deo tuum in manu mea commendes predium, tecum hic habitabo, diuina lege tuam instruens

§4. And while he had this intention, the blessed Beuno, deprived of his dwelling-place because of the excessive number of the sons of Selyf, went into Tyfid's home. The good man noticed well that Beuno was learned and devout, and sought his advice regarding his daughter, explaining to him what she earnestly desired. And so indeed, after the soldier's words had been considered, Beuno said, 'If you should entrust your estate to God in my hands, I

¹³ *Vita Sancte Wenefrede* (Anonymous; Claudius), ed. David Callander, www.welshsaints.ac.uk/theedition.

genitam.' Ad hec Teuyth, 'Domine, si hoc in mea potestate constaret, nemo me audius tale quid patret. Sed nunc, serue Dei, nisi nimium diu tibi uideatur, te hic morari desidero quoadusque de talibus regis responsum recipiam.' At ille, 'Carissime fili, progredere teque Deus precedat quo tuum reperias negocium.'

will live here with you and instruct your daughter in divine law.' Tyfid responded, 'Lord, if this should be in my power, no-one would carry out such a thing more eagerly than me. But now, servant of God, if it does not seem excessively long to you, I desire that you stay here until I receive the king's response regarding these things.' And Beuno said, 'Dearest son, go on and may God lead you to where you will find your task.'

§5. Teuyth igitur a domo sua egrediens domo regis domini eius, palatium petiit, illum obnixè interpellans, ut sibi faueret quod de suo patrimonio deliberaret. Ille refert, 'O uir uenerande, nequaquam michi uel tibi sortitur tamen sequestrare rus a prouincie communione, ne sibi sit inutile, uel mee necessitati. Sed harum quamcumque uillarum trium elegeris ad diuinum officium tibi libere annuo, si placatus fueris, michique reliquas relinque.'

§5. And so Tyfid, leaving his house for the house of his lord the king, made for his palace. He entreated him eagerly that he should approve that which he was considering regarding his estate. The king replied, 'O venerable man, it is by no means my lot or your lot even so to separate land from the common ownership of the territory, in case that should be unprofitable to the community or for my need. But I allow you whichever of these three estates you choose for service of God, if you are satisfied with that, and leave me the remainder.'

§6. Audito itaque regis responso optimo, domum repedauit, quicquid a rege audierat Bennono referens. 'Ergo si mecum manere desideraueris,' ait, 'ad Dei ministerium ubi tibi uideatur oportunius in meo elige patrimonio.' Beatus Bennonus inquit, 'In Beluyc solitudine michi mansionem delibero.' Quod et ita factum est.

§6. And thus after he had heard the king's most noble response, Tyfid returned home and told Beuno what he had heard from the king. 'So if you would like to stay with me', he said, 'choose the place which appears to you most suitable for serving God on my estate.' The blessed Beuno said, 'I lay claim to a dwelling for myself in the wastelands of Beluyc.' And so it was done.

§7. Bennonus igitur cum Teuyth patrocinio suum fixit tugurium in conualle que Britonum lingua Sechnant appellabatur. Ecclesiamque paruulam ibidem struxit, in qua missam celebrabat, erudiens diuina cotidie pagina uirginem Wenefredam. Siquidem Teuyth domusque ipsius cotidie missarum officia adibant, ubi Bennonus celebrationem categorizabat.

§7. And so Beuno, with his patron Tyfid, established his hut in a valley which was called Sychnant in the language of the Britons. And in the same place he built a small church in which he celebrated Mass, instructing the virgin Winefride in holy scripture every day. Indeed, Tyfid and his household went to the offices of Mass every day, where Beuno would preach the divine celebration.

§8. Ea tempestate accidit quadam die dominica Teuyth cum uxore ad missam existere audiendam, Wenefredamque in domo eius genitoris cunctatam fuisse, causa secum ferendi misse necessaria, ignem uidelicet et aquam cum sale. Interea Karadauc Alauc filius regali stirpe

§8. At that time on a certain Sunday, it happened that Tyfid and his wife were hearing Mass, and Winefride had been delayed in her father's house because of things she had to carry with her necessary for the Mass, namely fire and water with salt. Meanwhile, Caradog son of Alâog,

ortus, uenatione ferarum fatigatus, domui appropiauit potum querens, nimirum erat enim sitiens. Ad quam ubi peruenit, quo uille posessor erat interrogauit. Secretum enim aliquod habebat, quod sibi denudare gliscebatur.

§9. Puella igitur in domo sola existens, interroganti patrem ocius occurrit, eumque eleganter salutans ad audiendam Bennoni in missa predicationem parentes suos isse dixit. Caradoco itaque nimphe faciem candore ruboreque confectam intuentes, ipsamque totam forma et uultu idoneam admirantes, illius cor in sui concupiscentia cepit diffusim exardescere. Deprehendensque illam solam in domo absque alterius testimonio, sitim obliuiscens pre amoris magnitudine intulit ei, 'O carissima uirgo, meis adquiesce consiliis mecum procorum familiaritatem patrando, te enim uehementer concupisco.'

§10. Ad hec uirgo, 'Domine mi, quale elogium est hoc uiri tam ingenui ut tu ad ancillam tam degenerem uti ego?' Iterum, 'Domine, nequaquam hoc agere queo, desponsata sum enim alteri uiro, cui adpresens nubere debeo.' Audiens hec Caradocus furore repletus ait, 'Dimitte insulsa hec friuola nugatoria loqui et mecum commisceri consenti. Michi nube et ego te uxorem ducam.'

§11. Uidens igitur puella uiri animum in emulationem commotum, ad industriam se uertens ne uiri opprimeretur uiolentia, ait, 'Concede michi, domine, uestiarium meum intrare, ut ornata uestibus decenter tecum possim aptius commiscere. Linquam enim ut necesse est ministerium michi iniunctum et iuxta uestrum ero arbitrium.' Respondit puella Caradocus, 'Si nulla tibi inerit mora, michi nimium non uidebitur te aliquantulum operiri.' Accepta igitur licentia, per thalamum uallem celeribus adiuit passibus puella, cupiens quam cicius se a uiri abesse conspiciat.

§12. Caradocus itaque, uidens se uirginis industria delusum, furore repletus cum

born of royal ancestry, tired from hunting wild beasts, drew near the house, seeking drink, for no doubt he was thirsty. When he got there, he asked where the owner of the house was. For he had a certain secret which he desired eagerly to reveal to him.

§9. And so the girl, being at home alone, ran quickly to meet the one asking for her father, and, greeting him decorously, said that her parents had gone to hear Beuno's preaching at Mass. And thus Caradog gazed upon the young girl's face composed of white and red and marvelled at all of her, beautiful in her form and in her face. His heart began to burn greatly in his lust for her. And detecting that she was home alone without witness of another and forgetting his thirst because of the greatness of his desire, he said to her, 'O dearest virgin, agree to my intentions by bringing about the intimacy of suitors with me, for I desire you intensely.'

§10. The virgin responded, 'My lord, what kind of speech is this from a man as well-born as you to a maiden as low-born as me?' She said again, 'Lord, by no means can I do this, for I am pledged to another man, whom I am now bound to marry.' Hearing these things, Caradog, filled with rage, said, 'Stop talking about these stupid, silly, trifling things, and agree to sleep with me. Sleep with me and I will take you as my wife.'

§11. And so when the girl saw the man's heart was stirred into strife, she turned to a plan so that she would not be molested by the man's violence, and said, 'Permit me, lord, to go into my dressing chamber, so that, fittingly attired with clothes, I may in a more seemly way consort with you. For I will leave, as it is necessary, the task enjoined to me and I will be at your will.' Caradog responded to the girl, 'If you will not delay, waiting for you for a little while will not seem excessive to me.' And so, having received permission, the girl went with swift steps through the bedroom into the valley, wanting to get out of the man's sight as quickly as possible.

§12. And so Caradog, seeing that he had been tricked by the virgin's plan, filled with

calcaribus fortiter punxit equum, puellam querens comprehendere. Puella uero uirum precesserat quousque ad monasterii ostium peruenerat, pacis tutelam a Deo et Benono assequi desiderans. Cumque suum infra limen uoluit figere pedem, uir eam framea anticipauit, eius abscidens capud.

§13. Quod parentes sui intuentes, in extasi aliquamdiu detenti sunt, et ad se reuersi, lacrimis maduerunt miserandis. Beunonus, quoque perniciem hanc conspiciens, mesticia per maxima irretitus est, altareque relinquens, ocus ostium adiuit, scire uolens quis huiuscemodi peregrisset cedem. Erectisque oculis contemplatus est Karadocum cruentum, adhuc cum gladio in manu sanguinolento stantem. Animaduertensque istud a Caradoco fieri, eum in eodem loco maledixit. Statimque in conspectu eius ille liquefactus est, ut ab igne cera.

§14. Deinde Beunonus ad cadauer reuertens, caput ictu gladii intus proiectum corpori deforis iacenti coaptauit, Deum obnixie interpellans illud uiuificare corpus, ne gauderet super illo inimicus, et mox cum prece corpus cum uiribus resumpsit animam, cicatrice nisi exili in ceruice non apparente. Area uero sanguine eius infecta crepuit, torrensque fons ibidem iriguus scaturiuit. Cuius lapides usque in hodiernum diem ut pote in die prima sanguinolenti uidentur. Mussa etiam ut thus odorat et diuersis languoribus medetur.

§15. Beunonus itaque aspiciens Deum propter eam huiuscemodi peregrisse miraculum, sibi in audientia parentum suorum inquit, 'Soror mi, hunc Deus tibi destinauit locum, meque oportet alias tendere, ubi Deus michi prouiderit perhendinare. Michi autem circa hunc diem unoquoque anno hoc facito, casulam michi dirige de uestro opere proprio.' 'Domine mi', inquit, 'hoc tibi impendere meo non extat molestum cordi, sed permaxima michi uidetur difficultas, id

rage, struck his horse strongly with his spurs, seeking to catch the girl. But the girl had gone ahead of the man to the point that she had reached the doorway of the church, desiring to attain the protection of peace from God and Beuno. And when she was about to put her foot inside the threshold, the man caught up to her with a sword, cutting off her head.

§13. When her parents saw this, they were held in a stupor for some time, and when they came to their senses, they were soaked with wretched tears. Beuno, also seeing this terrible deed, was gripped by extreme sorrow, and leaving the altar, he went to the doorway without delay, wanting to know who had carried out the killing in such a manner. And having raised his eyes he observed bloodstained Caradog, still standing with the bloodied sword in his hand. And when Beuno saw that that deed had been done by Caradog, he cursed him in that very place. And immediately, in his sight, Caradog was melted, like wax by fire.

§14. Then Beuno, returning to the corpse, attached the head, which had been thrown inside by the blow of the sword, to the body which lay outside, calling on God strenuously to bring that body to life, so that his enemy would not rejoice over it, and as soon as this prayer was made, the body regained life with all its faculties, with nothing but a slender scar being evident on her neck. But the ground stained with her blood burst open, and a rushing spring gushed forth watering the ground in that place. To this very day, the stones of that spring appear blood-stained as on the first day. The moss also smells like incense and heals various illnesses.

§15. And so Beuno, seeing that God had performed a miracle for her in this way, said to her within hearing of her parents, 'My sister, God assigned this place to you, and I am obliged to go elsewhere, where God will have ordained for me to stay. But do this for me every year around this day: send me a chasuble of your own making.' 'My lord,' she said, 'giving this to you is not a trouble for my heart, but the difficulty seems to me to be very great as to how it should get to you, for I do not know where you will live.'

qualiter ad te peruenerit, ignoro enim quo habitaueris.' Cui sanctus, 'De hoc tibi absit sollicitudo. Saxum extat in medio fontis riuo supra quod meas consueui ruminare preces. Superpone huic in constituto termino casulam, et si michi aduenerit, adueniat.' Sic abinuicem post benedictionem mutuam disgregati sunt.

§16. Bæata uero Wenefreda in supradicta heremo multis diebus suam peregit uitam, ut pote Bennonus sibi consuluerat. In annis quoque singularibus in Iohannis Baptiste uigilia, casulam hoc modo Bennono trans mittebat: super saxum illam aptabat, saxum uero ipsam interius et exterius siccam cum fontis fluctibus labans usque in mare deferrebat, et sic per mare ad portum Sachlen usque ad Bennonum. Ita Bennonus uirginis donum omni anno accipiebat.

§17. Huic casule uirginis ob meritum tanta uirtus inerat quod ubicumque Beunonus foret hanc indutus, nec pluuiæ humectari nec pilus eius posset uento moueri. Talis rei euentu, Beunonus Casulam Siccus agnominatus est.

§18. Eo tempore, ut memorant, Romam peciit, uisitandi causa sanctorum apostolorum loca, ut ibi in presentia reliquiarum sanctorum, se totam Deo deuote offerret. Quo peracto, ad desertum pristinum repedaui.

§19. In diebus illis tocius Britannie sancti ad sinodum Breui contionabantur. Ad quam cum aliis sanctis etiam beata Wenefreda ascendit. Ibidemque omnibus ritu sinodali religiose institutis, uidelicet ut sancti, qui antea disparati singillatim uiuebant, nullam habentes regulam nisi uoluntatem, postea gregatim conuenirent in locis ad hoc congruis, et eorum conuersationem sub prioribus prouectis sibi prefectis emendarent. Unde contigit beatam Wenefredam undecim uirginibus esse preelectam, ut uite et sancte conuersationis exemplum ab ea exciperent.

The saint responded to her, 'Do not worry about this. There is a rock in the middle of the stream of the spring, upon which I have been accustomed to say my prayers. Place the chasuble upon this at the appointed time, and if it should come to me, let it come.' Thus, after blessing each other, they were separated from one another.

§16. Truly, the blessed Winefride spent her life for many days in the aforementioned wilderness, just as Beuno had advised her. In every year also on the eve of John the Baptist she would send the chasuble to Beuno in this way: she would fit it above the rock, and the rock, wavering in the streams of the spring, would carry the chasuble, dry inside and out, all the way into the sea, and thus across the sea to Beuno at the harbour of Sachlen. Thus Beuno received the virgin's gift every year.

§17. This chasuble, on account of the virgin's merit, contained such power that, wherever Beuno should be wearing it, it could neither be made wet by rain nor could its material be moved by wind. After that had happened, Beuno was distinguished by the nickname Dry-Chasuble.

§18. In that time, as they record, she went to Rome, in order to visit the places of the holy apostles, so that there, in the presence of the relics of the saints, she should offer herself entirely to God devotedly. After this had been done, she returned to her earlier wilderness.

§19. In those days, the saints of all Britain preached at the assembly of Breffi. The blessed Winefride indeed went up to that with other saints. And there, everything was established by the procedure of the synod in accordance with the practice of the religious community, that is, that saints, who previously lived separately on their own, having no rule but their own will, afterwards would come together in communities in places suitable for this, and would improve their way of life under priors promoted as prefects for them. As a result of which it happened that blessed Winefride was chosen to be at the head of eleven virgins, so that they should take from her the example of life and holy living.

§20. Quanta scientie eloquentia hec uirgo prefulserit non est nostre facultatis edicere, sermones quippe elogii ipsius melle dulciores lacteque nitidiores in sensibus audientium reputabantur. Unde et ab omnibus publice Candida Wenefræda prenominata est, candore enim sophie eloquebatur et confirmiter degebat. Locus quidem, quo cum uirginibus conuersata est, Guytherin uocatur. Quo etiam post uite dormitionem cum consodalibus uirginibus VIII kalendas Iulii sepulta, requiescit in Christo, cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

Explicit uita sancte Wenfrede uirginis et martyris.

Incipiunt miracula eiusdem.

§21. Quedam incolis cognita uel uisa digna relatu decreuimus. A die quo manare fons cepit ubi martiris sanguis defluerat, miraculum seculis inauditum, dictu mirabile stupendumque auditu, in medio fontis ebullitu inerat, lapilli uidelicet tres limpidissimi, cum fontis scaturigine ascendentes et descendentes more artauorum¹⁶ a iaculatore proiectorum. Desursum et deorsum sibi ad inuicem obuabant, sicque multis annis durauit. Tempore uero Dacorum in Tekeynglia sub Britonibus subiugatorum, femina quedam infausta ad fontem descendit, que lapillos specularans sibi preludere, eorum auditate accensa, unum arripuit, et illico reliquorum uterque euanuit. Deinde domum regressa, instanti morbo correpta est, et infra paucos dies defuncta est. Confessa tamen ante obitum, lapillum redidit, sed quod prius gestum est omnino latuit. Non est mirum, fratres, quamquam lapides martiris potentiam suo approbabant testimonio, cum legimus sanctos patres illis in testimonium lapides tulisse.

§20. It is beyond our ability to tell with what eloquence of knowledge this virgin shone forth, for the words of her speech were considered to be sweeter than honey and whiter than milk in the thoughts of those listening. And for that reason she was named White Winefride by everyone openly, for she spoke with the whiteness of wisdom and she lived steadfastly. Truly, the place in which she lived with her virgins is called Gwytherin. In which place indeed, after death, buried with her virgin companions on the 24th of June, she rests in Christ, to whom there is honour and glory forever and ever. Amen.

Here ends the life of St Winefride, virgin and martyr.

Here begin her miracles.

§21. We have decided that some things known to the locals or seen by them are worth telling. From the day when the spring began to flow where the martyr's blood had flowed, a miracle unheard throughout the ages, miraculous to say and amazing to hear, was present in the bubbling middle of the spring, namely three very smooth little stones, going up and down with the gushing of the spring in the manner of knives cast by a thrower. They would pass each other up and down alternately, and thus it continued for many years. But in the time of the Danes, when they were made subject to the British, in Tegeingl, a certain unfortunate woman went down to the spring, who, seeing the little stones playing before her and eager for them with passionate desire, seized one, and there and then both of those which had been left disappeared. Afterwards, having gone home, she was overcome by a sudden illness, and died within a few days. However, having confessed before her death, she put the little stone back, but that which was done earlier was completely hidden. It is no wonder, brothers, even though stones confirmed the martyr's power with their testimony, when we read that the holy fathers carried stones as testimony to them.

§22. Contigit etiam aliquando quod uir, furto increpatus, super fontem et sacraria ecclesie martiris periurium perpetravit. Sed qualiter beata uirgo presumtoribus illiciti assentit tempestiue innotuit. Capra enim iam esa, in uentre furis orridum balatum protulit, et sic illum reum esse patuit. O res satis horenda! Quod a rationali animali cum testamento denegatum est, hoc a bruto et, quod magis est insolitum, iam commesto reseratum est. Nec ambigendum est quin Deus propter sanctos mirabilia faciat, cum ipse in sanctis suis omnino est mirabilis.

§23. Diebus quin etiam Francorum in eadem terra ultio digna a Deo facta est per eandem martirem. Matrona namque quedam, emulationis zelo ducta aduersus ancillam, eam uerberibus acerbis discerpebat, et furiose illam ad uirginis ecclesiam fugientem tutele causa uerberando instabat. Misella uero ad templum ueniens ac ingredi temptans, ostium reperit firmiter pessumdatum, et antea infra basilicam tutelam sperans, tum ignorat quid agat. Ostium tamen adhesit, sed matrona eius dilacerationi minime pepercit. Prospiciens profecto martyr domini uim sibi illatam, condolens pudori suo et misere compatiens, extemplo a domino impetrauit uindictam. Captiua igitur, diu laniata sub pedibus prostrata, tandem ut Deus uoluit surrexit, et domine sue sibi incumbentis maxille capud suum impulit. Quo impulsu gena a compage disiuncta, gulaque retorta ad aurem alteram, sic usque ad obitum deformis permansit. Dignum nempe fuit, ut que a flagris ante spiritus suffocationem cessare noluit, usque ad corporis et anime disgregationem a corripiendo eam non desisteretur. Sic sic qui non uerentur Dei et sanctorum tabernacula: implentur facies eorum ignominia.

§22. It also happened at a certain time that a man, having been accused of theft, committed perjury upon the well and sanctuaries of the martyr's church. But it became known immediately what the blessed virgin thinks of those who presume to do something illegal. For, after he had eaten a goat, it gave out a terrible bleating in the belly of the thief, and thus showed him to be guilty. What a horrible thing! That which was refuted by a rational creature, with a solemn declaration, was revealed by this one which was brutish and, what is more unusual, already eaten. It is not to be doubted that God does miracles for his saints, when he himself is miraculous in all ways in his saints.

§23. Indeed, in the days of the Normans in the same land, due vengeance was carried out by God through the same martyr. For a certain married woman, led by the jealousy of envy against a maid, tormented her with cruel lashes, and furiously she attacked her with flogging as she fled to the virgin's church for protection. But, when the wretched girl came to the church and tried to get in, she found the door to be firmly locked, and, having previously hoped for protection inside the church, she did not then know what she would do. She stayed by the door all the same, but the woman by no means held back from lacerating her. The martyr of the lord undoubtedly seeing the force inflicted upon her, and sympathising with her shame and feeling compassion pitifully, at once obtained retribution from the lord. And so the captive, lacerated for a long time and prostrate under the woman's feet, at last rose up as God wanted, and struck her head against the jaw of her mistress pushing on her. By that blow her jaw-bone was dislocated from the joint, and her throat twisted towards one ear. Thus up until her death she remained deformed. Without doubt it was just that there should be no stopping from rebuking her until the separation of body and soul, she who did not want to desist from lashes before the killing of the spirit. So it is for those who do not fear God and the tabernacles of the saints: their faces are filled with shame.

§24. Item dimerso temporis interuallo, pacis iure ubique per patriam uiolato, Francis atque Gualensibus se adinuicem oppugnantibus, predones innumeri de Uenedocia totam Tekeyngiam depopulantes octo sacrilegos ad depredandum etiam uirginis Wenefrede habitaculum cum uilla direxerunt. Qui accelerantes etiam iumenta templi parieti alligata secum dirripuerunt, sed diu inde non gratulati sunt, enim uero morte horribili infra breue spacium inficiati sunt. Sed et principes iniquitatis, qui illud indiderunt, priusquam annus circumuolutus fuit, nece nefaria affecti sunt. Quid dicam uobis? Uix unus de tanta multitudine euasit, qui uel eorum comitatum tantum tenuit. Et quoniam zelus domus domini comedit eum, deiecti sunt dum alleuarentur.

§25. Illis iterum diebus, quidam eiusdem ecclesie diaconus, cum sacris signis in collo suspensis protectionis occasione, de uico quodam parochie sue decimam in equis domum asportans, ac usque infra metas fundi martyris perueniens, casu incidit latrones. Qui, nullam martyri uel eius sacris reuerentiam deferentes, eum spoliauerunt, et cum exuuiis eum, ut pro Deo uel pro martyre sua sui propiciarentur implorantem, secum ire compulerunt. Verumptamen sibi longius abducto ex nutu Dei et martiris, menti incidit, ut fugam iniret. Inita autem, ab ipso latronum duce pedetentim inuestigatus est. Denique uero eodem querente illum apprehendere, ruina prepeditus est, et in crure lancea propria perfossus, neruos amisit femoris, dum cedere nescit. Et sic uno castigato in corpore, reliqui omnes correpti sunt mente, et diaconus Deo et martyri pro impensa sibi liberatione grates persoluens, cum rebus domum saluus reuersus est, quoniam quidem immittit angelum dominus incircuitu timentium eum, et eripiet eos. Quibus autem non est timor domini et sanctorum ante oculos eorum, inuenitur iniquitas eorum sibi ad odium, et in uerticem ipsorum descendit.

§24. Likewise, after a period of time had passed, the law of peace had been violated everywhere throughout the land, with the Normans and Welsh fighting one another and innumerable robbers from Gwynedd ravaging all of Tegeingl. They directed eight sacrilegious men to despoil even the habitation of the virgin Winefride with its estate. Making haste, they even stole the animals fastened to the church wall, but they did not rejoice at that for long, for truly they were poisoned by horrible death within a short time. But even the initiators of the wickedness, who set that in motion, were assailed by heinous murder before a year had gone by. What should I say to you? From such a multitude scarcely one escaped who so much as kept their company. And since zeal for the house of the Lord consumed him, they were thrown down as soon as they were lifted up.

§25. Also in those days, a certain deacon of the same church, with holy signs hanging from his neck for protection, was bringing the tithe home on horses from a certain settlement in his parish. Reaching the limits of the martyr's estate, by chance he ran into thieves. They, offering no veneration for the martyr or her holy things, robbed him and forced him to go with them with the spoils, pleading that for God or for his martyr they might be favourably disposed towards him. Nevertheless, when he had been led further away from the power of God and the martyr, it came into his mind that he should start to flee. When he had started to do so, he was tracked closely by the leader of the thieves himself. But then, seeking to catch him, that man was thwarted by disaster, and, pierced through the leg by his own spear, he separated the muscles from the thigh-bones so that he did not know how to walk. And thus, one having been punished in body, all the rest were corrected in mind, and the deacon, giving thanks to God and the martyr for the liberation given to him, returned home safe with the things, since indeed the lord sends an angel around those who fear him, and he will rescue them. But as for those who do not have the fear of the lord and saints before their eyes, their sinfulness is discovered to their dislike, and it comes down on their heads.

§26. Ea nichillominus tempestate, miles quidam Francus, eiusdem fundi possessor, super riuum fontis molendinum dimeciens, aquam stagnare cepit. Cernens autem miles aquam ad saxum Beunoni erumpere, quod forte suberat stagno in medio riuo, precepit ut in stagno poneretur. Sed quamquam centum iuga bouum admouerentur, a loco sane non resurgeret. Tam enim immobilis extitit ac si fixis radicibus euelli nesciret. Postremo uero, miles operarios suos id fecte agere opinans, eos iterum atque iterum compellit, ac putans se solummodo pede posse lapidem euoluere, pre ira animi permotus, saxum pede impegit, sed statim reflexis neruis in poplite et obduratis. Dum uixit, claudus effectus est.

§26. Likewise at that time, a certain Norman soldier, owner of the same estate, measuring out a mill above the spring's stream, began to dam off the water. Moreover, the soldier perceived that the water burst forth up to Beuno's rock, which was by chance below the pool in the middle of the stream. He ordered that it should be placed in the pool. But even if a hundred pairs of oxen should be applied to it, truly it would not rise from its place. For it remained as immovable as if it could not be torn away from fixed roots. But finally the soldier, thinking that his labourers were doing that by pretence, forced them on again and again. Thinking that he alone could roll away the stone with his foot and roused up by his mind's anger, he struck the rock with his foot, but at once the tendons in the hollow of his knee bent backwards and hardened. He was made lame for the rest of his life.

§27. Eodem quin in temporis decursu, uxor eiusdem militis ausu temerario ipsam fontis crepidinem ingressa, quod proprie infirmorum est, ibi illicite se balneauit. Ast id impune sibi non fuit. Sterilis enim usque ad finem uite permansit, unde pre omnibus doluit. Equum quippe fuit ut, qui in hereditatem martiris uenientes eius sanctuarium illicite polluerunt, omnibus postmodum in eorum circuitu forent illusio et derisum, subsanatio et obprobrium.

§27. Indeed, in the same period of time, the wife of that soldier, having entered with rash presumption the bank of the well, which is the privilege of the sick, bathed herself improperly there. But she did not go unpunished for that. For she remained barren for the rest of her life, from which she suffered more than anyone else. Truly it was fair for those who came into the inherited land of the martyr and defiled its consecrated ground improperly that they should afterwards become a mockery and derision, an object of contempt and shame, to all around them.

§28. Talibus et his mirabilioribus infinitis miraculis contra prauos uirgo domini claruit. Que omnia si literali memorie traderentur, tempus deficeret citius quam copia fandi. Nunc uero ad castigationem scelestorum ne aliquod nefas iniure uirginis facere oblectent ista sufficiant, quia alias ad sulcandum aratrum nostrum est prouehendum, scilicet ad uirginis beneficia erga egros reuelanda.

§28. With infinite miracles such as these and more miraculous than these, the virgin of the lord shone bright against the wicked. Time would run out faster than the abundance which could be told if all those things were consigned to written record. But now truly let these suffice for the punishment of the wicked, so that they should not take delight in committing any crime wrongly against the virgin, for our plough should be moved to make furrows elsewhere, that is, to reveal the virgin's benefits to the sick.

§29. Tempore quoque Francorum in eadem regione, quidam diues eger multam pecuniam habens sed non

§29. Also in the time of the Normans in that region, there was a certain wealthy sick man, who had a lot of money in his keeping

semetipsum, audiens famam uirginis, deuectus uehiculo illuc quantocius tetendit. Qui ad memoriam beate uirginis perueniens, facultate sua tota ecclesie et egenis erogata seipsum pauperem reddit. Nichil amplius in mundi deliciis oblectans, sed in domino confidens. Deinde se tercio in fontis unda loto, et tercie noctis uigilia in ecclesia cum orationibus finita, mirum in modum audires ibi tunc in pedibus et in cruribus et in brachiis ingens baratrum, que ante a natiuitate turpiter curua et ad nates contracta, iam ossa sua in rectam compagum locationem distendebant. Putasne uideres illic tunc letam astantium cohortem et gratulantem Deo et uirgini? Uideres utique. O quam iusta recompensatio! Qui se peculiali sustantia destituerat, corporis proprii sustanciam, sensibus integram uiribusque, idem recepit. Quod dilexerat distribuit, quod semper affectarat inuenit. Et sic qui, usu pedum carens, uehiculo uenerat, pedibus utens plene et perfecte, incolumis recessit.

but not himself. Hearing of the virgin's renown, he made his way there as quickly as possible by carriage. He reached the blessed virgin's shrine and gave all his wealth to the church and the needy, rendering himself a pauper. No more did he take pleasure in the delights of the world, but trusted in the Lord. Then, after having washed himself for the third time in the flow of the well and after the third night's vigil had been completed with prayers in the church, in a wondrous way you could hear there and then a great turmoil in his feet and legs and arms, which previously had been foully curved and drawn into the buttocks but now stretched their bones to the correct place in the joints. Do you think you could see there and then a rejoicing band of those nearby, giving thanks to God and the virgin? Without doubt you could see it. O what a just repayment! He who deprived himself of monetary goods, received the substance of his own body unimpaired in its senses and capabilities. He distributed that which he had prized, he found that which he had always desired. And thus he who had lacked the use of his feet and had come in a vehicle, left in good health using his feet completely and perfectly.

§30. Uir quidam pro delictis penitencia ductus, ferreis ligaminibus permultos annos circumcinctus, brachiis ferri rubigine miserabiliter corrosis, ad idem sanctuarium deuenit, peractaque ibidem nocte cum uigiliis et orationibus, diluculo ad fontem perrexit. Eo porro manus lauante atque brachia protensius infra fontem extendente, uise sunt sibi due manus delicate a lacertis suis uincula dissoluere. Quis, fratres, tum ibi uirginem presentem dubitat? Uir profecto ab ecclesia ad fontem exiens ligatus, a fonte uero ad ecclesiam rediens dissolutus. Gratulando Deo et martyri sue, pro signo eadem uincula ibidem suspendit. Que multis annorum lustris illic pendere uisa sunt. Perpendite uiri, perpendite mulieres, quam uenerabiliter et quam reuerende hec uirgo domini et martyr ab omnibus est excolenda, que tam patenter ad se clamantibus subuenit.

§30. A certain man, guided by repentance for worldly pleasures, had been fettered by iron shackles for many years and his arms had been wretchedly consumed by iron rust; he came to that consecrated ground and, having spent a night there with vigils and prayers, came to the well at dawn. Then having washed his hands and having stretched his arms out inside the well for a good while, it seemed to him that two hands gently shook off the fetters from his arms. Who, brothers, doubts that the virgin was there then? The man, having undoubtedly left the church for the well in fetters, truly returned from the well to the church unbound. Thanking God and his martyr, he hung up the same fetters there as a sign. These were seen hanging there for many cycles of years. Consider, men, consider, women, how venerably and how reverently this virgin and martyr of the lord is to be revered by all, she who so clearly aids those who call upon her.

§31. Nec est omittendum quid circa lymphaticum ad se uenientem, ad manus uix tractum, egerit. Quoniamquidem transactis uigiliis et ablutionibus in fontis fluctibus ita illum ab humore superfluo alleuauit, quod nichil nisi ad humane nature competit temperamentum remansit.

§31. Nor should that be omitted which she did for the man suffering from dropsy who came to her, dragged with difficulty to her hands. For as soon as the vigils and cleansings in the well's stream were completed, thus she lifted him up from his superfluous moisture, so that nothing remained apart from such as is adequate for the equilibrium of human nature.

§32. Epilencius equidem nichilominus manum martyris sensit. Ductus namque ex more ad basilicam, ibi noctem uigilando et orando peregit. Mirabiliter ei contigit, passio namque bis eum inuasit, sed in utraque uice nil preualuit. In crepusculo etenim sibi epilentiam adesse sensit atque in templum festinanter cucurrit. Inuocato uero nomine domini et martyris a presbiteris super eum, confestim malum, quod incoauerat, eum dereliquit. Alia die diluculo, morbo in eum grassante, in fontem proiectus est et de reliquo numquam eum agressus est.

§32. Indeed, an epileptic likewise felt the hand of the martyr. For, having been brought as usual to the shrine, he spent a night there in vigil and prayer. Wondrously did it befall him, for the fit attacked him twice, but on each occasion it had no effect. And indeed at dusk he felt the epilepsy come to him and hurriedly ran into the church. Truly, after the priests had invoked the name of God and of the martyr over him, that sickness which had started immediately left him. On another day at dawn, the illness swelling up in him, he was thrown into the well, and for the rest of his days it never attacked him again.

§33. Similiter, duo pueri fratres, eadem infirmitate eos inuadente, in fonte proiecti omnino sanati sunt. Sed et alii huiusmodi multi et innumerabiles.

§33. Similarly, two young brothers, when the same illness was attacking them, were thrown into the well and were completely cured. And many others, too numerous to count, were also cured in this way.

§34. Asserant namque uirginem hanc egritudinem uirtute meritorum suorum maxime delere, quamuis et alias abstergat. Calamitosior enim nulla est quam hec, que sensum perdit, cor corrodit, animam pene euomit, cerebrum discutit, linguam comedit, spumat, stridet, membra aduncat, se totam discerpit. Et quia sic est, maxime ad hanc curandum intendit.

§34. For they affirm that the virgin by the power of her merits expunges this illness most of all, although she also removes others. For no illness is more disastrous than that which destroys the mind, wastes away the heart, almost spews out the soul, shakes apart the mind, eats the tongue, foams, grinds, crooks limbs, mangles all of itself. And because it is so, the virgin focuses most of all on curing this.

§35. Mulier etiam quedam puerum quendam filium suum, mutum a natiuitate, ad memoriam beate martiris secum attulit. Que celebratis rite solemnibus uigiliarum, ubi eum fonte perfudit et aquam in os misit, filium suum uerba recta promentem et uestes rogantem audiuit. Quo uiso, astantes Deum et martirem glorificantes mirantur et matri congratulantur.

§35. Truly, a certain woman brought one of her young sons, who had been mute from birth, with her to the shrine of the blessed martyr. After the ceremonies of the vigils had been celebrated in the proper manner, when she submerged him in the well, and put water in his mouth, she heard her son uttering proper words and asking for his clothes. After this had been observed, those nearby marvelled, honouring God and the martyr, and congratulated the mother.

§36. Alia quoque uice uenientes quidam consotiatii iuuenes contracti una in fontem descenderunt, sed uni tantum, quia firmitus confisus est, salus attributa est. Hoc quidem descenso membris suis se distendentibus strepitus tam horribilis ab eo editus est, ut iuxta uel procul positorum hunc audientium aures tinnirent. Uirtus enim domini, cum a se precibus sanctorum exiit, nequaquam latere nouit.

§36. At another time as well, some crippled young male companions came and went down together into the well, but good health was granted to only one, because he believed more steadfastly. Indeed, when he went down into the water and his limbs stretched themselves out, such a shocking cry was brought forth by him that the ears of those hearing him rang, whether they were situated near or far. For the power of the Lord, when it has come out from him by the prayers of the saints, cannot be hidden at all.

§37. Quidam preterea puer membra sua sibi deputans inania, quia erant obmorta. Uirginis largitatem inolitam statim adeptus est. Ipsa namque precibus naturalem ei membrorum omnium redintegrauit statum.

§37. A certain boy, moreover, thought his limbs were useless to him, for they were not functioning. He gained at once the virgin's customary generosity. For she with prayers restored to him the natural state of all his limbs.

§38. Quidam insuper cecus natus in tabernaculo martyris ritu celebrato ad fontem abiit, et lauit, et uidit, et gracias egit.

§38. In addition to this, a certain man born blind went out to the well after the ceremony had been carried out in the martyr's dwelling, and he washed, and he saw, and he gave thanks.

§39. Pueri necnon duo, calculo laborantes, uirginem petentes, digestionem naturalem consecuti sunt. Quorum alter priuatus ibidem egritudine, continuo debriatus est muse prophecie carismate.

§39. Two boys as well, afflicted by kidney-stones, sought the virgin, and gained normal digestion. One of them, spared from illness there, was immediately steeped in the spiritual gift of the muse of prophecy.

§40. Ad modum horum plerique uermibus usque in medullas corrosi, opem uirginis cognouere, enimuero extinctis uermiculis sani repatriauere.

§40. Like these people, many who had been eaten away into their innermost parts by worms became acquainted with the virgin's help and indeed, the worms having been killed, they returned home in good health.

§41. Nonnulli mentis inopes, imundis spiritibus uexati, dentibus dissecantes, queque uana profantes, in uinculis uix adducti, domum inde remeare plenaria seipsos regentes ratione.

§41. Some, deficient of mind, were afflicted by unclean spirits, cutting with their teeth, saying empty things, and could scarcely be brought there in shackles. They returned home from that place, in complete control of their reason.

§42. Frequenter quoque febricitantes ad eius gratuitam pietatem excubantes, sacri fontis fomento a febribus cuiuscumque generis eruit.

§42. Frequently as well, she delivers feverish people, who keep vigil for her freely-given compassion, from fevers of whatever kind by the remedy of the holy well.

§43. Multociensque hec uirgo benignissima ydropicos contemperat, paraliticos reformat, podagricos reparat, melancolicos curat. Nec minus sciasim remouet, cancrum eradicat, disnoim eneruat, emorroim extirpat. Quinetiam tussim obstinatam excludit, uentris tortiones et fluxiones repellit, menstrua obstrusa sterilitatis dissoluit, sanguinem superfluum et immoderatum obstruit.

§43. And this most kind virgin often soothes those suffering from dropsy, heals paralytics, restores those suffering from gout, and cares for melancholic people. No less does she get rid of sciatica, eradicate canker, remove shortness of breath, and eliminate piles. Moreover, she stops a persistent cough, repels gripes and discharges of the stomach, she opens up the blocked menstruation of barrenness, and shuts off excess and superfluous blood.

§44. Quid enumerando pauca cuncta explicare tempto? Tot et tanta sunt uirginis beneficia, quod eorum infinitas numero explicari repudiat. Sed ut breuiter cuncta perstringam, omnibus languidis, morbidis, egris, qualicumque infirmitate detentis martyris huius suffragium erga Deum pura fide poscentibus, pie et benignissime atque omni dilatione procul remota extimplo subuenit, atque eos sensibus ac uiribus utriusque hominis ad plenum inuestit.

§44. To what end do I try to explain everything in summing up a few things? So many and so great are the gifts of the virgin that their infinity refuses to be explained in quantity. But so that I should describe all briefly, she brings immediate relief dutifully and most kindly, and without any delay, to all the ill, the sick, the distressed, those held back by whatever kind of infirmity, who plead for that martyr's intercession with God with pure faith, and she invests them fully with the senses and faculties of both types of person.

§45. Nec Lethee obliuionis silentio recondendum, quod post expulsionem Francorum a tota Uenedocia, de fonte eiusdem uirginis constat factum. Fons siquidem martyris trium dierum spacio lacteo liquore emanare uisus est. Uerum primo illorum dierum diluculo, colorem lactis uerum et saporem seruat. Sacerdos namque a matutinis, in ecclesia martyris eiusdem ipsi fontis preminenti cominus, rite celebratis, summo mane egrediens, et tale quid comperiens, portando secum lagenam acurrit uelociter, et impletam accurrate custodiuit ac diligenter. Denuo accelerans cum spongia ut hanc etiam impleret, liquor iam nitorem aliquantulum diminuerat. Sic per tres dies paulatim lactei coloris cum sapore detrimentum paciens, habitum priorem obtinuit. Et ne quis existimet, uentorum turbine aut pluuiarum intemperie hoc accidisse, sciat non breue tempus ante et post etiam tunc absque ulla elementorum commotione fuisse. Et nullatenus inde debet orriri hesitatio uel dubium, quia et hoc sepius uenisse ab indigenis est auditum. Liquore quidem a presbitero recepto infirmis ubique transmissio et potatio, opem, quam

§45. Nor should it be concealed in the silence of Lethe's oblivion that, after the expulsion of the Normans from all Gwynedd, a fact is known concerning the same virgin's well. Truly, the well of the martyr, for a period of three days, seemed to flow with a milk-like liquid. Moreover, at dawn on the first of those days, it preserves the true colour and taste of milk. For a priest went out very early from matins in the church of the same martyr, near to the very projecting part of the well, after they had been duly celebrated, and discovered such a thing. Carrying a bottle with him, he ran up quickly and, having filled it, guarded it attentively and carefully. Afterwards, rushing with a sponge so that he might also fill that, the liquid had now lost a little brightness. Thus for three days, little by little, undergoing a decrease in its milky colour and taste, it gained its former state. And in case anyone should think that this happened due to the disturbance of winds or by excess of rain, let him know that for no short time before and even after that time it had been free from the disturbance of the elements. And by no means should uncertainty or doubt arise from that,

uirgo agere consuevit, etiam hos sanando illis prestitit. Et bene fons illius lacteus atque dulcis saporis apparuit, que candida Wenefrida prenominata, se blandam, lenem, mansuetam, mellitam, piam, benignam, propiciam, dulcem, misericordem interpellantibus, se ostendit.

because it has been heard from the locals that even this came about rather frequently. Truly, after the liquid had been acquired by the priest, and given to and drunk by the sick everywhere, it provided the help, which the virgin was wont to perform, to them for healing even those. And indeed that well of hers seemed to be milky and of sweet taste, she who, called white Winefride, has shown herself to be pleasing, gentle, mild, delightful as honey, pious, kind, well disposed, sweet, and merciful to those calling to her.

§46. Uilipendendum nullomodo est, quod adhuc per hanc uirginem circa puellulam actum est. Uesperacente quadam die, homo cadauer puelle exanime secum ad martyris umbraculum baiulauit, ut sepeliretur. Uidens autem sacerdos noctem superuenire humationem illius usque in mane distulit. Corpus frigore letali rigidum sudario obuolutum, institis obsitum relinquens infra ecclesiam ualuasque firmiter obserans. Intrans uero presbiter ecclesiam summo diluculo ad celebrandas uigilias ex more, puellam iam uiuentem, ab institis et sudario penitus dissolutam, clunibus et palmis pre debilitate adhuc super aream repentem, omni mortis signo carentem et se hospicium et cibum rogantem inuenit. Et gratanter Deo et martyri gracias reddidit. Quid mirum si exanimis ad uitam prece sua reuocat, que defuncta denuo reuixerat?

§46. In no way should that be dismissed which was also carried out through this virgin for a little girl. On a certain day, towards evening, a man brought the body of a lifeless girl with him to the martyr's tabernacle, so that she should be buried. But the priest, seeing that night was falling, delayed her burial until morning. He left the body, which was rigid with the cold of death, wrapped in a cloth and covered with swaddling-bands, inside the church, and locked the doors securely. Truly, when the priest entered the church at the very break of day to celebrate vigils as usual, he found the girl now alive, set completely free from the swaddling-bands and cloth: she was still crawling over the floor with her haunches and palms because of her weakness, lacking any sign of death and asking for shelter and food for herself. Joyfully he gave thanks to God and the martyr. What wonder is it if she calls the dead back to life with her prayer, she who having died had lived again anew?

§47. Memorie est reuocandum, quod ad sceleratorum correptionem supra omisimus. Duo profecto clerici in diuersis temporibus infra uirginis mapalia sacrilegium perpetraverunt. Quorum alter manulem librum auferens, statim cum furto deprehensus est, et quia dignus est operarius mercede sua, uerberibus multatus est. Reliquus uero missalem codicem furans, omnibusque ubique pro precio offerens, neminem reperit qui secum mutaret. Denique quidem nutu Dei retro ueniens, et sacrilegium ulterius abscondere non preualens, quia promeruit suspensus fuit.

§47. That should be recalled in memory which we left out above regarding the chastisement of the wicked. Without doubt, two clerics at different times perpetrated a profane act within the virgin's tabernacle. One of them stole a Manual, and was caught red-handed. And because the worker is worthy of his reward, he was punished with lashes. But the second one, stealing a Missal and offering it to everyone all over for money, did not find anyone who would buy it from him. Finally, indeed, he came back by the power of God, and, no longer being able to hide the sacrilege, he was hanged because he deserved it.

§48. Qui facit mirabilia solus hec miracula propter uirginem et martyrem suam Wenefredam uel ad remedium indigentium uel ad castigationem impiorum non cessat operari Deus, qui in trinitate perfecta uiuit et regnat unus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Explicit passio sancte Wenefrede uirginis et martiris.

§48 God, who alone makes miraculous things, does not cease from carrying out these miracles for the sake of his virgin and martyr Winefride whether to cure the locals or to punish the ungodly. He who in perfect Trinity lives and reigns as one for all time. Amen.

Here ends the Passion of Saint Winefride, virgin and martyr.