

The Wallachian Gold-Washers

*Unlocking the Golden Past
of the Rudari Woodworkers*

Julietta Rotaru & David Gaunt



The Wallachian Gold-Washers

Roma History and Culture

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Notes on the Use of Terminology

In general, we use English terms for describing the Romanian historical-cultural contexts. However, there are certain Romanian terms that have no English language equivalent, such as: *rob* slave, *vătaf* headman; *dajdea* tax, *sălaşe* families. As is standard in Romani Studies, we have used the ethnonyms *Țigani* (*Țigan*, pl. *Țigani*)/Gypsies/Roma (Rom, pl. Roma) interchangeably, depending on the context. We have observed the Romanian orthography and the Romanian plural for the names of the ethnic groups: *Lingurari*, *Rudari*, *Rumâni*, *Țigani*, *Zlătari*. In the present work, the authors had to deal with the issue of multiple spellings of ethnonyms. One such issue is that of an ethnic group related to the *Rudari* but who live in Romania's neighbouring countries, that is the appellation *Băieși*, *Boyash*, *Bayash* with other variations¹, which has been uniformized as *Boyash*², to denote the *Rudari* living outside Romania, especially in Hungary, Bulgaria, Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia. Inside Romania, we find variations connected with historical developments. We find the similar term in older Romanian documents in the forms of *băiaș*, which usually meant 'worker in a public bath', but could also mean a 'miner', and *băieș*, pl. *băieși* which originally referred to 'worker in a mine, *baia*', that is a miner.

We distinguish between the use of ethnonyms as designations of occupations and the names of ethnic groups. Thus, *zlătar* is used for metallurgist or goldsmith while *Zlătari* indicates a community, *băiaș*/*băieș* miners in contrast to *Băieș* as community. These editorial principles have been applied also on the quotations translated from Romanian or other languages into English.

The use of italics/slanted, among other conventional uses, marks the terms which are not very frequent in the text, such as *Coritari*, *Lăieși*, *Pădureni*, etc.

¹ For details on the names of groups of *Băieși*, see Sikimić 2005: 250–251.

² Cf. the standard reference on the subject, Sorescu-Marinković et al 2021.

Abbreviations

ANIC	Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale, Bucharest
BAR	Biblioteca Academiei Române, Bucharest
<i>Călători străini</i>	Călători străini despre Țările Române
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum III
DIR A	Documente privind istoria României. A. Moldova
DIR B	Documente privind istoria României. B. Țara Românească
DLR	Dicționarul limbii române
DRH A	Documenta Romaniae Historica. A. Moldova
DRH B	Documenta Romaniae Historica. B. Țara Românească
DRH C	Documenta Romaniae Historica. C. Transilvania
DRA	Documente privind relațiile agrare în veacul al XVIII
Hurmuzaki	Documente privitoare la Istoria românilor, Colecția Hurmuzaki
<i>Buda Lexicon</i>	Lexicon romanescu-latinescu-ungurescu-nemcescu
MDG	Marele Dicționar Geografic

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Illustration cover: “View of the Aluta” watercolour nr. 21, Mayer 1810 (reproduced from the copy of the Library of the Romanian Academy AG V 306)

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Scope and Limits of the Study

The Romanian-speaking Rudari, sometimes referred to as “Gypsified Romanians”, “old Romanians” or “Romanianised Gypsies” (Weigand 1897, 1908: 174), “other Gypsies” (Block 1938: 108, Bengelstorf 2009), are a population who have traditionally inhabited the Balkan area and much of Central Europe. Generally, they are known for insisting that they are not Romani/Gypsies, that they do not know the Romani language, and they make a living out of carving wooden household items. However, their style of living is similar to that of the Roma and are commonly treated in the same way.¹

For the reconstruction of the history of the Rudari, disparate sources have been gathered, confronted, and interpreted. Historically, the largest area inhabited by Rudari included the entire Balkan area and Central European parts. Excluded from this study are recent migrations from Romania to neighbouring countries (Ukraine and Georgia)² and other parts of the world, notably Latin and North America in the early twentieth century.³ The transnational community of contemporary migrants in Western Europe is also excluded. Their identity has been fragmented in the countries of destination. For “[e]ven when representatives of these communities in emigration are trying to create virtual community unions [...] they remain ultimately limited within the countries of origin” (Marushiakova and Popov 2021). Knowing the past of their countries of origin is now more important than ever.

Today the Rudari outside Romania are much better studied than those in Romania, and this is the drive behind our research on the past of the Rudari in what is assumed to be their country of origin. In so doing, we had to restrict our research to the Rudari from Romania. Thus, for instance in Chapter 4 “Different Names in Different Times”, the various names with which they were designated as a collective (*aurar*, *zlătar*, *rudar*, *băieș*, and *lingurar*) are described, but only in this region. The ethnonymic variations and cultural diversities of Rudari outside the Romanian borders have already been adequately addressed, and we take it as an axiom in our endeavour.

1 Viorel Achim (2004a: 326) illustrates with several cases that the Rudari coined as nomads were deported along with Gypsies to Transnistria in 1942.

2 See Marushiakova and Popov 2021.

3 See Matt Salo and Sheila Salo 2021.

The more varied the names of the Rudari communities outside Romania – *cara-vlahi, rudari, băieși, lingurari, fusari, coritari, țigani, rumâni, țigani, români*⁴ – the more diverse the characteristics of each subgroup. (Sorescu-Marinković 2011)

So far, the mapping of their habitation has been only partially established, on locality-lists and maps, summarized, from the western periphery to the center: for Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, one should refer to Isidor Ieșan (1906) and Teodor Filipescu (1906), currently updated by the team of the linguistic data collection project of the Institute for Balkan Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade; for Hungary and Transylvania, see Rákóczy Sámuel (Sámuel 1907), who draws on the eighteenth century lists of Transylvanian gold-washer Gypsies⁵ and on the 1894 conscription of the Gypsies⁶; for Bulgaria see now Marushiakova and Popov 2021; for Romania, in depth research has been mapped by Ion Chelcea, from 1929 to 1946 in two regions, in upland Walachia, Muscel County (36 localities) and in Țara Oltului in Transylvania, and by 1960s in the Oltenia region, on the Olt valley to its mouth. In order to facilitate an understanding of the continuity of living in the area, as well as to usher in a new field research in the region, we have reproduced in our literature review chapter the list of the localities investigated by Chelcea, complemented with statistical data from other sources. Ion Calotă provides a list of the localities in which he conducted his linguistic investigations: in Oltenia (24 localities in Dolj, Gorj, Mehedinți, Olt, Vâlcea Counties) and two localities from outside Oltenia (in Sibiu and Argeș County, respectively). The map of the localities inhabited by the Rudari in Romania could be completed and updated with the addition of a few other names, the studies of which will be further examined, again in the literature review section of the present volume (Benga 2016, Costescu 2013, 2015, Kovalesik 2007, Preda 2021). Yet a mapping endeavor in Romania, similar to those achieved for ex-Yugoslavia and Hungary, was until now a desideratum.

This volume has achieved to map most of Wallachia's Rudar settlements in the first half of nineteenth century by analysing the 1838 Census of population.⁷ This study shows not only the geographic concentration of Rudar settlements, but also the “nomadism of woodworking” (Chelcea 1944: 56). At the same time, it shows that those Rudari working with wood coexisted with

4 An update list of comprehensive names of Rudari is in Marushiakova and Popov 2021.

5 They are nowadays edited by Zsupos 1985–1988 and Zsupos 1996.

6 A Magyarországon 1893 január 31-én végrehajtott. Czigányösszeírás eredményei. / Ergebnisse der in Ungarn am 31. Jänner 1893 durchgeführten. Zigeuner-Conscription. 1895.

7 For this source and about MapRom database see Chapter 1 and Gaunt and Rotaru 2021. See maps 1 to 5.

Rudari who extracted, by washing or panning, gold dust from the sand of riverbanks. It is no coincidence that the auriferous basins known since antiquity also compose the map of the habitats of the gold-washers, called Aurari, Zlătari and Rudari in Wallachia; Aurari, Zlătari and Lingurari in Moldavia; Gypsies, Băieși and Lingurari in Transylvania, and Rudari Gypsies in Banat. One link to the past is the continuity of the gold washing as the main occupation of certain groups in the region. We have examined in Chapter 3, “The Time and Space of the Gold-Washers” a series of observations made by travellers and officials that reveal a continuity of the occupation of gold-panning from the riverbeds in the Romanian Principalities.

The origins of the Rudari are disputed. The very name *rudar* is of Slavic origin meaning ‘miner’, and although no one is a miner or prospector any longer, it alludes to metal extraction. The ethnicity is very fluid and in Romanian history, the Rudari had different names which nevertheless overlapped. They are recorded in documents under the names: *aurar*, *zlătar*, *rudar* in Wallachia and *lingurar* and *rudar* in Moldavia, and *băiaș/băieș*. These naming practices will be explained in Chapter 4. Their names are lexical derivatives taken from the vocabulary of their occupation in extracting precious metals or working with wood.

For centuries the Rudari were in conflict with Cozia Monastery, situated on the River Olt, and claimed that they were not *țigani* of the monastery and should not pay taxes, just like any other *rob* (slave) in the Principalities. We have analysed in Chapter 5 the semantical evolution of the terms *rob* generally translated in English as ‘slave’, *țigan* corresponding to English ‘Gypsy’, *celiad* and *sălaș* meaning ‘household’.

Chapter 6 investigates archival records from the Cozia Monastery which reveal that the Rudari were donated in 1388 by the Wallachian ruler as *Țigan* to the newly founded monastery located on the Olt valley. The donation mentions 300 households/families and gives no further details. Later documents reveal that the original donation was of gold-washers known by the sixteenth century as Rudari. The Rudari were thus placed under the administration of Cozia Monastery, which had a privileged status in the Wallachian state. It was implausible that the monastery could house 1200 people. The Rudari continued to live along the auriferous rivers, while remaining subordinate to the monastery, the authority of which they continuously contested. Although the monastery claimed ownership over “all” the gold-washers, in practice, it was hardly attainable. For more than a century the charts continued to count 300 households, notwithstanding the demographic growth and the possible successive donations to the monastery. The Rudari always escaped being counted by either the Cozia Monastery or the Central Administration. Several

statistics that were ordered offer a somewhat unconvincing count: 151 families in 1774; 870 individuals in 1811, and 776 individuals in 1829. In 1838 there are 41 households registered as taxpayers to Cozia and the expression *birnic cozian* (taxpayer to Cozia) appears in several cases (Poienile, Slam-Râmnic County), while a couple of Rudari were registered as taxpayers to Govora and Colțea Monasteries.

The Rudari had to collect gold for the State Treasury and hand it over to the Police Chief Commander. For this supply of gold, they were paid in coin by the Treasury. Cozia Monastery was their administrator and with time the Rudari themselves had the right to appoint a *vătaf*, a head representative chosen from among them, responsible for the observance of order. Later on, Cozia demanded the tax which was due by any *țigan* and sometimes to perform work for the benefit of the monastery. This tax was contested for many centuries by the Rudari who insisted they were not *țigani* of the Monastery but instead had an obligation to deliver their gold to the Crown. Often Cozia appealed to the princes, who usually issued a renewed confirmation of the tax collection, but with the specification that the Monastery should not ask them to perform work like the other *rob* slaves. This was perceived by the Rudari as a double taxation, by the State Treasury and by the monastery, and consequently, perpetuated the dispute between the monastery and the gold-washers. There were even recorded protests in the centre of Bucharest.

In the heroic-comic epic *Țiganiada* written by philologist and historian Ion Budai-Deleanu (1760–1820), the gold-washers are clearly distinguished as the most prestigious among the Gypsy groups.⁸ Echoes of the famous protests can be gleaned from passages like the following: “The glorious mob that is now coming; these are (called in pure language)⁹ *Aurari*, the most special tribe of all Gypsies. They don’t even care about the voivode. When it rains in the mountains and they can wash the gold out of the water through the valleys, they do so. In some places they are called *băieși*, from *baia*, that is *aurărie*, where gold is dug from the ground” (Budai-Deleanu 1974: I, 72–76).

This conflict with Cozia Monastery and their non-recognition of the status of *țigan* made the Rudari appear as an ethnic community set apart from the Gypsy people. Chapter 7 examines the historical events of the long eighteenth century in which Wallachia was occupied several times by Austrian and Russian troops. Given that slavery was abolished in these countries, the Rudari

8 Besides the other six: sieve-makers (*Cûrari*), jewel makers (*Argintari*), cauldron makers (*Căldărari*), blacksmiths, *Lingurari* and *Lăieși*.

9 Ion Budai-Deleanu was adept of the language purification from Slavic elements and usage of Latin-based words.

were free. Their only obligation was to deliver gold to the Imperial Treasury along with the tax which previously was paid to Cozia. This experience of freedom contributed to strengthening their collective self-identification, and dis-identification with their status as *rob* slaves.

Romanian studies about the Rudari often refer to Transylvania as their place of origin, from whence they spread to Hungary, Bosnia, Croatia, and Romanian Principalities, then further afield to Bulgaria, Serbia, etc (Weigand 1980: 175, Calotă 1997: 47, Saramandu 1997). We have attempted to identify a process of historical migration of the Rudari population. At the beginning of the twentieth century, they practiced seasonal migration, moving inside regions with auriferous rivers and forested areas at the foot of the Carpathian Mountains (Chelcea 1944). Their income was sourced from wood, while settling outside forested river valleys would have been difficult, if not impossible. Still, gold prospectors were searching for new places in Transylvania and in Banat. Those who turned to woodworking moved to forested areas elsewhere, but which were closer to market towns where they could sell their products.

Considerable out-migration and relocation of Rudari came during the Austrian occupation of Oltenia in the early eighteenth century. Comparing the amount of gold delivered to the Treasury, we can see a reduction by half during 1718–1721. Part of this reduction probably came from the abandonment of gold-washing as well as emigration. One destination was Banat, where the Austrians encouraged them to settle.

Thus, journeys in small groups from Wallachia were, until the end of the nineteenth century, in order to search for new livelihoods. Other destinations included Transylvania, Moldavia¹⁰ and the south of Danube. Often, after many years, they returned to Wallachia; trends we can see by referring to their onomastics recorded in MapRom Database: Moldoveanu, Turcitu, etc.

By 1838, we find most of the Rudari living in the sub-Carpathian region, along rivers and forests, which enabled combining gold-panning with wood working. Importantly, by 1838 some still belonged to Cozia Monastery, and half were State Gypsies. Very few Rudari belonged to boyars, and in those cases their Rudar heritage was evident only from nicknames like Rudaru or Zlătaru.

Nowadays no one knows the gold-washing occupation anymore; few recollect such a past. Not only that, but very few still produce wooden household items. The Rudari no longer have a specific occupation, they generally live in impoverished conditions and are prone to migrate to Western countries. Their history has become locked.

10 See doc. nr. 32 in the Appendix, dated 1792, issued in Moldavian chancellery.

Literature Review

As already indicated, those Rudari living outside the Romanian borders were and are better researched than those living in Romania. This situation is clear from a recently published handbook of Boyash studies (Sorescu-Marinković and Kahl 2021). The volume contains only three articles out of eighteen that deal with the Romanian Rudari/Băieși. However, many travellers and administrators observed gold-washers from Danubian Principalities, which will be referred to in Chapter 2. This chapter presents modern and critical research concerning the Rudari in the Danubian Principalities.

1.1 The Linguists

1.1.1 *While Mapping the Daco-Romanian Dialects: Gustav Weigand*

The first study on the language of any Rudar community came as a bi-product of mapping the Daco-Romanian¹ language. The first Atlas² of the geographic distribution of dialects was worked out by Leipzig professor Gustav Weigand, a member of the Romanian Academy. Starting in 1883 he visited Romania every year for three months of data collection (Rădulescu-Codin 1900: II). He established the Institute of Romanian Language at Leipzig University that amounted to holding seminars in which texts on various dialects were read and interpreted with students and invited guest researchers and professors. The outcomes of these seminars were published in a series of annual reports of which two addressed the subject of the Rudari, the fourth volume (Weigand 1897) and the fourteenth (Weigand 1908).

In 1897, as a part of his research on the dialects of the “Hungarian Romanians” (“der Dialekte ungarländischen Rumänen”), Weigand visited parts of Hungary bordering the Banat region and western areas of Transylvania, a region delimited by the Criș (in Hungarian Körös) rivers and south of Mureș (in Hungarian Maros). He therefore called this dialect “Körös- und Marosch- Dialekte” (Weigand 1897: 250–336). Weigand divided the dialect into three regional

1 Romanian is named Daco-Romanian in comparative linguistics and dialectology. As will be further shown, Weigand knew several other varieties of Romanian.

2 *Linguistischer Atlas des Dacoromanischen Sprachgebietes*. Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1898–1909.

groups: *Moți* or *Mocani*, *Băieși* and *Pădureni*. In the first chapter, he listed the phonetic variations, in the next three, he briefly introduced the three groups, and in the next chapter he described comparatively the morphology of the speeches (*grai*) spoken by the three groups and the dialect spoken in Banat (Weigand wrote a separate monograph on that³). The volume contains 55 sample texts that he collected and ten more collected by a student. He added a glossary of spurious words collected mainly by a schoolteacher which, interestingly, records the entry *auresk* (with an unusual agent termination) for gold-washer, *băieș*.

Weigand distinguished two kinds of *băieși*, the first being miners in the region of Abrud and Baia Mare, Romanians or Germans. They speak an “inconsistent language like any uplander”. The technical mining words are loanwords from German, yet some are common to the so-called “bufani” who lived in the Banat. The second type of *băieși* was uncovered by Weigand in the village of Großpold (Apoldul de Sus, Sibiu County), where he studied the speech of some twenty families of basket weavers. To the same *băieși* category belonged the 119 families of woodworkers living in villages situated in present-day Alba County. They are Câlnic, Gârbova, Rod, Jina (which currently has a residential quarter called Băieși). They spoke Romanian and Weigand considered them to be Romanianised Gypsies. There are linguistic differences between the groups, and in general, their way of speaking is even more different from than the rest of the Romanians. “They speak loudly, every syllable is broken off and clear”, the dentals d, t, n, became palatals: /dʒ/ /tʃ/ /ɲ/. Weigand stated that they were Gypsies who had forgotten their origins, arguing: “their type is an irrefutable proof, many even wear their shining deep-black hair flowing down in long loaves, as well they know that their ancestors were gold-washers (*aurari*, *băieși*), from which they inherited the name.” Because of the decline of gold panning in riverbeds, they turned to other professions for their livelihood. Some of them, as those from Aranyos[szék], nowadays part of the Alba and Cluj Counties, had become sedentary and married within the Romanian community.

Another article by Weigand dealing with the Rudari is not a linguistic work, but rather a survey of recent discoveries of other researchers: 1) that by Teodor Filipescu concerning *Gunusari* (Aromanians) communicated in 1902⁴, and of Romanian-speaking settlements in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1906 (Filipescu 1906), and 2) that of Karl Ludwig Patsch⁵ of *Balije*, a transmigrant sheep-herding

3 *Der Banater Dialekt*, Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1896.

4 *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 1902, XIV 297–301.

5 *Bosnian Post* 279/1902.

tribe who lived in Herzegovina in winter and on the mountains south-west of Sarajevo in summer. Weigand's article "Rumänen und Aromunen in Bosnien" (Weigand 1908) reviewed these works, and he added his own ethnographic observations. His main criticism was that the ethnic groups identified by Filipescu and Patsch were not in fact ethnic Romanians.

We will here deal only with the subject of Rudari, identified in Filipescu's works as *Karavlasi*, 'Black Vlachs/Romanians'. Weigand points out that in Serbia *Karavlasi* was understood to mean "Romanians from Wallachia", while in Bosnia "Romanian-speaking Gypsies." This was to distinguish them from other Bosnian Gypsies who were Muslim, Catholic, Orthodox but not Romanian-speakers. Weigand knew of only a few villages in north-eastern Bosnia with such Romanian-speaking Gypsies. Weigand argued that these Rudari were Gypsies based on his physiological-racial profiling as "ausgesprochensten Zigeunertypus" (Weigand 1908: 174). To prove the validity of this, he went to a fair in Dolnja Tuzla, where he met a group of *Karavlasi* musicians from Kamenice and Purković, localities listed by Filipescu. He selected a man, whom he interviewed for several hours, and who uttered /tʃeʃine/ for 'piepten' (comb), as would have been spoken in Transylvania. Based on this he concluded:

Also, the type of the male has nothing [similar] with the Romanian, but rather to be [similar] to that of the Rudari as [considered] as a separate type. The apathy of his nature reminds me greatly of the Rudari.⁶(1908: 175)

Weigand further speculated that the *Karavlasi* could be gold-washers who then turned to wood-working in the course of the eighteenth century, moving to southern Transylvania, where they were "still called Băieși and Rudari"⁷, and later they moved on to Romania and Serbia, from where some came to Bosnia. Weigand uses interchangeably the terms Băieși, Rudari, Lingurari.

6 In the original: "Auch der Typus des Mannes hatte nichts von dem rumanischen, sondern war ganz wie der der Rudari, auch die ganze Art zu sprechen, das Phlegma seines Wesens rief mir lebhaft die Rudari ins Gedächtnis".

7 Weigand refers to *Jahresbericht* IV: 288, which is the chapter on Băieși from his "Körös- und Marosch Dialekte", but nowhere is mentioned the Rudari appellation. He also refers to *Jahresbericht* IX: 151, containing his study on the Moldavian dialect with his travelogue in which he mentions the encounter in Petri village with one hundred and eighty Gypsy families and thirty Lingurari families "who are the same people as the Băieși". As expected for Moldavia, the Rudari appellation is missing.

1.1.2 *Further Mapping: Atlas of Romanian Language II, Emil Petrovici and Ion Gheție*

The Romanian Academy made a second *Atlas of Romanian Language* (ALR II) (Petrovici 1938). One part of the data collection concerned Romanian speakers in Yugoslavian Banat and Eastern Serbia. Weigand researched in 1937 the village of Čokešina, near the river Drina. The Yugoslavian official statistical data listed 400 individuals speaking Romanian here. They called themselves *Rumâni*, when asked if they are *Țigani*, and *Coritari* (< Serb. *kòrito* 'tub'). Their main occupation was carving wooden spoons, and a few were *diblárs* 'musicians' or farmers. The Serbs called them *Karavlaški Cigani* 'Black Wallachian Gypsies'. Petrovici selected a set of frequently used words from the basic vocabulary and established isoglosses based on the ALR II maps. He shows the inaccuracy of Weigand's theory about their origins in Transylvania based on the pronunciation of the word 'piepten' with the palatalization of the initial and median labial, which occurs in all sub-dialects in Romania. Further, Petrovici pointed to the Wallachian territory south-west of Muntenia and south-east of Oltenia as the place where the *Coritarii* were Romanianised before they departed to Serbia. His *terminus post quem* is based on the word *porumb* (maize) in *Coritari's* speech. Maize started to be cultivated in Wallachia at the end of the seventeenth century.⁸ Taking into consideration the time lapse for acclimatisation and spreading of maize cultivation and then the acculturation of the neologism, he believed the date of the *Coritari* departure would be the beginning of the eighteenth century. This dating is supported by what Petrovici claims to be archaic phonetic phenomena of the Muntenian and Oltenian speeches, such as: *e* being pronounced as diphthong /ɛa/ sau /ia/. However, Ion Gheție (Gheție 1968) showed that the diphthong /ɛa/ was reduced to *e* by the second part of the seventeenth century. The change can be found in sixteenth century in Wallachia, Moldavia, Northern Transylvania and Banat (Gheție and Mareș 1974: 311, table 1 Vocalism), and nowadays it is a process that has come to an end, with the diphthong preserved only in regional speech (Gheție 1968: 509). Ion Gheție was the pioneer of historical Romanian dialectology and knew contact languages, such as Hungarian.⁹ Based on his knowledge of historical grammar and of old Romanian literature, he refuted all of Petrovici's arguments to show the archaic character of the language spoken by *Coritari*. Gheție rejected all the phonetic phenomena which were considered by Petrovici as influences coming from Gypsy language, instead showing characteristics that they share with

8 It believed that it was introduced during the reign of Șerban Cantacuzion (1678–1688) (Tunuslii 1863: 157).

9 He is the author of a Romanian-Hungarian bidirectional dictionary.

other Daco-Romanian sub-dialects. In this way, he shattered the often-quoted certitude expressed by Petrovici (1938: 226) about *Coritari*: “Some thought they are Romanians. Weigand shattered for good this legend”.

1.1.3 *The First Description of a Dialect Spoken by Rudari in Romania: Ion Calotă*

Apart from the work of Weigand, who described the dialect of Băiași from certain Hungarian Romanian communities in Transylvania, as well as the works of Hungarian linguists, which include the language spoken by the Transylvanian Boyash, the language spoken by Rudari in any part of Wallachia – the region which gave the literary norm to the Romanian language, as like in the other historical province, Moldavia, was not documented until the Oltenian linguist Ion Calotă's work. He undertook to study the dialect of the Rudari from Oltenia region, at the suggestion of the polymath C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor¹⁰. This enterprise became a doctoral thesis with the title translated in English as “Rudarii of Oltenia, study of Romanian dialectology and linguistic geography” (1974, Romanian Academy). That work was published more than twenty years later in 1995 and the author did not have the possibility of updating his important work: “As far as we know, there are not anthropologic, somatic, serologic investigations on Rudari. Only recently, from the information which we have, the Commission for Ethnology of the Academy has planned to do investigations on the Rudari from Oltenia, in the theme “ethnic isolation” (*izolate etnice*)” (1995: 11).

Calotă's is the first description of a dialect spoken by Rudari in Romania. It came one century after Weigand's attempt to identify the dialect spoken by the Băieși in Transylvania. Calotă describes all aspects of the dialect: phonetics (p. 52–90), morphology and syntax (p. 100–128), lexicology (p. 129–149). He also has a small chapter on Onomastics (p. 150–152), of very limited value and dubious methodology:

Since the Rudari are an immigrant population in Oltenia, the toponyms weren't created by them. At their arrival in Oltenia, the Rudari have found the places already named by local population ... Not having been created by the Rudari, we have not registered the toponyms of the investigated localities (1995: 150).

10 As a consequence of his interest on Rudari, reflected in his pioneering work on the Gurban ceremony (1922), Nicolăescu-Plopșor established in 1966 the Center of History, Philology and Ethnography, which today continues as one of the Institutes of the Romanian Academy in Craiova, named after its founder, “C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor”. He set as a priority the study of the Rudari. In one of the communication series of the Center, I. Chelcea presented his later study on the Rudari on Danube valley, the region stretching from the lower course of the Olt river up to its mouth.

He collected information through local know-how and on archives¹¹. He also used the linguistic questionnaire developed in the Romanian Academy's project of *Atlas of Romanian Language II*, to which he added a special questionnaire with 1189 questions, as well as tape recordings. Calotă investigated 16 localities inside Oltenia and two outside Oltenia (Răşinari, near Sibiu in Transylvania, and Lereşti, in Argeş County, Muscel region). The localities are classified with the ethnic-occupational self-identification given by each community, namely, *corfari* and *albieri*, terms of which have already been described in the general introduction.

Calotă discovers three categories of Oltenian Rudari, according to their professionyms, thus: *albieri* (< Lat. *alvea*)¹² 'tub makers' or *lingurari* (< Lat. *lingula*) 'spoon makers' living along the river valleys from where they procure soft wood; *corfari* (cf. German *Korb*) 'basket makers, highlanders; and *rotari* (< Lat. *rota*) 'wheelwrights' or *cărari* 'cart-makers', who make carriages and sleighs. This last category is not present in Calotă's investigation, with wheelwright as an improbable occupation for the Rudari.¹³ Three decades after Calotă, Katalin Kovalcsik (2007) undertook fieldwork in Oltenia and Muntenia. She found four subgroups named after the products of their woodworking, thus: *rotari*, *corzeni*, and *bălăreţi* in Oltenia and *albieri* (in Muntenia). The last three are exonyms, with the interviewees not knowing the meaning of *corzeni*, and *bălăreţi*, while *rotari* is an endonym. Kovalcsik observed that the traditional occupation of the latter is wheelmaking. Since *rotari* is an endonym, it might be possible that wheel making has survived only as a memory for those interviewed. Also, taking into consideration the regionalisms and the phonetic variations of the vocabulary for woodworking, we are in a dead-end regarding research on the origins of the Rudari using linguistic methodology.

Sometimes Calotă makes note of the number of families and/or individuals in each investigated locality, providing the reader with their actual occupations and brief ethnographic data. Then he lists the informants from each place. Importantly, in the high-land village Băbeni, Vâlcea County, Calotă interviewed a family surnamed 'Tursitu' (spelling for Turcitu, roughly translated as 'Turk'). He had previously interviewed this family, then living on the Ada Kaleh, a small island in the middle of the Danube River. Another important

11 At one-point (1995: 36), Calotă mentions statistics from the previous administrative division "Raion Filiaşi" from 1967.

12 This and the following three etymologies are added by the authors of this volume, all taken from etymological dictionaries.

13 B.P. Haşdeu Questionnaire BAR, Mss. Rom. 3437, vol. I, BAR, Mss. Rom. 3438, vol. II and ANIC, fond Manuscrise, inv. 1492.

study of Calotă exemplifies the Rudari returning from Bulgaria, which helped to explain the import of the Gurban ritual (1968).¹⁴

Calotă gives information on the Rudari in the following villages: seven from Vâlcea County (upland Oltenia, bordering on Transylvania with some places like Vaideeni, having *Ungureni* population from across the Carpathian Mountains), two from Gorj County (bordering the Banat), and five from inner Oltenia. He supplies phonetic transcriptions of texts from nine localities, of which four are from inner Oltenia. The selection of the localities he visited and of the texts to be published seem to have been dictated by this methodology:

The texts reflect the older image of the dialects of the Rudari from Oltenia, in which the Transylvanian elements transported to Oltenia are better represented (Calotă 1995).

Finally, Calotă reproduces maps from the *Atlas of Romanian Language II* which illustrate the phonetic, morphological and lexical peculiarities of the samples chosen to fit his methodology. These peculiarities are shared with a region identified in Calotă's late article (1993: 67–71) as the south-east of the Crişana region, north-eastern Banat, and south-western Transylvania. Dialects here shared the same peculiarities with the transitional sub-dialect of Crişana and Banat. From the outset Calotă states that the Rudari, who know no language other than Romanian, came from the region identified by him in his PhD dissertation. Calotă analyses a specific lexical aspect of the dialect, namely the synonymy. He illustrates his study with linguistic material made for 19 terms with bi- or multiple synonyms. Calotă assumes the primacy of terms from the trans-Carpathian dialect, and assumes synonyms from the contact Oltenian dialect to be borrowings. This assumption is based on his belief in the Transylvanian origins of the Rudari. One of the synonymic series enumerated is that of 'basket', since weaving baskets from twigs and branches was the livelihood *par excellence* of the so-called *corfar* Rudari. This group of synonyms is very rich denoting the various types of baskets designed (round, oval, rectangular) for specific purposes: for carrying food, for carrying logs etc. The majority of the synonyms have been borrowed from the contact dialects outside the Carpathian region, for instance the Oltenian dialect. But use of the term *corfă* (derived from German), assumed by Calotă to be the primary term, has been

14 This paper was presented by Calotă in a communication at the Romanian Academy and benefited from the suggestions of the participants. I. Morărescu criticised the limitation of the pool of informants to two families of four individuals and suggested the extension of the investigation to their original village in Vâlcea County. This aspect was taken into account by Calotă in his 1974 PhD thesis.

replaced by other synonyms. *Corfă* has survived only in the idiom of the Rudari living in Oltenia (Vaideeni, Novaci and Horezu, in Vâlcea County), whereas other Rudari acknowledge it only as an ethnic term limited to denoting the *corfar* Rudari specialised in weaving baskets.

Further articles by Calotă on the Rudari from Oltenia concern the South-Danubian elements in their dialect (1997). Here he discusses some borrowings from the Bulgarian language. He states that “a great part of Rudari, namely *albierii* and *rotarii*, have crossed the Danube to Bulgaria”, but he gives no dates (1997: 47). He speculates that the Rudari were divided in three groups, one who travelled to Yugoslavia, the other who remained in Bulgaria and another who crossed back into Oltenia. Calotă believes the Rudari’s origin to be:

Gypsies as ethnic origin, the Rudari spoke, of course, Gypsy language before adopting Romanian language. The abandonment of the Gypsy language took place in Apuseni Mountains region, where this category of Gypsies, the Rudari, was forced to work as slaves (*robi*). Here the Romanianisation of the Rudari Gypsies took place, through the Romanian *aurari*, from whom they learned the skill of gold-washers as well as Romanian language, as it was spoken that time in that part of the country. As speakers of Romanian language, in the form of dialects from the southwestern Transylvania, the Rudari migrated at the end of the sixteenth century to Wallachia descending from the mountain to the Danube (1997: 47).

Throughout his research Calotă assumes that all Rudari hail from Transylvania and takes samples of the dialect from localities chosen to confirm his theory. As will be shown in the next chapter, the presence of persons identified as Rudari in Wallachia is documented in 1550, not to mention their probable presence under other identities such as *zlătar* in 1520 and in Moldavia in 1484 as *aurar*. Calotă’s informants from Izbiceni in inner Oltenia (who are designated by others as ‘Tursiti’), tell of a memory of Rudari coming from the towns of Alexandria and Roşiorii de Vede, very near the Danube River south-west of Bucharest. Then they were called *aurari*, and they were told that their forefathers practised the gold-panning on the Olt River. The extracted gold was brought to a “factory” for processing and was sold there. They began to produce wooden spoons and took up selling buffaloes brought by railroad train from Moldavia to be sold in fairs along the Danube line such as Alexandria, Roşiorii de Vede, Turnu-Măgurele, and Caracal. At the time of the interviews, 1970, they turned to making bricks.

About the Rudari buffalo herders in Bulgaria, Gilliat-Smith observed at the beginning of the twentieth century that

Kashikdjis or spoon-makers who call themselves *Rudaris*, i.e. makers of small articles in wood, known also to Bulgarians as makers of wooden throughs, *Kopanaris* or *Koritaris*. Rear buffaloes. Speak no Gypsy. Native language Romanian but know also Bulgarian and Turkish. The most honest tribe in Bulgaria and probably the most numerous. Of very poor blood and exceedingly dark (Gilliat-Smith 1915: 6).

In conclusion, Calotă considered the Rudari to be Gypsies, but who have forgotten their language. From a young informant from Horezu, Vâlcea County, he learnt from a spontaneous conversation the expression *Benğăscu dacă ce mint!* (Damn it if I lie to you!), în which the Romani word *benga* ‘devil’ is easily recognisable. Afterwards the linguist introduced in the questionnaire queries about the terms ‘devil, evil’ trying to connect it to *benga*, but invariably the answer was that *benga* is a “Gypsy word” (Calotă 1995: 24). In Drăgășani, Vâlcea County, he obtained information from a Rudar hunter who used the alleged that the “Gypsy” word *șuștalo* (cf. Romani *šoșoi* ‘rabbit’) was jargon in order not to be understood by other hunters (Calotă 1995: 25).

He concludes:

In our investigations, apart from the two terms mentioned above, we could not identify other ‘influences’ of the Gypsy substrate (Calotă 1995: 25).

Thus, Calotă identified two lexical elements inherited from the substrate language which he suspected as being borrowings from Romani, a phenomenon already analysed by A. Graur and others when analysing the Romanian argot.

1.1.4 *Towards a Comparative Dialectal Description: Nicolae Saramandu*

The next development in the study of the language spoken by the Rudari of Romania came in an article by Nicolae Saramandu, a specialist in Aromanian language. He was interested¹⁵ in the work of Weigand, who did philological and ethnographic research on the Aromanians¹⁶ who had relations to the Rudari, as has been referred above. Therefore he studied the language of the Rudari not in Romania, but in Croatia, in a region previously studied by Weigand (1908: 171–197). Saramandu investigated *in situ* and used the linguistic

15 v. Saramandu, Nicolae. 1990. “Un învățat german, prieten al aromânilor [G. Weigand],” *Deșteptarea. Revistă macedo-română* 1 (1): 5ff.

16 *Die Aromunen: ethnographisch-philologisch-historische Untersuchungen über das Volk der sogenannten Makedo-Romanen oder Zinzaren*, Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Leipzig, 1895. v. the pioneering classifications of the “Names and tribes among the Aromanians”, in volume 1, p. 271–281.

questionnaire developed by the new Romanian Academy's project "New Atlas of Romanian Language" and made tape recordings. The investigation was carried out during 19–23 December 1996 in northern Croatia: in Međimurska County, at Pribilsavec (a Boyash colony outside Čakovec) and Kotoriba (40 kilometres from Čakovec). These settlements were segregated and were called by the Boyash inhabitants *cumpăn* (sg., *cumpane* pl.). The members of the community were aware of other Boyash settlements in twelve of the twenty counties of Međimurje¹⁷, but were able to name only six counties, and give the approximate number of Boyash inhabitants, thus: Međimurska: 3,600 inhabitants; Koprivničko-križevačka: 2,000; Varaždinska: 600; Bjelovarsko: 80; Sisačko-moslavačke: 2,000; Osječko: 6,000. All of the Boyash knew Romanian language and they learned Croatian in school and through social contacts. The majority were Catholics, yet in Sisačko-moslavačke, there were Eastern Orthodox believers who were called *buluman* and *muncean*.¹⁸

The informants reported that the Croatians called them "Țigan or Rom". The Țigani (who speak Romani but do not know Romanian, and who are mainly Muslim or Orthodox) call them "Rumân". But the Boyash themselves auto-identify as "Rumân Băiaș". There were no intermarriages between the Boyash and the Țigani. The Croatian Boyash have contacts with the Boyash living in Hungary, with whom they think they share the same language. Old persons in their community know besides Romanian and Croatian also the Hungarian language. Civil marriage was then a new trend inside the Boyash community, while religious marriage was very rare, since the Boyash seldom attended church services. The *cumpăns* were isolated settlements, causing dialectal variations between *cumpăns*.

They estimate that their *cumpăn* was 200 to 300 years old. Initially, they lived in *culibe* 'huts', to make up a *șatra* 'Gypsy camp', but at the time of the investigation they lived in proper houses without having the requisite ownership

17 From the time Saramandu undertook this investigation, the studies on Boyash in the region and in Croatia in general progressed at a quickening pace. To update, we now know that Međimurje is one of the most densely populated with Boyash and one of the reasons was that the population escaped deportation to concentration and extermination camps during the Second World War, the region being a part of Hungary (Sorescu-Marinković 2008). To the dating approximations of Filipescu and Petrovici about the arrival and existence of Rudari here, there is nowadays the certitude of their presence in the nineteenth century, based on demographic registers (Radosavljević 2011: 50, fn. 1, mentions a study which publishes extracts from the register of one commune Podturen: Bunjac, B. 2008. Prvi Romi u općini Podturen, URL <http://povijest.net/sadrzaj/hrvatska/regionalno/454-prvi-romi-u-opini-podturen.html>).

18 Banat pronunciation for *muntean* 'highlander'.

documents. The houses had one room or one room plus one hall serving as a kitchen. They mostly lived in extended families. The life expectancy was, at the time, about 60 years.

Saramandu began by referring to previous research. He noted Calotă's idea that the Rudari arrived from Transylvania at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and to N. Filipescu on the Slavonian *Caravlahi* or *Coritari* who also came from Transylvania and Banat in that period. He quoted Weigand who believed that the Boyash left Transylvania early in the eighteenth century and headed towards Bosnia. Saramandu also cited E. Petrovici (1938) who believed that *Coritari* (Lingurari) then residing on Western Serbia came from Wallachia, probably after the beginning of the eighteenth century. Saramandu created two tables showing dialectal similarities and variations thus: Table A: the linguistic comparison (phonetic, morphologic and lexical), between: 1) the language spoken by *Coritari* in western Serbia; 2) the language spoken by Rudari and 3) Boyash (from his own investigation); Table B: the phonetic, morphologic and lexical peculiarities which differentiate the *Coritari* and Rudari languages from that spoken by Boyash.

Saramandu concluded by asserting the similarity of the languages spoken by all these groups. Further, he pointed out the area of origin of the Croatian Boyash (based on the linguistic peculiarities shared by a Banat sub-dialect in transition to a Crișana sub-dialect) as thus the south-eastern part of Crișana, north-eastern Banat, and south-western Transylvania. Saramandu agreed with Calotă (1995) who acknowledged that the Oltenian Rudari originated in the exact same region and shared the same linguistic peculiarities with this sub-dialect. He believed that the Rudari migrated 1) westwards via Banat to Voivodina, Bosnia, Eastern and Northern Croatia, Hungary (Baranya district) and 2) southwards via Oltenia and Western Wallachia, south of the Danube to Bulgaria, where from there some eventually returned to Wallachia.

1.1.5 *The Dialectal Geography of the Rudari: Thede Kahl*

The next development in mapping the subdialects spoken by the Rudari was made by Thede Kahl, a specialist in various Daco-Romance dialects/languages, particularly Aromanian. He wrote the article on the "Gypsies as promoters of Romanian language", about the language and culture of the Romanian speaking Roms, Băieși and Rudari (Kahl 2016). It is based on five years of field work on the language spoken by "various categories of Gypsies (Roma), especially the Boyash and the Rudari", in Greece, Ukraine, Hungary, Serbia and Moldova. This is the first attempt to map the subdialects spoken by the Rudari with such a large geographic spread. He also incorporates much of the regional research that had been undertaken by other researchers (Kahl 2016: 264, fn. 4).

The article shows the contribution of the Roms to the language of their surrounding population and the promotion of Romanian language outside Romania. Kahl analyses the language spoken by the “Băieși and Rudari” in order to “provide an estimate over their geographical spreading and comparative research on the status of their language, of their identity and culture in different countries” (Kahl 2016: 265). Kahl surveys the research of Chelcea¹⁹, Petrovici, Calotă, Saramandu, and also a handbook of Romanian dialectology. Petrovici wrote about the *Coritari* from Serbia while working on the “Atlas of Romanian Language II” project which published data on this sub-dialect and shows on the map the isoglosses and the place of origins, namely southwestern Wallachia.

Kahl’s investigation is important for many reasons. He supplies ethnographic information on the self-appellations used by and the appellations attributed to the Rudari by outsiders. He includes attitudes of outsiders towards the Rudari, and so on. One of the outstanding results is that Kahl, with his bird’s-eye view of the spread of spoken dialects, identifies the extent of the similarities between the Romanian sub-dialects spoken by the Rudari living outside Romania. They have no contact with Romania or with Romanian literary language, apart from those in Serbia who learn Romanian in school. He writes of them:

The degree of esteem for one’s own language is quite low at [Băieși and Rudari]. Many describe their language as a mutilated language, with no capacity to empower itself and call it *șâșcāvă* (cf. the literary Romanian (sic!, n.a.) *șâștav*, mutilated) or poor. The subdialects of the [Băieși and Rudari] are so close to the literary Romanian language that for someone who speaks Romanian fluently it should be easy to understand. This is especially true for those who know the dialects of the Romanian language in Transylvania and Wallachia. In terms of vocabulary, comprehension is hampered by the influences of the official languages spoken in those countries. Băieșeasca/rudăreasca is not a written

19 Chelcea was an ethnographer, not a dialectologist. There are many drawbacks of the language, all imputable to the editors of the volume. “*kalderaša* înseamnă producătorii de *cazane*, *kazandži* cei care prelucrează arama”. I have underlined the adjoining contaminated words: the correct form is *kalaji* from Turkish *kalai* ‘tin’ and the termination *ji*, with variations: *kalamji*, etc. For the context of Rudari, see Filipescu 1906, the *kalaji* in Bosnia, emigrants from Macedonia and speaking the Macedo-Romanian dialect/language. Similarly, a fault on the editor’s part, Băieși and Rudari “constituted the biggest slave groups in Romanian Principalities and practiced the extraction and the processing of gold... The Theresian and Josephian reforms of sedentarization of the b&r were fruitless” (Kahl 2016: 274). From the analysis of the published censuses of Gypsy gold-washers commissioned by Maria Theresa and Joseph II and other Conscriptations of the Gypsy nomad tax-payers, Szupos (1996: 29–55) shows that the gold-washers represented an insignificant proportion of the total Gypsy population (2 to 0,7). *Mutatis mutandis*, why should it be different in Romanian Principalities?

language except in Hungary, where, at the University of Pécs and the Gandhi Gymnasium, many people have learned to read and write in *băieșește* and *rudărește* with Hungarian spelling (Kahl 2016: 279).

Kahl lists linguistic facts selected on the basis of frequency, mostly phonetics (vocalism, consonant system, accentuation) and morphology (nominal terminations, verbal modal forms, etc) as well as morpho-syntax (absence of preposition in Lative case, postpositional adjectives, etc). Kahl studies the vocabulary, which usually poses difficulties in comparative dialectology by virtue of the fact that terms can be unique and non-repeatable. The choice of terms to be compared must be undertaken on the basis of their frequency in the languages being compared. Kahl illustrates only two terms shared by a majority of speakers in the investigated regions; they are “to speak” and “hard”. One immediate conclusion is the heterogeneity of the sub-dialects spoken by the Rudari spread over a vast territory outside Romania, pointed out by the author as the country of origin: South of Transylvania, Banat, Wallachia (Oltenia and Muntenia) were all connected to the old profession of gold-extractors and to the gold mining tradition in these regions. It is a step forward that Kahl departs from the narrow mapping achieved by Calotă.

1.1.6 *Conclusions*

Conclusive proof about the presence of elements of Romani in Rudari’s language is lacking. The linguists reviewed in this chapter have often resorted to extra-linguistic arguments in an effort to provide the proof. The first linguist to study the Rudari is Weigand who considered them to be Romanianised Gypsies who had forgotten their language. His argument is articulated as “their shining deep-black hair flowing down in long loaves” (Weigand 1897: 250). Forty years later Petrovici (1938: 226) still finds this argument cogent: “Some thought they are Romanians. Weigand shattered for good this legend”. Sixty years later Kahl speaks about a language of their own, *băieșeasca/rudăreasca*²⁰.

According to the research reviewed in this chapter, at the level of vocabulary, the Romani language exercised a greater influence on the Romanian language and on other surrounding languages, than on the language spoken by the Rudari. Calotă has succeeded to identify in all his investigations only two Romani terms that show all corruptions of the Romanian argot.

20 The dictionaries do not attest to this meaning. See Ciorănescu (2002: 672): “*rudăresc* adjective *țigănesc* ‘Gypsy like’, *grosolan* ‘rough, rude’”

Phonetic facts, which were claimed by Petrovici and Calotă to be influences of Romani language, have been refuted by Gheție as common phonetic variations occurring in the Romanian language.

Weigand, the first linguist to deal with the issue, availed himself of a panoramic view of all Daco-Romanian dialects spoken inside and outside of Romania, by using interchangeably the appellations Băieși, Rudari, Lingurari. As shown recently by Kahl, the language spoken by Rudari over a vast territory with Romania as its center, is quite unitary, although it has many dialectal variations due to contact languages. So, there is no reason to distinguish between Băieși and Rudari or others. These appellations are regional professionyms with ethnic connotations. Since all speak Daco-Romanian, the linguists unanimously point to Romania as the place of origin for the Rudari who then emigrated in various historical periods.

The Rudari are bilingual; besides archaic Daco-Romanian, they speak the language of the surrounding population. Their spoken language becomes their identification tag²¹; and they are better studied outside the borders of Romania.²² Inside Romania, their speech has evolved through diglossia. So far, the identification of Rudari communities has been accomplished empirically by Calotă, or by Chelcea through reference to Hungarian maps dealing with Transylvanian Băieși. The current database MapRom may set the investigation on Rudari on professional grounds, playing catch up on one century of progress or more in Hungarian field of research²³.

1.2 The Ethnographers, Historians, Anthropologists

1.2.1 *Paul Bataillard (1816–1894)*

French historian (naturalised as a Romanian citizen in 1866) Paul Bataillard studied the different Romani communities in Europe according to the type of metal with which they worked. He researched in depth Romani groups in Romania. For him, the Rudari were divided into two professional classes of Aurari ‘gold-washers’ and Lingurari woodworkers. He also researched those

21 See for the latest review of research of ideological language identification Sorescu-Marinković 2021: 207–232.

22 Since more than one decade they are studied as a part of the Balkan Romance in the project of Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute for Balkan Studies, in which were recorded 400 hours of samples of Romanian dialects spoken in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bulgaria. For the methodology and insights about the process of collecting the linguistic and anthropologic data see Sikimić 2014: 51–73.

23 For a bibliography of these researches see Kahl 2019.

who were goldsmiths, silversmiths, jewellery-makers, and even those who traded in amber and semi-precious stones. Bataillard's research opened many questions: To what class of Gypsies did they belong? Did they ever make up a separate corporation? What kind of trade were they usually attached to? Bataillard considered that the prominent and wealthy Zlătari community living in central Bucharest with their so called 'Zlătari Church' were "undoubtedly civilised Gypsies" and thus different from the other Gypsies (1876: 34–36). He addressed the issue of Romanian Zlătari in a study of the bell-maker Gypsies who called themselves *Zlotar* and lived in Bukovina and Pokuttia. Although at the time of research they worked in bronze and brass²⁴, they declared that they also knew how to make simple jewellery from gold and silver (1878: 517, 560). One of the interviewees said that his grandfather came from Wallachia (1878: 560), while others had ordinary Romanian names. The words they used for metals were for the most part Romani terms. Also, their way of organising was typical for Gypsies. They had a *bulibash* who judged all the disputes between the members of the group. The bell-makers also made cauldrons (*Caldarari*) and worked as blacksmiths. Bataillard believed that the *Zlotars* assimilation with other metalworkers was of recent date. He noted that Moldavian Zlătari were considered part of the *Lăieși* Gypsies, which included many blacksmiths and (probably) *Căldarari*. He lacked access to archival documents and lexicographic materials, and therefore had no chronological perspective over the terminology used for the occupation of gold-washing *aurar*, *zlătar*, *rudar*. Nevertheless, his research reflected the transition of the term *zlătar*, which by his time had ceased to relate to gold-washing. Instead, it meant a connection to the larger category of craftsmen included under the umbrella term *Lăieși*. We have found that the so-called Zlătari recorded in the 1838 Census seemed to have another type of community, much different from that of Rudari and Ligurari.

1.2.2 *Martin Block (1891–1972)*

Some of Bataillard's lines of research, such as tracing the wanderings of the Romani people through Europe by way of their metal-work trades, uncovering

24 In general, the Zlătari were capable of working with different kinds of metals. The research on the history of printing has shown that the *zlatari* (metallurgists and goldsmiths) from the mines in southern Serbia were used to cast the letters for the first printing house in the fifteenth century (Nemirovski 1996: 156). The metal or alloy used to make the type-faces in the first Montenegrin printing house is not known, instead, it was identified in the printings in Russia at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The letters were cast from pure copper, even though this metal is very soft and cannot support a very large print run (Nemirovski 1996: 236).

the earliest presence of the Gypsies in Europe, etc. were further developed by Martin Block. He defended his doctoral thesis in 1923, *Die materielle Kultur der rumänischen Zigeuner: Versuch einer monographischen Darstellung*²⁵. He researched communities of blacksmiths in Romania. Block was professor of ethnology at Philipps-Universität of Marburg. While his thesis was unpublished, he wrote a general book on the Roms based on his fieldwork in Central and south Eastern Europe.²⁶

Block considered the Rudari “the vestige of an indigenous population that has mixed with runaway state and monastery slaves in Romania” (1938: 143). They lived in hovels, but the tent culture specific to the Gypsy population was unknown to them. “During my travels in south-eastern Europe and Transylvania, I have never seen basket makers and spoon makers with tents made of canvas or mats. The absence of a tent suggests that it is a question of a particular Gypsy tribe, perhaps even people who are not or are no longer Gypsies.” (1938: 108) They did use a sort of tent made of bark, comparable with the tents made of birch bark of the Siberian Yakuts, as a temporary shelter for their wood. They could use such bark tents as summer abodes, but if they stopped longer in one place, they would build hovels, half-underground, without windows, with a single room and a hearth against one wall with a chimney pipe above. Such hovels were demolished when the Rudari collective moved on.

Block studied a group of spoon-makers and basket makers living in Vulcana Pandele, in Dâmbovița County, along the Ialomița River (Block 1938: 146). According to the 1838 census this village was one of the largest and the richest Rudar village. It included 44 households classified as Rudari, all of them gold-panners and woodworkers (*rudari aurari*) and almost all having land, with many having plum-tree orchards and domestic animals. Block noticed that the domestic objects they produced lacked aesthetic features, apart from the large scoop-spoons which had two notches and the spindles painted with natural colours (1938: 146). “As they are, they could have been made two thousand and fifty hundred years ago. These craftsmen still live in the wood age.” In carving the wood they used simple tools made by local blacksmith Gypsies. “A handleless blade is used which exactly reproduces the shape of the axes of the Bronze Age or the halberds of the Middle Ages” (1938: 141–143). The preferred woods

25 Published in 1991 by Joachim Stephan Hohmann at Frankfurt am Main; New York: Peter Lang.

26 *Zigeuner: ihr Leben und ihre Seele, dargestellt auf Grund eigener Reisen und Forschungen*, Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1936.

were maple, poplar, aspen, willow, lime, alder. They work during the winter on wood that they had collected during the summer.

Seasonal mobility distinguished them from what Block called the “authentic Gypsies” who generally roamed the plains. Nevertheless, the surrounding population did not distinguish them from the Romani people (1938: 210). Block likened this ethnic difference to the situation of the mixed-origin nomadic population called “Yenish” who are different from the Roms although they have a similar way of life. The Roms avoid being associated with them, in the same way as the Rudari avoid being assimilated with the Gypsies (1938: 162). Arguing from a typical racial standpoint, Ion Chelcea observed that the Roms and the Rudari have similar physical characteristics while the “Yenish” have features that differ from Roms (1944: 59, fn. 1). Chelcea (and now Neagota 2014: 241) proposed the comparative study of the Rudari and the “Yenish” of diverse origins using socio-economic and cultural models.

1.2.3 *A Momentum, Ion Chelcea*

The research contribution of Ion Chelcea to the study of the Rudari of Romania remains unsurpassed even after nearly one century²⁷. His two major contributions are, first, mapping the maximum geographic spread, which was conditioned by what he calls the “transhumance of woodworking” (equated as nomadism of woodworking) and, second, the socio-cultural specificity of the Rudari: “I am talking about the habitation area of the Rudari, whose centre is our country” (1944: 88) and “Rudari contribute a complementarity of our rural economy” (1944: 93).

Chelcea adhered to his time’s categories of “racial psychology” for ethnic groups. Thus, he applied the terms: “apparently developed”, “natural” (the Rudari are classed in this category), and “speculative”. Recurrent racist terminology overshadows the sound scientific structure of his thorough and long-life investigation of various Romani communities: for instance: “*gitaneria* and other terms in almost all languages, designate the ease with which they steal and fool the others”, etc.

Chelcea started his investigation of the Rudari in 1929, as a part of research into the ethnography of the Muscel region, a sub-Carpathian plateau between the Dâmbovița and Olt rivers, bordered in the north by the Carpathian Mountains and in the south by the Romanian plain, reaching up to Pitești city.

27 For the same period, the Romanian investigation in this group do not go beyond short ethnographic observations in the travelogue literature, for *Caravlași* of Serbia resembling “*țigani corciți*” ‘mixed Gypsies’ (Gherghel 1930: 50–61) and for *Rudari/fusari/cătunari/cortorari* in Bulgaria (Rațiu 1940: 9–10).

The region is characterised by the relief called *muscel* derived from Latin *monticellus* (little mountain), with heights of 600 to 1000 metres formed through erosion. This is the habitat *par excellence* of the Rudari, being the second most forested county of Romania. Chelcea published a photograph of a Rudar with his baskets carried on his back, in the centre of a collage illustrating an article on the ethnography of Muscel (1931 a: 219). At the same time, he published an article specifically on the Rudari (1931b), in a project of the Romanian Institute for Social Studies (Institutul Social Român), in a section for sociological monographs. In the article "Origins of the Rudari" he presents his main thesis, one he would later revise: the continuity of the Rudari as a professional group of primordial origin, a "primitive guild", continuing from miners (*băieși*, Bergknappen²⁸) to gold-panners (*rudari-aurari*, Goldwäscher) to woodworkers (Holzwaren). Their self-identification was as non-Țigani indicating their partial assimilation into the majority population. It could only be a partial assimilation due to their secluded way of life on the fringes of civilisation, near forests, like veritable "wood worms"²⁹, according to their self-representation. This gave rise to the hypothesis that the Romanian-speaking Rudari had forgotten the Gypsy language through acculturation with the customers of their artefacts.

Chelcea communicated the result of his field work in Muscel at a conference held by the Romanian Society of Anthropology, at Cluj on 19 March 1934. Chelcea delimited the area of their habitation: basically, at the edges of forests in the mountains, and in forested valleys in the hills. Situated between the unpopulated mountain region and the farm villages, their semi-sedentary settlements were independent from the villages but dependent on forest resources. This geographic isolation made them little known to the Romanian society and they were practically secluded from civil life. Their *vătaf* headman, who was responsible for registering population changes to the authorities, became the sole link to the latter. Out of 64 localities, 36 were inhabited by the Rudari, each locality having on average 25 to 30 households.

Chelcea's articles were integrated in a larger study (1940) to which a text on the "Gypsies of Olt Valley" was also added. The latter was a paper presented in 1939 at the International Congress of Sociology held in Bucharest. In this study Chelcea developed his thesis of classification of the Gypsy groups according to

28 *Bergknappen* and the next term *Goldwäscher*, are borrowed from Ágost de Gerando, whose work Chelcea consulted in French and in its German translation (1845).

29 The authenticity of this is proved by having been collected by Nicolăescu-Plopșor (1922: 38) in the Oltenia region, and by Chelcea on the Olt Valley (1940: 84; 84 fn. 1).

their occupation and degree of permanent settlement³⁰. The taxonomy was as follows: 1) “village Gypsies” (blacksmiths, brickmakers, musicians), living at the fringes of the village, very often on their own properties, these are acculturated and seldomly speak Romani, and by their occupations, are “the echo of the essence of the village to which they depend”; 2) the “Băieș or Rudar Gypsies”, who lived outside and independent from the village, at a distance of 2–3 km, on “common” land; 3) *corturari* (tent dwellers, or nomads) who are *ciurari* (sieve makers) and *căldărari* (cauldron makers), and who speak Romanian and Hungarian besides Romani, and are attracted by the livelihood opportunities of the cities. Out of these three categories present in the Olt Valley, the Rudari were the most homogenous and numerous group (4 636 households), out of which 49,4% had moved into the villages and were in the process of full assimilation. Intermarriages with the majority population were more frequent than among the other Gypsy groups (v. also Chelcea 1943: 19. The cases of mixed marriages between Gypsies and other ethnic groups, including the Rudari are further analysed by Chelcea in his monograph (1944: 78–79).

With a few exceptions, we have found intermarriage to occur more seldom in two villages, at the western end of Țara Oltului: at Sebeșul de Sus and de Jos. In cases of intermarriage, the first generation continues its traditional occupation. *Băeșita*, if she took a village Gypsy, she continues to produce baskets, brooms and feels an ethnic agony. Their children end up in completely forgetting this job. The *Băeșita*-s married to village Gypsies, are lost as *Băeșita* and are assimilated into the [husband's] group, they do not assimilate ... On the contrary: *Băeșita*-s married to *Corturari* ... do not become tent-dwellers; but even the *Corturari* married to them do not become *Băieș*, but Gypsies with a certain profession, usually day laborers. Thus, certainly, the legal intermarriages with another non-Gypsy population is excluded, except in cases that can be counted on the fingers (1940: 83).

30 Notably, Chelcea is influenced in this classification by Z. Arbure (1899). In this work, *Lingurari* (the terminology in Moldavia for Rudar) are a Gypsy category in between the sedentary and the itinerant Gypsies. This classification was employed in the investigation of D. Păun (1932) of Cornova village in Bessarabia, and further in the sociological circles of D. Gusti and Traian Herseni. This classification was further developed by Chelcea in his 1944 monographs, on the Rudari (1944: 9–40) and on Gypsies in Romania, in which he specifies that there are many criteria of classification, but one of the most reliable was according to occupation. This is endorsed by the classification of the Gypsies in Moldavia by I. Duminiță (2018: 110–111) as those who live a traditional way of life, those with a fragmented identity, and those who have been assimilated. Here occupation proved to have been the decisive factor. While itinerant blacksmiths have remained socially isolated and are considered “authentic”, the *Lingurari* are perceived as an assimilated community.

Chelcea reckons that the fundamental difference between the Rudari and all other Gypsy groups does not reside merely in their occupation, degree of settlement and acculturation, but in their mentality. Chelcea collected their folklore and partially published it in his 1944 monography, but the biggest part of it is yet unpublished³¹.

The Rudari have accustomed and developed spiritual practices, the *fairy-tale*, while the Ursari have the *spell, charm, fortune telling*³² (1940: 89).

The question of identification of the Rudari with Gypsies, and the continuity of the Rudari from the gold washer Gypsies of the past, is addressed in his next article dealing with the Aurari Gypsies (1942). Here he drew heavily on Hungarian sources, since Chelcea was convinced that the Rudari from Muscel hailed from Transylvania, being probably the gold washers of the past, attracted by better life prospects on the other side of the Carpathians (1942: 2, cf. 1934: 27³³). Although with a very weak methodologically and lacking originality, this text presents very interesting ethnographic observations. At the village of Dragoslavele in Muscel County, on the upper course of the Dâmbovița river, where auriferous stones – the remnants of how the course of the secondary rivers³⁴ were diverted – and the holes dug during the extraction of the gold-bearing sand are still visible, the elders recalled that gold would wash up onto the banks, up to the second half of the 19th century (1942: 1). The difficulty of this enterprise is the source of the proverb spread in the Rudar community, *iepurili-n copaie, auru' să saie* 'rabbit in the trough, the gold should surface out'.

All the ideas described so far are synthesised from the monograph *Les "Rudari" de Muscel* (1944), from which we cite the contents: "Introduction. The *muscels*– their extent; The rest of the relief in Muscel County and the boundaries of the county; The population in relation to the relief. Other intruders;

31 Information from Septimiu Chelcea, researcher at the Institute of Sociology, Romanian Academy, Bucharest, August 2019.

32 Chelcea knew the stories collected by the first scholar of Romani studies, Barbu Constantinescu (Rotaru 2018a), from various Gypsy groups in 1878. As both the collections of Chelcea and Constantinescu are unpublished in their entirety, and in the absence of comparative studies on the Rudar, Gypsy and contact folklore creations, we cannot but relegate to further investigation this type of allegation recurrent in all works of Chelcea.

33 He collected from the Rudari from Muscel the belief that they are "Rudari from Transylvania" living in the forest, and being more authentic, while the Rudari living in the south are more acculturated and live in the bush (1934: 27–28).

34 There is a dense network of permanent streams and springs flowing into the Dâmbovița River: Valea Cheii, Valea Ghimbavului, Valea Caselor, Valea Frasinului, Valea Hotarului and Valea Olăneasca.

Sedentary Gypsies³⁵; The Rudari; The Bear Tamers (Ursari)³⁶. Geographical distribution of the Rudari in Muscel. From where did the Rudari come to Muscel? Origins of the Rudari. Land leasing conditions. Their organisation in the past and today. Occupations. Know-how. Instruments. Terminology. Selling of products. The Rudar's house: the *bordei*³⁷ on poles. The spiritual life of the Rudari from Muscel. Their customs during birth, marriage and burial. Superstitions.”

One of the contributions of this monograph is the mapping (1943: 11) and the geographic distribution of the Rudari in the region.

The landform they prefer is the valley [...] Sometimes the valley they inhabit takes the name of Valley of the Rudari (Jugur). In this respect, they have a toponymy of their own³⁸ (1983: 11).

We reproduce here the list of the villages that contain Rudar settlements nearby, complemented with statistical data from the 1838 Census, and adding the information on the place of origins, as recorded by Chelcea.

Table 1 Continuity of Rudari settlements from early nineteenth century to mid twentieth century. (Sources: Chelcea 1934, 1942, 1943, 1944a; Demidoff 1841; MapRom Database; Stahl 1990)

	Locality	Number of households	Number of households in 1838	Type of housing	Memory of origins
1.	Albești	6	4, gold-panners, State Gypsies	bordei	
2.	Aninoasa	16		bordei	
3.	Bârzești	7		bordei	

35 He lists the 22 villages with the number of families, ranging from 6 to 56. The big city Câmpulung is not listed, but he notes that they are numerous and mostly occupy an entire quarter. This must be the Ulița mare mentioned in the documents from 15th century (DRH B, vol.I, doc. 96/ 9 January 1443; DRH B, vol.I, doc. 107/ 7 August <1451>).

36 They are mostly nomads, but also sedentary Ursari at Schitu-Golești (1943: 9).

37 The standard translation for *bordei* is 'pit-house' or 'grub-house', describing a half-buried one-room hovel. Actually, the Rudari' *bordei* is not earth-dug, instead it is a hut built at the surface entirely of wood, as it will be further shown. The term is thus left untranslated.

38 “La forme de relief qu'ils préfèrent est la vallée ... Quelquefois la vallée qu'ils habitent prend le nom de Vallée des Rudari (Jugur). Sous ce rapport, ils ont une toponymie qui leur est propre” (Our translation).

Table 1 Continuity of Rudari settlements (*cont.*)

	Locality	Number of households	Number of households in 1838	Type of housing	Memory of origins
4.	Bughea de Sus	21		house and bordei	Transylvania
5.	Berevoești	10		bordei	
6.	Băjești	–		bordei	
7.	Cârstieni	40		bordei	
8.	Colibașa (Racovița)	–		bordei	
9.	Cotu Buli (pe Râul Doamnei)	–		bordei	
10.	Clucereasa	3		bordei	Turkish
11.	Conțești	5		house and bordei	
12.	Dragoslavele ³⁹	7		bordei	local
13.	Furnicoși	5		bordei	
14.	Golești	1		bordei	
15.	Hârtiești	5	5 gold-panners, State Gypsies	bordei	local: Vlașca
16.	Jupânești ⁴⁰	20	9 gold-panners, State Gypsies	bordei	
17.	Jugur	6		bordei	
18.	Leicești	2		bordei	
19.	Lerești	11		house and bordei	local: Vlașca/Transylvania
20.	Mioveni	10	1 gold-panner, State Gypsy	bordei	

39 Twenty years later Stahl found a Rudar community of 20 households living in a separate village in the neighbourhood of Dragoslavele. The oldest informant (87 years) recalled they had come from Transylvania in 1870–80. There were both houses and bordei (Stahl 1990: 57–58).

40 Count Demidoff refers to the golden sand of the river crossing this locality (1853: 195–196).

Table 1 Continuity of Rudari settlements (*cont.*)

	Locality	Number of households	Number of households in 1838	Type of housing	Memory of origins
21.	Mihăiești	6		bordei	
22.	Micești	15		bordei	
23.	Nămăești	7		bordei	local (ancestor Dacea)
24.	Negrești	20		bordei	
25.	Nucșoara	30		bordei	
26.	Petroșani	12		house	
27.	Piscani	–	32 gold-panners, State Gypsies	house	
28.	Pițigaia	2		house	
29.	Retevoești	20		house	
30.	Râncăciov	–		house	
31.	Bădești Sălbiși	20		bordei	
32.	Schitul Golești	12		bordei	Transylvania
33.	Sgripțești	–		bordei	
34.	Slănic	10		bordei	
35.	Stănești	–		bordei	
36.	Stoenești (Bădeanca) ⁴¹	20		bordei	local
37.	Stoenești (Valea lui Coman) ⁴²	17		bordei	
38.	Valea Mare	–		bordei	
39.	Valea Mâzganei (Hârtiești)	–		bordei	
40.	Valea Seacă	30		bordei	
41.	Valea Mânăstirei	10		bordei	
42.	Voroveni	2		house	local: Vlașca
43.	Țițești	7	2 gold-panners, State Gypsies	bordei	

41 Stahl (1990): 9 households.

42 Stahl (1990): 14 households, mostly *bordei*, with one exception.

With few exceptions, where due to their housing the Rudari have been classified as “Romanianised”, most lived in *bordei* which were arranged around an imaginary centre – like a prehistoric settlement⁴³–, built on land for which they paid rent as a collective. Land was not important, since their livelihood depended on access to the forest which if cut caused them to move to adjoining forested area: “It’s the destiny, Sir, which commanded the Rudar to be like a snail with his house on his back” (Chelcea 1943: 38). The Rudar *bordei* is unique and does not resemble the dug-out house.⁴⁴ Chelcea noted that it somewhat corresponded to type 2 of the Oltenian *bordei*, as described by Nicolăescu-Plopșor. This *bordei* is made entirely of wood and plastered with clay. Four poles are planted into the ground, one at each corner; two other slightly higher poles are planted in the centre and support a transversal beam called *bereandu*⁴⁵. The walls are built out of pillars pushed into the earth and the space between the pillars is filled with clay and are buttressed by clay called *vraștină*. It can be compared to the ancient Indian house described in the Atharvaveda III.10⁴⁶: it had corner poles, a transversal beam, the walls filled with clay; all cut and joined without any iron nails. The tools the Rudari used to cut and craft the wood were made of iron and were made by the Gypsy blacksmiths. M. Block (1936: 141–2) noted that they resemble prehistoric tools.

Besides the legend of the common ancestor Dacea⁴⁷, Chelcea recorded the Rudar belief of living in Romania since time immemorial:

See, we have remained from the past ... since we are poor, and we no longer change our customs ... God, alas, does not care about us anymore⁴⁸ (1943: 47).

According to him, their culture is very simple and resembles that of other Gypsies, having few customs marking human rites of passage.

43 See chapter 4 in Fustel de Coulanges. 1864. *La Cité antique. Étude sur le culte, le droit, les institutions de la Grèce et de Rome*. Paris: Hachette.

44 See also Kováč 1997: 32–35 for the structure of a *putri* or tent and arrangement of these tents in circle (p. 23).

45 This word with this sense occurs in the nineteenth century collection of Romanian Gypsy folklore of Barbu Constantinescu in the description of the tents (Rotaru 2016).

46 See for instance the most comprehensive interpretation of the hymn in Bodewitz 1978: 59–68.

47 The tradition was recorded also in Oltenia, by Nicolăescu-Plopșor (1922) and by Katalin Kovalcsik (2007).

48 “Voyez, nous sommes restés du temps passée ... puisque nous sommes pauvres, et que nous ne changeons plus nos coutumes ... Dieu, hélas, ne s’inquiète plus de nous” (Our translation).

Bounded in such an existence; they have little joy in singing. They are harassed by need. The great events of life: birth, marriage, burial surprise them unprepared, and they simplify these great acts of human life. Their parties are empty, not at all lavish⁴⁹ (1943: 45).

The synthesis of all his conceptions on the Rudari are contained in the volume *Rudarii o contribuție la o enigma etnografică* (1944). One of his main scientific contributions is the publication of folklore: Easter and Christmas carols, fairy tales, etc, and the recording of their traditions, such as the “Rudar court”. All misconduct by the Rudari were judged by their *vătaf* who was also in charge of the execution of the sentence, often consisting in physical punishments. The *vătaf* had great authority. When elected to this position he was lifted and thrice hurled upwards. He had distinctive symbols such as silver coins, or golden chains in Țara Oltului. Another custom shared with Romanian Gypsy culture is the sworn “oath” (*jurământul*): the presumed culprit swears on the cross and in loud voice she or he explains the reason why the oath is taken. If a person doesn’t want to swear the oath, he or she will be declared guilty and punished. Apart from the physical punishments, public defamation is also part, culminating with the guilty persons forced to be spat in the mouth (in case of adultery, for instance). This custom is recorded in a nineteenth century document, according to which one of the most despicable tortures for a corvée peasant failing to do their duties is, at the end of an exhaustive and deadly corporal torture, a Gypsy is made to spit into the culprit’s mouth.

Chelcea noted that the carols sung by the Rudari at Christmas and New Year lack Christian themes, and the expressions of their religiosity belongs rather to the common Indo-European heritage. This is one of the major theses which deserves further research. Another specific cultural element is the Gurban ritual, performed by the Rudar and surrounding population in the Oltenia region, but absent in other regions investigated by Chelcea, such as Muscel and Țara Oltului. Thus, the type of lamb offering *Kurban*⁵⁰ is a south-eastern European cultural model adapted by the Rudari combined with elements of

49 “Bornés dans une telle existence ; ils n’ont que peu de joies à chanter. Ils sont harcelés par le besoin. Les grands événements de la vie : naissance, mariage, enterrement les surprennent non préparés, et ils simplifient ces grands actes de la vie humaine. Leurs fêtes sont vides, pas du tout fastueuses” (Our translation).

50 That *Kurban*, the Turkish term adapted with the voiced guttural in Oltenia as *Gurban*, along with the ceremony which it denotes, was already noted by Nicolăescu-Plopșor as early as 1922.

ancient popular culture, which makes it a specific Rudar cultural component (1944: 145)⁵¹. The ritual was borrowed by the Rudari who were transhumant to the South of Danube. By 1960s⁵² Chelcea studied the communities of Rudari from the mouth of the Olt River which debouches into the Danube and on the Mostiște river, a tributary of the Olt. The Rudari had a sub-ethnic division into *Turcani* and *Vlahuți*, derived from their former land of residence:

It is not difficult to realize that it is also a categorisation of themselves, but, according to their origin, according to the sphere of influence in which they lived: Greek; Turkish, Romanian, etc. Those who have recently arrived from the Quadrilateral, for example, or even from the interior of Bulgaria, further from Turkey, or as a reminder of their experience until later under the Turks, will be called “turcani”, as for example we meet in the village of Mânăstirea (a few *bordeie*) (Chelcea 1969 apud Calotă 1995).

It is worth noting that although Chelcea did not have access to the archival documents, his intuition was that the Rudari had seasonally inhabited the Southern Danube since old times, a fact that explains the original acculturation of the *Gurban*. In an unpublished document dated 1830⁵³ 16 families of Lingurari were referred as having returned in February to Walachia from the Ottoman Empire, across Danube, and residing temporarily in Căscioarele, Ilfov County. By spring, they were urged by the Police Commander (*armaș*) to leave and transfer to the “upland counties wherein they previously lived and wherein they have their relatives.”

Chelcea's thesis of the origins of the Rudari as “a surviving unique paleo-historic population” was further developed by establishing their maximum geographical spread, in South-East Europe and Hungary. This also indicates their origins. Chelcea draws a map of the localities inhabited by the Rudari in Muscel County showing their distributions along the river valleys, paralleled with a map of the Gypsy gold-washers identified by us as that worked by Rákóczy Sámuel in 1907.

51 See this important thesis rearticulated by Neagota 2016: 79–88, after a morphological description of the ceremony recorded in Olt, Vâlcea, Dolj and Giurgiu counties. Kovalcsik 2007 brings in new elements of syntax of the ritual recorded in Oltenian communities.

52 This study was communicated at the Center of History, Philology and Ethnography established by Nicolăescu-Plopșor in 1966 in Craiova, which now continues as one of the Institutes of the Romanian Academy. The Centre had a journal, *Philologica*, first issue 1969. The papers communicated before 1969 seemed to have been printed locally. I could not find these communications, including Chelcea's study. The information included here is from the reference in Calotă 1995 to the paper Ion Chelcea “Rudarii de pe Valea Dunării (între cursul inferior al Oltului și Mostiștei)”, *Comunicări. Seria Etnografică III Centrul de Istorie, Filologie și Etnografie din Craiova*. 1969: 3–37.

53 ANIC, 10 February 1830.

Couldn't the wood be available in other parts, whereto they could move in? It can be answered in affirmative, and even though, they only move from one valley to another in the same area.

Chelcea's further research questions can be formulated as "Why are they called the Rudari in Walachia and Băieși in Transylvania, since they do not search for metal in mines or from riverbeds? Have they once extracted metals but no longer practice this occupation? A branch of them were gold washers and from them the term passed to the others, in Transylvania and Walachia? Because in Moldovia they are *Ligurari*" (1994: 48). Some of these questions may be answered now through the map of the Rudar settlements in Walachia by 1838, and with a thorough analysis of their appellations in the published collections of documents, unavailable to Chelcea.

1.2.4 *Further Ethnological Investigations in the Muscel Region*

In August 1949 a socio-medical investigation of persons afflicted by goitres was carried out by the Institute of Endocrinology from Bucharest in two counties, including Muscel. During it, Paul-Henri Stahl⁵⁴ studied three Rudari villages. Two were situated near Romanian villages, with one quite far away, on the Dâmbovița River. The majority of the Rudari were living on state property. Their houses were *bordei*. Indeed, Stahl recorded that "[t]heir greatest desire ('even more than having to eat,' they say) is to know that the land in which they live is their property."⁵⁵ The three communities lived in poverty, visible not only through their poor housing, but also by the effects of malnutrition. The rate of mortality among infants was very high, one of the main causes being goitre. The Rudari were aware that the drinking-water (which lacked iodine), was the cause of the disease. They had various superstitions about the existence of *gușe* (plural, 'goitres'), which resemble little worms floating on the river's surface like white braids. Their remedy was branches from hazelnut bushes which should be cut on Good Friday.⁵⁶ Stahl records other traditions, such as when they would travel to sell their artefacts, e.g. during the great religious festivals (Easter, Pentecost and St Demeter), during fairs and at harvest time. These were the main occasions for Rudari to interrelate with the majority

54 We are unaware of the context of Paul-Henri Stahl's participation in the team of this investigation. The article is published in an Italian translation by Leonardo Piasere, based on its French original version in 1995.

55 "Il loro più grande desiderio ('anche più dell'avere da mangiare,' dicono) è di sapere che il terreno in cui sono insediati è di loro proprietà." (Our translation).

56 The *attractio similium* is evident, the white branches of the hazelnut are thought to cure the goiter with white braids.

Romanian population to which they would sell or barter their products. These were also occasions for them to buy clothes. Stahl, and Chelcea, noticed that Rudar women did not make their own clothing at home. This was in distinct contrast with Romanian women, although Rudar women made spindles. The division of labour between men and women is illustrated in Stahl's small study (1990: 61): the making of baskets, spindles, brooms, occasionally spoons and sometimes tubs, were female jobs. Stahl, like Chelcea, observed that the utensils for carving and cutting the wood were procured from local blacksmith Gypsies.

In 2004 the Rudari were the subject of fieldwork carried out by the social anthropologist Ștefan Dorondel (2007: 215–239). The aim of the study was to examine how ethnicity frames access to forest resources in Romania and Bulgaria, after land and forest had been restored to their pre-communist era owners. Dorondel supplied important comparative data on this segment of population which was badly affected after the fall of communism. Confronted with unemployment, the Rudari turned to woodworking which became an identity marker for their ethnicity. The forest restitution divided property into public and private. As the Rudari had never owned forests they resorted to stealing wood. Often, they did this with the complicity of the forest guards. In Romanian villages Dorondel noticed the division of the Rudari into three classes: the proletarians, the 'middle class' (who could afford a chainsaw and a cart) and the 'upper class' (who own at least one truck for the transportation of timber). The middle class accounted for more than half of the community according to the Agrarian Register, and carts are the most convenient means to access steep slopes. At the time of Dorondel's investigation the trees in the forest were mostly cut illegally, a situation which has somehow changed in the last years when the laws are being enforced.

1.2.5 *Recent Fieldwork in Oltenia*

Starting in 2001, ethnologist Bengelstorf studied the Rudari living in Roșiorii de Vede, and the Oltenia region of Romania, as well as the "rumunski Cigani" in the Bački district, in Serbian Vojvodina. His main interest has been how the Rudari distance themselves from the Roms. He summarised previous research. About the origins of the Rudari, he reviewed Filipescu's theory that Romanian emigrants to Bosnia hailed from Wallachia and through marriage mixed with Romanian Gypsies from Transylvania and Banat. Like Filipescu, he dated the emigration to the eighteenth century (particularly the period of the Russian-Ottoman wars of 1769–1812) due to the exploitation of the boyars. Nevertheless, since the gold-washers were slaves of the state or monasteries, this theory is irrelevant. For further dating of the migration Bengelstorf

emphasises the importance of the so called linguistic “maize frontier” (2009: 91) advanced by E. Petrovici, in light of new research carried out by Sikimić (2003: 144). Sikimić notes that the Rudari use the Romanian word for maize *porumb*, while the Băiași use the word *kukuruz*, showing that the two groups had separate trajectories and indicates that the Rudari left Wallachia after the late seventeenth century when maize cultivation became important.

This argument is not cogent. The first mention of the term *cucuruz* is in a document issued around 1646, as the toponym Cucuruz, a village in Vlașca County (today Giurgiu County), in Wallachia. It is a donation made by the voievode Matei Basarab⁵⁷, mentioned in an undated document. The *terminus post quem* of this document has been established with the help of a document issued subsequently on September 1, 1646⁵⁸: a sale contract signed by those who have received the donation from the voivode. In the Slavic document the name of the village is written as Kukuruz while in the Romanian version as Cocoroz. These two documents show that: 1) in Wallachia (at least one of) the word(s) for maize was *cucuruz* and 2) maize was introduced earlier than believed by historians who have placed it in the reign of the voivode Șerban Cantacuzino (1678–1688)⁵⁹. An earlier dating for maize cultivation in Wallachia is endorsed by studies from the Serbian Maize Institute carried out a decade ago, placing the introduction of maize to the Balkan region during the sixteenth century, with flint types from the Caribbean islands, the Mexican plateau, and the Andes (Babić et alia 2012).

Bengelstorf undertook his ethnographic investigations in the town of Roșiorii de Vede in 2001 and 2002. He interviewed Rudari who were spoon-makers and brickmakers. They self-identified as Linguari and Rudari, but also knew they were called Aurari. As already mentioned, some Rudari interviewed in 1980s by I. Calotă knew about the existence of other Rudari from Roșiorii de Vede who called themselves Aurari and had some memory of gold-washing as an occupation among their family members.

In 2004 Bengelstorf visited several localities in Oltenia, which had been previously researched by Calotă, especially Baia de Fier and the nearby communities of Novaci, Polovragi, Vaideeni, Români plus the more distant village of Băbeni, near the city of Râmnicu Vâlcea, a place famous for its gold-washing since antiquity in the Olt River valley.

57 DRH B, XXXI, doc. 281, ANIC, Documente istorice CXCVI / 211, Slavic, original, without date.

58 DRH B, XXXI, doc. 283, ANIC, Documente istorice, CCXCIX/127, Romanian, original.

59 See footnote 8 in this chapter and reference to E. Petrovici.

Baia de Fier is a historic metallurgical centre, as will be shown in Chapters 3 and 4. The Rudari that Bengelstorf interviewed had once been miners but had reverted to traditional crafts when the mine closed in the 1990s. They became spoon-makers, tub-makers, makers of baskets and brooms, charcoal burners, etc. There is no mention of any Roms living in these villages. They all call themselves Rudari and in Băbeni they sometimes use the alternative Rotari (2009: 132). The Rudari from Băbeni visit the market in the distant town of Roşiorii de Vede (200 km) and the Rudari there call them ‘Turciti’ (because of their different accent), although they are recognised as Rudari (2009: 107). A similar case was noted by Calotă among the Rudari community of Izbiceni village in the Olt valley, which is closer to Roşiorii de Vede (68 km), and who are also designated by others as ‘Tursiti’. Calotă observed that there were contacts between Rudari communities and there was some group awareness. The Rudari from Izbiceni knew about the Rudari called Aurari in the towns of Alexandria and Roşiorii de Vede, who in the past washed for gold in the Olt River. Calotă did not provide an explanation for the appellation ‘Tursiti’, but it must be in relation to their “foreign” accent. A similar instance is noticed in isolated communities of Rudari in Serbia hailing from Transylvania, whose speech is considered as “contorted” by other Rudari communities and are consequently called “Turşiţ” (Sikimić 2006).

Starting in 2010, Angela-Florentina Costescu investigated five Rudari communities in Oltenia: Filiaşi, a town in Dolj County, and four villages in Gorj County, among which is Baia de Fier, which, as will be shown in Chapters 3 and 4, is the site of ancient metallurgical activity. In Transylvania Costescu researched two upland villages in Sibiu and Alba counties, Jina⁶⁰ and Valea Vinţului, respectively (Costescu 2015). The Rudari do not interrelate, with many unaware of their past origin as gold-washers. They practice a hybrid ethnic identification strategy: always denying Gypsy identity, they declare themselves Romanians, especially for the census, and call themselves Rudari or Băieş, in a secondary manner (Costescu 2015). Costescu (2013: 547–559) describes the social marginalisation of the Rudari in a mixed Romanian and Rudari village. Geographically the Rudari inhabit the village periphery in a symbolic space called “rudăria”. The term “rudăria”, as shown in Chapter 3, denotes the place where Rudari work, and is a synonym for *baia* or place for gold-washing⁶¹.

60 The locality was investigated by Wiegand by the 1910s. See previous sub-chapter.

61 See also Ciorănescu (2002: 672): “*rudărie* s.f. the Rudar’s professional occupation; mineral ore, mine.” Cf. *zlătărie* “the skill of prospecting for gold” (Ciorănescu 2002: 855).

The Rudari from the Oltenian village investigated by Costescu lived before in hovels on the fringes of the forest. They settled on land after the First and then again after the Second World War. The Romanian community seem to have welcomed this relocation and benefited from their wood domestic utensils. The relation between the Rudari and the surrounding population in the village Poiana, commune Turburea, Gorj County, was in general free of ethnic conflicts, in contrast to the silent rejection perceptible towards the Roms in the same locality (Costescu 2012: 388, 391). The Roms call the Rudari *kaštale/caștari/caștalii* derived from *kašt* (Romani) ‘wood’; this might, as Costescu believes, be an exonym related to their occupation.⁶² But it could also be connected with the condition that they do not speak Romani, ‘caștaliu’ being Romani jargon for a person who speaks broken or no Romani čhib. The Romanians from this village participate in the ritual of *Gurban* practised by Rudari. In the past years, due to poverty, some Rudari cannot afford to perform the ritual, which involves significant costs, such as the sacrificing lamb and other paraphernalia.

Katalin Kovalcsik⁶³ (2007) researched Oltenian localities and provided a description of the morphology of the *Gurban* ceremony. A thorough description of the ritual materials, the syntax of the ritual and its symbolism has been made by Neagota (2014, now in English, Neagota 2021). In mixed communities from Olt and Vâlcea counties it has been observed that the Roms do not know the *Gurban* ceremony (Neagota and Benga 2016). Celebrating *Gurban* is an ethnical marker of the Rudari and is a reflection of their transborder movement South of Danube from where they borrowed the rite. This was already noted by Nicolăescu-Plopșor (Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1922) who discovered the custom of *Gurban* among the Rudari of Oltenia. Although the *Kurban* is widely practised in the Balkans, the specificity of the ceremony in Romania is that it is celebrated only by Rudari. This point has been highlighted in a new study by Benga on the Rudari from Dolj County, near the Danube (2016: 77). Benga explores the divinatory function of the *Gurban* in comparison to iatric religious practices from the Mediterranean area. Benga underlines the similarities of the symbolic actions of Balkan ceremonies, and connects the ritual shared by the Rudari community with pre-Roman traditions. The issue of ethnogenesis and the legend of Dacian origin is the subject of a new study based upon interviews with the Rudari in the Oltenian town Bechet, near Danube (Preda 2021).

62 Marushikova and Popov (2021) warn that they should not be conflated with Rudari/Boyash.

63 See footnote 47 in this chapter.

1.2.6 Conclusion

Ethnographic and social-anthropological studies of Rudari in historical provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia have investigated a dozen localities mainly in Oltenia. The modern investigations deal with a Rudari population that exclusively lives from carving wooden utensils and has abandoned panning for gold, a practice the majority engaged in up to 1838.

1.3 Sources

1.3.1 Cozia Monastery Registers

There are two registers that have not been published integrally, although some of the documents were collected in DRH (1965–2013) or in other collections⁶⁴.

1.3.1.1 Description of the Manuscripts from ANIC⁶⁵

Ms. 712: Title: “Condica mănăstirii Cozia” (Register of Cozia Monastery), in Slavic and Romanian, semi-uncial Cyrillic script, in-folio format; black ink; initial letters written in red ink; 27 lines on the page; numbered sheets from no. 236–554. Written at the end of the eighteenth century by several scribes. On pages 342 and 371, Zota or Zota the registrar is signed, and on page 333, there are two other notes in Slavic: “Father monk Onufrie of Cozia and Father Efreem of Cotmeana worked hard”, and on page 314v there is another note of a translator from Slavic, Grigore Mihailovici Contescu.

The register contains acts of donation and confirmation of donations to the monastery, ordered per estate, and inside the estate, the documents are arranged in chronological order. In the estate files, there are two separate chapters, one for the Rumâni and the other for the Țigani of the monastery.

Ms. 209: Title: “Condica mănăstirii Cozia” (Register of the Cozia monastery), in Romanian, semi-uncial Cyrillic script, in-folio format; black ink; initial letters written in red ink; 30 lines on the page; numbered from folios 1–445. On the title page: “Condica Sfintei și Dumnezeieștei mănăstirii Cozia, între care sunt adunate hrisoavele cele pentru daniile sfintei mănăstiri ale celor ce întru

64 The editors of the documents were: P.P. Panaitescu, *Documentele Țării Românești, I, Documente interne*, București, 1938: 42–43; Tocilescu, Grigore G., “Documente istorice inedite.” *Foaia Societății Românismul* II, 1871: 28–29; DIR B, vol.I, sec. XIII, XIV, XV, București, 1953, etc.

65 The manuscripts were collected by Florin Rotaru (historian, Bucharest) during the ÖSS funded project. He has transliterated the documents herewith presented and he has translated the few passages from Slavic into Romanian.

fericire au răposat, blagocestivilor Domni și Doamne, și ale blagocestivilor boieri care din dumnezeiască râvnă au dat acele moșii la sfânta mănăstire pentru mântuirea sufletelor lor. Scrisu-s-au acum întâi, socotindu-se hrisoavele de pre limba slaveneasca pe limba rumânească de sfinția sa, iubitorul de osteneli, părintele arhimandritul Sofronie, în anul 1778 decembrie 4, în vremea Domnului Alexandru Ipsilanti și a episcopului de Râmnic, Chesarie.”

“Register of the Holy and Divine Monastery of Cozia, among which are collected the acts of the donations to the holy monastery done by those who happily died, of the blessed rulers and princesses, and of the blessed boyars who out of pious zeal gave those estates to the holy monastery, for the forgiveness of their souls. They were written now for the first time, the documents from Slavonic into Romanian being translated by his holiness, the lover of labor, Father Archimandrite Sofronie, in December 4, 1778, during the reign of Alexandru Ipsilanti and the bishop of Râmnic, Chesarie.”

And on last page: “Această condică este scrisă de mână la anul 1778, în mănăstirea Cozia după hrisoavele cele adevărate și alte scrisori prin tălmăcirea arhimandritului Chir Sofronie Cozianul și altor tălmăcitori. Pentru confirmare Gherasim, arhimandritul Mitropoliei, 24 aprilie 1794.”

“This registry is written by the me in 1778, in Cozia Monastery according to the true documents and other letters by the interpretation of the archimandrite Chir Sofronie from Cozia and other interpreters. For confirmation, Gherasim, Archimandrite of the Metropolitan Chair, April 24, 1794.”

The question is why two registers were written with almost identical content and with such a short time interval in between, since it is noticeable that both manuscripts are from the eighteenth century. Some notable differences include: in Ms. 712, some documents are copied in the Slavic language, but they are not translated, and in Ms. 209, written by the abbot Sofronie, are only the Romanian translations. The editors of the DRH, who selected for publication some of the documents from both manuscripts, used the Slavic text in its entirety from Ms. 712, but did not take into account the Romanian translations from the eighteenth century. Although there is no list of the abbots who are the scribes of those two Registers, for establishing an exact chronology, it is still clear that Ms. 712 is prior to Ms. 209. Comparing, for instance, the content of the documents related to Rudari, the texts in the two registers are almost identical, with small lexical differences, insignificant for the history of the language or for history, in general.

We have selected from the two registers all the documents referring to the Rudari, depicting their working relations to the monastery and their history for nearly 500 years. They are called alternatively, Rudar or *țigan rudar* (freely translated here as Rudar Gypsy), and seldom *țigan rudar aurar* (rendered here

as gold-washer Rudar Gypsy). These specifications were carefully maintained in our English translation.

1.3.1.2 Previous Research

In an article that is the only study on the Rudari based on archival documents (Șerban 1959: 132–148), the two manuscripts in question are used, along with other manuscripts from ANIC. The study is a pertinent attempt to contribute to the history of gold washing with respect to the Rudari. The author rightly points out that in the beginning there was another category of gold-panners, the Rumanian *băiaș*⁶⁶, who collected gold from the riverbed of Lotru, in the same Vâlcea County; this category does not constitute the object of his investigation, although the reference is made again, later in the article, as a puzzling concluding remark. This we shall analyse later.

The author selectively follows some of the historical events of the epic thread of the history of the Rudari as described above, understanding things from the prism of the history of gold panning during a hundred-year period, with aspects of social history of the Rudari, with an emphasis on their status of subordination to Cozia Monastery and their struggle to extricate themselves from it. As any pioneering endeavour, this study from an otherwise astute scholar is unfortunately not free of imprecisions, some with major consequences for the understanding of the relation of the Rudari to Cozia Monastery, and for their history in general.

The author claims that the oldest document referring to the Rudari' activity is from 20 September 1620 (item no. 2 in the Appendix of our book), but he postulates that they might have been part of Cozia for longer. This is based on a line in this text about their taxation by the monastery: "as was the custom previously". The author, however, did not take notice of other documents from the same registers, documents in which a clear indication to the length of their subordination to Cozia Monastery appears, (item no.1 in the Appendix preserved in Ms. 209, f. 25 which mentions 300 Gypsy families (*sălașe de țigani*), and in Ms. 712, f. 244v–245, which mentions 50 such households.⁶⁷ The text is reproduced in DRH B, vol. 1, doc. 9, 1966: 25–28. From the testimonia of this

66 We have identified the document, being an act issued by Alexandru Moruzzi, ruler of Wallachia between 1793–1796, which will be further quoted.

67 Șerban (132, fn. 9) wrongly mentions "300 or 350 Gypsy families". However, there are many other small mistakes in the text of the article, or confusions. For instance, at p. 133 mention is made, based on Ms. 377, f. 588v, that in 1736 the Rudari in Cozia were as many as 400, because they returned to the Monastery which owns them. Or, according to the documents published here, we see that they returned here in 1739, after the withdrawal

document in the two registers, it follows that the Gypsy households are not ordinary Gypsies, they are Rudari: Ms. 209, f. 435, and Ms. 712, f. 587.

This lack of corroboration with other documents and integration of the study in a larger historical context does not diminish the quality of the study of C. Șerban, which is the only one of its kind. The major drawback is but the manipulation, perhaps unintentional, of the historical truth, probably contingent upon the ideological school of the time, a context within which the study was written, and which has remained until now uncorrected and taken into the treatise of the Romanian Academy (Șerban 2002: 186). No doubt, the article highlights throughout the continuous struggle of the Rudari to free themselves from the authority of the cleric, which resulted in open confrontations and trials. At the end of the article, the author mentions that:

There is certain data which confirms that the attempts of the Gypsy Rudari to free themselves from the authority of the monastery took place between 1793 and 1796 because after 1796 do we under any circumstances find them registered in the documents of Cozia Monastery, and in a monastery report to the Crown, dated 1796 July 18, which mentions that Cozia Monastery has to take for the years 1795 and 1796, 250 thalers for the monastery from the monastery Gypsies who are gold-panners (*aurari*) from the Vel Caminar, Police Commander. The result is that the Rudar Gypsies who worked at the end of the eighteenth century together with the Rumanian *băiași* of the Crown from Vâlcea County depended directly on the Crown, meaning they were Crown Gypsy slaves (*țigani robi domnești*) (1959: 138).

This information about the change of the status for the Rudari, from monastery *robs* to State Gypsies is taken *tale quale* in the treatise of history of the Romanian Academy (Șerban 2002: 186), without any source reference: “Until 1795 those from Wallachia belonged to Cozia Monastery, then to the Crown”. This is falsified by the fact that by 1838, after 40 years from this supposedly act of transfer of property, half of the Rudar population was registered as taxpayers to Cozia Monastery. It is nevertheless true that the other half were State Rudar Gypsies, and we shall later subject this dilemma to further scrutiny.

Now, to return to the study in question, the documents referred to by C. Șerban in support of his theory of transfer of property, speak about just the opposite: the Rudari have paid the due tax in the hands of the Chief Police Commander who constantly refused to hand over the money to the monastery. The monastery, pressurised by the need to build a hospital at Colțea Monastery,

of the Austrian troops. We will not further deal with all these minor errors, as the study remains the most important contribution to the issue.

wrote to complain to the ruler of Wallachia, Alexandru Moruzzi Voivode, who promptly, on the following day, issued an order to the culprit to hand over the money (ANIC Ms. 31⁶⁸, f. 671v).

It is uncanny why this attempt to solve a fraud was interpreted by C. Șerban as a Chancellery decision to take out the Rudari from the authority of the Cozia Monastery. This fact is once more contradicted by the author mentioning the Ordinance issued in 1798 by Constantin Hanger[1]i, a text that confirms that the Rudari were still under the authority of the Cozia Monastery.

1.3.2 *The 1838 Census of Population, Houses and Agriculture*⁶⁹

ANIC, Biroul arhive medievale fonduri personale și colecții: Colecția Catagrafii, part I, Inventory number 501, volumes numbered I/8 to I/107. [The 1838 Census of population, houses and agriculture, Historical National Archives, Bucharest; mostly unpublished].

The synthesis of this Census can be found in the Central Historical Archives, Bucharest (ANIC, Dir. General Statistics, dos. 1072/1867). The results of the 1838 Census were published in the *State Almanac* in 1842, and in full, in the Parliamentary Annals IX, part 1, p. 1162 ff.

68 This reference was checked by Florin Rotaru alongside the whole document, together with the resolution in the subsequent document. They were transliterated by him from Cyrillic.

69 See Gaunt and Rotaru 2021 for this source in relation to Roma demography.

Wallachia, from its Rise until the Mid-Nineteenth Century

The roots of what was to become Romania in the mid-nineteenth century goes back to Antiquity. From the Thracian peoples, known as Dacians and Getae, the Romans conquered a territory roughly bounded by the Danube, Tisza and Dniester Rivers. This conquest began in the reign of Emperor Trajan (reigned 98–117 CE) with victorious military campaigns in 101–102 and 105–106 CE. Trajan's administration created a new very large province known as Dacia (in the west and north) which later became the Medieval principality of Wallachia while the eastern part was joined to the existing Roman province Moesia, later turning into Moldavia. The Romans remained in place until 271 CE but were under constant attack from hostile tribes coming from the Eurasian steppes. The Romans eventually abandoned the provinces during the reign of Emperor Aurelian (reigned 270–276) because of an inability to defend the territory. The Romans left a legacy of Latin language, colonialism, a multi-ethnic society, and some important institutions.

After the Romans departed, waves of migratory peoples settled and the economy degenerated into small scale agriculture and animal husbandry. Contacts with the Roman world dwindled. Romanian populated lands formed a porous frontier against nomadic raiders. It was in essence a no-man's land. The Huns, Goths, Avars, Pechenegs, and Cumans invaded one after the other, culminating in the Mongol invasions in the mid-thirteenth century with the establishment of a Tatar Golden Horde basecamp in what is now Moldavia. Even when there were no large invasions, bands of raiding warriors massacred, plundered and pillaged villages taking captives to be sold into slavery. Particularly in eastern regions of Wallachia openness to nomadic raids meant that permanent field agriculture and stable villages were dangerous undertakings save in more defensible hilly and forested regions. The inhabitants had to be prepared to flee at a moment's notice, so dwellings in the flatland were kept rudimentary and villagers in the foothills wandered down to the flatland only in the summer, building temporary settlements and digging up small fields. Particularly in its most eastern parts the Wallachian flatland was barren, due to the climate being subject to hot dry summers making it more suited for shepherding than cultivated fields (Stahl, H.H. 1980a).

As stronger Central and Southeast European states formed elsewhere in the Medieval Balkan region, neighbouring Hungarian, Serbian and Bulgarian rulers competed to seize as much of the Romanian lands as possible (Magocsi 2002: 3–19; Hitchins 2014: 6–21). Inside the Romanian territory, population density remained sparse, land was abundant and transhumant tending herds of animals became the principal way of life. Subsequently, there was a surplus of land but a lack of inhabitants. The concept of private ownership of land was unnecessary. Traditional Romanian villages were known to redistribute land according to their members' needs and there was still much common land left over for pasture and small fields. Defence was local and formed small confederations of villages under local powerholders, who later became the nobles known as boyars.

Eventually, these small defensive alliances merged into larger entities under the rule of Princes. One of them grew inside the somewhat less invasion-prone area. An entity called the Țara Românească grew corresponding slightly with the south-central core of the former Roman province of Dacia. Later it was renamed the principality of Wallachia. It gradually crystallised into a stable country in the 1300s, owing to how armed struggles against the Hungarians pulled together fragmented local self-defence alliances. Wallachia was bounded in the south by the Danube River and in the north by the Carpathian Mountains. The mighty Olt River ran through the middle demarcating an important administrative, political and cultural boundary. Although there were no gold mines, several of the rivers flowing south from the mountains contained gold flakes in the sand. Grand Prince Basarab (c. 1310–1352), of partial Cuman origin, was the founding father of the independent Wallachian state modelling his rule on that of the Byzantine Empire: combining religious autocracy, Orthodox Christianity, tax collection and a defensive army. For many decades Hungary remained a threat, but it mainly campaigned north of the Carpathian Mountains, striking through Transylvania to gain access to the Danube River and the Black Sea. To distance itself from the Hungarian rulers who were avid Roman Catholics, Basarab's successors set up their own branch of the Orthodox church using Slavonic as a liturgical language and allying themselves with Constantinople.

Perpetual warfare reigned in the Black Sea region, and in Wallachia state institutions were only as strong as the state's ability to defend itself. Just as Wallachia succeeded to hold off the Hungarians, a new threat emerged from the south of the Danube River as the Turkish Ottomans expanded their conquests in South-East Europe taking neighbouring Bulgaria and Serbia in the late fourteenth century. Wallachia's Prince Mircea cel Bătrân (Mircea the Elder) who ruled 1386–1418, managed through military force, diplomacy and alliances

to temporarily keep the Ottomans at bay, but his principality had to pay a yearly tribute to the Sultan. As an Ottoman vassal state Wallachia preserved, at least in the first stage, its peace and independence in most internal matters and could choose its own rulers. In principle, Muslims were allowed only to enter for commercial reasons and were prohibited from building mosques. However, over time Ottoman dominance increased as did its pressure over the economy enforcing a state commercial monopoly at disadvantageous low prices. The rulers of Wallachia now adopted the official title *hospodar* (from the Slavic *gospodar*, meaning in this case sovereign lord) and were appointed by the Sultan. Until the eighteenth century the *hospodars* were chosen from leading Romanian clans, but thereafter they were chosen from leading Greek families established in Constantinople in the Fanar quarter. Hence forth they were called Phanariotes.

The boyar estates produced cattle and grain that was exported to Constantinople at fixed prices set by the Ottoman government. Through centuries of power-play, the position of the Wallachian Prince declined, and the boyar nobility grew stronger giving opportunity to increase their grip on the lives of dependent peasants (*rumâni* or *vecini*). The state, together with the many monasteries and nobility, owned most of the land and thus had many dependent serfs (*rumâni* or *vecini*) and slaves (*rob*). By the seventeenth century a handful of extremely influential families occupied the most important government offices and manipulated the elections of the Princes. But the boyars were disunited and grouped into rival clans and patronage networks. For livelihood the boyars and aristocrats became dependent on access to public office rather than living from the income from commercial agriculture.

The absence of primogeniture, low land productivity, and frequent redistribution of land prevented the formation of noble opposition to the authoritarian inclinations of princes on a territorially entrenched basis and made control of the people ultimately more important than control of the land. The same factors explain the lack of economic self-sufficiency, which ultimately made the Wallachian boyars dependent on public offices (Taki 2021: 19).

Already in the 1300s, when the embryonic Wallachian state developed, there were Gypsies, as well as Tatar slaves throughout the country. Slavery in the Black Sea and Mediterranean regions dated back to ancient Greece and Rome (Finley 1981: 167–176). Enslaving captives was a widespread practice among the nomadic peoples coming from the steppe as well as within the Ottoman Empire. During the Middle Ages the Black Sea region grew into a hub for capturing and transporting hundreds of thousands of slaves to the Mediterranean (Achim 2004b, Achim 2021: 117–143). The Genoese Italians dominated the slave

trade and had several trading centres at the mouth of the Danube River. The forms of slavery that developed in the region were different from the hegemonic slavery of antiquity and the Islamic world, and also different from the commercial plantation slavery that developed in North and South America. In Wallachia the conditions for creating large-landed estates were lacking. Because land was abundant and yet not very fertile, while the population was very mobile, settlements were unstable. Even the slaves were mobile: in Wallachia the status of slaves varied by the degree of their personal autonomy and freedom of movement. The “Gypsy” slaves were a mix of Indian-origin people with Tatars and other enslaved ethnic groups, and they were employed as itinerant craftsmen or workers in rural villages. It became important for masters to strengthen their control over the people (mostly through tax collection) rather than over the possession of land. Various forms of serfdom and slavery tied people to their “owners” to whom they owed certain taxes (*dajdea*, meaning tithe) or days of unpaid service (*claca*, meaning corvée). As we will see in the following chapters, they also became part of the work force and economic base of a few privileged monasteries. Of particular interest is a donation made by Mircea the Elder in 1388 of 300 Gypsy families to the Cozia Monastery, which we believe could mark the beginnings of that monastery’s “ownership” over gold-washer slaves known as the Rudari. This donation is one of the very earliest mentions of the presence of Gypsies in Romania and the mention of families indicates that the status of slave was to be inherited.

Naturally, the repeated invasions put a halt to Wallachia’s full development as a state. The foreign influences continued into modern times with, during the eighteenth century, Austria and Russia beginning to gradually push back the Ottoman Empire out of southeast Europe. The eighteenth century’s near constant warfare often led to incursions and battles on Wallachian soil and sometimes to outright occupation. Slave-owning was not legal in the Hapsburg Austrian lands and in Russia the only form of serfdom of unfree peasants involved attachment to the land. When after the war with the Ottomans, Austria concluded a peace treaty in 1718 and it began a rather long occupation of Wallachia west of the Olt River. Suddenly the many Gypsy slaves, including Cozia’s gold-washers who resided there were free and when the occupation was over the experience of freedom shaped a unique Rudari identity. At the same time the Austrian occupation meant that many of the “Gypsies” were able to move west into other Austrian provinces, thus contributing to the dispersal of Romanian-speaking Rudari groups outside Wallachia, probably as far away as Bosnia. Similarly, the many Russo-Ottoman wars affected Wallachia. The most important impulses came during the Russian occupation of 1828–1834 when Wallachia was ruled by a Russian military governor, a

typical enlightened despot. The Russian administration reorganised Wallachia with an intent to use it as a future military base. It instituted reforms to swiftly improve the depressed state of Romanian agriculture. It brought with it the idea of emancipating serfs and *rob* slaves and made inventories of Wallachia's economic potential. This inventory was also a detailed ethnic, social and economic survey of the entire population. We present this inventory in Chapter 8, on the socio-economic condition of the Rudari, which will show the beginning of a transition from gold-washing into the making and marketing of wooden household utensils.

The Time and Space of the Gold-Washers

This chapter offers an overview of the gold extraction in the Romanian territories from the earliest documentation to the nineteenth century. There is a continuity in gold-washing activity along the rivers using unsophisticated methods which hardly changed over the centuries. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, observers noticed the existence of reserves of alluvial gold and the identified similarities with gold-panning methods and descriptions made in antiquity. Some tried to connect the Rudari with the gold-washers of ancient Dacia. Many such narratives were told by the Rudari themselves to modern-day ethnographers and historians¹. While gold mining and panning was of little importance for Romanian economic history², it employed hundreds of workers and their families, many of which belonged to the group known as the Rudari.

3.1 The Legacy from Antiquity

The oldest reference to the existence of gold extraction in the north region of the Danube comes from Herodotus' *Histories*. Writing about the campaign of the Persian Emperor Darius against the Scythians between 514–512 BC, he described the landscapes and the traditions of the traversed territories. According to Herodotus, in present-day Transylvania once lived the tribes of Agathyrsians, about whom he wrote: “The Agathyrsians are the most luxurious of men and wear gold ornaments for the most part” (Herodotus 1890: iv, 104). The source of gold was believed to come from the alluvial gold of the rivers (Piatkovski and Vanț-Ștef 1961: 501, note 422). Elsewhere, Herodotus describes how gold-panning was carried out in India: “Now this great quantity of gold, out of which the Indians bring in to the king the gold-dust which has been mentioned ... they say there is a pool, from which the native girls with birds' feathers smeared over with pitch bring up gold-dust out of the mud” (Herodotus 1890: IV, 195). East of the Carpathian Mountains were Scythians who inhabited the territory up to Don River. The Scythians and the Agathyrsians told the legend

1 Marushiakova and Popov 2021 deconstructed such narratives as being contaminated by previous encounters of the Rudari with ethnographers.

2 John R. Lampe & Marvin R. Jackson 1932 does not mention mining at all.

of the Griffins as the keepers of gold: “beyond these, the gold-guarding griffins, and beyond them the Hyperboreans extending as far as the sea” (Herodotus 1890: IV, 13). Washing or panning gold-bearing sand taken from along the riverbanks was a familiar and uncomplicated method and was the source of royal riches.

Archaeologists believe that the Dacian kings owned gold mines (*fodinae aurariae*) (Paribeni 1926, I: 196, 320; Christescu 1929: 23). During the first century AD in Dacia new methods for mining, making pottery, and carving wood developed, while ploughs with iron ploughshare began to appear (Daicoviciu 1945: 208).

In the early second century Dacia became a Roman province, sometimes called Dacia Felix. The new conquest stimulated the lavishness of the Emperor Trajan, who ordered great public festivities. According to Dio Cassius, the Dacian treasury was taken to Rome. The sixth century Byzantine writer Ioannes Lydus believed that Rome received about 5,000,000 pounds of gold and “twice as much silver”, in addition to many other objects made of precious metals (Cassius LXVIII, 15; LI, 22, Lydus, edition 1903: 83). These exaggerated quantities have been reduced by historian J. Carcopino to around 500,000 pounds of gold, one million pounds of silver and 50,000 prisoners (Carcopino 1924: 33). Still, the enormous size of the Dacian treasury indicates access to very large sources of gold.

The Romans introduced new ways of managing gold extraction. The main form was the lease to private managers. In Dacia the mine galleries were leased to merchants. Their obligations consisted in the payment of the lease and the delivery of specified quantities of gold. The Dacians were excluded from lease-holding, nonetheless they could exploit the gold sands on the riverbanks (Christescu 1929: 22; Stanciu 1942: 32–34; Daicoviciu 1945: 134). Some improvements in methods of extraction were introduced from other parts of the empire. “Trajan, after he had subdued Dacia, had transplanted thither an infinite number of men from the whole Roman world” (Flavius Eutropius, *Breviarium*, VIII, 6). The Illyrian Pirustae tribe, originally from the Gulf of Kotor region in Montenegro (Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita*, XLV, 26), specialized in extracting gold from ore, rather than washing sand (Zaninović 1995: 113). They were moved to a mining area in Dacia (Christescu 1937: 21). Here the Pirustae received the status of *ocupatores*, but without ownership. Some wax tablets from that period mention the right of *ius commercii* (CIL, III: 944, table VIII, apud Christescu 1937), with no obligations other than a contractual duty related to use of the land and to the gold mines (*glebae et metallis adscripti*). They formed their own villages (Hanga and Pascu 1958, I: 142³) and paid a fee

3 They give the list with all those villages inhabited by Pirustae.

for access to the mine galleries. They worked with their own slaves or with paid workers, among whom there were also local people (Daicoviciu 1945: 134).

In Roman Dacia, three methods of gold extraction were known (Christescu 1937: 12 ff):

- 1) Extraction of gold nuggets, flakes and dust from the sands of rivers and their tributaries. This method was mainly reserved to local inhabitants.
- 2) Excavating ore in pits (*putei*), accessible by ladders. The rock was broken by means of filling the pit with wood and starting a great fire and then dousing the hot rock surface with cold water causing it to crack, a process called "fire-setting".
- 3) Digging in galleries (*cuniculi*) which followed gold veins in the rock. Because of the thin widths of the veins, the digging of these galleries was carried out by small people or children. The mining tools were hammers made of hard diorite stone (Stanciu 1942: 53, fig. 12). Other tools were made of metal in different shapes (Stanciu 1942: 72, fig. 23). In order to pump out water, to avoid the mine flooding, hydraulic wheels (*rotae*) were placed in rows and set in motion. Such wheels were discovered in the Transylvanian mines of Ruda and Monulești (Christescu 1937: 18). The funeral *stellae* of some paid miners, in general, are carved with such tools (CIL III, tables 1264 and 1269, apud Christescu 1937).

Descriptions of mining operations in Egypt related by Diodorus of Sicily show all kinds of workers in the gold mines (*fondinae aurariae*) including children and women (Book III, 13⁴). The situation was probably similar in Dacia.

Boys who had not yet come to maturity, entered through the tunnels into the galleries formed by the removal of the rock, and laboriously gathered up the rock as it was cast down piece by piece. They then carried it out into the open to the place outside the entrance. Those above thirty years of age would then take this quarried stone from the boys, and with iron pestles pound a specified amount of it in stone mortars, until they had worked it down to the size of a vetch. Thereupon the women and older men received from them the rock of this size and cast it into mills, of which a number stood in a row. They took their places in groups of two or three at the spoke or handle of each mill, and ground it until they worked down the amount given them to the consistency of the finest flour (Diodorus 1935: III, 13).

By law the Roman Emperor was the owner of all mines. The labour in the Dacian mines "was done with slaves of the state or hired from private owners, with convicts forced to work (*damnati ad metalla*), who were also transformed into slaves of the state (Tudor 1957: 132), as well as with paid workers

4 Cp. the account of the mines in Spain (Book V, 35 ff.).

(Daicoviciu 1945: 134⁵). The paid labourers were probably landless peasants (Waltzing 1895–1900: II, 246). Paid labourers were generally preferred by leaseholders due to the poor performance of the slave labourers (Stanciu 1942: 75; Peretz 1928: I, 268). Three wax tablets from first-second century AD, already mentioned, contain employment contracts. These documents reveal the contractual relationship between the lease-holder and worker.

Under the consulate of Macrinus and Celsus, on the thirteenth day from the Kalendae of June. Me, Flavius Secundinus, I am writing at the request of Memmius son of Asclepius, who declared that he does not know how to write. He stated that he was always renting and now he rented his physical labour to Aurelius Adiutor, in the gold mining trade, as of this day, that is, May 20, 164, until November 13 of this year, for the price of 70 denarii and food. He will have to accept payment in instalments. He must provide to the above-mentioned tenant consistent and suitable work. If, against the will of the lease-holder, he wants to leave or interrupt the work, he will have to compensate the lessee a fine amount calculated at five semesters per day. In case a flood in the mine interrupts work, he must bear this break, proportional to the number of interrupted days. If the lessee does not pay the compensation at the fixed term, he will suffer the same punishment, except for when he has delayed for shorter than three days (CIL III: 947, tables IX–XI, apud Christescu 1937)⁶.

In second century AD Dacia, as throughout the Roman Empire, there was an increase in paid laborers compared to slaves (Pârvan 1926: 22; Christescu 1937: 22). However, in the second century, gold mining decreased in importance. The eminent historian Theodor Mommsen believed that the cessation of mining activities was due to the Sarmatian-Marcoman wars between 166–180 AD, which had a negative influence on Dacia. Also, the barbarian attacks of the second and third centuries, whose objective was the gold mining region of Dacia, contributed to the disruption of mining activities. The regional situation further deteriorated, to such an extent that in 271 the Roman Empire withdrew its administration from Dacia, to South of the Danube.

The economy of the former Roman province Dacia declined. In Transylvania Roman gold mining galleries closed down for a millennium. However, the extraction of gold by washing river sand continued both in Transylvania and in Wallachia. During a thousand years, the territory of Dacia was occupied by a succession of steppe nomadic peoples: Goths, Gepides, Visigoths, Pechenegs, Uzi and Cumans. The nomads adapted to the rustic life-style of local inhabitants.

5 Daicoviciu precisely notes the presence of the Dacians in the gold mines.

6 The English translation is ours after J. Carcopino's translation of the Latin text (Carcopino 1937: 97).

Between the tenth and fourteenth centuries iron extraction and processing intensified, as attested by the findings from the archaeological sites of Vadu Săpat (Chişvasi-Comşa 1957: 495, 1958: 567–569) and Bucov in Prahova County (Chişvasi-Comşa 1959: 82–83); Bucharest, Buftea, Mogoşoia, Ciurelu, Băneasa (Panaït 1963: 140), Rudeni in Argeş County (Popescu and Vulpe 1983: 103–105), Dridu (Nestor 1959: 599, Nestor and Zaharia 1961, Nestor and Zaharia 1962), Malu Roşu in Ilfov County (Nestor and Zaharia 1957: 551, 1958: 519, 1959: 514 and 1960: 185), Mărculeşti in Slobozia County (Diaconu 1957: 544), Alexandria in Teleorman County (Mitrea and Preda 1957: 178), Verbiţa in Dolj County (105); Garvăn (Barnea 1955: 100–104) and Dinogeţia (Ştefan et al. 1967: 69–71), Capidava (Florescu, Florescu, and Diaconu 1958: 139–141, 233).

No strict division of labour could be seen in Wallachia for each moment of metal production: “extraction was not yet separated from processing, the two processes being performed by the same individual or by the same group of individuals, within a community” (Olteanu and Şerban 1969: 37). In general, blacksmiths had to procure the raw material near the place where his reduction furnace was located: “every blacksmith in the village was also a miner, seeking to use any mineral source located at a greater or less distance from home, based on technological knowledge transmitted from generation to generation” (Olteanu and Şerban 1969: 17–18). Archaeological discoveries reveal small-scale rural metallurgy in pre-historic times and it accompanied permanent-field agricultural settlements: “These trades [ore reduction and metal processing, n. J.R.] are incompatible with the nomadism, being inherited by generations over several hundred years, which thereby characterize a sedentary population” (Olteanu and Şerban 1969: 118). The metallurgical techniques used in Wallachia were the same as those used all over Europe. Iron ore was mined from the rock by hand using hammers, and fire was used to aid in cracking the stone. The hydraulic force used to crush the rocks, attested to in medieval France, Germany, Sweden, and Denmark (Gille 1947: 14), also existed in Wallachia since at least the end of the fourteenth century.

A blacksmith’s workshop from the second half of the eleventh century found at Garvăn, Tulcea County, Dobrugea, preserves many iron objects, nails, hangers, sickles, hammers, cauldrons, knives, and some copper items such as handles for cauldrons, fishhooks, copper sheets with rivets, as well as iron and copper bars for processing, and clay moulds for casting rings. This blacksmith mined the ore and then processed it into iron and copper household items, as well as simple jewellery, using clay moulds (Barnea 1955: 101–104). A similar discovery was made at Păcuiul lui Soare, where tools and clay melting pots were found for casting various objects out of precious or semi-precious metal, as well as a jeweller’s anvil, all belonging to the same individual (Nestor and Diaconu 1957: 589; Diaconu 1959: 604).

3.2 Renewal of Mining in the Middle Ages and early Modern Era

In Transylvania, mining resumed modestly during the reign of King Béla IV (1206–1270). In 1255 he granted to newly settled German colonists the right to mine gold, silver, and other metals. A privilege for the metal trade was granted to the Fugger family, who were prominent bankers. The Fugger concession introduced a royal monopoly of gold and silver, and reinvigorated gold mining in Transylvania. In 1325 Hungary issued a gold coin called “Florentinus”. Gold mining contributed to Hungary’s prosperity: “it has been estimated that of all the gold produced in the then known world one-third came from Hungary and two-thirds from Africa. While almost all of the African gold remained in the Muslim orient, four-fifths of the European demand was met by Hungary” (Lendvai 2007: 62–63).

Testimonies of foreign travellers in the Romanian provinces tell of important gold reserves. Among the first observations was from a Transylvanian named Georg Reicherstorffer⁷. He wrote that Sibiu was not just the capital of a province but was also its richest city because of gold and silver; it was the seat of the Imperial Mint.

Sibiu. This city is the capital of the province and is very well fortified and by far the richest in gold and silver and all the riches [...] Then there are mountains in this province extremely rich in gold and silver like Abrud, Zlatna and Baia de Criş from which a great wealth of gold and silver is taken and given to the Royal Chamber to mint gold and silver coins (*Călători străini* I, 1968: 213, 224).

Anton Verancsics⁸ (1504–1543), knew that in Transylvania “gold and silver are extracted from almost any mountain and there is no flowing water in which gold is not washed” (*Călători străini* I 1968: 409). Stephan Taurinus⁹ (circa 1485–1519) from Austria considered the Transylvanian Abrud mine to be “mother nature’s own treasure.” He describes it with exaggerated enthusiasm:

Abrud in Transylvania is a fair rich in gold, around which the mountains are so happily loaded with a wonderful abundance, that one could rightly say that it is mother nature’s own treasure and the never-drained treasury of a great kingdom, for the pure gold is here cut into pieces from the vast ridges of the mountains, under which crystalline rivers flow along the valleys; in this place there are

7 Georg Reicherstorffer, probably a Saxon born in Biertan, lived in the period c.1500–c.1550, was the secretary of the queen of Hungary. Later, he joined the Protestant opposition camp and became the secretary of the Voivode of Transylvania, Ioan Zapolya.

8 Anton Verancsics (1504–1543), nephew of the Bishop of Veszprem, Hungary, was secretary of the Transylvanian Voivode Ioan Zapolya and bishop of Transylvania.

9 Stephan Stieröchsel Taurinus, born Olomoucký. In 1517 he became vicar general of the bishop of Transylvania.

many lumps of gold in the rich and frequently met “chrisoplissii”, that is baths for washing gold (*Călători străini* I 1968: 158).

Similar praise came from a primate of the Catholic Church in Hungary, governor and viceroy of Hungary, of Romanian origin, Nicolaus Olahus¹⁰. He stated that there were three categories of gold in the mountains of Transylvania.

The gold mines now exploited are next to the big towns called mining towns, that is Cremnitz, then Baia Mare in Transylvania. Gold is of three kinds: a solid one that is found among massive stones and is quite clean and naturally pure. Gold of this kind, that others found of special size, I found myself of the size of a hen's egg weighing over 100 ducats. Recently, the bishop of Transylvania, Nicolae Gerendi, wrote to me that he found a piece of gold weighing 350 ducats and wrote to me that a peasant near Abrud found gold in the size of a peasant's bread, weighing more than 1600 ducats. One may find it in the size of a walnut or pebbles. The second kind of gold is skilfully extracted from ore that is mixed with gold, silver and copper. And the third is washed from the sandy beds of the streams, which are very numerous along the Arieş River, and that is why it is called “gold from the sand” or “gold from washing” (*Călători străini* I 1968: 498).

The Italian captain Giovanni Andrea Gromo¹¹ supplied descriptions of the Romanians, Hungarians, Szeklers, Saxons and Gypsies living in Transylvania, as well as its mineral resources:

If we go northwest from Alba Iulia city, we reach very high mountains and dense forests that stretch almost 35 miles between three old towns, near which are the most productive gold and silver veins. In recent years, rich reserves of red mercury sulphide, pumice, copper and iron were discovered here. One of these towns is Abrud, once a Roman colony, then donated by King (Governor) Iancu of Hunedoara, to the College of Canonicals of Alba Iulia. The gold and silver taken from here is transported to Sibiu, where the coin is minted without interruption. Not far from here is Zlatna, an open town, built in the time of Trajan, now inhabited by Romanians, who work incessantly in those mines. At the foot of the mountain, we find Baia de Criş. All these towns have as their occupation the extraction of different metals from mines, where they are found in abundance, as well as the washing of gold and silver from those clear streams that spring from mines; and everything is taken to Sibiu [...] Men with influence, enjoying great fame, form a city magistracy with the highest authority in the state except only for the king's authority (*Călători străini* I 1968: 345, 351, 352).

10 Nicolaus Olahus (1493–1568) was secretary to the Hungarian court and later bishop of the diocese of Zagreb, Primate of the Church Catholics of Hungary, governor and viceroy of Hungary.

11 Giovanni Andrea Gromo (1518–1567) in 1538; he was appointed a captain in the army of Transylvanian Voivode Ioan Zapolya.

Pierre Lescalopier made brief observations on gold mining methods and named the miners Boyash.¹²

On July 5 [1574?], I saw the gold mine, which one enters very deep under a high mountain. From here, the Boyash take out some stone, which they firstly burn like plaster, then grind it in a water mill, which drives the burnt stones into a wooden gutter, one foot wide and two rods long, where they are crushed by thick piles that rise and fall one after the other, and it is turned into gravel. The dust or gravel is slowly carried through this water trough, which at its exit from this canal, sprinkles it on coarse cloth spread slightly bent over a very large tube. Gold clings to these canvases and the gold which does not cling to it falls into a tub, and the water drains down. Twice a day the Boyash pick up these cloths, wash them in other tubs, then on large wooden trays take what is in these vessels, that is, water and sand, which they shake little by little until the gold is separated on one side, and the waste sand remains on the other side of the tray (*Călători străini* II 1970: 436).

Paul Bornemisza, bishop of Veszprém (1552) reported on the difficult conditions of Boyash mining workers in Transylvania.

Because it is difficult for those who are poor, who work every day to obtain gold for their livelihood, to travel to Sibiu, and if somehow the Imperial Treasury does not exchange their gold, which is often the case, from lack of money, to give it to others [...] The poor Boyash are forced to give their gold to moneylenders [...] Almost all the Boyash who work at gold are Romanians. The towns named above [Abrud, Baia de Arieș, Baia de Criș and Băișoara, n.J.R.] still have as most of their workers Romanians¹³[...] There are some very good silver mines according to everyone's testimony in Rodna locality, at a distance of eight miles from Bistrița citadel [...] but these places were occupied by the Voivode of Moldova, Petru, the father of the present Voivode Ștefan [...] At the moment, poor, wandering people are working in them, among whom it is said that there are some Anabaptists [...] It is known that the Transylvanians belong to the three nations, i.e., Hungarians, Szeklers and Saxons [...] The city of Cluj was once a Saxon colony, now it is inhabited together by Saxons and Hungarians (*Călători străini* II 1970: 47, 48, 50, 55, 56).

In Wallachia the extent of mineral wealth, especially gold, was underexploited and kept semi-secret, stated Franco Sivori¹⁴, the secretary of the Voivode Peter Cercel (1583–1585).

12 Pierre Lescalopier (1550–1597) studied law at the University of Padua between 1571–1574, after which he made a study trip to the Levant.

13 In original: "Oppida supranominata tamen etiam poene majorem operariorum suonum partem valachos habent tamen ad hūc."

14 Franco Sivori, a Genoese in the service of Voivode and secretary of the Chancellery for 1583–1585.

There are gold mines in this country considered very rich, but they are not exploited from fear that, once the expense is made and the work started, the Turks will appropriate them; however, in some places they dig the soil very easily and find the gold nuggets there. Also, the water from a river flowing at the foot of the mountains with minerals carries with it many nuggets of gold that are collected with a certain skill. The prince's share can be up to 20,000 ducats (*Călători străini* III 1971: 1–6).

Interesting details are presented by the secretary of the Patriarch of Antioch, Paul of Aleppo (1627–1669), in a description of his travel to Cozia Monastery, which was the administrator of hundreds of Rudari gold-washers in Wallachia.

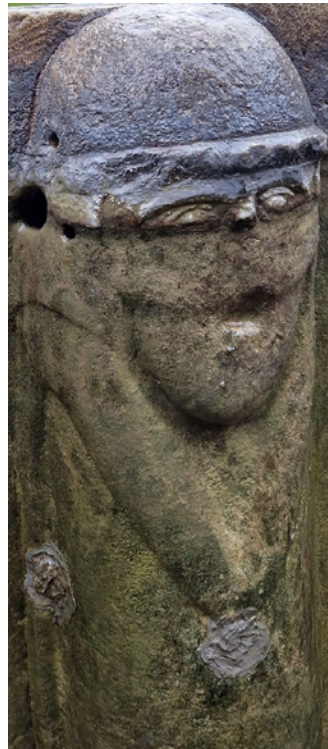
The monastery called Cozia is located to the east, three or four hours of travel by the river mentioned above [Olt, n.a.] on its right. The road is extremely bad due to the rugged places and the difficulties encountered. It is a narrow path, on the bank of the river, along which only one horse can pass at a time, and this too with great difficulty, care and fear. For the river flows down into a frighteningly deep valley, full of rocks and currents that leap like waves of the sea, and when it roars, its roar is awful, distressing your heart with dread. The river is very large and wide [...] and beyond it, on the other side, there are very high mountains, impossible to cross, forested and totally impenetrable. To the left of the road, that is, to our left as we climbed, is a very high mountain, steep and rocky, covered with huge trees; and our path went on like this, until we came to a wooden bridge, ingeniously leaning over the frightful abyss [...] No one can descend to the river because of its depth and its steep, straight banks like a wall [...] There is no road behind it or anywhere else around it; it can only be traversed by this frightening gorge (*Călători străini* VI, p. 1 1976: 181).

Paul of Aleppo (1653–1658) described the *baia de aur* 'gold bath', a place of gold extraction composed of a series of several dams.

The fountain built by the voivode Neagoe Basarab (1459–1521) which is visible until nowadays (see illustrations 1 to 4) and which represents probably the head of a Rudar, is thus described by Paul of Aleppo (1653–1658).

In front of the holy church there is a well (very likely, the well built by voivode Neagoe Basarab-n.n) filled with water sourcing from a spring that flows from the mountain and delights the senses. Inside the pool there are four sculptures from whose mouths water flows: one is the face of a Hungarian, the other is the head of a Turk with his turban, the third is the face of a Wallachian prince and the fourth that of a rob slave. (*Călători străini* VI, p. 1 1976: 183).

The whole region between Râmnic [city] and Cozia monastery is endowed with large dams made from the roots of the willow-like trees, that stop the water. When the dams are opened, the mud is set aside, and the gold-bearing sand is taken from the bottom. This is the famous 'gold bath' of Wallachia that belongs to the Lord, or to the Lord's consort. Its products are leased by the Gypsies or



Ill. 1-4 Details from a statuary group, Cozia Monastery (photo: Right Reverend Veniamin Luca)

gold-washers (*aurari*) of this country and by other *zlătar* craftsmen, from the hearsay, for 1000 dinars a year [...] At Baia de Aramă all the workers and craftsmen are Serbs. I left the Boyash on Friday (*Călători străini* VI, p. 1 1976: 187, 357).

Another account was given by the secretary of Wallachia's ruler, the Florentine del Chiaro¹⁵ (1710–1716). Although well informed he is rather laconic about the extent of mineral resources.

The gold, silver and other metal mines are well buried under the ground, so as not to catch the eye, arousing the greed of the Turks. It is enough to say that every year around Christmas, the community of Gypsies in Wallachia must bring to the ruler's wife, as a substitute for taxes, about 15 *funți* of gold, collected from the sand of the Argeș river, giving a *funț* to the Police Commander as [their] administrator; and this gold must be worth 2 *reales* a dram, and if it happens that in a year it has not been collected in the approved quantity, the Gypsies must buy it; but if they collect more, they may keep the surplus (*Călători străini* VIII 1983: 364–370).

Samuel Köleséri junior¹⁶ (1692) described the rudimentary working techniques, which were themselves used up to his own days, and gave an account of the mining localities in Transylvania. Among the places he mentioned is the region of Zarand, famous for its alluvial gold. He also noted the toponym Ruda, certainly influenced by the Rudari, as will be shown in Chapter 4 and footnote 86.

It just suffices to have a look at the "Auraria" city of the Romans, called in today's Romanian-Wallachian language Awrud (Abrud, n.a.), a wonder of nature, with the neighbouring villages Cărpiniș and Bucium. [...] Take into account the metal exploitation at Zlatna and Brăzești and in neighbouring Almaș, Hărțăgani, Trestia, Crișcior, **Ruda** [emphasis added, n.a.] Băița and Baia de Criș [...] Germans from Saxony and other parts of Germany are brought here with special privileges, among others for mining; ... as their churches prove ... which possess the insignia of metal workers: the hammer, the pickaxe, and the rake for washing gold; ... but discouraged by too many vicissitudes here, they were forced to seek shelter in safer places. Now, only Abrud is inhabited by a population of Hungarian and Romanian Boyash¹⁷ [...] Băița performs serf labour for the diocese of Oradea, Baia de Arieș, also for an illustrious family of Transylvania; the mine from Rodna is dependent on the town council of Bistrița citadel. [...] We must recall the praiseworthy and beneficial initiative for the public welfare

15 Antonio Maria del Chiaro, was born in Florence in 1669. In 1710 he became Latin language secretary in the Chancellery until 1716.

16 Samuel Köleséri junior, (1663–1732) was born in Szendro, Hungary. In 1692, he was appointed inspector of mines in Transylvania. He wrote *Auraria Romano-Dacica*, Cibinii, 1717. He visited Wallachia four times, in 1709, 1712, 1713 and 1714.

17 In original: *habitoribus urburariis*.

taken by Cristofor Bathory¹⁸, the protector of the mines, Gabriel Bethlen¹⁹ and Gheorghe Racoczy I²⁰, from whose care they were relieved of the provincial burdens and helped by the Imperial Treasury not only the local Boyash, but even those who came from elsewhere, especially the professional metal miners brought from cities with metal mines from Hungary who settled in the royal town of Zlatna, where, in addition to mining, some smelting, calcination and metal separation workshops were set up, as well as everything that could be useful for metal industry [...] Dacia is famous for its “free” gold and is no less than any other region in Europe, ranking immediately after some famous regions in America and Africa, in terms of finding pure virgin native gold and gold sand. Therefore, the Dacians have been called since antiquity together Bessi²¹ “gold gatherers”²², a name for gold panners in rivers and mines, because they collected gold by panning it, as evidenced by the continuation till today of this work. But the poem from Nola²³ in Carmen 30, “Sed et callidos quasi in aurum conversos”, calls them very skilful, as if they completely turned it into gold. About today’s gold collectors, I will say the same thing: along with the labour, they also inherited the skill and zeal that is akin to them²⁴ (*Călători străini* VIII 1983: 617–620).

The native gold, usually called virgin, which is found at the foot of Mount Bihor, in Arieșul Mic, in Țebea, then in Bistrița, in the form of small pieces, does not need to be subjected to any amalgamation because it is clean, unmixed and sometimes reaches 19–20 carats. Free gold. ‘Free’ gold is still collected today in its natural state, in Dacia, by washing. For this simple work takes gold-bearing marcasite from the mud, the sand, or the sandy earth. Next to the rivers, where gold was discovered, a table for washing gold is built, that is, a long headboard, with one end higher and the other lowered or tilted by its middle. In our country it is shorter and wider, but in Wallachia it is twice as long, divided by cuts across its width, with serrated margins on both sides. It is covered with a shreddy cloth or hemp, over which gold sand is poured from baskets and buckets with handles. The work is continued until the coarser and stony parts are taken out, and the finer part together with the metal is retained by the cloth which covers it. Finally, this cloth is folded and immersed in water. After frequent washings or sinking it is cleaned of sand and it is washed with the help of a washing basin called a Scheidtrog or Sichertrog. Outside the rivers, some boards are placed that meet crosswise at the bottom edge. The sand, the earth, and the gold-bearing mud are spread over them with a rake, and by pouring water from the other end, they

18 1576–1582.

19 1608–1629.

20 1630–1648.

21 Bessi, Bisseni or Pacinacae are in Latin medieval texts the names under which the Pechenegs are known, now an extinct semi-nomadic Turkic ethnic people from Central Asia (Spinei 2003: 93).

22 *aurilegulos*, in original.

23 Paulinus Nolanus, in Latin Meropius Pontius Paulinus, born in 353 in died in 431. He was one of the most important Latin Christian poets. Of his work, 35 poems and 49 letters have been preserved. Carmen, XVII, 340 verses (Rojneac 2007).

24 i.e. labour and inherited skill.

are washed, the water is draining as much as the worker decides, together with the mud through the lower opening that meets the middle of the extremity and the heaviest part remains with the others. In some places, canals are dug, and as according to how the portions of earth laden with gold are, wide, narrow or deep, the stones and the thicker earth are firstly taken with the metal rake, and at the end of the canal the water is stopped by a small canal until the metallic sand remains which is cleaned of sludge by draining water from the canal. At Țebea, in Arieșul Mic, and in places where gold is collected in granules or crumbs or foil, this is the way of washing. In the similar way gold is washed in the mine.

Gradually, the number of observations of Romanian gold mining written by foreigners diminished (Birou 1957: 157–176, Rudeanu 1970). However, there was later a revival of interest after the integration of Banat into the Austrian Empire in 1718. The mines of Banat became the property of the emperor, with the status of a royal domain. The Austrian Court ordered several scientific reports. In the second half of the eighteenth century, two extremely valuable studies were carried out. One was made by Johan Jakob Ehrler (Ehrler 2006) and the other by a Venetian naturalist, Francesco Grisellini.²⁵ Grisellini lived in the Romanian Banat for several years and wrote a report for the Austrian Empress Maria Theresia (Grisellini 1984).

Grisellini built upon the writings of the mineralogist Ignaz von Born for which he made an exhaustive presentation. His investigation of Banat lasted between September 1774 and February 1777. His report is composed in the form of letters addressed to several significant individuals. Consisting in two parts, the first part of the book provides a description of the population and the villages of Banat, while the second part refers to natural resources, such as mineral ores and their exploitation. Both parts make general references on the Gypsies, on their origins as the author believed in Egypt and Ethiopia, and their main occupations such as blacksmithing²⁶ (Grisellini 1984: 160). He describes gold collectors in the following way:

It is true, so far, that the riches of Banat are restricted not only to semi-precious metals, such as copper, lead and iron [...] Most rivers and streams carry gold grains with their sand. Gold panning in Banat is the occupation of Gypsies of both sexes. For this purpose, they choose the time when the rivers swell due to rain or from snow melting, flowing faster and more violently than usual. The

25 Francesco Grisellini, born in Venice on August 12, 1717, the son of a cloth weaver and dyer, studied theology in his hometown (Krischan 1980).

26 “The Gypsy is the worst and most negligent farmer. He prefers to choose a much harder and dangerous job, with a lower income, than to squeeze a better life out of the wealfarious earth” (Grisellini 1984: 164).

only tool used is a linden board, one *stânjen*²⁷ long and one and a half *stânjeni*²⁸ wide, slightly hollowed out at the top and provided with 10–12 notches across. The board is fixed at an angle of 45 degrees with the horizon. On it is placed the gold-bearing sand taken from the river, water is poured over it and mixed in such a way by hand, so that gradually the lighter particles of sand, finally, and the heavier ones drain together with the water. Thus, in the notches of the board, in the end, the larger grains of gold and sand remain. To clean them completely, everything is placed in a long tube and water is poured over it again. It is then passed through a sieve, where the gold remains within clean and shiny. The Gypsies carry out this operation in a few minutes, so that in a short time, and not infrequently, they collect gold grains worth two *crăițari*. In dry season, when the waters are very low, Gypsies look for gold in the ground in the immediate vicinity of rivers and streams, often even at some distance in the surrounding area. Then they dig wide holes to reach the layer of earth, which, according to certain signs, they know would contain gold (Grisellini 1984: 300).

Among the localities listed for the exploitation of gold sands, we find the village of Rudăria, a toponym probably created referring to the Rudari hailing from Wallachia.

Somewhat similar layers of gold can be found in other places in Almăj, along other streams, which, before pouring into the Nera river, pass through the villages of Bănia, Rudăria and Dalboșeț (Grisellini 1984: 301).

The history of mining in Romania, and especially in Transylvania, is well researched, benefiting from archaeological discoveries of gold mining before the Roman conquest (Popescu 1956: 121–211). Transylvanian localities known for their mining activities have been the subject of local studies, such as Abrud (Binder 1980: 211), the Sebeș region (Acker 1965: 647–651) and the workers there: “the Hungarians, the inhabitants of the plain were not good at mining [...], and the native miners have become serfs of the Crown. They extracted gold with simple tools, of ancient tradition, practicing until recent times so-called “Wallachian mining” (Aradi 1925: 284); and so-called “peasant mining” (Butură 1969).

In Wallachia the native gold was panned from the riverbeds of the main rivers and their tributaries, Olt, Argeș, Ialomița by the Rudari until the second half of the nineteenth century (Cojocaru 1958: 787–790 and doc. 35 in the Appendix²⁹).

27 approximately 2 metres.

28 approximately 3 metres.

29 ANIC, fond Visteria, dos. 1633/1843, f. 2.

[...] the plane sloping down the Danube and traversed by numerous rivers flowing almost in parallel courses, so as to meet that river nearly at right angles. In the sand of these rivers the Gipsies find gold-dust which they put into feathers, and thus bring it to the towns for sale (Clarke 1818: 255).



Ill. 5 "Gipsies [sic!] washing Gold in the Bannat of Hungary", engraving from Clarke 1818: 322 (reproduced from the copy of the Library of the Romanian Academy II 32 043)

The Italian traveller painter Luigi Mayer gave the following description of the Gypsies panning on the Olt river, to a watercolour entitled "View of the Aluta"³⁰ which he made together with the engraver William Watts in 1804³¹.

The group of figures on the foreground of the drawing consists of gipsies [sic!] offering gold-dust for sale to travellers. One of the principal occupations of this singular people, of whom there are vast hordes throughout the Turkish dominions, is to collect the gold-sand from the rivers in this province; from which employment they are called gold-washers. The apparatus necessary for this work consists of a crooked board, provided with a wooden rim on each side; over this they spread woollen cloths, and shaking the gold-sand mixed with water upon

30 This is watercolour nr. 21 which is reproduced on the cover of the current book.

31 See Grigorescu 1993 for details on the editions and production of this album.

it, the small grains remain sticking to the cloth, from which they easily separate them. The tents on the opposite side of the river are the dwellings of these people, while thus employed; the cottage near is the residence of a commissary, appointed to superintend them; one half of the gold found being collected as the dowry of the princess of Walachia: the remaining half is the property of the finder (Mayer and Watts 1810: 125).

According to Prince Demidoff, the gold-washers counted in 1837, 5635 families, a count which is not correct, and were monitored by the Marele Armaş (Police Chief Commander), who enforced criminal sentences in general (1841: 162). Demidoff offered a description of the auriferous rivers.

Gold. – The streams which bring down gold are those from the Olteţ to the Ialomiţa, inclusively; but this metal is to be found more abundantly in the first of these rivers, from the village of Binzeni, to a distance of five leagues from that place; within this space are found the richest sands in Wallachia; they are of a blackish red colour, mixed with clay and particles of quartz and jasper, and are remarkable for the quantity of garnets to be found in them. Fragments of gold of considerable size have sometimes been found beneath large rocks in the middle of the river, at the season when the waters subside. Auriferous sands are also met with near the village of Oeşti,³² on the Argeş, two leagues from Curtea de Argeş; a league and a quarter from the village of Jupâneşti, on the river Şuptar; near the village of Cotul Malului, in the river Valea Caselor; and lastly, on the river Ialomiţa, near the village of Brăneşti, two leagues and a half from Târgovişte (1853: 195–196).

3.3 Conclusions

A series of observations made by travellers and officials reveal a continuity of the occupation of gold-panning from the riverbeds in the Romanian Principalities. The same hand-powered methods were in use up to the nineteenth century. The use of *baia*, a complicated structure for washing gold, has been seen by travellers since the sixteenth century. The methods of panning in the riverbeds remained the same for centuries.³³ Observers often speculated about the origins of the gold-washers, connecting them with the Dacians or with other ancient migratory populations from the region.

32 In the original French text and in the English translation the toponyms are written inaccurately. The authors of the present volume have tacitly corrected these from the fragment included in the anthology *Călători Străini* 1971, vol. III: 640.

33 See in the Appendix, doc. 35, the report of the engineer from Brăila in 1843 who asks the Wallachia's ruler permission to efficiently use the workforce of the Rudari for his machine invented by him for the extraction of gold from the riverbeds.

A learned mineralogist from the sixteenth century, who was also a member of two Academies, as well as the mine inspector for Transylvania, Samuel Köleséri junior (Köleséri 1973: 617–618), and the author of the very informed work *Auraria Romano-Dacica*, Cibinii, 1717, knew of a local narrative about “the Dacians [who] have been called since antiquity together with Bessi “gold gatherers”, a name for gold panners in rivers and mines, because they collected gold by panning it, as evidenced by the continuation till today of this work.”³⁴ The source of this information is the important Latin Christian author Paulinus Nolanus (353–431), who in turn quotes his friend Niceta, Bishop of Remesiana between 366–415 and Christian missionary in the north and south of the Danube, among the barbarians living in the region, Dacians, Bessis, Goths and Huns. In Latin medieval texts Bessi, Bisseni or Pacinacae are the ethnonyms for the Pechenegs, an extinct semi-nomadic Turkic ethnic people from Central Asia (Spinei 2003: 93).

In a novel based on historical realities, the very conversant classical Romanian novelist Mihail Sadoveanu (1934: 29) records an old belief of the local Rudari that linked them to the Pechenegs. A Moldavian aristocrat fallen into poverty, of self-alleged Pecheneg origins, but suspected to have a Gypsy father, signed a contract with a French engineer for the exploitation of one of his secular forests. The local people, among which Lingurari (the name under which the Rudari are known in Moldavia), are encouraged by a forester of Pecheneg descent, to thwart the cutting down of their forest. Literary criticism has interpreted that the hero of the book is the Pecheneg people, individualised in the Gypsies *sălaş* (Călinescu 1941: 545–561). Sadoveanu might have had access to a local legend of the Lingurari linking themselves with the Pechenegs.

This link to the past helps to show up a certain continuity in gold washing as the main occupation of certain groups within the region. It is unsurprising that the known auriferous basins also compose the map of the habitats of the gold-washers, called Aurari, Zlătari and Rudari in Wallachia; Aurari, Zlătari and Lingurari in Moldavia; Gypsies, Băieși and Lingurari in Transylvania, Rudari Gypsies in Banat.

34 Samuel Köleséri junior in *Călători străini* VIII 1983: 617–620.

Different Names in Different Times

Throughout history the Rudari have been called by many names. In this chapter the various names and their changes will be described. Name changes are extremely complex by nature of their dynamics, with vocabulary undergoing continuous semantic changes, thereby achieving a complicated polysemy. The analysis of the chronology of name-shifts concerning the techniques of gold extraction and processing becomes very important in the absence of historical documents on the Wallachian Aurari ‘gold-washers’, who were at the origins of the Rudari group. Operationally, an investigation into their past implies the explanation of the lexical evolution of the terms with which they are designated as a collective: Aurar, Zlătar, Rudar, Lingurar, Băieş. In this chapter we have exhaustively examined the published historical documents and have supplemented them with archival sources. Moreover, we have searched for changes in terms that co-occur with the entity they designate over centuries, thereby considering both the diachronic change of this co-occurrence, and the synchronic events that might have influenced such change.

A critical examination of the entries in the lexicographic works from the nineteenth century up to the recently completed “Dictionary of the Romanian Language”, Romanian Academy, 2010, (abbreviated as DLR) has been undertaken. The *Buda Lexicon*¹ (1825), written with the contribution of intellectuals belonging to the Enlightenment movement called the “Transylvanian School” (*Şcoala Ardeleană*), which strongly underlined the Latin element in Romanian to the detriment of the Slavic adstratum, has entries for the terms *aurar*², *băiaş*³, *baie*⁴, *lingurar*⁵, *rudă*⁶,

1 Bibliografia Românească Veche (BRV), 1912–1936, III: 460–464, poz. 1240: “Lexicon româno–latino–ungaro–german”. Tipographiae Regiae Universitatis Hungaricae, Buda, 1825.

2 *Buda Lexicon* 1825: 1825: 98: AURARIU, n., 1. who works in gold, *faber aurarius, aurifex*; 2. gold-washer, *aurilegue, chrisoplites*.

3 *Buda Lexicon* 1825: 44: BĂIAŞ, pl. BĂIEŞI, n., metallurgus, metallarius.

4 *Buda Lexicon* 1825: 43: BAIE, pl. BĂI, n., mine. 1. *baie* of metals, *fodina*; *baie* of gold, *aurifodina*; 2. *baie* for bathing, *balneum*.

5 *Buda Lexicon* 1825: 354: LINGURARIU, n., 1. one who makes spoons, *fabricator lingularum*; 2. spoon hanger.

6 *Buda Lexicon* 1825: 596: 1. RUDA, RUDĂ, n., race, kinship, brotherhood, brother-in-law; RUDA, RUDĂ n., 1. cane, wooden stick, iron, 2. the *ruda* of the chariot; 3. adj., *temoni junctus*; 4. horse for *ruda*, *equus temoni junctus*; 5. soap *ruda*, *tabula saponis*; *ruda* of red wax, *massa carae signiatorie*.

*zlat*⁷, *zlătar*⁸ and *zlatina*⁹. Yet the terms *rudar* and curiously also *țigan* are missing. Another lexicographic work written under the auspices of the Romanian Academy (Laurian and Massim, 3 volumes, 1869–1877), also by Transylvanian linguists who followed the trend of the Latinisation of the Romanian language, has entries for *aurar*¹⁰, *baia*¹¹, *lingurar*¹², *rudă*¹³, *rudar*¹⁴, but lacks entries for *băieș*, *zlătar*, and also for *țigan*, *rob*, *robie*.

The purpose of Latinising the Romanian language was to exclude terms of Slavic origin and in some cases to devise a bogus Latin etymology. In the dictionary of Laurian and Massim *rudar* is derived from *rudă* ‘relative’ which is etymologised by both Transylvanian dictionaries as derived from Lat. *rudis* ‘rod, wand’. Alternatively, the Slavic etymology of *rudar* has been established from the root *руд* ‘mineral’, while *rudă* ‘relative’ has another Slavic root *род*, meaning ‘to grow, to expand’ (Miklosich 1886 *sub voce*). The false Latin etymology of *rudă* was taken over by Sextil Pușcariu (1927: 1349–1350, fn. 2) who initiated in 1906 the project “Dictionary of the Romanian Academy”. This was criticised by the philologist Bărbulescu (1929: 46–47) and was corrected in the later versions of the Dictionary (DLR) produced under the aegis of the Academy. However, a popular etymology of the ethnonym Rudar derived from *rudă* ‘relative’ still exists in the Rudari collective imaginary (Kahl 2016: 268, Marushiakova and Popov 2021: 46).

7 *Buda Lexicon* 1825: 770: ZLAT, v. *aur*.

8 *Buda Lexicon* 1825: 770: ZLĂTARIU, *aurar* or gold-washer; see *aurar*.

9 *Buda Lexicon* 1825: 770: ZLATINA, v. *sărătură*; p. 589, salty substance, n., *salsura*, *salsitura*.

10 Laurian and Massim 1870: I, 104: 1. AURARIU, n., *aurarius*, goldsmith, gold artisan 2. one who extracts gold out of a mine, one who collects gold from the rivers.

11 Laurian and Massim 1870: I, 114: n.f., *baiae*, *balnae*, thermă, bath, place for bathing, bathing water, thermal water, etc.

12 Laurian and Massim 1876: II, 205: LIGURARIU, n., 1. one who makes or crafts spoons; one class of Gypsies is called spoon-makers because they make spoons and other wooden utensils. 2. kitchen cabinet, in which spoons, and other kitchen utensils are kept. LINGURARIA, n., the art of making spoons, the office where spoons are made and sold.

13 Laurian and Massim 1876: II, 1012: I. 1. RUDE, adj. (French *rude*), which is not yet formed, worked, which is in a natural state, raw: *rude* and raw material; 2. (Metaphorical) uneducated, uninformed, unlearned, without knowledge; II. RUDE, n., *rudis*, raw, stick, wooden rod firstly, then iron rod, as it is taken from the forest, unworked, generally applied to: stick used for stirring the cauldrons; 2. firestick, 3. joint beam to the cart or chariots, hence *ruda* of horse or ox. 4. (In a more general sense), *ruda* = piece of red wax; 5. stick, battle-rod, the ancient Romans acquired such *rude*, something honorary, the *emeritus gladiator*.

14 Laurian and Massim 1876: II, 1012: RUDIARUL, RUDARIU, adj., *rudarius*, *rudia*, generally related to *ruda*. As a noun, people who deal with *rude* like wood, with rude material, *rudis*, rudiments of things for making spindles, thick wooden spoons, etc.

A highly influential philological circle was led by Bogdan Petriceicu Haşdeu who started the *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae* (1887–1895), an encyclopaedia of Romanian words connected with popular beliefs and legends, published in 3 volumes but only reaching the letter B. From this circle emerged the philologist Lazăr Şăineanu, the author of the “Universal Dictionary of the Romanian Language” (*Dicţionarul universal al limbii române*, 1896, reissued in 1929). This lexicographic work mapped the evolution of the Romanian language in the larger Balkan context. Şăineanu’s numerous studies consolidated the common language spoken by Romanians. The Dictionary established the meanings of the terms *aurar*, *rudar*, *zlătar*, with which they are known today:

AURAR, AURARI, n., 1. one who makes or sells gold and silver objects; 2. one who extracts gold out of a mine, *băiaş*; 3. one who pans gold from rivers, *ţigan aurar* (1896 (1929): 44).

RUDAR, RUDARI, n., 1. *ţigan aurar*; 2. Gypsy who works wooden utensils, tubs, spoons, spindle. In Gypsy language (*Ţigăneşte*), *rudar* is a synonym with *aurar*. RUDĂRESC, adj., 1. made by a *rudar*; 2. (figurative), rude, *rudar pan* (taler *rudăresc*); RUDĂRIE, n.f., *rudar’s utensils* (1896 (1929): 555).

ZLĂTAR, n., *ţigan aurar* (1896 (1929): 710).

The compilers of Romanian dictionaries from the end of the nineteenth century and in the twentieth century lacked access to the historical central administration documents¹⁵. This may explain some inaccuracies in meanings and the chronology of the diachronic synonyms, which were thought to have emerged in the following order *zlătar–rudar–aurar*, resulting to uncritical research on these metallurgic occupations. It is generally assumed that there were two different occupations, the panning of alluvial gold performed by the Rudari and the processing of precious metal into objects carried out by the Zlătari (Olteanu and Şerban 1969: 94, 99; Maghiar and Olteanu 1970). In fact, in the beginning the Aurari, and subsequently and partially, the Zlătari and Rudari, performed all these occupations: the operation of collecting the alluvial gold, its smelting and its further processing into objects. The dictionaries record two meanings for *aurar*, ‘jeweller’, synonymous with *zlătar*, and ‘gold-washer’, synonymous with *rudar*.

Our hypothesis is that three professionyms, *aurar*, *zlătar* and *rudar*, seem to define the occupation of working with gold, divided into two or three

15 In the collection of documents DIR (Documents regarding the history of Romania), A series (Moldavia), B series (Wallachia) and C series (Transylvania), the first volume of each series was published in 1950.

specialisms: gold-washer, gold-worker or metallurgist, smelter, and goldsmith or jeweller. *Aurar* specialised as a ‘goldsmith’, later replaced with *zlătar* and *giuvaergiu*; where a *zlătar* metallurgist specialised in being a ‘goldsmith’; *rudar* partially replaced *aurar* gold-washer and was conflated with *zlătar* smelter, though it was never perceived as “jeweller”. The term *rudar* is late and is attested only in Wallachia. In Moldavia, we find the oldest attestations of the occupational names *aurar* and *zlătar*, while those gold-washers who turned to woodworking were called *Lingurari*, which is also the occupational name of another Romani sub-group.

In Transylvania, where the metallurgic toponyms attest to all the three terms, “Auraria”/Abrud (Lozovan 1961: 277–285), Zlatna and Ruda, as seen in Chapter 2, the gold-washers are recorded with Latin appellations *aurarifaber*, *aurilegi*, etc. It is not known how the gold-washers self-identified themselves, though their occupational name did come to be conflated with *băieși* from *baia* ‘mine’, which denotes the miners, diggers of ores. We have quoted in Chapter 3 an expert travelogue from the sixteenth century that refers to “Bessi¹⁶ *aurileguli*” (Samuel Köleséri junior in *Călători străini* VIII 1983: 617–620). By the late nineteenth century in Transylvania *aurar* was a ‘jeweller’ and *băieș* a ‘miner’, while the verb *a băi* meant ‘to extract mineral from an ore’ (Frâncu and Candrea 1888: 41).

4.1 AURAR, pl. AURARI

The word is derived from *aur* ‘gold’ and the agent suffix *-ar* (Ciorănescu 2002: 62) (cf. Latin *aurum*, respectively *aurarius*), with the meanings: 1. craftsman who works with gold and silver or who sells such objects; 2. person who excavates gold from mines, person who pans gold from rivers; 3. *băiaș*, *rudar*, gold-digger, *aurariu*= gold-washer (DLR 2010: 366–7). In his Etymological Dictionary, Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu (1887: 2124–2126) explained the second meaning of the term *aurar*: “in the old language, *zlătar* was also called *rudar*.” Other dictionaries (see above, footnotes 2 and 10) record the same primary meaning of ‘goldsmith’ and the secondary meaning ‘gold-washer’.

4.1.1 *The Rich Lexical Family of aur*

Aur has a remarkably large word family, summarised from the above-mentioned Etymological Dictionary: A AURI, vb., to guild, to coat with gold, to

16 An ethnonym for Pechenegs, an extinct semi-nomadic Turkic ethnic people from Central Asia, in Latin medieval sources (Spinei 2003: 93).

cover with gold, to weave in gold; DAUR, n., (regionalism from Transylvania)= *aur*; AURAR, n., 1. orfèvre, goldsmith “synonym with silversmith and in old language *zlătar*”; 2. orpailleur, gold-panner “in old language it was also called *rudar*”. “In Transylvania those who dig gold out of mines are not called *aurar* but *băiași*. They are Romanians, from among the Moți.”; AURAR, pl. AURARE, n.f., bridal veil with gold-leaf (*hapax legomenon*, year 1650); AURAȘ, n., diminutive used in children’s language as in *auraș-păcuraș scoate apa din urechi* (you, *auraș-păcuraș*, take out the water from the ears!), *aurar* (in this context) ‘one who takes out gold from rivers’– *păcurar* ‘shepherd’; AURATĂ, n.f., oxeye daisy; AURĂRIE, n.f., gold objects; AUREL, n., diminutive from *aur*; AUREL, adj. diminutive, made of gold; AUREL, n., 1. a sort of grape, 2. a sort of wine; AURICĂ, 1. n.f. and adj, pleasant, lovely; 2. n.f., *Primula Auricula*, auricula, a bear’s ear; AURIT, p.p.p., gold coated; AURIU, adj., gold-like, blonde; AUROS, adj., (about waters) auriferous, full of gold (Hașdeu 1887, II: 2124–2136).

Importantly, in the late nineteenth century *aurar* means ‘goldsmith’, synonym with the archaism *zlătar*, and also ‘gold-washer’, synonym with the archaism *rudar*. In Transylvania *aurar* as ‘gold-digger’ was replaced by *băiaș* and was restricted to Romanian mineworkers.

4.1.2 *First Occurrence of the Term aurar: the Case of Stanciul Aurarul*

The term *aurar* appears in government documents from the Danubian Principalities relatively late, in onomastics. The official language of the Voivode Chancellery was old Slavonian, which explains the limited use of the Latin-derived term *aurar*. In Transylvania the term used for gold-washer in Latin, German or Hungarian language documents was constantly *aurarius* or *aurifaber*, calqued after the German term ‘Goldschmidt’ (Zsupos 1996: 21), that is ‘goldsmith’.

In the Danubian Principalities the first mention of the term *aurar* is found in a document dated May 29, 1484, issued in Moldavia, in the name Stanciul Aurarul¹⁷. A second mention was in a document dated September 2, 1520,

17 DRH A, vol. II, doc.262/ 29 May 1484, the Voivode Ștefan cel Mare confirms the sale-purchase act for a mill on Brădățel River, with the amount of 50 zlotys: “They came before us and before our boyars, our servant Căpățână, with his stepdaughters, Fedora and Nastea, the granddaughters of *pan* Corui from Giurgea Rotâmpan and from his sister, Malea, with 50 Tatar zlotys, and they sold to our servant Stanciul Aurarul, a mill place on Brădățel, near the old walls, where Brădățel springs out of the forest.” Brădățel is a tributary of the Șomuzul Mare River, in turn, a tributary of the Siret, a large river in Moldavia. Brădățel is 25 km northwest of Suceava city and 6 km away from the Moldova River. Currently, together with the localities Mihăești, Rotopânești, Horodniceni and Botești, it forms the commune of Horodniceni. They are old villages, whose formation is rooted in

issued in Wallachia¹⁸. It is a toponym, the village of Poiana Ciolanului which was labelled as 'Aurești'.

The word *aurar* linked to a personal name occurred only in the medieval Chancellery of Moldavia. It is plausible that the term *aurar* already existed and was used in common parlance, outside the language of the government's Slavonic documents. It might have also been used through linguistic borrowings due to professional relations of the *aurari* from Moldavia with the German metallurgists from the nearby Transylvanian Rodna Mountain region, who were referred in Transylvanian documents as *aurifaber*, calqued from German.¹⁹ In the case of Stanciu, the scribe who wrote the contract, a document of great legal importance, did not have the option of translating the word *aurar* with the Slavonian term *zlătar*. 'Aurarul' had become Stanciu's patronym, and the individual could not have been identified in its translation as 'Zlătarul'.

The property bought by Stanciu Aurarul is a mill on Brădățel River situated along the Șomuz river – a part of the hydrographic basin of the Moldova River, famous for its alluvial gold. The use of the mills' hydraulic power for breaking the mineral ore is a practice in gold working. An additional proof of the potential for gold-discovery in the region is evident from the actions of the Metropolitan Church of Suceava which²⁰ purchased the village Mihăești on the same Brădățel, on September 12, 1464²¹. This transaction was confirmed in the following year by the Voivode of the country²². Stanciu Aurarul might have had a certain position, due to the status recognition of the *aurar* occupation in the German milieu in the nearby Transylvanian Bistrița fortress. Further, his

the ancient exploitations from the gold-bearing sands located in the hydrographic basins of the rivers Moldavia.

- 18 DRH B, vol. II, doc. 198/ 2 September 1520, issued by Voivode Neagoe Basarab, through which he confirms to Dobrușa Monastery several properties donated by Radu, cupbearer Badea and *jupanița* Vlădaia, among which was the village Poiana Ciolanului, nicknamed Aurești. v. DRH B, vol. II, doc. 217/11 July 1523, issued by Voivode Vladislav III through which he reconfirms to Dobrușa Monastery the previously donated possessions.
- 19 See above Szupos 1996: 21 and also Iorga 1913: 332. This document referred by Iorga mentions the German *aurifaber* Martinus Wende who by 1510 had obtained in Lvov, Poland, the right to perform his occupation in Transylvania.
- 20 DRH A, vol. I, doc 245/18 April 1444, Voivode Ștefan confirms to the Holly Metropolitan Church of Suceava the village from Podul de Piatră, namely Mihăești on Brădățel, and relieves this village of all its fiscal obligations.
- 21 DRH A, vol. II, doc 123/12 September 1464.
- 22 DRH A, vol. II, doc 128/11 April 1465, the voivode Ștefan cel Mare confirms the purchase act between Theocist, the Metropolitan of Moldavia, and Giurgea Rotâmpan, bought with 270 Tatar zlotys from *pan* Julea, brother of Ioan Pântece, namely the Mihăești village on Brădățel, situated near Borhinești.

acquisition of a highly profitable property and his relative wealth, gave Stanciul Aurarul a higher social status that enabled him to marry Vasutca, the granddaughter of the aristocrat Drăgoi. Although the ethnicity of Stanciul Aurarul is not clear, it might be possible that he was a Țigan aurar, with therefore the marriage considered a misalliance. It appears from the documents that Vasutca was disinherited and, together with their children, she no longer referred to Stanciul Aurarul, but to her father and to the aristocrat Drăgoi. The name of Stanciul Aurarul reappears in an inheritance document made by Vasutca on September 6, 1498²³. When Vasutca was disinherited by her father, the villages were given as dowry by the aristocrat Drăgoi to her sister. However, the sister died without heirs and so the property passed to Vasutca's son and grandchildren. The only property that remained for Vasutca was the mill on Brădățel, bought by Stanciul Aurarul before marriage.

Vasutca and Stanciul Aurarul had a son whom they named after her great-grandfather, Drăgoi. Drăgoi junior, who served as a *pârcălab* high dignitary, rebuilt the stone church in the village of his ancestors, Drăgoiești²⁴, located on the old trade road between Suceava fortress in Moldavia and Bistrița fortress in Transylvania. Drăgoi junior was buried in Drăgoiești. Archaeologists discovered his tombstone, and thus we know the date of his death: October 16, 1512 (Bătrâna and Emandi 1978: 198). On the same site were identified traces of habitation and metallurgy dating from the Bronze Age, the Latène phase of the Iron Age, and from the Pre-feudal period (Bătrâna and Emandi 1978: 200).

Drăgoi junior had a son, Teodor and a daughter, Teodochia. Neither children had any family of their own. Teodor, after a promising debut in the central administration as cupbearer in the Royal Council²⁵ between 1553–1554, decided to become a monk in Voroneț Monastery. By mutual agreement with

23 DRH A, vol. III, doc. 230/6 September 1498: "I had mercy on this Vasutca, Romașco's daughter, Drăgoi's niece, Stanciul Aurarul's wife, and I confirmed her the inherited property, namely the village Drăgoești, the mill from Brădățel, the villages Lucăcești, Botești and Căcăcești [...]"

24 The village over time became the property of Slatina Monastery. By 1742 the place was deserted but repopulated around 1782–1787. Several families of German farmers and craftsmen from Franconia and Bavaria also settled there. Today, 18.1% of the village population is of German extraction.

25 DIR A, Veacul XVI, vol. II, doc. 38;39;41–44; 46–51; 54–57; 59–62; 65; 239.

his sister, he donated to that Monastery the property inherited from his parents, thus: the village of Drăgoiești²⁶ and the mill built by his grandparents²⁷.

4.1.3 Further Uses of the Term *aurar*

Half a century after Stanciul Aurarul, the name Toma Aurarul is found in a document dated October 6, 1529, in a list of names of negotiators of an armistice between the ruler of Moldavia and the Bistrița fortress in Transylvania.²⁸ The editor of the document adds in a footnote that “*aurar* is not the gold-washer, but the collector of the [gold] share due to the Crown”²⁹, i.e. the chief of the Crown Treasury responsible for collecting the taxes paid in gold by the gold-washers. However, the official of the Treasury (*Cămara Domnească*, lit. ‘Crown Chamber’) was never called by the term *aurar* (Panaitescu 1961: 49–85). The historical context allows another interpretation.

In the middle of May 1529, in Lipova, an alliance treaty was signed between Ioan Zapolya, the Voivode of Transylvania, and Petru Rareș, the Voivode of Moldavia (Motogna 1928: 18; 25). The text of this treaty has not been preserved, but the subsequent course of events allows a hypothesis. Petru Rareș, by his obligation to grant military aid to Voivode Ioan Zapolya, received several fortresses, among which Bistrița with 23 Saxon villages, and Valea Rodnei with gold and silver mines, situated on the Someșul Mare valley. But the Saxons from the Bistrița fortress refused to become subjected to the Moldavian administration. Their resistance lasted several months and brought Petru

26 Bălan 1933: 62–65; 5 April 1558, the voivode Alexandru Lăpușneanu (1552–1561) confirms the donation for Voroneț Monastery: “they came before us [...] the monk Todosie, former cupbearer and his sister Odochia, Drăgoi’s children, Vasutca’s grandchildren, who was Romașco’s daughter, who was Drăgoi’s granddaughter, wife of Stanciul Aurarul [...] they gave to the holy Voroneț Monastery a certain village Drăgoești, according to the confirmations of properties possessed by Vasutca [...] to pray for them at the Liturgy, every year at the Holy Altar [...] for their memory.”

27 Bălan 1933: 74–75; 16 July 1575, the voivode Petru Șchiopul (1574–1577; 1577–1578; 1578–1579; 1582–1591) confirms the donation made to Voroneț Monastery [...] “they came before us [...] our monk Todosie, former cupbearer and his sister, Teodochia, children of Drăgoi, grandchildren of Vasutca, daughter of Romașco, granddaughter of Drăgoi, wife of Stanciul Aurarul [...] and they gave to the holy monastery of Voroneț [...] for their souls and those of their parents three villages, Drăgoiești, Lucăcești and Botești, with a mill on Brădățel River [...] which their ancestor Drăgoi had from Ștefan Vodă cel Bătrân and from Alexandru Voievod.” It is significant their self-identification as “grandchildren of Vasutca, wife of Stanciul Aurarul”, of probably modest social condition.

28 Hurmuzaki, XV, Partea I: 336, doc. DCXXIII: “October 1529, Michael Porcolab, Solomon Porkolab, Frissalori decimator, domni nostri Woyvode, Goly, Toma Aurarol, Dragoș Rotumpan.”

29 Hurmuzaki, XV, Partea I: 336, doc. DCXXIII, fn. 1.

Rareş to a critical situation, since he was unable to retreat to winter camps. An armistice had to be signed by a commission of negotiators among whom appears the name Toma Aurarul. Toma's presence in the commission can be explained due to his professional contacts with the influential German goldsmiths living in the Bistrița fortress. The goldsmiths were at that time quite influential. A Transylvanian Saxon historian, Sommer (1587: 78)³⁰, wrote about one German *aurifaber* named Wolfgang who minted coins and was a public official. He arrived in the country together with the ruler of Moldavia, Despot Vodă (1561–1563). After Vodă's death the goldsmith Wolfgang was kept by the next ruler as a minter of coins (Legrande 1889: 48–49).

4.2 ZLĂȚAR, pl. ZLĂȚARI

The term *zlătar* is borrowed from Slavic *zlatarŭ* (Ciorănescu 2002: 855) and has the following meanings (DLR, tom XIX: 328–329): 1. craftsman (Țigan) who extracts gold from the gold nuggets found along the riverbed or who processes gold (see *aurar*), silver (see *argintar* 'silversmith') and who sells objects made from these metals. "Any *zlătar* who mixes gold or silver without the knowledge of the master has to be beheaded. [The biblical] Cain became blacksmith, locksmith, farrier and *zlătar*"; 2. Nomadic Gypsy: "It is true that the expertise of this craft is specific to the nomadic *zlătari*, who, halting with their tents in the forests, dispatch to the nearby towns and fairs troughs, spoons, vats"; 3. Archaism, rare: washing device with which the *zlătari* wash away blackness from the silver.

The lexical family of the term *zlătar* is limited: 1. ZLĂȚĂREASĂ, n.f., Gypsy woman who deals with *zlătăria*; wife or daughter of a *zlătar*; 2. ZLĂȚĂRIE n.f. (obsolete, rare), diminutive of *zlătar*; 3. ZLĂȚĂRIE, n.f., the job of *zlătar*: "The Gypsies work nothing else apart from the craft of *zlătărie* and blacksmithing" (DLR, tom XIX: 328–329). ZLATIȚĂ s.f. ingot (Ciorănescu 2002: 855).

³⁰ Johannes Sommer (n. 1542–d. 1574), originally from Saxony, was the director of the Humanist College of Cotnari, founded by Despot Vodă, between 1562–1564. After the murder of the voivode Despot Vodă, Sommer took refuge in Brașov, where he became a teacher as well as the director of the school he founded. From 1570 he was the director of the Unitarian school in Cluj.

4.2.1 *First Occurrences of the Term zlătar*

The first occurrence of the term *zlătar* is in a document dated September 4, 1424–1425 in a Moldavian toponym: Poiana lui Zlătar, ‘Meadow of Zlătar’, which is situated in the region of the auriferous rivers.³¹

The next occurrence of *zlătar* is as a socio-geographical toponym and appears in a donation of property lands among which is a village “where used to live one *zlătar*”³², nowadays called Zlătari. The donation is signed by two Voivodes on 6 July 1438 for the *pisar* (Secretary) Mihai Oțel from Oțelești³³ on Topolița River. These land properties were located in an area rich in gold-bearing sands from the rivers Șomuzul Mare and Șomuzul Mic, Berheci, Găiceana, Răcățău, Topolița, Arnota, Netezi, Valea Seacă. The toponyms constitute a map of gold prospecting and validate the fact that this activity derives from antiquity.

Another village donated to Mihai Oțel is today called Oțelești³⁴. In the document, the village was as yet unnamed and was identifiable only by socio-geographical coordinates (Moldoveanu 2010: 76): “at the mouth of Berheci River, where his [i.e. Mihai Oțel] house is situated and where the judge Loluș lived.” There were several steelworkers among the inhabitants (probably brought by Mihai from his native Oțelești), so the settlement became known by this toponym (Petrovici 1970: 35). The villages Zlătari and Oțelești came to be thus named after the transfer of property to Mihai Oțel from Oțelești, a village which in time changed its name to a geographic indication, the river of Topolița. These toponyms attest to his work with metallurgists or smelters.

4.2.2 *Requalification of the zlătari into Steelmakers*

Between 1350 and 1850 the metallurgic occupations became predominantly Romani livelihoods. The multi-secular existence of these occupations demonstrates the co-existence of metalworkers and metal artisans with the indigenous farmers in the surrounding population and led, in some cases, to the

31 DRH A, vol. I, doc. 58/4 September 1424–1425: the voivode Alexandru cel Bun grants to Nănbaci Barbosul half of the place called Poiana lui Zlătar, and a village on Șomuz River, “where is situated his house [...] and the border of that village, from Boboș [...] down the valley on Șomuz to the river mouth.” The Șomuz River belongs to the gold mining area formed by the Moldova and Bistrița rivers and their tributaries. Moldova River has already been referred above for its alluvial gold.

32 “A village at the mouth of Berheci River, where is his house, where lived the judge Loluș and the judge Stan, at Petriș, on both sides of Berheci, and up on Berheci, namely Slipotul, where lived the judge Slipotă, at the mouth of Dunavăț, Dobrana, where a *zlătar* lived [...] and in the mouth of Topolița Veche River, Oțelești, where his house was.”

33 The village Oțelești is currently called Topolița, in Neamț County.

34 Oțelești village is in Bacău County, on Berheci River, a tributary of Bârlad River.

formation of Romani-related toponyms such as: Țigănești, Zlătărești, Oțelești (Gonța 2011: 317–337).

There were Zlătari who were gold-washers, as attested by their living in the zones with alluvial gold. Some gold-washers gradually converted to a new specialisation of metallurgy, namely, the technique of hardening the iron, called iron steeling (*oțelire*, ‘steel’ being hardened iron, not the proper industrial steel), which at the time was in great demand for producing weapons. The gold-washers knew the cupellation, the smelting of the ores at high temperatures for separating the noble metals, a refining process called *lămurire*³⁵. Nevertheless, the technology of iron steeling required new knowledge. The transformation from *aurar/zlătar* ‘gold-washer’ and ‘goldworker’ to *oțelar* ‘steelmaker’ is seemingly one of the first occupational reconversions of some gold-washers.

4.2.3 *The High Status Zlătari. The Case of Mihai Oțel – ‘Michael the Steel’*

Mihai Oțel was a high-status official who had a metallurgic business. We have reconstructed his life trajectory. The first mention of Mihai Oțel comes from a 1434 document that gives a geographical indication. “Oțel’s vacant land on Podraga River”³⁶, a formula reiterated two years later³⁷. His native place is Oțelești, a village at the mouth of Topolița, named after his family patronym, Oțel. Probably Mihai’s father was a *zlătar* steelmaker, hence a Gypsy. Throughout the Middle Ages these occupations were very profitable. Documents from the fifteenth century refer to the wealth of goldworkers and steelmakers possessing sizeable accumulations that could not have been made in a single generation.

At that time there was no education system, public or private. Those who aspired to knowledge had to hire a teacher. Prospects for a better social condition through education led to either an administrative or ecclesiastic career. For either one, it was necessary to learn the Slavic language and to study the Greek language and its culture. Mihai Oțel opted for an administrative career. He became a secretary in the Crown chancellery. His professional qualities were obviously appreciated, and he is referred to as a secretary in three

35 See for instance doc. 25 in Appendix where reference is made to the loss in gold dust after refining.

36 DRH A, vol. I, doc. 128/ 24 April 1434. The voivode Ștefan confirms to a priest several properties, among which an inhabited or deserted land of Oțel on Podraga River near the town of Săveni, Botoșani county.

37 DRH A, doc. 158/17 July 1436, Ilie Voivode and Ștefan Voivode donated several properties, among which a village at Itchel “lower from where Piatra lives and higher from Oțel’s place.”

documents³⁸ and as chief secretary in three other documents.³⁹ The Voivode, not only gave him the above-mentioned land donation, but also promoted him to the Country Council (*Sfatul țării*). This is a very special case.⁴⁰ His function in the Country Council is recorded in two documents, one of which refers to him with his full name. The document turned out to be a forgery committed by the monks of Neamț Monastery, but this is not an argument for ignoring it. The monks committed a forgery to change the status of some properties and not with the desire to falsify the composition of the Country Council. On the contrary, while forging the document, they rigorously checked the historical reality of the structure of the Country Council, so as to remove any suspicion regarding the contents.⁴¹ The last mention of Mihai Oțel comes from 1463.⁴² He is mentioned in 1468 in connection to his grandson⁴³. Mihai Oțel had four children: two sons, Avăr⁴⁴ and Iacob, and two daughters, Anușca and Cârștina⁴⁵. Avăr had a son, Ieremia⁴⁶, and Iacob had Herman.

The model of the successful career of Mihai Oțel, who probably had a Romani extraction, strengthens various arguments for the possible Gypsy origin of Ștefan Răzvan who became Voivode of Moldavia. This is taken as a historical fact by B.P. Hașdeu (1869) and Nicolae Iorga (1930), as well as by E. Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov (2001: 84). A similar case of upward social mobility was recorded for the eighteenth century for a young Gypsy who lived in Bucharest and who could read and write Greek (Ionescu 1968: 155–168). In the first half of the nineteenth century 101 individuals, representing 0,8% of

38 DRH A, vol. I: doc 14/21 April 1436; doc. 154/13 June 1436; doc 213/ 16 April 1441.

39 DRH A, vol. I, doc. 165/ 7 December 1436; doc 188/21 August 1438; doc. 189/24 August 1438.

40 DRH A, vol. II, doc. 11/13 June 1451: in the list of the members of the Country Council is mentioned also *pan* Oțel.

41 DRH A, vol. I, Documente false, doc. X.

42 DRH A, vol. II, doc. 115/15 April 1463, voivode Ștefan cel Mare certifies to one Ștefan Cernătescu the donation of several properties, among which some properties bought for 75 Tatar zlotys from Herman, the nephew of Mihăilă Oțel, which were donated by his uncle “our faithful boyar Oțel (*boierul nostru credincios*) and his daughter Cârștina came before us and donated to her brother’s nephew, *pan* Herman, a village, Motișești, at the source of Corod River, and a meadow from up the hill, which is in the grove from Deochiați.”

43 DRH A, doc. 154/ 24 September 1468, voivode Ștefan cel Mare certifies all the properties of that Ștefan Cernătescu, some donated and others purchased, including all the properties bought from Herman, “Oțel’s grandson.”

44 DIR A, Veacul XVI, vol.1, doc 111/1517, the son of Mihăilă Oțel, the father of Ieremia Oțel sell his part of the village from Fântâna Mare on Bâc to treasurer Ieremia.

45 DRH A, vol. II, doc. 115/15 April 1463.

46 DIR A, Veacul XVI, doc. 228/1527, the voivode Petru Rareș confirms to Ieremia Oțel the right to his properties from Gura Lopatnei and Gura Bozianului.

the total Romani population of Wallachia, were ranked as higher status, among whom three were tax collectors at the county level, the biggest administrative division (Gaunt and Rotaru 2021: 49–50).

4.2.4 *Other Occurrences of oțelar ‘Steelmaker’*

Contemporary with Mihai Oțel, there was also Vlad Zlătărescu⁴⁷, Petre Oțel⁴⁸, and Dumitru Oțel⁴⁹. Names and toponyms derived from the term *oțel* ‘hardened iron’ do not occur often and in the following centuries they became even rarer. This possibly indicates the gradual decline of the occupation of making hardened iron in small-scale handicrafts, due to the imports of superior quality products from Western Europe. During the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries, documents attest to ten people named Oțel⁵⁰, including one who was a monk⁵¹.

The toponym Oțelești is attested in the sixteenth century⁵² as the name of a hill, and another as the village of Oțeleni, which still exists today, in Iași

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- 47 DRH A, doc. 11/13 June 1451: Bogdan Voivode confirms the sale made by one Zlătărescu: “this servant and our boyar, *pan* Vlad Zlătărescu, came before us and sold from his property half of the village, namely Albești, on Strebnic, part of Barbu Geamănu, for 35 zlotys, to Dragoș Albescu and his brother, Petru.”
- 48 DRH A, vol. II, doc. 121/11 June 1464: the voivode Ștefan cel Mare confirms to Petru Oțel, Cerna’s husband and Mușă’s son-in-law, the Pentelești village, because the property documents were lost when his brother-in-law fell off his horse and died.
- 49 DRH A, doc. 265/5 March 1446: Ștefan Voivode certifies the sale–purchase act concluded between the buyer Dragomir Oțel and his cousins as sellers: “The village of Boziani, at the headstream of Albina, with the monastery and both streams, which village and monastery were sold by his cousins, Stanciul Cormohuz and Negrita’s sister, the children of Pope Ilias, for 130 Tatar zlotys.”
- 50 Oțel, son of Nastasia and grandson of Giurgea Giumătate (DIR A, Veacul XVI, vol. IV, doc. 279 from 1600); Oțel, grandparent of Cașotă, *clucer*–boyar from Havarona, Dorohoi region, mentioned in 1520 (DIR A, Veacul XVI, vol. I, doc 174); Oțel, father of Marica, Ana and Constanda, from Dobroslovești, mentioned in 1617 (DIR A, Veacul XVII, vol. IV, doc. 151); Oțel Gavril, Crown officer, nephew of Mogoșa and brother of Stanciul Bocilă, mentioned in 1581 (DIR A, Veacul XVI; vol. III, doc.171) and in 1606 (DIR A, Veacul XVII, vol. II, doc.9); Oțel Simion, son of Drăgana, father of Lupu, Pătraș, Costin and Maria, mentioned in 1615 and 1623 (DIR A, Veacul XVII, vol. III, doc. 192 and doc. 212); Oțel Andronache (DRH A, vol. XXIV, doc. 40/20 March 1637).
- 51 Oțel, monk, witness for the donation of Popești village, DRH A, vol. XXV, doc. 269/8 December 1639.
- 52 Oțelești, hill at Filipeni on Dunavăț River, mentioned in 1584 (DIR A, Veacul XVI, vol. III, doc.259). Dunavăț brook, today Fruntești, a tributary of Berheci brook, springs from Valea Mare Forest and has a point of discharge downstream of Oncești, Bacău County. The old name of today’s Corod village, Galați County, was Oțelești on the Corod brook, attested in 1438.

County. There, a very important treasure of foreign coins and local ornaments has been discovered.⁵³

4.2.5 *Later Occurrences of the Term zlătar in Wallachia*

In Wallachia the term *zlătar* first appears on April 10, 1520, a hundred years later than in Moldavia. This was in a letter of confirmation issued by the Voivode for the properties of Bistrița Monastery. This property consisted of several villages, vineyards and 18 *celiads* (roughly translated as ‘families’). It names a certain Danciul Zlătarul with his children.⁵⁴ In the same period other documents mention the toponyms Zlătărei,⁵⁵ on January 10, 1519, and Poiana Zlătarului,⁵⁶ on March 20, 1543, and June 5, 1571,⁵⁷ as well as the toponym Aurești⁵⁸. The most important toponym comes from Bucharest where in the sixteenth century there was a central Zlătari’ quarter near the Voivode Palace and the still extant church called the “Zlătari Church”.

The Zlătari owned expensive real estate in Bucharest. A document from May 20, 1634, allows the identification of some of them near the most important street in the city, Calea Domnească ‘Royal Street’), situated between the residence of the country’s ruler and Sărindar Monastery, where nowadays the Central Military Club is located. This document refers to the sale of two plots of land with houses, which were owned by Constantine cel Mare (‘Senior’) Zlătarul and Constantin cel Mic (‘Junior’) Zlătarul. The property was limited at the South by the Calea Domnească and by the bridge over Dâmbovița River and at the North by the property of one Dumitru Botușarul Zlătarul and the sellers’ aunt, one Stana.⁵⁹ Constantin Senior Zlătarul bought the house from one Oprea Zlătarul during the reign of Radu Șerban Voivode (1601–1610).

53 Teodor 1964: 343–361: “two Byzantine coins, 79 Mongolian dirhams and 11 imitations after dirhams, from the last decades of the thirteenth century, two twisted bracelets with widened ends, decorated with beads, a flat bracelet decorated in the *niello* technique, two temple earrings and a globular pendant.”

54 DRH B, vol. II, doc. 193/ 10 April 1520.

55 DRH B, vol. II, doc. 175/10 January 1519.

56 DRH B, vol. IV, doc. 137/20 Mars 1543, voivode Radu Paisie, son of the voivode Radu cel Mare, certifies the sale of the “Poiana (Poienile) Zlătarului, as much as will be chosen from Cricov on Cuibul Vulturilor and from Nizehret to Obârșie and on the road from Predeal to Tanișoara and from here to Buciumul on Cricov [...] an estate full of forest and trees [...] cleaned by axe, pickaxe, and fire [...]”

57 DRH B, vol. VII, doc. 35/ 5 June 1571.

58 DRH B, vol. VI, doc. 181/ 19 January 1570, Alexandru II Mircea confirms to Dobrușa Monastery the villages Crivina and Poiana Ciolan (Aurești), Vâlcea County. The latter was mentioned in another donation; see the above subchapter on Stanciul Aurarul.

59 DRH B, vol. XXIV, doc. 274/20 May 1634.

Among the witnesses of the transaction between Constantin Senior Zlătarul and Oprea Zlătarul were the priest Roșiul from Sărindar Monastery, Constantin Zlătarul and Stan, known as the *zlătari' vătaf* (headman)⁶⁰.

Other Zlătari from the rich community of Bucharest adjusted by investing in agriculture. Dumitru Botușarul Zlătarul, to whom we have already referred, bought from one Ilie Postelnicul,⁶¹ in 1634, together with his brother, an estate in Budurești,⁶² with fields, a water course, forest and a hill with vineyards.

4.2.6 *Conclusion: Co-Occurrence of the Terms aurar and zlătar, Replacement and Semantic Shift*

Until the eighteenth century the official language of the Church and Government was Paleo-Slavic. Its substitution with the Romanian language was gradual, if not tacit, as in the case of the translation of the Bible (1688). Long before the documents of the Chancellery examined above, *aurar* and *zlătar* were used in toponyms, such as Aurești, Poiana lui Zlătar and Zlătărei. Towards the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century, the translators of official documents had to find a Paleo-Slavic equivalent for the word *aurar*, as *zlătar*. This did not happen in the case of the gold-washer, Stanciul Aurarul, who was identified with this patronym and not with Zlătarul.

In common parlance, the replacement of *aurar* to *zlătar* was not possible, although the term *zlătar* was probably known to native speakers, so that the two professionyms could coexist for a long time. Occasionally, other words came to express the same reality, for instance the extremely rare term, nowadays an archaism, *manganar*, which was used at the beginning of the sixteenth century by a Voivode in a letter to the people of the Transylvanian Bistrița fortresses (Iorga 1899, Partea I: XI–XII). Probably in the seventeenth century, the term *zlătar* came to designate a worker with noble metals, as seen in the late dictionaries, and equated either with goldsmith (*aurar*) or silversmith

60 DRH B, XXIV, doc. 274/ 20 May 1634.

61 DRH B, vol. XXIV, doc. 180/January–August 1634, the Voivode Matei Basarab certifies the purchase–sale act concluded between Dan and Dumitru Botușaru, brothers, buyers of large estates from one boyar, with 400 *aspri*.

62 Budurești is wrongly written by the copyist. The correct name is Budureasca. The settlement was located on the bank of the Budureasca brook, from where it took its name. It disappeared during the second half of the eighteenth century, when it was incorporated in the village of Vadu Săpat. The Budureasca brook springs from the area of Călugăreni commune and passes through Vadu Săpat commune and the southern part of Mizil town.

(*argintar*). The translators of the Bible into Romanian, such as the philologist Nicolae Milescu⁶³ (1668), used the term *zlătar*⁶⁴ for ‘jeweller’.

In conclusion, the existence of these two determinants in the common language, the Latin *aurar* and the Slavonic *zlătar*, reflects the permanent co-existence of gold-washers with the surrounding population, as well as the antiquity of gold technology at the north of the Danube. Named Zlătari in official documents, they identified themselves as Aurari or Zlătari, depending on the addressees. Seldom was their occupation called *zlătărie*. Collectively they were called Zlătari, but worked as *aurărie* while working with *aur* but not with *zlato*.

New technologies separated out workers into two or three categories: those who were collectors/panners, those who processed and refined the noble metals (obsolete called *lămurire*, lit. ‘clarification’), and finally those who made objects from noble or base metals. The gold-panners who collected the gold nuggets, flakes or dust, the proper “miners”, came to be called by a new Slavic term meaning ‘mineworker’, *rudar*. Nevertheless, due to the specificity of gold prospecting in Wallachia, the Romanian term *rudar* never meant ‘miner’, but ‘gold-washer’. Those who processed, refined, and further worked the noble metal kept the old name *zlătar* ‘goldworker, metallurgist, smelter’. They could process and smelt all sort of metals. By the early nineteenth century, the Zlotars referred to by P. Bataillard (see Chapter I) were moulding bells in brass but were also capable to work jewels from both noble and base metals. In the late nineteenth century, the linguist and folklorist Barbu Constantinescu, already mentioned in Chapter 1, met Zlătari who produced knives, and popular knick-knacks. In some sources and in all dictionaries *zlătar* is coined with Țigan and is kept distinct from a proper “jeweller” who was called *giuvaergiu* /

63 Nicolae Milescu (1638, Vaslui–1708, Moscow), studied at the High School of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. He knew Greek, Latin, Slavic, Turkish, Arabic, French and Italian. Between 1661–1668 he translated the Old Testament entirely into Romanian and had as its basic edition the Septuagint, printed in Frankfurt, 1597. In 1667 he went to Stockholm and then to Paris, where he was received by King Louis XIV, as ambassador of the former Moldavian Voivode. He was the teacher of the Crown Prince, the future Tsar Peter the Great.

64 To quote two of the Romanian Bible editions, “Biblia de la București” 1688, 245: Cartea a patra a regilor, XII. 10: “Și fu deacă văzură că e mult argint în secriiu, și se sui logofătul împăratului și preotul cel mare și *zlătarii* și strânseră și numărără argintul cela ce s-a aflat în Casa Domnului”; and “Biblia de la Blaj” 1795, 334: “Cartea a patra a împăraților, XII, 10: “Și au făcut dacă au văzut că e mult argint în sicriu, s-au suit logofătul împăratului și preotul cel mare și *zlătarii* și au strâns și au numărat argintul, care s-au aflat în Casa Domnului.”

giuvaergiu, *manganar*⁶⁵ and in the nineteenth century, *bijutier*. This is partially true, as seen in the old Romanian literature, such as the translations of the Bible, in which *zlătar* means ‘jeweller’ without any reference to ethnicity. Nevertheless, there was a rich community of Zlătari jewellers in Bucharest whom French travellers (Poissonnier 1855: 62) equated with the *orfèvres*.

As it was shown, they were attested since 1634 to live in their own quarter, located from the vicinity of the residence of the country’s ruler to the Sărindar Monastery, nowadays the Central Military Club in Bucharest. They were so wealthy that they managed to build their own church by the second half of the seventeenth century which exists till today in Bucharest as “Zlătari Church”. In the eighteenth century the “Zlătari Inn” was built, surrounding the church, which was dedicated together with the church to the Patriarchy of Alexandria by the ruler Constantin Brâncoveanu (Potra 1985: 106–110). Thus, in time, the inn was frequented by international high church dignitaries. It was a vibrant centre of commerce where the bankers met and functioned as a place for promotion of various crafts.

There were Zlătari who became blacksmiths; some specialised in producing large cauldrons for cooking on the outdoor hearth pits. These cauldrons resembled the large wooden ladles called *găvan*, while the artisans of the cauldrons would be referred to as *gavaons*.⁶⁶ This puzzling term appears in a contract glossed as *covaci* ‘blacksmith’.⁶⁷ But the term appears in the documents only once during Early Modern Times.

In the nineteenth century, dictionaries enter for *zlătar* the meaning ‘Țigan nomad’, by which the term is known in modern Romanian language. “It is true that the speciality of this beautiful craft belongs to the nomadic Zlătari, who, halting with their tents in woods and sharpening their unique tools, improvise workshops among the trees during the summer months and send to the nearby towns and markets, tubs, spoons, ladles (*găvan*), sieves and wooden cauldrons for storing fine salt” (Arghezi 1961: 42).

65 Tocilescu 1931: 238, a document from sixteenth century: “Your Highness has sent us another *manganar* (*giuvaergiu*) and we commissioned him to make us a pearl necklace. That’s how he left with the pearls and some of the money I paid him in advance.”

66 DLR tom II, part I, F–I, 1989: 239. GAVANON, n., nickname given to the Gypsies. “Hey, Gypsy, you *gavaon*, in Simion Florea Marian Sc. 435.”

67 DRH B, vol. XXIV, 347/5 August 1634 voivode Matei Basarab certifies the sale–purchase contract between the treasurer Radu II, buyer, and the nun Magdalena, daughter of Ban Mihalcea from Cocorești who sold an estate in Cocorăști and “fell into poverty and sold a *sălaș* of *gavaoni*, namely Dumitru Gavaon, *covaci* meaning *fierar* ‘blacksmith’, and with his *gavaoanca* called Dochia [...] because these *gavaoni* were inherited by *jupanița* Marica from her father.”



Ill. 6 Zlătari Church, Bucharest, Romania (photo: Julieta Rotaru)



Ill. 7 The ruins of the Zlătari Inn, Bucharest, Romania (photo: Tudor Dinu)

4.3 RUDAR, pl. RUDARI

While the semantic meanings of the term *rudar* vary, from ‘gold-washer’ to ‘spoon maker’, the lexical family is relatively limited:

RUDAR, n., 1) worker (Țigan) who deals with the extraction of gold from the sand of rivers.” “To be *ispravnic* (overseer) over the Rudar Gypsies, to make them work in gold” (before 1701, in Iorga 1903: 356); 2) Gypsy craftsman who works with white tubs, spoons, spindles, etc; pl. *rudari*; from the Bulgarian language: *rudar*. RUDĂ, n., 1) people, nation, tribe; 2) generation, kinship; 3) degree of kinship; 4) rod, stick, pole, beam; 5) ore, mine: “in our country, the stone from which the copper was taken out is called *ruda*”; RUDĂREANĂ, n., (regional), the name of a folk dance; *rudăreancă* in Teleorman County; RUDĂREASĂ, n., wife of a *rudar*. Sadoveanu: “In times of drought, a *rudar*’s daughter, dressed in leaves stitched together, accompanied by other two or three *rudărese* go through villages with bags hanging around the neck.”; RUDĂRESC, – EASCĂ, adj., of *rudar*, made by a *rudar*; RUDĂRIE, n., 1) the occupation of the *rudar*, the instruments, the tools of the *rudar*; 2) (obsolete and regional): underground place where ores are extracted: “he supported all the *rudării* of the Macedonians (DLR, tom IX: 1975: 588).

4.3.1 *The First Occurrence of the Term rudar, Mid-Sixteenth Century*

Previously it was thought that the first mention of the term *rudar* was in a document issued in Wallachia on September 20, 1620 (Șerban 1959: 121). However, the word appears in June 17, 1550 in a contract concluded among others by one Stan Rudarul.⁶⁸ This new chronology corresponds to the simultaneous usage of the two terms *zlătar* and *rudar* in the common language, both of Slavic etymology (Miklosich 1886 *sub voce*).

There was no lexical unity in the three Romanian provinces. In Moldavia and Transylvania, the occupational term *rudar* is not known as a synonym for gold-washer. In Moldavia he is an *aurar* and *zlătar*⁶⁹, and in Transylvania he is a *băiaș*. In Wallachia, the region wherein the Romanian literary language was formed, a series of near synonyms, depending on the occupational specialty, exist: *rudar* with the semantic value of ‘collector of alluvial gold’, *zlătar*

68 DRH B, vol. IV, doc. 293/17 June 1550: voivode Mircea Ciobanul certifies several contracts, including the properties bought by Stan Rudariul: “And let Stan Rudariul have half of Baciu’s estate, because Stan Rudarul bought it from Baciu for 300 *aspri*. In both, Runcu and Rusin, Stan bought everything, so that Baciu would not have any involvement, and this Baciu sold it out his own free will.”

69 There is a continuity for the appellation *zlătar* as metallurgist in nineteenth century Moldavia (Bataillard 1878, see Chapter 1, sub-chapter on Paul Bataillard).

with the meaning ‘a worker who processes gold and silver and crafts jewellery’. There is an absence of the term *rudar* in Moldavian personal names (Gonța 1991) and in toponyms (Gonța 1995); the situation is similar in Transylvania for personal names too.

In the documents of the Moldavian chancellery, the term *Rudar* is found very late, at the end of the eighteenth century, and apparently only in three documents. The first⁷⁰ is an act of donation of some Princely Rudari Gypsies (*țigani rudari domnești*) made by a Moldavian voivode in 1785, the second⁷¹ is an administrative document organising the group of Princely Rudari Gypsies led by a governor and judge (*jude*), issued by the voivode Alexandru Moruzzi in 1792, and the third⁷² is the decision (*așezământ*) for the organisation of Princely Gypsies, an administrative act issued by the voivode Mihail Suțu in 1793, March 25. The late appearance of the term “rudar” in the Moldavian chancellery language and the extreme rarity of documents indicate a linguistic borrowing due to the recent appearance in the social structure of Moldova of a category of people called the Rudari. According to the “custom of the land”⁷³, foreigners coming from other countries were fiscally registered with the State Treasury and, implicitly, became subjects of the ruler of the country. This is the case of the Wallachian Rudari who came to Moldavia, especially at the end of the eighteenth century, under conditions of decreasing resources from the gold alluvial sand and from the Russian-Turkish wars from the second half of the century.

4.3.2 *Last Rudar Gold-Washers, Mid-Nineteenth Century*

One of latest mentions of the Rudari as gold-panners occurs at the time of the gold-rush fever in the nineteenth century. A priest and 15 villagers from Țâța village, Dâmbovița County, were arrested for digging day and night on the estate of boyar Bellu⁷⁴. Another mid-nineteenth century document in which Rudari are attested as gold-washers, is a memorandum addressed by Alexandru Popovici, engineer from Brăila, to the ruler of Wallachia, Gheorghe Bibescu,

70 BAR, *Documente istorice*, CXXV/116. See Appendix, doc. nr. 31

71 BAR, *Documente istorice*, XXXV/194. See Appendix, doc. nr. 32.

72 BRV, nr. 564, 25 March 1793, “Hrisov Domnesc de așezământ”. See Appendix, doc. nr. 33.

73 BAR, *Documente istorice*, CIV/129, 1797, June 17: “We, Alexandru Ioan Callimachi, by God’s mercy ruler of the Land of Moldavia, I gave My Highness as donation and mercy (*danie și miluire*) to our faithful boyar Ioniță Cuza, *biv vel pitar*, to reward his services that served his country [...] the Princely Gypsies Dumitru Ghica with his wife Rada and all his children, and Gheorghe, celibatarian, Dumitru’s cousin, who are foreigners from abroad and who have come here in Moldavia, which according to the everlasting custom of the land, were taken into our princely possession, 1797, June 17.”

74 ANIC, Vornicia din Lăuntru, administrative, dos. 4714/1834, f. 62.

on March 21, 1843.⁷⁵ The engineer asks for concessions to collect gold from Olt River and its tributaries. The exploitation was to be carried out together with his son, a graduate of the Schemnitz Academy in Slovakia.⁷⁶ The engineer designed a personal innovation, created, as in other cases, from his own experience rather than from an institutional initiative (Neamțu 1957: 97–126). The Wallachian ruler was asked to allow the engineer to use a workforce made up of those Rudari who once belonged to the Crown but now belonged to the boyars. This is not the only such request, there were others. Two Christian jewelers from Constantinople⁷⁷, as well as a Romanian one⁷⁸, requested the right to exploit gold sands from the places where the Rudari had previously worked. Their requests depict the decline of the occupation of the gold-washers at a time when in Europe the jewellery profession flourished, and gold was in great demand. Production of gold objects was “quite clearly oriented to the consumption needs of the nobility” (Murgescu 2010: 113), who had a predilection for fashion and luxury goods. Unable to compete, the *rudar* as ‘gold-panner’ and *zlătar* as ‘goldsmiths’ disappeared.

75 ANIC, fond Visteria, dos. 1633/ 1843, f. 2; published in Cojocaru 1958: II, 787–790. v. Appendix, document 35.

76 Today in the city Banská Štiavnica, Slovakia. About this institution see Volker Wollmann, apud Daicoviciu, Pascu, and Chereșteșiu 1960, I: 308: “The plan to establish a higher mining institution at Schemnitz, an important mining centre in Slovakia, was born in 1761, when a chair of mining sciences was created in Prague. The courses began with the chemistry lectures of professor Nicolo Jaquin, Ioan Scopoli, and in 1765 the mathematics department held at that time by Nicolae Boda was established. On April 2, 1770, the statutes were approved, through which the school received the rank of Academy. The disciplines were divided into three departments, and the duration of studies was three years. In the first year, mathematics, physics, mechanics were taught, in the second, chemistry and mineralogy, and in the last year the technique of mining and topography. The study period was followed by six months of practice, of which the first three months were intended for the actual mining practice and topography, and the other 3 months for knowing the ore preparation process. Among the numerous students who appear in the school’s registers, students of Romanian origin are also found: Mihai Bartoș (1776); Nicolae Sabăduș (1794–1795); Pavel Lazăr (1798–1799). At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Martin Debreczeny, of serf origin, studied here, whose innovations brought great benefits to the Transylvanian mining industry.”

77 ANIC, fond Ministerul Administrației Domeniilor, dos. 569/1853, f. 2, 14 July 1853.

78 ANIC, fond Ministerul Administrației Domeniilor, dos. 569/1853, f. 5, 5 October 1853.

4.4 BĂIEȘ, pl. BĂIEȘI

Derived from the noun *baie* ‘bath’ (cf. Lat. pluralia tantum *balnea*)⁷⁹, with the semantic meaning “mineworker, owner of a mine, worker in a salt quarry, and in the southwestern part of Transylvania, in old times, gold-washer Gypsies, *zlătari*; also *băiași* are called a kind of Gypsies which make spindles, spoons, shovels, baskets for their livelihood” (DLR, Tom I, Partea I, A–B: 433–434).

In Wallachia, the term is first mentioned in the toponym Baia de Fier at 1480.⁸⁰ The first occurrence of *băiaș* in Wallachia is 1644; the word has the connotations of ‘inhabitant of Baia village’ and ‘mineworker’: “let it be his property the estate from Baia de Fier, from Stanciu *băiașu*’s side.”⁸¹ The emergence of public baths, in the sixteenth century involved a new occupation of attendants, called *băieș*. The first mention of a public bath in Bucharest is from October 21, 1585. A public bath employee Bratul *băiaș*⁸² is mentioned in a document from April 14, 1590. During the same period, a public bath existed in Târgoviște, where one Mihail *băiașul* worked.⁸³ The confusions of the homonyms *baie* ‘public bath’ and *băiaș* ‘employee at a public bath’ with *baie* ‘mine’ and *băiaș* ‘miner’ or ‘inhabitant of a locality named Baia’, were not possible.

The first known use in Wallachia of the term *băiaș* with the meaning of ‘gold-washer’ is in 1774.⁸⁴ There were two hypotheses about dating this document: March 22, 1797⁸⁵ and 1793 (Șerban 1959: 140). Apart from the first occurrence of this linguistic value, the year itself reveals the beginning of a phenomenon: the reconversion of some Romanians from Wallachia to the occupation of gold-panners practised exclusively by the Rudari. Undoubtedly, the departure of

79 v. confusion regarding the etymology, wrongly connected with the Slavic *bania* (Hașdeu 1898: III, 2348). Hașdeu criticizes the thesis proposed at the time by Miklosich (1886: 14) of possible Slavic mediation from *banja*, a term which derived among others: Bulgarian *banj*, Serbia, Croatian, Slovak *banja*, and Hungarian *banya* ‘mine’. The etymologist Ciorănescu (2002: 70) considers that the Slavic term *banja* is itself derived from Latin **banea/*bannea* ‘balneum, bath’ and the meaning of *baia* in Romanian as ‘mine’ is explained by the frequency with which the thermal or mineral waters discover the presence of the metal ores. This attests to the continuation of the mining activity in Transylvania, mainly, and the likely borrowing of the term in Hungarian as *banya* ‘mine’.

80 DRH B, vol. I, doc170/ 18 January 1480.

81 DRH B, vol. XXIX, doc. 147/1644.

82 DRH B, doc. 103/14 April 1590.

83 DIR B, Veacul XVII, vol. II, 278.

84 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 348–348v. See doc. 25 in Appendix.

85 Giurescu 1957: 130; also, Giurescu 1937: III, 557.

some Rudari from Oltenia during the Austrian occupation (see next chapter) created a labour crisis in gold washing, which led to the requalification of some Romanians, certainly miners from Baia de Fier, near the city of Râmnic with its well-known auriferous zone.

In Banat, in 1670, is recorded *bănieş* with two meanings, ‘worker at the *bănăria* (mint)’, through the association between coins and metal ores, and *Țigani de lae* “confused with the ancient *Țigani aurari* which denotes those who panned gold from the rivers and who were called *băieş* through association with the mineworkers in the gold mines” (Haşdeu 1898: 2888). In the nineteenth century, in Banat, it seemed that *bănieş/băieş* denoted the workers who melted the limestone in kilns (Simu 1895), and a group of Gypsies who worked wooden spindles, shovels and tubs (Oltean 1892, cf. Simu 1895).

In Transylvania the word was used as *băiaş* ‘miner’, derived from *baie* ‘mine’. The ethnographers Frâncu and Candrea (1888) distinguished Băieşi as a sub-ethnic group of Romanian uplanders who lived from *băieşag* ‘mineworking’, while in 1897 the linguist Gustav Weigand noticed that Băieşi are Romanian and German miners and a group of “Romanianised Gypsies” of basket weavers. Although not mentioned in the *Buda Lexicon*, the term Rudar was known, as evidenced by the existence of the toponym Ruda⁸⁶, an ancient gold-extraction place, in the mining area of the Oriental Carpathians Mountains.

4.5 LINGURAR, pl. LINGURARI

A term derived from the noun *lingură* ‘spoon’ and the agent suffix *-ar*⁸⁷. *Lingură* is an old word of Latin etymology, *līngŭla*, with one of the earliest occurrences in the *Liturghier*, published by Coresi in 1575: “*Sfânta lingură să o puie în potiri*. Put the holy spoon in the chalice.” The occupation of a spoon maker marked the entry of the term in the language in the second half of the eighteenth century. The first mention seems to be in a document from

86 Ruda–Brat is a village located 6 km southeast of Brad. Here, there is the Gallery Twelve Apostles, of 180 m length, from the Roman period, rendered only with the use of a chisel. At its end is the so-called “Roman Ladders” gallery.

87 The etymologist Ciorănescu (2002: 470) considers that *lingurar* has derived the Bulgarian *lingur* “Gypys who makes wooden spoons”.

1793 issued in Moldavia, which has already been referred above⁸⁸, in which Lingurari spoon makers are mentioned along the Ursari bear tamers and the Rudari, as the category of Gypsies belonging to the Crown: “And among other things I, My Highness, I have taken note of Princely Gypsies, the spoon makers (Lingurari) and the bear tamers (Ursari), who are since the old-time taxpayers (*birnici*)” (Codrescu 1852: 282). Another mention is from 1799, in a document published by N. Iorga (1911a: 122): “I, My Highness, have made him a *vătaf* and a caretaker for all his Gypsy spoon makers (*pe toată ceata lui de țigani lingurari*).” The next occurrence comes in the year 1810: “In this group of people (*liude*) are included for taxation also the *Lăeți*, the spoon makers and bear tamers (*sunt cisluiți și lăeții, lingurarii și ursarii*) according to their capacity <to pay>.”⁸⁹

The meaning in the standard dictionary is “a person who makes and sells spoons and other wooden objects; a Gypsy who has this occupation; *rudar*” (DLR tom. VIII, Li-Luzulă: 157–158). The authors of the Dictionary exemplify with many references from Romanian literature, including Ion Ionescu de la Brad (1868: 447): “Among the free peasants (*moșneni*) there are 27 families of Rudari (Lingurari) who do not deal with ploughing, but deal with making spoons”; and Zaharia Stancu: “Sometimes cross the village, from the mountains to the Danube, families of fair Gypsies (*sălașe de țigani bălani*), with green or blue eyes, spoon makers (Lingurari) that sell spoons, pots, bath tubs. Gypsies with barley-like hair cross the village: ‘We have spoons, spoons, pots, combs!’” (Stancu 1962: 113).

88 BRV, nr. 564, 25 March 1793, “Hrisov Domnesc de așezămînt”. See doc. nr. 33 in the Appendix.

89 ANIC, fond Administrative vechi, dos. 2356/1811. The document was also published by Ion Cojocaru (1958: 85–86). Note on the revenues of the Minister of Internal Affairs, f. 82: “Account for the taxes of the Minister of Internal Affairs, year 1810: thalers: 37,297, quarter for January, people (*liude*): 589 *Lăeți* with thalers 17; 1139 with 15 thalers; 485 with 13 thalers; 283, the *vătafs* of the bear tamers with 13 thalers. In this group of people are included for taxation also the *Lăeți*, the spoon makers and bear tamers as per their capacity. 17,814 the aid from the month of May, however: 1007 spoon makers; 878 gold-washers (*Aurari*) with 16 thalers; 843 *Lăeți*; 783 bear tamers with 4 thalers; 19848 thalers, the aid for the month of August, but: 748 *Lăeți* with 8 thalers; 892 spoon makers with 10 thalers; 824 bear tamers with 6 thalers; etc.”

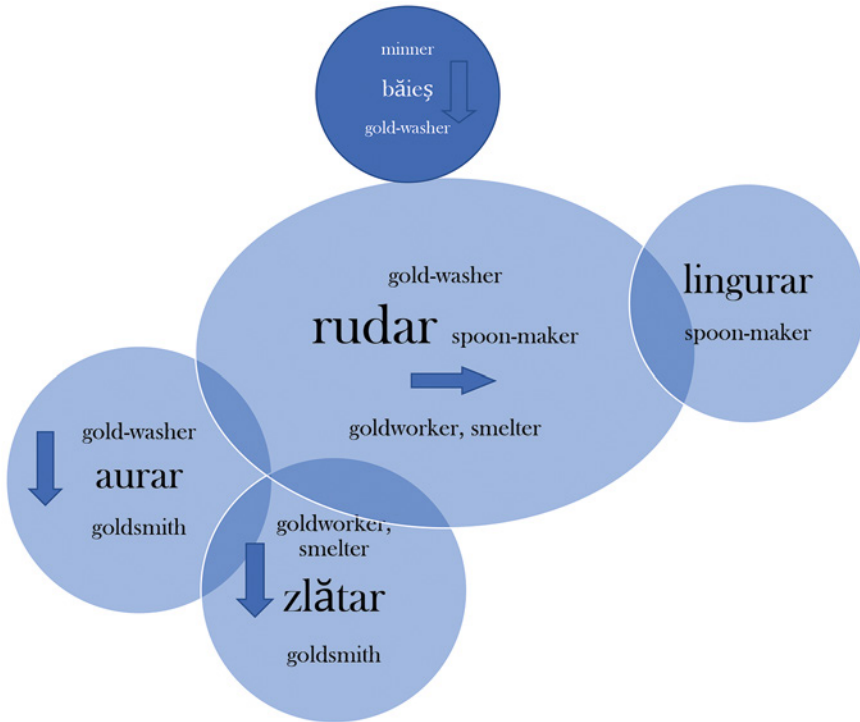


Diagram Semantic evolution of the synonyms *aurar*, *zlătar*, *rudar*, *băieș* and *lingurar*

4.6 Conclusions

The first name of the gold-washers was *aurar*, a term of Latin origin. In this connection, there is the toponym Aurești, Vâlcea County, Wallachia, in a document dated 2 September 1520. But the language of the chancellery of the Wallachian and Moldavian Voivode, in common with the language of the church, was Slavonic. The copyists of the Slavic documents translated into Slavic the Romanian word *aurar* with the equivalent *zlătar*. The first known document containing the term *zlătar* in Wallachia was issued in the year 10 January 1519, and the term *rudar* in 17 June 1550.

Gradually, the term *zlătar* was accommodated in the common Romanian language, but it has a smaller lexical family as compared to the term *aurar*, and furthermore has a narrower semantic meaning, that of ‘metallurgist’ and ‘jeweller in base and noble metals’, and in early twentieth century ‘nomadic Gypsy’ (Arghezi 1961: 42). The meaning of the synonyms *zlătar* or *rudar* becomes clear by reference to the term *aurar*. At the end of the eighteenth century, the

translator of some Slavic documents into Romanian, which are included in the codex of Cozia Monastery written in 1778⁹⁰, has a chapter entitled “Țigani aurari”. Here he lists the Rudari belonging to the monastery. It is important for our discussion on the antiquity and continuity of the term *aurar* denoting the gold-washer, the fact that the scribe explained the meaning of the term *rudar*: “Rudari are those people who know the craft of prospecting for gold in the waters.”

The new technologies of the gold-mining occupation have divided workers into two or three categories: miners or collectors, and processors (goldworkers, metallurgists, smelters and goldsmiths, jewellers). Changes in the skill have determined lexical adaptations. The collectors of the alluvial gold, the “mineworkers”, were designated by the term *Rudar*, and the noble and base metal processors by the name *zlătar*, and later, in the nineteenth century, when they have almost disappeared as a result of competition with imported products, with the terms *giuvaergiu* /*giuvaiergiu* and *bijutier*. Both, Rudari and Zlătari were also metallurgist. The Rudari sometimes delivered the gold to the Treasury after reduction through cupellation. In 1838, the majority of the Zlătari were coppersmiths and blacksmiths, thus metallurgists.

The Rudari denoted the actual gold-washers, who in autumn and winter crafted household items from the wood available in the forest along the auriferous rivers, where they settled. In time, those who left the practice of panning gold and dealt only with the manufacture of wooden items were called *Lingurari* (spoon-makers).

While the term *Rudar* designates the gold-washers only in Wallachia, in the other Romanian provinces of Moldavia, Transylvania and Banat, this appellation was never used. In Transylvania and Banat their occupational name came to be conflated with *Băieși* denoting the mineworkers. In Moldavia *Aurar*, *Zlătar* and *Țigan* (by 1741)⁹¹ were those who collected the alluvial gold.

We are now able to establish a better chronology⁹² and more accurate meanings⁹³ of the diachronic synonymic series *aurar*, *zlătar*, *rudar*, *băieș*, *lingurar*. *Aurar*, *zlătar*, *băieș* are professionyms that are not restricted to any ethnic community, while *Lingurar* is a specific Romani sub-ethnic group. The term *Rudari* stands apart as a professionism denoting a certain ethnic collective coined as *Țigan*.

90 ANIC Ms. 209, f. 435.

91 Lat. *Cingari* in Cantemir 1973: 103.

92 See Table 2 in this chapter.

93 See the diagram of the semantic evolution in this chapter.

Table 2 First attestations of the terms *aurar*, *zlătar*, *oțelar*, *rudar*, *băieș* and *lingurar*

Events	aurar	zlătar	oțelar	rudar	băiaș/băieș	lingurar
		1424/54 Sept. 4, Moldavia, Poiana lui Zlătar.				
			1436, April 21, Moldavia. 1436, Dec. 4, Mihai Oțel, Moldavia.			
		1438, July 6, Moldavia, Zlătar.	1438, July 6, Moldavia, Mihai Oțel. 1438, Oțelești, Galați county, Wallachia.			
			1451, June 13, Moldavia, Mihai Oțel.			

Table 2 First attestations of the terms *aurar*, *zlătar*, *oțelar*, *rudar*, *băieș* and *lingurar* (cont.)

Events	aurar	zlătar	oțelar	rudar	băieș/băieș	lingurar
					1480, Jan. 18, Wallachia, Baia de Fier.	
	1484, May 29, Moldavia, Stanciul Aurarul.					
			1517, Moldavia, Mihăilă Oțel,			
		1519 Jan. 10, Zlătărei, Wallachia.				
	1520, Sept. 2, Aurești, Vâlcea county, Wallachia.	1520, April 10, Wallachia, Danciul Zlătarul.				
	1529, Oct. 6, Moldavia, Toma Aurarul.					
		1543, Mars 20, Poiana Zlătarului, Wallachia.				

Table 2 First attestations of the terms *aurar*, *zlătar*, *oțelar*, *rudar*, *băieș* and *lingurar* (cont.)

Events	aurar	zlătar	oțelar	rudar	băieș/băieș	lingurar
				1550, June 17, Wallachia, Stan Rudarul.		
	1570, Jan. 19, Aurești, Vâlcea county, Wallachia.					
		1571, June 5, Poiana Zlătarului, Wallachia.				
1585, Oct. 21, Bucharest, first <i>baia</i> 'public bath:						
1590, April 14, Bucharest, Wallachia, Bratul <i>băiașul</i> 'bath employee':						
1600, Târgoviște, Wallachia, Mihai <i>băiașul</i> 'bath employee':						

Table 2 First attestations of the terms *aurar*, *zlătar*, *oțelar*, *rudar*, *băieș* and *lingurar* (cont.)

Events	aurar	zlătar	oțelar	rudar	băieș/băieș	lingurar
				1620, Sept. 20, Wallachia, Rudari as gold-washers.		
		1634, May 20, Bucharest, Wallachia, Constantin cel Mare Zlătarul, Constantin cel Mic Zlătarul, Constantin Zlătarul, Stan vătaf of zlatari.				
1688, translation of Bible in Romanian.		Bible, zlătar for jeweller.			1644, Wallachia, Stanciul băieșul.	

Table 2 First attestations of the terms *aurar*, *zlătar*, *oțelar*, *rudar*, *băieș* and *lingurar* (cont.)

Events	aurar	zlătar	oțelar	rudar	băieș/băieș	lingurar
					1774, Jan. 25, Wallachia, <i>băieși rumâni</i> .	
				1785, Moldavia, Princely Rudari Gypsies.		
				1792, Moldavia, Princely Rudari Gypsies.		
				1793, Moldavia, Princely Gypsy spoon makers and the Rudari of the old time.		1793, Moldavia, Princely Gypsy spoon makers and the Rudari of the old time.
						1810, Wallachia.
				1834, Wallachia Rudari as gold-washers.		
				21 Mars 1843, Wallachia, (prob- ably last) Rudari as gold-washers.		

Considerations on the Terminology of Slavery, *rob* and *țigan*

Geopolitically, the Danubian Principalities are an intersection of Christian and Muslim civilisations, the Catholic West and Orthodox Byzantium, a space for synthesis of several political, economic, and social institutions taken over or transposed. *Robia* (Gypsy slavery) may represent such a local synthesis which is unlike the sin-induced slavery described in the Bible, and different from the Roman slavery of the Principalities' past. There were many restrictions on social freedom in Romanian Principalities, ranging from serfdom and slavery¹ to subservient peasantry (*rumânia*), to Țigani as *rob* slaves. The co-existence of free peasants (*moșneni*, *moșteni*) and dependent peasants (*rumâni*, *vecini*) is ancient, most likely from the period of ethnological survival followed by the withdrawal of the Roman army cum administration from the northern Danube region.² The course of life and the socio-economic contexts generated by the successive territorial occupations of migratory people, have determined the social stratifications and the forms of survival of communities (Stahl, H.H. 1980b). The appearance of migrants of Indian origin in Romanian Principalities added to extant social stratification. The Gypsies could be attached to ecclesiastical institutions, Orthodox and Catholic³ (*țigani mănăstirești*) or belong to private owners (*țigani boierești*), mostly from old aristocratic families, and a few numbers of them belonged to the Crown or the state (*țigani domnești*, *țigani ai statului*). The duration of Gypsy slavery is estimated from the first document mentioning the term Țigan, 1385, until the last official Emancipation in the 1850s. It is almost unanimously accepted by researchers and activists that Roma slavery is not sufficiently studied⁴. There is however a historiography of Roma slavery since the time of Emancipation, and “national” schools of slavery

1 See Achim 2021 for other slaves in the region, such as Tatars.

2 There is a large bibliography. Among the sources consulted: Giurescu, C. 1975–1976: 179–213; Giurescu, C. 1977; Panaitescu 1956: 63–122; Ștefănescu 1958: 55–66; Ștefănescu et al. 1962: 39–60.

3 see Gaunt and Rotaru 2021: 45, fn. 27. The catholic Baratia Monastery of Câmpulung possessed Gypsy slaves recorded in the 1838 register.

4 For a general bibliography on Gypsy slavery in Romania see Marushiakova and Popov (2009), and in Achim 2004: 27, footnotes, and recently updated as Achim 2018. For a quantitative and in-depth qualitative study of slavery see Gaunt and Rotaru 2021.

research existed by mainly engaging in narratives of Gypsy enslavement as an institution presented as worse in others than in Romania. Although Marxists questioned what binds oppression with a determinate regime of production, and while some of the favoured subjects for research were about economic agrarian relations, Gypsy slavery was not recognised in Romanian historiography during the second half of the twentieth century. Some researchers consider that this taboo might be due to the incompatibility between the image of slavery and the national heroes (Piasere, 2016).

We have thus not aimed to give an account of Gypsy slavery as an institution, which is a vast subject *per se*. It is nonetheless useful to introduce this chapter by explaining some of the terminology of slavery used from the medieval times through the mid-nineteenth century in relation to the Rudari, such as *rob*, *țigan*, *celiad*, *sălaş*. The first medieval attestation referring to 300 *sălaşe* of *țigani*⁵ has been interpreted in later documents (1741, November 20, etc) as referring to “*țiganii rudari* who are inalienable property (*ohabnici*) of the holy monastery of Cozia. These are since they were given as slaves (*robi*).” On the other hand, the claims of the Rudari, recorded in the same register of Cozia⁶ as the other document, were that “they were not slaves of Cozia Monastery, because their people were forgiven and released from the slavery of Cozia Monastery by the past rulers of Wallachia” (*ei nu au fost robi ai mănăstirii Cozia, pentru că neamul lor a fost iertat și eliberat din robia mănăstirii Cozia de către Domnii Țării Românești din trecut*).

As will be seen in Chapter 6, which analyses the relation of the Rudari with the Cozia Monastery, their official administrator, the past of the Rudari before their alleged donation to the monastery has been locked behind the first document to have mentioned them, the original of which has been lost and the eighteenth-century transcription of which might be open to several interpretations. It is not certain thus if they were free and became *rob* slaves of the monastery.

5.1 The Semantical Evolution of the Terms *rob*, *țigan*, *celiad*, *sălaş*

5.1.1 *ROB, ROBIE*

The entry *rob* (m.)/*roabă* (f.) is thus described in the current dictionary of Romanian language: “a person totally or partially deprived of liberty, who is or became fully owned by another and forced to work for that, see slave,

5 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 25v; Ms. 712, f. 244v–245; DRH, vol. 1, doc. 9, 1966: 25–28.

6 1774, < terminus post quem May 26 >, ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 350, fond mănăstirea Cozia, XLIX/30.

serf (*iobag*).¹) Person taken captive through war. 2) (popular) detained, imprisoned.”⁷ The dictionary does not offer the diachronic evolution of the term. Etymological dictionaries derive it from Old East Slavic робъ robŭ ‘serf’ (Ciorănescu 2002: 668).

The first attestation of the word *rob* in Wallachia comes from a Slavic document from 1406 issued by the Serbian Tsar Stefan Lazarević. The act confirms several villages in Serbia donated by his father, Prince Lazarus, to the Vodița and Tismana monasteries in present-day Southwestern Romania. These monasteries are said in this document to be built with the help of the Serbian Prince Lazarus. Lazarus was a great supporter of Orthodoxy; he rebuilt the Hilandar and Saint Pantelimon monasteries on Mount Athos, and moreover built new monasteries in Serbia, Ravanica, Lazarica and Kruševac. Therefore, his support to establish two monasteries in Wallachia is a part of his policy. After the disastrous battle in Kosovo Polje with the Ottomans (1389), where Prince Lazarus lost his life, the donated Serbian villages belonging to the Tismana Monastery were forgotten and completely deserted (Panaitescu 1944: 149). The successor of Prince Lazarus, the Tsar Stefan Lazarević encouraged the return of the inhabitants and the repopulation of villages with new people. Among the undesirable ones in his kingdom were the “*robi* purchased through money”.

The monasteries in Wallachia, which were built with the help of my blessed father, the one from Tismana dedicated to the Holy Mother of God and the one from Vodița dedicated to Antonie the Great. [...] Besides these, those who fled from the land of my kingdom in the Hungarian or Bulgarian Country or my servants or my landowners of great estates (*vlastelin*) and who spent there three or two or one year, but now wish to return to the above-mentioned church villages (*sate bisericesti*), should be free to come, except for those who are guilty <of the following transgressions>: if he has done any harm to my kingdom or has stolen from one of my landowners, or he is a murderer, or a thief robbing a church, or a *rob* purchased through money or a violator of virgins. Freedom (*libertate*) is not given to those, according to the holy scriptures.⁸

Through a document issued in 1374, the Wallachian ruler Vladislav I donated to the newly inaugurated monastery of Vodița various precious objects necessary for the ritual, among which a Gospel plated in gold and silver.⁹ Later in 1385, the Wallachian Voivode Dan I confirmed the donation made by Vladislav I, but in the list of goods, 40 Gypsies households (*celeadi de ațigani*) appear for

⁷ DLR, Tom XIII, R-Sclabuc, 500–503.

⁸ DRH B, vol. 1, doc. 31/1406.

⁹ DRH B, vol. 1, doc. 6/1374.

the first time.¹⁰ This is the first mention of (*a*)*ṭigan* in Danubian Principalities. So far it has not been examined when and how these 40 *ṭigan* households entered the patrimony of the Vodița Monastery.

The term *rob* is of Slavic origin and assimilated like other Slavic words, during the migration of the Slavs in the region, in the sixth century. The beginning of Romanian literature is represented by Romanian translations of Christian sacred texts in the sixteenth century¹¹. We have looked for the equivalents of the word 'slave' in the first Romanian translations of liturgical texts: *Liturghierul* 'Liturgy' (1570)¹² *Psaltirea românească* 'Romanian Psalter' (1570)¹³, *Psaltirea slavo-română* 'Slavic-Romanian Psalms' from 1577¹⁴ and from 1588¹⁵, *Carte românească de învățătură* 'Romanian religious textbook' (1643)¹⁶, the Bible from 1688¹⁷. In the Bible from 1688, which represents a translation from Latin, Greek and Slavic, we have consulted the anastatic edition and the concordance index of the jubilee edition issued by the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church (2001). An analysis of the concordances of the words for 'slave' has allowed us to estimate the awareness about slavery as an institution for the suppression of liberty in medieval Wallachia.

Initially, in the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century, in all Romanian provinces – e.g. Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania and Banat – the equivalent of the Latin term *sclavus* 'slave' was the word *șerb*, lit. 'serf'. Gradually, in Wallachia, in the second half of the fifteenth century, the word *șerb* began to be replaced by the term *rob*. In the *Liturghierul* printed by the typographer Coresi (1570), the term *șerb* with the meaning 'slave' appears only once¹⁸, while *rob* with the same meaning is attested six times¹⁹. In other texts of the typographer Coresi, *Psaltirea românească* (1570) and *Psaltirea slavo-română* (1577 and 1588), the proportion is reversed²⁰. Additionally, in the *Psaltirea* of 1577, the term *robie* appears only once with the meaning 'slavery' in the description of the sale of Joseph²¹, whereas for 'slave' the term *rob*

10 DRH B, vol. 1, doc. 7/ 3 October 1385.

11 For the entire documentation and bibliography of the subject of Romanian language in the sixteenth century see Densușianu 1938, II.

12 BRV I: 12, no.9, *Liturghier-Diaconar al diaconului Coresi, Brașov, 1570*.

13 BRV I: 54–56; no.16, *Psaltirea românească a diaconului Coresi, Brașov, 1570*.

14 BRV I: 63–68, no.19, *Psaltirea slavo-românească, tipărită de diaconul Coresi, 1577*.

15 BRV I: 17, no. 14, *Psaltire, Brașov, 1588, Slavonește și românește*.

16 BRV I: 137–143, no. 45, *Carte de învățătură, Iași, 1643*.

17 BRV I: 281–291, no. 86, *Biblia, București, 1688*.

18 Mareș 1969: 129, f. 6r.

19 Mareș 1969: 137, f. 21r; 133, f. 14r, 14; 133, f. 17r, 9; f. 22r, 16; f. 25r, 1; f. 25, 16.

20 Mareș 1969: 39–40.

21 Toma 1976: 440, f. 203r/17: *în robie fu vândut Iosif* 'in slavery was Joseph sold out' (underlined by the authors).

is recorded only once²² but the term *șerb* is used 39 times²³. In all cases, the meaning of the words *rob* and *șerb* is “servant of God” and never as “slave, person deprived of social freedom”. In the *Carte românească de învățătură*, the author and translator Vaarlam, Metropolitan of Moldavia, refers to Jesus Christ with the term *rob* ‘slave’ in the context of describing the humiliating gesture of hitting the cheek:

As God, who was born for us [...] was despised as a scoundrel, was rebuked like a charlatan, was slapped on the cheek like a slave (*rob*), was punished like a stranger (*străin*), he was beaten like a culprit [...] (Toma 2011: III, f. 185–185v)

The Biblical concordances²⁴ reveal the semantic meanings of the terms *rob* ‘slave’ and *robie* ‘bondage’ in common parlance: *rob* slaves were bought and sold²⁵; the runaways *robs* should not be returned in the hands of the master²⁶; Christ is the *rob* of God²⁷; Christ has accepted to be a *rob*²⁸, and the *robia* slavery was caused by: 1) the devil²⁹, 2) sin³⁰, 3) fear³¹. Liberation from the bondage (*robia*) of sin has been promised to all³², and Christ is the promised deliverer³³.

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- 22 Toma 1976: 95, f.31r/15: *Cu învățătura Domnului [...] și adevă robul tău păzi-va [...]* ‘With the teaching of the Lord ... and so your servant will guard [...]’ (underlined by the authors).
- 23 Toma 1976: 95, f. 31r/15; f. 45r/5; f. 51v/16; f. 165r/2; f. 172r/7; f. 204r/18; f. 205r/18; f. 219v/7; f. 227v/15; f. 233r/14; f. 236r/10; f. 237v/4; f. 242r/6, 13,16; f. 243v/1,17; f. 247r/8; f. 257r/5; f. 271v/7; f. 273r/2; f. 274r/11; f. 304v/2; *șerboul*, f. 152v/17; f. 153r/3; f. 227r/13; G-D, *șerbului*, f. 62v/2; 170r/9; f. 173v/18; 232v/11; f. 234v/9; f. 234 bis.v/10; f. 238r/13; f. 261v/14; *șerboului*, f. 165r/8; N-Ac pl. articulated, *șerbii*, f. 177r/1,13; f. 194v/26; f. 309r/14; G-D pl., *șerbilor*, f. 59r/3; 128r/13; f. 153v/4; f. 154v/10; 175v/5; f. 195v/15; f. 202v/8; f. 304r/11; f. 305v/13; 2; G. sg., *șarbee*, f. 166v/8; f. 227v/15; f. 310r/15; G.pl., *șarbelor*, f. 249v/16.
- 24 Biblia 2001 : 1814. Concordanța biblică.
- 25 Facerea, 17(13); 17(27); 37(28); 37(36); 39(17); Leveticul, 22(11); Deuteronomul, 28(68); Es, 7(4); Iezechil, 27(13); Apocalipsa, 18(13). Moises’s Laws about *robia*: Ieșirea, 20(10); 21(1–11); 21(20–21); 21(26–27); Leveticul, 19(20–22); 25(6); 25(10); 25(35–55). Deuteronomul, 5(14); 15(12); 15(14); 15(18); 24(7).
- 26 Deuteronomul, 23(15–16).
- 27 Evanghelia după Luca, 4(18–19).
- 28 Evanghelia după Luca, 22(27); Evanghelia după Ioan, 13(5); Epistola Sfântului Apostol Pavel către Filipeni, 2(7).
- 29 Epistola Sfântului Apostol Pavel către Timotei, 3(7); 2(26).
- 30 Evanghelia după Ioan, 8(34); Faptele Apostolilor, 8(23); Epistola Sfântului Pavel către romani, 6(16); Petru 2(19).
- 31 Epistola Sfântului Pavel către romani, 6(15); Epistola Sfântului Pavel către evei, 2(15).
- 32 Ieșirea, 42(6–7), 61(1).
- 33 Evanghelia după Luca, 4(18–21); Evanghelia după Ioan, 8(36); Epistola Sfântului Pavel către romani, 7(23–25); Epistola Sfântului Pavel către evrei, 2(15).

The institution of slavery is accurately described in the Old Testament, in the Laws of Moses, the Exodus³⁴, Leviticus³⁵ and Deuteronomy³⁶. The New Testament, on the other hand, contains no reference to the institution of slavery. The Romanian Orthodox Church and the autocephalous Orthodox patriarchates of the Orient had a concessive attitude towards slavery. Ecumenical councils³⁷ have never debated the dogmatic opposition of slavery to official religion. In Wallachia, the translator of the Bible from 1688, Nicolae Milescu³⁸, the most erudite Romanian intellectual of his time, proved his unsurpassable knowledge of the Romanian language when he used the most accurate equivalents for biblical terms and showed the unequivocal perception of the institution of slavery in Romanian society at the time through the meanings of the words *sclav*, *șerb* and *rob*.

In the text of the Romanian translation, Nicolae Milescu did not use the equivalents *sclav* or *șerb* for the Latin *sclavinus*. The term deployed was always *rob*, even in cases with metaphorical or allegorical neo-testamentary meaning: Jesus agreed to be a slave³⁹, Jesus behaved like a slave⁴⁰, Jesus came to restore the freedom of the slaves⁴¹. The equivalence *rob* – ‘slave’ – reveals the exact knowledge of the institution of slavery, a synthesis of the Old Testament tradition, local customs and Byzantine models, and therefore entirely different from the institutional structure of Roman slavery.

34 Biblia 2001: 101–107, Ieșirea 21(1–11; 20–21; 26–27).

35 Biblia 2001: 144–154, Leviticul 19(20–22).

36 Biblia 2001: 219–220, Deuteronomul, 15(12–18).

37 Ecumenical councils: 1) Council of Nicaea, 325; 2) First Council of Constantinople, 381; 3) Council of Ephesus, 431; 4) Council of Chalcedon, 451; 5) Second Council of Constantinople, 553; 6) Third Council of Constantinople, 660–681; 7) Second Council of Nicaea, 787; 8) Fourth Council of Constantinople, 869–870.

38 Nicolae Milescu, born in 1636, near Vaslui, Moldavia, died in 1708, in Moscow. His father was originally from the south of the Danube, most likely Aromanian. He studied at the High School of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. After finishing his studies, he returned to Moldavia where he was the secretary of the Moldavian ruler Gheorghe Ștefan. He later accompanied him into exile in Stettin (1664–1667) and served two diplomatic missions in Stockholm and Paris, where he was received by King Louis XIV. On the recommendation of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Dosithei, most likely of Aromanian origin, Milescu became a translator for Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich and Tsar Michael Mikhailovich. At the request of Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich, he organised an expedition to China between 1675 and 1678 (Cândea 1979, Panaitescu 1925: 40–52).

39 Biblia, ed. cit, p. 1683–1686, Sfântul Paul scrisoarea către Filipeni: *Dar S-a golit pe Sine luând chip de rob.* ‘He emptied Himself and became *rob*.’

40 Biblia 2001: 1671–1672, Scrisoarea Sfântului Paul către Galateni, 4(1–5).

41 Biblia 2001: 1524–1551, Evanghelia după Luca, 4(18–19).

Biblically, the causes of slavery are sin⁴², hereditary servitude⁴³, imprisonment in war, sale-purchase, and self-sale. All these forms of *robie* slavery were taken over and existed in medieval Wallachia, transposed into the institutions *rumân* and *țigan*, as will be further shown. It should be noted that the biblical text from 1688, lacked the alternation of *șerb/rob*, discovered one hundred years earlier in the texts printed by Coresi. This is because Coresi's readers were from Transylvania, where the word *șerb* was already commonly used.

The first attestation of the institution of *robia* comes from a document issued in September 30, 1445, in Moldavia, referring to a Tatar and his household (*celiad*) donated by Voivode Ștefan cel Mare to the Metropolitan of Roman. The provision is that after the Metropolitan's death the *rob* may be set free and allowed to live according to the "Wallachian law" (*după legea valahă*). In another document issued by Ștefan cel Mare on February 8, 1470, a runaway Tatar *rob* and his children, are set free and allowed to live according to "Romanian law" (*după legea românească*) and are exempted from paying the taxes according to the "law of slaves and Tartars" (*după dreptul robilor și al tătarilor*). "Wallachian law" and "Romanian law" refer to the status of dependent peasants.

Ștefan II Voivode donates to the Metropolitan Calistus of Roman a Tatar from our Tartars from Neamț and his *celiad*, with all his wealth, whatever he may have, to be his <the Metropolitan's n.a.> alienable property (*uric*), never to be taken away from him [...] and after the death of <the Metropolitan, n.a.> either he will be entrusted to the church, either he will be handed over to someone else or he will be set free [...] We have nothing to do with it. If he is forgiven, he should live free, according to the Wallachian law, let no one dare to remind him of *robie*.⁴⁴

The Voivode Ștefan cel Mare gives this chart to the Tartar who is our runaway *rob*, namely Oană the Tartar and his children [...] and to be forgiven of *robie* [...] to be allowed to settle free in our country, never to pay anything according to the rights of slaves and Tartars [...] and to live in our country, as all Romanians live, according to Romanian law.⁴⁵

The terms *rob/robie*, with the meaning slave/slavery, appear much later in Wallachia. The terms begin to crop up in the early seventeenth century, a delay due, on the one hand, to the non-existence of the Tartar *rob* institution and, on the other hand, to the existence of an equivalent term for the *țigan* institution, documented since October 3, 1385, as shown above.

42 Biblia 2001: 1567, Evanghelia după Ioan, 5(34).

43 Biblia 2001: 1714, Scrisoarea Sfântului Pavel către Filimon, 15(15–18).

44 DRH A, vol. I, doc. 259/30 September 1445.

45 DRH A, vol. II, doc. 162/ 8 February 1470.

I, Io Dan I Voivode, confirm to Tismana Monastery all previous donations, including forty households of Gypsies (*celeadi de ațigani*).⁴⁶

The term *rob* in Wallachia occurs in 1480, in the polite formulas of the beginning and end of a letter. The letter is addressed to the lady of the country, Maria, the wife of the Voivode Basarab Țepeluș. She has been taken prisoner by her husband's rival, Basarab Laiotă, while the former had gone to Transylvania to accompany Turkish troops. Defeated on October 13, 1479, by the army led by the Voivode of Transylvania Stephen Báthory (Báthory István), Basarab Țepeluș returned to Bucharest. From here, he coordinates the negotiations with Stephen Báthory for the release of his wife. Details about the negotiations can be found in the letters sent by her husband at different times⁴⁷. Among the negotiators are several of his close collaborators: the nobles Vintilă *logofăt*, Cazan Treasurer and Staico *comis*. Their letters to the lady of the country were signed "*robi* of Thy kingdom," a form expressing devotion transposed from the biblical language "servant of God" (*robul* lui Dumnezeu).

The next mention of the term *rob* in Wallachia has been preserved since 1527, also in the syntagm "servant of God" (*robul lui Dumnezeu*) carved on the tombstone of Voivode Radu de la Afumați, buried in the necropolis at Curtea de Argeș.⁴⁸

The phrase "*rob* of God" and the term *rob* are used in Wallachia between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries only with the meanings of devotion and prisoner of war and abductees. At the time, captivity was primarily a matter of redemption or sale in slave markets in the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁹ Among the captives, which existed over these 400 years, the documents do not reveal the preferred abductions of Romanians or Gypsies, a reality that can be explained by the impossibility of their redemption. Romanians and Gypsies were captured in situations of enslavement of an entire village.

In the days of Voivode Alexandru⁵⁰ son of Voivode Radu⁵¹ the Tartars have enslaved (*au robii*) all the "neighbors" (*vecini*) in the village <Cetățile-n.a.>, in order to leave the village deserted.⁵²

46 DRH B, vol. 1, doc. 7/ 3 October 1385.

47 DRH B, vol. 1, doc. 166; 167; 168 and 174, all from year 1480.

48 Stoicescu 1983: 37.

49 Dan and Belu 1967: 27–28.

50 Alexandru Coconul, ruler of Wallachia between 1623–1627.

51 Radu Mihnea, ruler in Wallachia between 1620–1623, ruler in Moldavia between 1623–1626.

52 DRH B, vol. XXIII, doc. 11/ 11 January 1630.

or in cases of temporary occupations of the country, when “the country has been enslaved” (*a fost robită țara*).

There were royal charts for this estate <Cândești, n.a.>, but they perished when the Tartars came in the days of Șerban Vodă⁵³, because they enslaved the country (*de au robit țara*).⁵⁴

Nowadays, in the days of My Highness <Alexandru Coconul, n.a.>, seeing so much pressure and need and distress from the <Ottoman> Empire (*împărăție*) and from all sides, and the country of My Highness still being in captivity (*și țara Domniei Mele încă fiind în robie*) and prey for criminals [...].⁵⁵

Ignoring the semantic evolution of the terms *rob* has generated ambiguities in historiographic research until the middle of the twentieth century. At the beginning of an important editorial program of publishing the chancellery documents of the Romanian Principalities, the editor in chief Mihai Roller pointed out the risk, in the case of certain terms, of introducing approximate translations into the scientific circuit.

The documents published in this volume indicate a lively movement regarding the *robi*. A beginning of a critical analysis of the terminology used in the previous translation of Slavic documents gives us the conclusion that the common terminology must be subjected to serious revision. Because of that, we generally publish a number of debatable terms, either in original, either with reference to the original. The term *rob* often used in this volume is the translation for the Slavic term *holop* used in the original text. What is the social content of the term *holop*? The Soviet specialized literature⁵⁶ explains to us that *holop* is a notion corresponding especially to the feudal order

The notion of *holop* (translated as *rob*) corresponding to the feudal order does not always mean exactly the same thing. *Holop* can be, for example: a servant from the court of the feudal lord, people in a relation of partial dependence, etc. In the case of the documents published in this volume, for example, we find that in the process of deconstructing the natural economy, given that the feudal household still meets the needs of consumption through its own production, *robi* also served as craftsmen. That the workforce of *robi* was related to a craft also led to the transformation of nicknames into names; a *rob* named Coal, another named Cauldron – probably coal-maker and cauldron makers – are mentioned in Doc. Nr. 12 of May 22, 1572; a Luke locksmith is mentioned in Doc. Nr. 210 of May 11, 1581, and a Magdalina sheepskin coat maker (*cojocăriță*), in Doc. Nr. 211 of

53 Radu Șerban, ruler of Wallachia, October 1601; 1602–1610.

54 DRH B, vol. XXXVII, doc. 293/ 15 September 1652.

55 DRH B, vol. XXI, doc. 46/ 15 April 1626.

56 Mihai Roller refers in the footnote to the specialised literature, the volume D.B. Grekov, D.B. translated in Romanian in 1952.

11 May 1581, etc. Therefore, the meaning of the notion of *holop* (*rob*) may vary, but it corresponds mainly to the feudal order. For this reason, whenever *holop* was translated as *rob*, the original term was indicated in the note, in order to draw attention to researchers. It therefore seems necessary to study the content of some of these notions in order for them to be adequately included in the development stages of the society (*Documente privind istoria României. A. Moldova. Veacul al XVI-lea, vol. III (1571–1590)*, 1953: III–IV).

5.1.2 *ȚIGAN and CELIAD/SĂLAȘ*

As already shown, the term (*a*)*țigan*⁵⁷ appears for the first time in a document from 1385, in the context of 40 Gypsies households (*celeadi de ațigani*). The term *celiad* is used for ‘household’ in the language of the Wallachian chancellery until the eighteenth century, when the word *sălaș* becomes increasingly used (Mircea 1950: 341–342). The semantic meanings of the word *celiad* have not been specified exactly in the Russian literature⁵⁸, which was available to the editors of the collections of chancellery documents.

A term of Slavic origin⁵⁹ present in Russian texts since the tenth century⁶⁰, *celiad* was taken over by the Romanian voivodship chancelleries from Moldavia and Wallachia in the fourteenth century, but only in reference to Gypsies. The chain of adoption of the term *celiad* in the Slavic-language chancellery documents of Danubian Principalities may be South Slavic or, most likely, Kyivan (cf. *cedednic* of Ruthenian origin see footnote 59). From the Kyivan region came later, though only in Moldavia, the term *holop*, which served as a substitute for the word *celiad*. In the Russian biblical texts, the semantic meanings for *celiad* are: ‘house’, ‘family’, ‘people’, ‘servant’, ‘slave’, as in the Russian translation of the New Testament, Luke 12, 42: “whoever is faithful and wise, the Lord will put him above those who are *celiad* with him, to give him the wheat he needs in time”. In Genesis 35, 6, *celiad* is the equivalent of the Greek *λαός laos* ‘people’, and from the Vulgata is translated into Russian with the meaning ‘family’. In the ninth century the ‘slave’ is known as *celiad* and is later called *holop* (Grekov 1952: 203).

57 The etymologic dictionaries derive it from medio-Greek *τσιγγανος* via Slavic (*a*)*ciganinū* (Ciorănescu 2002: 785).

58 See footnote 56. The reference is Grekov 1952: 155–156.

59 The Proto-Slavic **čeladъ* ‘cluster, group of relatives’ cf. Sanskrit *kulam* ‘family, community, caste’ (Vasmer 1964–1973 *sub voce*). The Romanian etymological dictionary does not enter the term *celead*, but only *celed*/variant *ciled*, pl. *celezi* ‘(Transylvania) boy, unmarried young man, male servant’, derived from Hungarian *cseléd* ‘servant’, cf. Romanian *cedednic* ‘domestic, servant, apprentice’ derived from Ruthenian *čelednik* (Ciorănescu 2002: 167).

60 See footnote 56. The reference is Grekov 1952: 178–179.

In Romanian documents⁶¹ the word *celiad* has the meaning ‘household, family’, and the term *țigan* is an ethnonym with a social connotation, as well as denoting the institution of slavery.

In DLR, *Celiad/celead/celéd* (pl. *celéduri*) (reg. and arch.) is explained as a ‘group of people, the serfdom from a household; family, children.’ With this sense it enters the Romani language. In two songs collected by Barbu Constantinescu from the so-called Netot Gypsies⁶², the term occurs with the sense ‘household, family’.

*Saorî rom pe katunența/ O vătafos pe céledasa/ Pe ć<h>eayența pe romneasa/
Vurdonența 'l katunasa.* – All the Gypsies with their tents/ The *vătaf* with his household/ With his kids, with his wife/ With carts, with tent.

Oșa, oșa zelenona/ Mișto ac<h>el tuke patreasa/ Sar manghe céledosa. – Forest, green forest!/ You look great with leaves/ Like me with my family. (Rotaru 2016: 230, 550)

In a monograph on feudal life in Romanian Principalities the authors have critically analysed the meaning of the term *celiad* and have rightly emphasised that “the study of its content is self-evident”, as well as the comparison with the term *holop*, introduced only in the chancellery of Moldavia:

Starting with 1524, the expression *holopi țigani* became commonplace in Moldavian documents, often mentioning that Gypsies belonged to their masters as slaves with all their income. In Wallachia, the formula “villages and Gypsies” (*sate și ațigani*) prevails, in which the dominion over the Gypsies is closely linked to that over the villages. The term *celead* is also used quite often, but now only when designating the slave’s family. [...] The appearance of the term *holop* in the Romanian medieval sources, much later than *celead*, makes us look for those changes in the state of the slave, which required the introduction of a new term, in addition to the archaic *celead*. One of the sources of slavery origin, even during the sixteenth century, was the capture of prisoners during the wars with the neighbouring peoples: Hungarians, Tatars, Poles, as well as during the wars between Moldavians and Wallachians (Costăchel et al. 1957: 143–145).

61 DRH, vol. II, the original documents: 5; 11; 15; 21; 40; 45; 53; 58; 59; 78; 84; 103; 108; 113; 114; 116; 123; 133; 143; 144; 150; 164; 166; 174; 175; 188–190; 192; 198; 215–217; 231; 240; 242; 247. Copies of the documents represent subsequent translations into Romanian that are not relevant for the analysis of the term *celiad*, as follows: 9, ANIC, fond m-rea Nucet, XX/2, translation from 1692; Ms. 457, f. 10–12; 221, ANIC, fond Episcopia Argeș, LXIX/1; 248, ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 400v-401; DRH, vol. III, doc.: 1; 4; 6; 9; 11; 15; 18; 21; 25; 29; 32; 61; 70; 71; 88; 98; 106; 110; 112; 123; 130; 141; 147; 155; 159; 169; 181; 184; 194; 210; 211; 213; 215.

62 See Rotaru 2018c for the classification of the nomadic Gypsies as a special category of “stupid” ungovernable people (*netot*) in the legislative projects of the Enlightenment period (1832).

The confusing explanations given of the meanings of *celiad*, *holop*, *rob*, *robie* stem from the synchronous vision and lack of delimitation of the institutional structures *rumân* and *țigan*, both of which were component parts of the institution of *robie* slavery. Also, the arguments such as the alleged change in the condition of the slave caused by the wars waged by the Romanians with their neighbours or between them, Wallachians and Moldavians, is not cogent. There is an accepted historical reality that Romanians have rarely fought battles with their neighbours and consequently, they never had many war prisoners. The conclusion summarises a reality that has never led to a change in the status of the slave, and that would thereby require the introduction of a new word into the language.

Otherwise, in the case of interpreting the term *celiad* with the meaning 'slave', the expression *celeadi de ațigani* would be a pleonasm, a condition unsuited for the language of the chancellery. There is, however, a different interpretation, taken over and tacitly transformed into certainty, according to which the term *celiad* refers to the social status of a slave and "could be said to refer to the slave's family" (Costăchel et al. 1957: 167).

The change of the term *celiad* to *sălaș* occurred in the expression *sălaș de țigani* 'Gypsy households'.

This word (*sălaș*, n.a.) replaces from the beginning of the sixteenth century the term *celed* in reference to which the Gypsies appear especially in the documents from the sixteenth century. Of Turkish origin⁶³, *sălaș* is common to both our Slavic and Hungarian neighbours. It means to everyone: tent, hut, hovel, any makeshift or temporary shelter" (Radu 1950: 379–380).

The first **original** document that mentions the expression *sălaș de țigani* dates from March 20, 1626, referring to Radu Vornicul and his wife Păuna who sell to Radu *logofăt* a part of Borușa village, with three *rumâni* (subservient peasants) and two Gypsy households (*sălașe de țigani*).⁶⁴

In the seventeenth century, by translating the word *celiad* as *sălaș*, which has the primary meaning of 'dwelling', the intention was to make the transposition as accurate as possible for the perception at the time of the notion of the family as an economic unit. In Romanian language the word *sălaș* is attested to for the first time in a document of May 24, 1554, as a toponym⁶⁵ and as an

63 The term entered into Romanian via Hungarian *szállás* 'accommodation' (Ciorănescu 2002: 678).

64 DRH B, vol. XXI, doc. 33/ 20 March 1626.

65 DRH B, vol. V, doc. 144/ 24 May 1554: "și din Sălaș până în Călmățuiul Târgului 12 stânjeni. – and from Sălaș to Călmățuiul Târgului [there are] 18 m."

'animal shelter', or with a general meaning of 'dwelling, shelter'⁶⁶, as well as with a well-defined meaning 'sheep shelter' (*adăpost pentru oi*)⁶⁷ in a document issued over a decade, in 1563.

The meaning 'place of the saints' occurs in the 1570s interpretation of the typographer Coresi, in the Liturgy: *Doamne, tremite mâna Ta de sus, den sfântul sălaşul tău și mă întărește*. 'Lord, send Your hand from above, from your holy abode, and strengthen me.'⁶⁸

With the same sense of 'dwelling', *sălaş* occurs in the biblical text of 1688, as per the concordance of the Old Testament and New Testament.⁶⁹ Similarly in the beginning of the nineteenth century in the *Lexiconul de la Buda*, p. 636–7: "Sălaş, sălaşe: 1. House, place of residence, *habitatio, habitaculum*; 2. Which is given to any traveller or stranger, *hospitium, deversorium*." Paul Bataillard (1850: 44–55) had the same understanding of the term *sălaş* as dwelling by the mid-nineteenth century.

The eighteenth-century monastic translators and the authors of the collection of documents that composes the property acts of the Cozia Monastery from the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that were transcribed in eighteenth century, transposed the term *celead* with the meaning of 'household, family', through the term *sălaş*, which had the social connotation of *țigan rob* 'Gypsy slave'. The uncritical appropriation of eighteenth-century translations by publishers of twentieth-century historical documents of the term *sălaş* has resulted in confused assumptions:

That is why we believe that the *sălaşele de țigani* were tents in which a family, or even more, of slaves gathered (Radu 1950: 378–379).

The interpretation of the term *sălaş* as signifying *țigani robi* is plain wrong, just as the expression *țigan rob* is a pleonasm, since the term *țigan* qualifies one structure of the institution of slavery, like the term *rumân*.

66 DRH B, vol. V, doc. 144/ 24 May 1554. *loc de sălaş în jur de 20 stânjeni* – place for dwelling of around 30 m.

67 DRH B, vol. V, doc. 270/28 June 1563.

68 Mareș 1969: 127, 1v.

69 Faptele Apostolilor, 18(2); Facerea, 10(30); 27(39); Ieșirea, 35(3); Leveticul, 7(26); Numerele, 24(5), 32 (41); Deuterionul, 3(14), 5(30), 16(7); Iov, 18(21); 20(4) *Sălaşele lui Iacob* 'houses of Jacob', Psalmi, 86(2); *Sălaşele lui Chedar* 'houses of Kedar', Psalmi, 119(5), 131(3); symbolic sense: *Sălaş de plângere* 'place of sorrow', Iov, 29(5); *Sălaşele păcătoșilor* 'places of sinners', Psalmi, 83(10); *Să-și facă slavă sălaş la noi* 'to take shelter in us', Psalmi, 84(9); *Toți cei ce au sălaş în tine* 'all that take shelter in you', Psalmi, 86(7); *Să-și afle sălaş în iad* 'to find a place in hell', Psalmi, 93(17).

5.2 Conclusions

From the oldest medieval records, we have managed to outline the terminology of slavery, *rob*, *țigan*, *celiad*, *sălaș*, and we have consequently attempted to reconstruct the semantic evolution of these terms from the medieval chancellery documents, through the first Romanian translations of liturgical texts. Thus, the word *rob* is attested in Wallachia for the first time in a Slavic document from 1406 in which the Serbian Tsar Stefan Lazarević lists “*robi* purchased through money” among the persons unwanted in his kingdom. The expression “*rob* of God” as ‘servant of God’ in the Bible translations and the term *rob* are used in Wallachia between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries only with the meanings of devotion and prisoner of war and abductees. The documents do not specifically mention Gypsies as being taken as war prisoners or abducted, and it is unlikely that this in fact happened, as long as they could not afford their redemption. Nevertheless, Gypsies and Romanians could become slaves in situations of the enslavement of their entire village.

The institution *robia* is attested for the first time in a document issued on September 30, 1445, in Moldavia, referring to a Tatar and his household (*celiad*) donated by Voivode Ștefan cel Mare to the Metropolitan of Roman.

In Wallachia, the terms *rob/robie* with the meaning slave/slavery are used 300 years later. This is because the Tartar *rob* institution did not exist in Wallachia. Another cause is that there already existed an equivalent term for *rob*, namely the *țigan* institution, attested since October 3, 1385. This is the first attestation of the term *țigan*, and is used in the context of a donation of “40 Gypsies households” (*celeadi de ațigani*). The term *celiad* was taken over from Russian realities by the chancelleries of Moldavia and Wallachia in the fourteenth century but only in direct reference to Gypsies. *Celiad* could have never meant ‘slave’, otherwise the expression *celeadi de ațigani* would be a pleonasm, a condition unsuited for the language of the chancellery. In the language of the Wallachian chancellery the term *celiad* meant ‘household’ until the eighteenth century, when gradually was subsisted by the word *sălaș*. This alteration of the term *celiad* to *sălaș* was facilitated by the expression *sălaș de țigani* ‘Gypsy households’. This is attested for the first time in a document from March 20, 1626, where the donation of two Gypsy households is mentioned (*sălașe de țigani*).⁷⁰ Yet, the attestation of the term *sălaș* is one century older, as a toponym and as ‘dwelling, shelter’ (May 24, 1554)⁷¹.

70 DRH B, vol. XXI, doc. 33/ 20 March 1626.

71 DRH B, vol. V, doc. 144/ 24 May 1554.

The document issued in 1388 by Mircea the Elder through which he donates to Cozia Monastery “300 Gypsy families” (*sălașe de țigani*) is not an anachronism. During this epoch, the term *celiad* was used for denoting the Gypsy households, as seen in the document issued three years prior to this, in 1385, where mention of “40 Gypsies households” (*celeadi de ațigani*) occurs as the first attestation of the Gypsies in Romanian Principalities. The original manuscript of Mircea the Elder has been lost and what one has is a transcription of the monks from the eighteenth century. They translated the word *celiad* as *sălaș*, which has the primary meaning of ‘dwelling’ as a transposition of the notion of family as an economic unit. By this time the term *sălaș* had the social connotation of *țigan rob* ‘Gypsy slave’. Interpreting the first donation of 300 *sălașe de țigani* as referring to the Rudari gold-washers, which were found in its administration, Cozia Monastery gave the right to the monastery to request the tax which was due by all *rob* slaves. It has been shown in Chapter 8 that this tax was demanded to be paid in coins, which amounted to work of collecting a quantity of gold nearly equal to that which was legally requested by the Crown to its salaried employee gold-washers. This was perceived as an utter exploitation by the Rudari who opposed for centuries their status as *țigani*. It is this that helped their self-identification as a group separate from the *țigani*.

The Relations of Cozia Monastery with the Rudari (1388–1716)

This chapter explores the role of Cozia Monastery in the history of the Rudari in Wallachia. Cozia was one of the earliest founded monasteries in Wallachia, coined as the “Jerusalem of Wallachia”¹, and throughout history was known for possessing a large number of Gypsy slaves, among them many of whom were identified as Rudari. This relationship began already in the fourteenth century and continued for long as slavery was legal. In this part of our investigation, the context of the original donation of several hundred families in 1388 up until the early eighteenth century will be explored. The aim is to see how the nature of slavery in relation to the Rudari developed and to disclose the roots of later intense conflicts between the Rudari and the Cozia Monastery. The sources used will include material from the monastery archive and the published historical documents in the DRH collection.

6.1 The Emergence of the State of Wallachia

The rise of the principality of Wallachia took place in the late Middle Ages, basically in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This is also the time that the earliest written evidence of Țigan (Gypsies) in Wallachia has been preserved (1385). Consequently, the presence of the Gypsies and the evolution of Wallachia are closely intertwined. With the consolidation of the rule of the princes, there emerges more testimonies about Gypsies.

A short background to the early historical development of Wallachia is relevant. Throughout late medieval Europe, countries began to form themselves out of anarchic and violent conditions into more or less stable royal dynasties, with territorial cores, standing armies, finances through taxes and custom tolls, and administrations of justice. The final stage of this process was the emergence of the first nation-states in Western Europe in the sixteenth century.

The process was slower but somewhat similar in Wallachia. Since the withdrawal of the Romans, the Romanian territories had been subject to repeated raids and invasions resulting in a sparse population of animal herders, divided

1 *Memoriu istoric asupra Monastirei Cozia din județul Vâlcea*, 1882: 5.

into small self-governing groups. However, in the early fourteenth century a consolidation of these localities began as the Romanian princes successfully fought wars against the Roman Catholic Kings of Hungary. A further step was the 1359 establishment of an independent religious organisation, the Metropolitan of Ungrovlachia adhering to the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople. Through the addition of lands taken from Hungary the territory of Wallachia took on a definite space north of the Danube River and south of the Carpathian Mountain chain. Establishing orderly non-violent successions to the throne was gradual but appeared to be in place by the reign of Mircea cel Bătrân (Mircea the Elder 1382–1418), who led the Basarab dynasty.

Building an administration involved finding loyal administrators for the chancellery, treasury, tax collection and administration of justice. As administration was centralised to the royal court this meant that officials throughout the principality had to send reports of their activities, tax collection, and so on, in writing. Finding literate and honest administrators was limited to clerics and monks who had been educated in religious schools and monasteries. Besides being literate, the clerics also knew how to collect tithe payments and had experience of the hierarchical manner in which monasteries were run as well as the church's centralised network of territorially limited parishes and dioceses. These religious models could then be assimilated with the secular administration of princes. Hierarchical structures were introduced to collecting taxes and import and export duties.

The establishment of a stable Wallachian principality was aided by a strong economic upswing throughout the Mediterranean and Black Sea region that continued throughout the fifteenth century. Populations increased and towns and cities grew particularly in northern Italy leading to demand for grain. International and inter-continental trade expanded necessitating coins minted from precious metals. The leading city-state of Venice needed gold and silver and imported through Dubrovnik precious metals from Serbia and Bosnia. In the thirteenth Century, Saxon Germans brought technical know-how in extracting metal and restored mining to places in the Balkans that had been abandoned. In 1412 a Serbian mining code was written down on the basis of customary practices regulating ownership, maintenance, working conditions and so on. The Prince Stefan Lazarević was to receive part of the miners' production. Although Wallachia lacked large mines, it had many rivers that carried gold dust and flakes deposited in the sand along their banks. Thus, panning or washing river sand became an important resource for the principality and was organised for the benefit of the ruler. A natural step was to incorporate the Orthodox Church's network of monasteries into the governance of gold production.

6.2 The Donation Act According to the Registers of the Cozia Monastery

The first preserved document about the status of what can be assumed to be gold-washers in Wallachia is an act of donation made by Voivode Mircea the Old to the recently founded monastery Cozia, for which he was patron. It is dated May 20, 1388. Although the original has not been preserved, it had been copied and transcribed in two of Cozia Monastery's registers. Many subsequent documents also transcribed in the registers reflect on the legal status and condition of the Rudari as the *rob* slaves of Cozia. We argue that even the 1388 donation was from the gold-washer Rudari, although that is not clear from the wording. The essence of the donation was a gift of:

a *mertic* (food ratio of 1–2 kg) from the Court of My Highness, every year 220 buckets of wheat, 10 barrels of wine, 10 bags of soft cheese and 20 of hard cheese, 10 buckets of honey and 10 pieces of wax, 12 pieces of felt and 300 Gypsy families (*sălaşe de țigani*)²

As will be shown later in this chapter, the 300 Gypsy families (*sălaşe de țigani*) were probably Rudari. In the previous chapter, it was shown how *sălaşe de țigani* is the modern transposition of the eighteenth-century monks of the usual fourteenth century expression *celeadi de ațigani*³ 'households of Gypsies' where *țigan* takes the form of an ethnonym combined with social connotations denoting the legal institution of slavery. References to this original donation in two documents transcribed in the eighteenth century confirm Cozia's possession over the Rudar Gypsies donated in 1388. The slightly shortened core of the two confirmation acts reads:

The Rudar Gypsies (*țiganii rudari*) are the inalienable property (*ohabnici*) of the holy Cozia monastery. Because they were given as slaves (*robi*) under the rule of the holy monastery by the founder of the holy monastery Io Mircea Voivode, and because they knew the craft of searching for gold in the rivers, they paid their taxes to the monastery according to the accounts made by the abbot. Similarly, the abbot appointed for them a *vătaf* (headman). The gold they collected was sent to the Treasury and they were paid with money, and they paid their tax to the monastery as stated [...] And, His Highness Grigore Ghica Voivode, by charter decided that the holy monastery would receive from the Rudar Gypsies, one thaler from each married man, and he gave to the monastery 533 <thalers> (ANIC, Ms 209, f. 435).

² ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 25v; Ms. 712, f. 244v–245; DRH B, vol. 1, doc. 9. This is document no. 1 in Appendix.

³ DRH B, vol. 1, doc. 7/ 3 October 1385.

And the Rudari, however many they who live in the country, they all belong to the monastery by power of many royal charters; they pay their taxes to the Treasury. And now His Highness Grigore Voivode in his mercy restored to the monastery the right to collect each year one thaler from each household (*sălaș*) (ANIC, Ms 209, f. 587).

These versions of the 1388 donation document are somewhat difficult to interpret. The first clearly specifies that the number of families given to Cozia is three hundred. However, it does not say where they are located or what work they should do for the monastery. It is very unlikely that they could all live at the monastery itself, and the amounts of food in the charter are much too small to feed hundreds of families. It is probable that the only thing being given is the sum amounting to the taxes that would be paid by three hundred families. Cozia was to have contact with the families through a *vătaf* headman, who functioned as the tax collector. Other documents⁴ show that such a Rudar headman who was married to a boyar Gypsy woman, lived by 1780s at the village of Podenii Noi in present-day Prahova County and that a community of 107 “Rudari Buzoieni” families living in Buzău County, delivered their taxes to him.

A further problem in interpreting these texts is that Cozia was, at the time the two registers were composed, in a legal conflict with the Rudari precisely about “ownership”. It might be possible that the registers were edited to give the monastery’s version of events. The status of “inalienable property” (*ohabnici*) mentioned in the register is not written into the 1388 donation. This is probably an indication that the detailed legal definitions and practice of slavery developed in the direction of tighter ownership after the fourteenth century. One can assume that the situation in 1388 was ambiguous: that the gold-washers were employees of the Voivode, but at the same time they paid their taxes to the monastery through the *vătaf*. The same degree of uncertainty clouds the second text that states that “all” Rudari belong to Cozia, through many donations. This cannot have been true. Nonetheless, it shows the extremity of the monastery’s ambitions. Through the office of *vătaf* and the payment of taxes, the Wallachian princes started, in embryo, would become an administrative structure based on the monasteries for many hundreds of the Rudari gold-washers.

As will be shown later, the gold-washers protested and raised a collective legal challenge against the claims by Cozia, refusing to be its inalienable property and slaves. This was the probable reason why so much about the Rudari was written into the monastery registers.

4 ANIC, Ms. 209 f. 412.

6.3 Wallachia's Gold

The occupation of gold-washing in the Olt River region where Cozia is located is attested by archaeological findings dating back to antiquity. The trade may have been abandoned as medieval documentation about the gold-washers in the region appears quite late. The *Registrum exactianis proventuum vigesimalium civitatis Cibinensis* mentions in 1500 the import of iron tools worth 900 dinars for the *aurilavatores de Rybnigt*, that is the gold-washers from Râmnic (Manolescu 1956: 234). Further, the reports of some foreign travellers speak about many rivers with golden sands. Sivori, the secretary of the Voivode Petru Cercel (Pascu 1944: 178), Paul of Aleppo, the secretary of the patriarch Macarius of Antioch (Paul de Alep 1900: 168–169). These reports have already been quoted in the previous chapter “The Times and Space of the Gold-washers”. Mihail Schendus describes a famous *baia* (gold-washing station), near Râmnic, on the right bank of the river Olt (Köleseri 1780: 251, Fortunescu 1937: 274). The Rudari prospected gold along the Olt valley until the mid-nineteenth century (Cojocaru 1958: 787–790 and doc. nr. 5 in the Appendix). Gold-washing was practiced along other Wallachian rivers such as the Motru, Gilort, Bistrița, Râmnic, Lotru (Sulzer 1781: 151), Jiu (Giurescu 1913: 409), Argeș, Topolog (Tunlusi, trad. Sion 1863: 37), Dâmbovița, Ialomița (Carra 1857: 171–181, Demidoff 1853: 195–196) as well as the Danube⁵ (Giurescu 1913: 43).

Apart from these, the census-register of 1838 reveals settlements of gold-washers in the region of the curvature of the Carpathian Mountains, spread throughout the valleys in the Buzău river basin. In the Cozia register these are called “Rudari buzoieni”⁶. The paragraph dealing with Rudarii buzoieni, has the following note: “The Lăieți⁷ Gypsies who are called Rudari, who live in Săcuieni County are called also Buzoieni. They pay taxes in Podenii Noi”. In 1838 all the 28 households in Podenii Noi are classified as Lăieți belonging to Cozia Monastery. But they are no longer gold-washers and lack any specific occupation, other than that of day workers. In general, they are poor and have no animal stock, neither do they cultivate land. But instead, some of them have orchards of plum trees, sometimes beyond 50 trees, indicating that they made alcoholic spirit for sale. Already for a long time, they had a sedentary way of living.

5 Demidoff mentions in 1837 Gypsies prospecting gold in the Danube, by the Hungarian village Kézis (Demidoff 1841: 69–70).

6 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 412.

7 This is the orthography in the manuscript, whereas elsewhere it is written Lăeți or Lăeși.

6.4 Mining Traditions and Regulations

The organisation of gold-washing and mining was probably influenced by earlier developments in neighbouring countries, especially Serbia and Hungary. The entire Balkan mining system was shaken by the conquests of the Ottomans in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This led to a slight decline in both mining and metallurgy throughout the region. But the sultans also needed precious metals for coinage and to pay for imports: in the Ottoman Empire mining “had the status of a distinct branch of the Ottoman economic system, a reality explained by the organization of a centralized administration consisting of worthy and trustworthy people who included a chancellery for mines, for their lease, for gun-powder making workshops for firearms” (Feneşan-Bulgaru 1987).

Mines in the Balkan Peninsula became the Sultan’s property. This accelerated the organisational process in Wallachia. The importance of these regulations is twofold, one is that the ruler could establish much tighter control over miners than was possible over farmers, the second was the development of a collective self-identity among the miners that was stronger than that of villagers. The friction between ruler control and miner identity could at times lead to serious conflict. The Wallachian voivodes copied models from Serbian mining, such as with copper mining. But they also developed their own system, concerning gold mining, as will be shown in the next section. Thirteenth century methods for organising copper and iron mining were available in the mining tradition of the Austrian and Hungarian territories of Slovakia and Transylvania, Serbia and Bosnia. German miners introduced mining techniques, and a customary manner of regulating work as well as a professional vocabulary, thereby creating a specific tradition. New large mining centres emerged in Kosovo and Bosnia soon after 1340 (Jirecek 1920: 28–29; see Beldiceanu 1963, II: 59–66). This German organisational model was based on the principle of community autonomy (see Markov 1992: 22–23). Mining laws and regulations had to be approved by an assembly consisting of 24 members. This statute was recorded in a code in 1412 by Stefan Lazarević (Radojčić 1962: 37–39).

The Hungarian kingdom also provided examples of mining organisation. A statute issued close to the time of the rule of Mircea the Elder by King Louis the Great in 1351 confirmed the royal right of ownership over gold, silver, copper or iron reserves. The reserves were transferred to royal ownership and the previous owner was compensated with other property. Otherwise, the land remained in private ownership, with the duty to pay taxes. Thus, a description from Transylvania in 1351 reads:

And if any gold, or silver, brass [copper], iron, or other mines were discovered on the estates of the nobles, they should not be taken <by the prince> without a proper exchange. And for such estates that contain gold mines, if it will be to the will of the king, then similar estates should be given to the above-mentioned nobles. Otherwise if the Royal Majesty does not want to take in exchange the mentioned estates with mines, then let him collect in his name, according to the royal law, leaving those estates of the noble mentioned with all other uses, incomes and rights to them, as Carol, our beloved father, allowed those inhabitants of the kingdom, by virtue of his letter (DRH C, vol X, doc. 86/ 11 December 1351).

6.5 Copper Mines in Oltenia

A document issued in 1392 by Mircea the Elder (DRH B, vol.1, doc. 14, 1391, September 1–1392, August 31), by which he confirms previous donations to the Tismana Monastery, mentions the voivode's copper mines in Mehedinți Plateau, in north-western Oltenia. This copper mine was located near Bratilov along the river Brebina. It was also close to the town of Baia de Aramă and the village of Rudina, a toponym influenced by the mining tradition. The voivode ceded his rights to this mine to the Tismana Monastery: "And the income that belongs to His Highness from the wheels of Ciop Hanoș that I recently had made in Bratilov". The language of the document is Slavic and uses the word *kole* 'wheel', which, in this context, refers to the system of pulley wheels used to transport the ore out of the mine. A similar apparatus was used in the salt-mine of Ocnele Mari in Vâlcea County. The ancient coat of arms of Vâlcea County pictured such a pulley wheel pulled by a horse at the mouth of the pit (Panaitescu 1937).

An article on the copper mines of Mircea the Elder by P.P. Panaitescu (1937: 259) points out that in medieval Wallachia the mining terminology was Slavic. Words such as 'pulley wheel' *kole*, (*kolo*, pl. *kola* in Serbian) and *rudar*, possibly point to Serbian influences on mining. The assumption of the takeover of foreign mining methods with a special Slavic vocabulary remains a hypothesis based on the existence of Slavic terms in the documents of the Wallachian Chancellery. Yet, there has never been a synonym for wheel in the common Romanian language other than the Latin derived *roată*. It has never been replaced by *kolo*. Similarly, the word *rudar*, which has the meaning 'miner' in many Slavic languages was not borrowed into Romanian with the same meaning. The semantic evolution of the term *rudar*, referred to in the previous chapter "Different Names in Different Times", showed that in the Romanian language it was applied only to the gold-washers.

The Romanian term used for miner in the Middle Ages was *băiaș*, and for a mine *baie*. The occurrence is found in relation to the locality of Baia de Aramă (DRH B, vol. 1 doc. 14<1391, September 1–1392, August 31>). The miners from here and from Bratilov were called *băiași*, regardless of Romanian, Hungarian, German nationality. An observation was made by Paul of Aleppo during his visit to the Bratilov mine (*Călători străini* VI, p. 1, 1976: 200–204). He described votive paintings of the founders of the church built between the years 1694–1711 in Baia de Aramă, of the ban Cornea Brăiloiu, and of one Milco Băieșul⁸, probably the headman of the *băiași* miners (Drăghicescu 1934: 118).

Miners were brought into Wallachia from Transylvania to work in the copper mines (DRH B, vol.1, doc. 14<1391, September 1–1392, August 31>). The operation of the mine was managed by a leaseholder who was contracted to pay the Treasury ten percent of the product. The leaseholder was Ciop Hanoș, a Hungarian from Transylvania who arrived together with the other miners. Their descendants still lived in Bratilov during the second half of the nineteenth century and raised animals: “The inhabitants of this village are mostly Hungarians and deal with raising cattle and especially sheep” (*MDG* 1, 597).



Ill. 8 Votive Portraits of Milco Băieșul and his Family, Baia de Aramă Monastery, Mehedinți County, Romania (photo: Tudor Dinu)

⁸ See illustration 8.

6.6 Organising Gold Mining in Wallachia

Even if Wallachia had few mines, it had reserves of gold-bearing riverbank sand. There were hundreds of gold-washers with a long tradition. Mircea the Elder organised a network of collectors of native or 'free' gold. The southern Balkan model taken over by the Ottoman Empire presupposed the close coordination of a strong central institution. Wallachia lacked such a central institution, and its establishment would have involved more money than was available because of the constant wars. Lacking sufficient financial resources, the voivode established a loose institution, with possibilities for self-financing and with several functionalities.

The institution that came to administer the gold collection was Cozia Monastery. Cozia also was to manage some of the *ciocănași* (salt-cutters) from the Ocele Mari salt mine. The monastery was established in immediate proximity to a gold mining region. The voivode made a great effort to obtain the land for building Cozia, even though much suitable land was available elsewhere.

His Highness was willing to build a monastery from the ground up ... at the place called Călimanești on Olt <River> which was formerly the village of the boyar Nan Udoba, which he [Mircea] donated to the said monastery with love and much zeal according to the will of His Highness. His Highness also gave ... the village on Olt that before belonged to Stoian Halgas's family [...] a mill on the border of Pitești; Stanciu Turcu gave his village of Crusia [...] Stanciu, the son of Balco, gave a piece of land on Argeș River which he bought from Ștef [...] (DRH B, vol.1, doc.9/20 May 1388).

6.7 Institutionalisation of the Rudari

The relationship between the rulers of Wallachia and the gold-washers was direct, transmitted through customary tradition. The State Treasury, the core of the voivodes' power, depended on the produce of the gold-washers. The Treasury was a crown possession, separate from the private property of the ruler.

When Mircea the Elder came to the throne, the Treasury was the most important resource to be used for building the country's institutions. However, he also had significant personal properties. He donated ten percent of copper production to the Tismana Monastery from his Bratilov mine. His grandfather Basarab I, who was the first voivode of the emerging principality of Wallachia, was particularly wealthy. In 1330 Basarab I paid a large ransom to the king of Hungary in exchange for the retreat from Wallachia of invading Hungarian

troops. The amount was 7,000 silver marks. The price of one mark equalled 60 silver *groși* or thalers, which represented around 420,000 thalers. Given that an average village was worth 1,000 thalers, around the year 1450 this was an enormous amount of money.⁹

The gold-washers deposited annually specified amounts of gold-dust to the Treasury and were in turn paid in coin. The same relationship probably existed previously and was a tradition continued by Mircea. The transformation of the tradition into a stable state institution in which the gold-washers became de facto workers of the Treasury, but at the same time had the legal status of slaves of Cozia Monastery, was probably a compromise. The voivodes patronized the building of monastic institutions for the future development of economic, social and cultural life. The monasteries came to own large-landed estates whose profits were returned to society in the form of hospitals, schools and scriptoriums to copy manuscripts. For the Cozia Monastery, the donation of gold-washers was an important source of income, especially in the beginning, contributing to the stability and security of the monastery. But financing Cozia and the other monasteries, as well as compensating the nobility, at the same time put a strain on the Treasury.

The pious donation of 300 Gypsy households in 1388 can be seen as the starting point when all (or many) of the gold-washers then in Wallachia became the *rob* slaves of the Cozia Monastery. As already mentioned, the document did not specify their original legal status, but later documents claim that the Gypsies were donated by Mircea the Elder as “inalienable property” (*ohabnici*). It might be possible that before the “pious donation” they had been free people and that the donation only concerned their taxes. The large number of 300 households (*sălaș*) probably totalled 1,200 persons. Strict ownership of such a large group of gold-washer slaves, who were scattered in many settlements throughout the rivers, valleys and forests of the Carpathian Mountains, and who until then had been free could not have been a simple matter. In addition, a single ownership by Cozia of all gold-washers would have given it a monopoly of the entire gold mining practice, which is also unlikely and unfounded.

9 *Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense*, Ms. from 1358, edition by G. Popa Lisseanu 1937: 109.

6.8 Rethinking the Donation of the Rudari

The content of the 1388 donation is revealed in the two registers of the Cozia Monastery, one in Slavic and the other in Romanian language.¹⁰ Both were written down and entered into registers around 1778 to be used as evidence in the legal conflict with the Rudari collective. They contain acts of donation and confirmation of donations issued by Wallachian voivodes to the monastery. The details about the contents of these registers have already been described in Chapter 1, and the names of the scribes and of the Slavonic translator has also been identified. The acts are ordered per landed estate. Inside each estate the documents are further arranged in chronological order. In the estate files there are two separate sections: one for the Rumâni peasants and the other for the Țigani of the monastery. The registers have a section dealing with the villages of Călimănești and Jiblea, which were part of the original donation.

In the absence of original documentation and any other contemporary commentary, it is unclear what the legal status of the Rudari was before the donation. Taking into consideration their large number and wide geographic spread it is unlikely that they belonged to Mircea the Elder. But they may have belonged to the Treasury in an unregulated form of state “ownership”. In the eighteenth century, Cozia claimed that the act of donation had in fact turned them into the *rob* slaves of the monastery. However, the Rudari as a collective at that time were in legal conflict with the monastery on that very point and contested Cozia’s claim to ownership and their status as slaves. Therefore, Cozia’s claim four hundred years after the original act cannot be accepted at face value.

As shown, Wallachia had many restrictions on personal freedom. These ranged from serfdom and slavery, from subservient Romanian peasantry to Gypsies as *rob* slaves attached to ecclesiastical institutions. Slavery did not need to be personal, even institutions could become enslaved, such as when Voivode Radu Mihnea enslaved the Bishopric of Buzău because its monastery was in debt to a boyar. During his reign Tartars enslaved the Snagov

10 An article in a local publication contends that the document is a false made by the monks of Cozia (Tamaș 1982: 95–99). Initially, the author states that all documents issued by the voivode chancellery were accurately verified, to later state that the documents are genuine, but they were transcribed from fake copies. The author does not refer to the manuscript 712, where the Slavic originals were copied, nor to manuscript 209, which represents the Romanian translation of the Slavic originals, but to the document published in the available collections. The document was published by many editors (see under DRH B, vol. 1, doc. 9, 1966: 25–28) but none has considered that the document is a forgery.

Monastery.¹¹ Another case of enslavement (*înrobire*) of a religious institution was the All Saints church, founded by the Metropolitan Antim Ivireanul. After the assassination of his predecessor the monastery of All Saints was enslaved (*înrobită*) by the new Metropolitan (Iorga 1932: 56). An act of enslavement could be realised by seizing the patrimony of the monastery.

6.9 The *rob* Slave Status of the Rudari

After their donation, the 300 families sometimes appear and sometimes disappear from the property acts of Cozia Monastery. This was probably connected with the Rudari refusal to pay the tax that was due to the monastery. A document issued by Radu Praznaglava¹², the son of Mircea the Elder, confirming the properties of the Cozia Monastery specified a much smaller number, only 65 *celiadi*, which also included 10 “houses” in Târgoviște. This document offers the first insight into the spread of the Gypsy people belonging to Cozia Monastery: 45 *celiadi* in Ulița from Râmnic, 10 in Bistrița and 10 in Târgoviște. The donation of 10 houses in Târgoviște allows us to identify 10 “houses” previously donated by Mircea the Elder to the Cozia Monastery.¹³ In reality these houses were 10 Gypsy *celiadi* and not 10 houses of free people, as it could otherwise be interpreted (Panaitescu 1937: 75).

In 1424, 36 years after the donation, Voivode Dan II, reconfirmed the gift of 300 *celiadi* to the Cozia Monastery. For the first time it mentions the tax and duties of the Gypsies towards the monastery. “300 Gypsies, to be those *celiadi* for the need of the monastery and to pay tax and to serve” the monastery.¹⁴ Voivode Alexandru Aldea again reconfirmed the number of 300 *celiadi* in 1436.¹⁵ In 1475, Basarab the Elder would reconfirm 300 *celiadi* to Cozia Monastery.¹⁶ Three years later, though, 350 *celeadi* is mentioned.¹⁷ This may have been a mistake by the copyist, since the next act of reconfirmation of the

11 DRH B, vol. XX, doc. 26 November 1625. See, with a substantial bibliography of the subject Mihordea 1979: 1069–1097.

12 DRH B, vol. I, doc. 49/19 June <1421>.

13 DRH B, vol. I, doc. 49/19 June <1421>.

14 DRH B, vol. I, doc. 56/ 12 December 1424.

15 DRH B, vol. I, doc. 77/ 25 June 1436.

16 DRH B, vol. I, doc. 150/ 15 July 1475.

17 DRH B, vol. I, doc. 161/ 9 September 1478.

donation reverted to 300 *celiadi*.¹⁸ The last occasion in which the 300 *celiadi* was named came in 1501, during the reign of Voivode Radu cel Mare.¹⁹

Each time that the rounded-off number of 300 families was mentioned, the document failed to give information about where they were living. This gives the impression that the document only concerned the amount of taxes that such a number were due to the monastery. In contrast, when there was mention of a more exact and smaller number of slaves the locations were also given. For instance, the 1432 reconfirmation act issued by Voivode Vladislav II, speaks of only 50 *celeadi* and Gypsies from Ulița in Râmnic.²⁰ The same information is repeated in 1451.²¹

The preserved documents do not refer to these Gypsies of Cozia as gold-washers, and it is difficult to link them with the Rudari of Cozia. Nonetheless, there are some indications. The Gypsies belonging to Cozia “who reside in the small monastery in Râmnic City which is subordinate to Cozia Monastery” appear in a reconfirmation act from 1620²² which clearly classify “blacksmiths, Rudari, or any other craftsmen” as *țigan* of Cozia. After twelve years, another voivode issued an order²³ to protect those Gypsies who live in the monastery from Râmnic and belong to Cozia from the Rudari and from the mine-superintendents from Ocna Mare who were supposed to collect from the gold-washers the gold for the Treasury. This might indicate a certain conflict over resources between the gold-washers of Cozia (termed as Gypsies) and other gold-washers (referred to as Rudari), and the illegal exploitation of the Crown’s officer of the Gypsies. The order clarifies that “the Rudari who have been registered in the monastery’s registry for a long time are an exception” and they may be pursued by the mine-superintendents. This wording indicates with some certitude that the Gypsies of Cozia who were living in Râmnic were gold-washers. Obviously in the eyes of the monastery the Rudari and the Gypsies were two different groups.

The same order imposed harsh punishment on all Gypsies who were found mingling with members of the Rudari community. Such a Gypsy was to be beaten “a lot as like a slave of the monastery (*ca pe un rob al mănăstirii*)”. Another voivode, in 1716²⁴, was concerned that the ownership of the Crown over its gold-washers was being threatened by the mixed marriages between

18 DRH B, vol. I, doc. 212/ 17 April 1488.

19 DRH B, vol. I, doc. 5/ 24 May 1501.

20 DRH B, vol. I, doc. 96/ 9 January 1443.

21 DRH B, vol. I, doc. 107/ 7 August <1451>.

22 DRH B, vol. XVIII, ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 77; Ms. 712.

23 DRH, B, vol. XXIII, doc. 420, p. 619; ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 77v; Ms. 712, f. 422v–423.

24 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 344v, Ms. 712.

Rudari and Lăieși Gypsies, and requested that the *ispravnic* (overseer) of the Rudari and the abbot of Cozia to undertake a thorough registration on two separate lists of the *sălaș* of Rudari and those of the *Lăieși* mixed with the Rudari. The Voivode threatened them with heavy punishment if they tried to falsify the lists.

A decree from October 20, 1741, issued by Mihai Racoviță²⁵ stipulates the legal provisions for the location of marriage between Gypsies belonging to monastery and to boyars. In such cases, an exchange of individuals took place in order to compensate the disadvantaged owner, and the Cozia Monastery was entrusted to oversee that “those exchanges are not sold by the *ispravnici* of Rudari or by their *vătafi*”. The same document gave similar instructions about the marriages among the Rudari, entrusting Cozia with implementation. This decree ended up increasing the power of Cozia over Rudari. The ruler, Mihai Racoviță acknowledged that the *ispravnic* and *vătafi*, under the pretext of judging the Rudari for their transgressions, committed abuses. This fact caused the affected Rudari “complete impoverishment and thus they can no longer achieve the quota established for the princely gold, while others migrate to other countries due to the injustices encountered”. The ruler had given judicial responsibility for investigating and sanctioning to the Cozia Monastery. This decision, for all intent, placed the Rudari completely under the authority of Cozia. For eight days the Rudari rioted outside the Princely Court in Bucharest and Mihai Racoviță summoned immediately the abbot of Cozia “because the Gypsies do not leave until you come”. The court case went on for one month and on November 20 the ruler decided to reconfirm the ownership of Cozia over the Rudari. Still, he changed the tax law, so that what was due by them to the monastery was to be first paid by the Treasury as compensation taken from their salary. This arrangement further tightened the grip that Cozia had over the Rudari. Mihai Racoviță is known for having cancelled most of the enlightened Austrian reforms and having brought back the *rumânia* serfdom. Discontented, the Rudari called for another trial. The ruler decided in July 1742²⁶ to revoke the monastery’s privilege of having access to the workforce of the Rudari.

To sum up, ever since the beginnings of the Wallachian principality the Cozia Monastery was recognised as administrator, in principle, the “owner” of the Rudari. This status has been visible from one document to another, namely the ownership exercised over the Rudari, which was perceived by the monks

25 ANIC, Fond manastirea Cozia, XLIII/42; Ms. 209, f. 340–342.

26 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 345–345v; Ms. 712.

as equal to the monastery's *țigan*. The rulers confirmed to Cozia the right to tax the Rudari, which was seen as an administrative issue. This makes us consider that the phrasing alluding to ownership in the voivode decrees copied into the monastery registers are changes made by the monks. That the Crown never exercised its right on property becomes clear from the decision of the Voivode Grigore Ghica from 1749²⁷ that “in future times one may omit to consider those Gypsies as if they belonged to Cozia Monastery, and that they will remain only Princely Gypsies.” This decision would be reiterated by the Russian administrators when they removed the Rudari from Cozia's administration on June 9, 1833, making them State Gypsies.

Thus, for at least two hundred years the Rudari collective challenged the monastery's claim that they had *rob* slave status. The protests of the gold-washers materialised in their rejection of the authority of Cozia Monastery and their refusal to pay taxes directly to Cozia.

In general, the gold-washers voiced their protests when there was a coronation of a new voivode. The Wallachian princes Gavril Movilă in 1620²⁸, Leon Tomșa in 1630²⁹, Matei Basarab in 1632³⁰, Mihnea III in 1659³¹ and Gheorghe Ghica in 1660³². This forced the new ruler to judge the conflict between the gold-washers and the monastery. Unanimously, all judged that the Rudari had the status of slave and were the property of Cozia Monastery.

However, in 1670, Voivode Antonie Vodă introduced a cameralistic fiscal reform within the “*țigan* institution”, and this had an impact on the gold-collectors. The reform turned the gold-washers into paid workers whose productivity was registered at the Treasury. This involved exact accounting of the quantities of gold handed over to the Treasury officials. The gold-washers were obliged to deposit a fixed annual quantity at a set official price. Thereafter, the Treasury bought any surplus beyond that, but at a higher market price. The details of the new taxes were as follows:

- 1) the size of the tax was related to the family's income divided into three categories: 3 *ughi*; 1.5 *ughi*; 1 *ughi*.
- 2) payments were to be made on April 23, the day of St. George and October 26, the day of St. Dumitru (Ionașcu 1971: 21).

27 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 342–344.

28 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 77.

29 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 71; Ms. 712, f. 411.

30 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 77v; Ms. 712, f. 422v–423.

31 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 336.

32 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 336–336v.

This new tax collection scheme continued during subsequent reigns. Voivode Șerban Cantacuzino (1678–1688) increased control over the collection of taxes by putting the *Marele Armaș* (Police Commander) in charge.³³ The next ruler, Constantin Brâncoveanu³⁴ (1688–1714), lowered the tax for the poorest category from 1 *ughi* to 0,5 *ughi*.³⁵ This measure probably indicates increasing difficulty in finding gold. Dissatisfied with how the Cozia Monastery collected taxes Brâncoveanu changed the order in which taxes were paid in the favour of the Treasury, who would then pay the monastery the equivalent value of the tax due to the gold-washers.³⁶



Ill. 9 Cozia Monastery, Olt County, Romania (photo: Julieta Rotaru)

6.10 Conclusion

Throughout Wallachian history, the Cozia Monastery played a vital role in the emergence of the Rudari gold-washers as a sociological and ethnological collective. The original donation of 1388 is open to several interpretations.

33 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 336v–337.

34 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 337v–338.

35 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 338–338v.

36 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 338v–339; Ms. 712, f. 413–413v.

The monastery held that the donated families were its property and slaves. The Rudari insisted that they were not slaves of the monastery and refused to pay the taxes they were obliged to give the monks. This long-standing conflict probably “made” the Rudari emerge as community and gave it a special feeling of belonging that converted them into an ethnicity separate from the Gypsy people.

Enlightened Reforms and the Rudari: the Early Eighteenth Century to the Mid-Nineteenth Century

The gradual modernisation of Wallachia began through foreign political and intellectual influences in the eighteenth century. After wars with the Ottoman Empire, Oltenia, the western most part of Wallachia, had in 1718 been seized by Hapsburg Austria. This part included the Cozia Monastery and many of its Rudari who lived in the province. Slavery was not a legal institution in the Habsburg Empire. All of Wallachia was later occupied by Russia after another war with the Ottomans in the early nineteenth century. This chapter intends to examine how the experience of the Austrian and Russian occupations affected the status of the Rudari and if and how it contributed to strengthening their collective self-identification, predicated on their rejection of being called *rob* slaves.

From the early eighteenth century until the mid-nineteenth century the Rudari of Wallachia experienced major changes in their juridical status. This was connected to reforms introduced during foreign occupations of Wallachia. Because Oltenia was inside the region occupied by Austria (1718–1739) many of Cozia's Rudari became the employees of the Austrian state. After Austrian withdrawal they returned for some decades to the status of slaves belonging to the Cozia Monastery. However, this was followed by a short-lived Russian administration (1770–1774) and a renewed short Austrian occupation (1789–1792). Finally, they were given the status of State Gypsies, which was perceived at the time as some form of liberation, and which was introduced by the second Russian occupation administration (1828–1834).

The history of the Wallachian Rudari during the turbulent years of repeated wars and foreign occupation is detailed in many of the documents copied into the Cozia Monastery's registers. The final transformation of the Rudari's legal status into slaves of the state was enacted by the Russian occupation governor P.D. Kiseleff, who was also behind the population and socio-economic registration of 1838. According to the accounts of travellers, gold-washing was at that time in decline.



Ill. 10 Cozia Monastery during the Austrian Occupation, drawing 1731 (BAR, Mss. Germane 10B Ill 17499, pl. 75)

7.1 Rudari during the Austrian Occupation of Oltenia (1718–1739)

This section examines the intentions of the first Austrian occupation government towards its new Oltenian province along with the Rudari who lived there. It began by making a survey of the demographic and economic situation of the province. This overview included the craft industries to which Gypsy people participated as well as mining and metal extraction. The changes brought about by the Habsburgs concerned the patrimony of the monasteries and other issues helping to understand Rudari history.

7.1.1 *Annexation of Oltenia Region to the Habsburg Empire*

The Passarowitz Peace Treaty signed in 1718 between the defeated Ottoman Empire and victorious Habsburg Austria gave it, among expanses of new territory, Oltenia, the part of Wallachia west of the Olt River. The Cozia Monastery, which was located on the right bank of the Olt River, thus found itself inside Habsburg territory. The situation for the Rudari in general was complicated, since the monastery had dependent Rudari not just in Oltenia but also scattered throughout other parts of Wallachia. As a *de jure* vassal-state of the Ottoman Empire, the Sultan had in 1716 removed the native voivode princes of Wallachia as governors and replaced them with dignitaries chosen from the Ottoman officialdom. These were Greeks from the Fanar district of Constantinople, who had functioned as translators at the Ottoman court (Zallony 1824). In Oltenia, the Austrians ruled with military governors (Sassu 1929: 62–64).

On February 22, 1719¹, the Austrian emperor issued an imperial decree for the reorganisation of Oltenia. The province was to be directly subordinated to the Court of Vienna. Thereby, officials posted in Craiova, the largest city in Oltenia, gained the right to rule on behalf of the emperor². They made decisions affecting the Rudari, as will be described further on in this chapter.

The Austrian administration planned wide-ranging reforms of agriculture, rural villages, religious life, and sought to collect vital statistics. The established local political elite perceived the new rulers as liberators and denigrated the previous Ottoman rule as an “era of barbarian rule” (Giurescu, C. 1913: 331). In an unsuccessful effort, they asked for the full autonomy for Oltenia, with a local voivode with legally limited power. It was hoped that “the ruler would have power neither over life, nor over the property of any boyar, as had happened during the treacherous Turkish rule” (Giurescu, C. 1913: 333).

1 ANIC, Ms. 330, translation in Romanian, f. 6–7; Giurescu, C. 1913: I, 349–352; Popescu 1927b: 437–451.

2 DRA I, 297–298; Romanian document, a copy, BAR, CMXIV/135.

7.1.2 *Agriculture and Domestic Craft Industry*

The Austrians were eager to convert the new province of Oltenia into a viable economic asset. Their policy became a combination of cameralism and physiocratic ideas – to increase the size of the population, the amount of food produced, and the taxes delivered. A report on agriculture noted that “the remarkably fertile soil here remains deserted and uncultivated” (Hurmuzaki VI: 310). There was a large discrepancy between soil quality and cereal production was weak. The Austrian authorities sought explanations and solutions, but reforms proved to be very difficult to implement. Except for a few large noble estates that exported grain, the other landowners, in particular the monasteries, limited grain cultivation only to their own consumption (Columbeanu 1962: 114–115). At times, the Austrian authorities urged the abbots to increase food production, by increasing land under cultivation. There was an awkward reality: due to traditional methods “three parts or more of an estate remain unworked.”³

Low agricultural production may have been a response to Ottoman economic exploitation. The local boyars excused the miserable economic situation by speaking of, in the words of Dimitrie Cantemir, “the Turkish greed for looting” (Cantemir 1973: 103). This also appeared to be applicable to the low productivity of mineral extraction. On the one hand, there were too few miners, and, on the other hand, there was the fear of confiscation by the Turkish government:

In ancient times, the modest life of the rulers, on the one hand, and the lack of miners (*metalli fossorum*) on the other, limited the extraction [i.e. of mineral reserves – *metallicis puto mineris*, n.n]. In our times, Moldavians have been saved from the well-known greed of the Turks ... Besides, the proof that the mountains are not short of underground riches are the rivers with sand in which there is quite a lot of gold grains of cleanest purity. The Gypsies gather it (*Cingari colligunt*), wash it from the impurities and take out so much gold from it, that they can pay every year to the ruler’s wife taxes, up to four golden *oca*, which make 1,600 drachmas.

The Austrian investigations pointed to the following causes for poor agricultural production: the shortage of labour; primitive tools; population instability; lack of improved seed and ignorance of the importance of crop-rotation (Stahl, H.H. 1958: 297–299). These evaluations stress the extremely low standard of living, a consequence of endemic poverty, which was reflected in the low efficiency of the work. Although peasants did have opportunity to increase

3 DRA I, 352; ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 108–109.

cultivation of land, they remained content with just what they deemed strictly necessary for self-sufficiency. For the Gypsy people this meant that the rural villagers could seldom become customers for their wares. Village people had little money to buy with, and if the Gypsy people wanted to barter for food or grain, there was little surplus available. Thus, both the Romanian peasants and the Gypsy people lived in depressed conditions.

Oltenia's economic backwardness kept the level of trade on that of domestic crafts, and even that was not well developed. Early in the eighteenth century, an Austrian official recorded: "There are few craftsmen, shoemakers, tailors, sheep-skinners and furriers. Highly qualified craftsmen are not found at all, except if we consider the Gypsies who provide services as blacksmiths and locksmiths to the whole province" (Hurmuzaki IX: 1, 637). In the middle of the nineteenth century, villages lived at the same historical pace as the previous millennium. Traditional Gypsy artisans survived in the villages along with other craftsmen essential for rural economic life: millers; carpenters; wheelwrights; bricklayers; brickmakers, etc (Iorga 1927: 16–29). Paid labour existed only in the mining sector.

7.1.3 *Mining in Austrian Oltenia*

The Austrian occupation reorganised mining work in Oltenia and the Banat. Both regions became part of the Habsburg Empire at the same time and had a similar historical past. In contrast, Banat had been a province under direct Turkish rule since 1556, while Oltenia as part of Wallachia had regimes with only indirect Ottoman influence. In both Banat and Oltenia, mining became a government priority. Large Habsburg investments were made in the Banat region, which, due to being closer to Vienna, had better communications. Salt, copper, iron and gold mining were known. In Wallachia the salt-cutters, called *ciocănași*, were Gypsies belonging to Cozia and Govora monasteries⁴. The workers who removed the salt from the mine, called *meglași*, were the peasants from villages close to the Ocnele Mari salt mine (Giurescu, C. 1913: I,459). Salt mining engaged auxiliary workers such as blacksmiths, carpenters, candle makers, rope makers, as well as management, such as the superintendent (*cămăraș*) and the headman (*vătaf*) (Ilieș 1956:155–197). Since the fourteenth century, the workforce was paid in cash for its labour.⁵ The Romanian *meglași* were compensated with tax exemptions (Ilieș 1956:181). The Gypsy *ciocănași* were paid 6 *bani* for a set amount of cut salt (Ilieș 1956:181).

4 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 348.

5 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 427–427v.

The *ciocănași*, together with the gold-washers, had for some time opposed the claims of the monasteries Cozia and Govora. They continued their dispute and wanted the Austrian authorities to remove their legal status of *rob* slave.⁶ The salt mine from Ocnele Mari, due to the high quality of the salt⁷, benefited from important investments (Giurescu, C. 1913: III, 281). However, the high cost of investment and administrative changes resulted in greatly inflated prices for the finished salt (Giurescu, C. 1913: III, 94–96). The lease system, which was previously used with success, was replaced by centralised state control. The salt mine had been subordinated to the Austrian Imperial Chamber (Giurescu, C. 1913: II, 179).

Another important branch of mining, reorganised by the Austrian occupation, was the exploitation of gold sands. The workers in both the Oltenia and Banat regions were Rudari. The Oltenian Rudari remained in their traditional settlements along the rivers Olt, Râmnic, Bistrița, Gilor, Jiu and even Danube (Docan 1914). The Austrian administration also expected to profit from the mining of copper at Baia de Aramă, and of iron at Baia de Fier (Giurescu, C. 1913: I, 550–551). Exploitation at Baia de Aramă resumed, but after poor performance the mine was soon closed. The failure also stopped plans to reactivate the iron mining.

7.1.4 *Austrian Economic Reforms*

One of the first measures taken by the Austrians was to introduce German administrative staff.⁸ Another measure was to organise a population count. This was no easy matter since the population was very mobile. The Austrians soon realised that “none of the [previous] rulers managed to know the number of families, not even Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu, although he ruled for 25 years and worked hard”.⁹ A map of Austrian occupied Oltenia completed in 1728 listing 741 villages of which 386 belonged to boyars, monasteries or were subordinated directly to the Imperial Treasury. The remaining 340 belonged to free peasants. There are some details missing: the status of 15 villages; the number of villages for each category of owners and the areas of the estates (Hurmuzaki IX, 1: 643–646). There were eleven monasteries that each owned more than five villages. The Cozia Monastery, so important for the history of

6 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 348v; Giurescu, C. 1913: III, 56–69; 70–75.

7 Giurescu, C. 1913: III, 100: “Our Wallachia has white salt, pure and good for human consumption.”

8 Popescu 1927a: 213–216, quoting Nicolo de Porta from 1726.

9 Popescu 1927a: 214, quoting Nicolo de Porta from 1726.

the Rudari, owned 21 villages in their entirety and partly owned villages in a further 4 places.¹⁰

A major problem was the demographic destruction caused by the recent Austrian-Ottoman war. Around the entire Danubian basin there was need for large scale resettlement. Many villages had been burned and abandoned. A map drawn up by Schwantz indicates 970 destroyed settlements, including 273 deserted villages. By 1728, 82 of the deserted villages in Oltenia had been repopulated (Hurmuzaki VI: 310). Resettlement involved not just the movement of new people into abandoned villages, it also meant giving tax reductions for the time needed for rebuilding. Many different people moved throughout the vast region that Austria had won from the Ottomans. This can, of course, have opened for the migration of Rudari out of Wallachia and into other border regions recently taken by Austria from the Ottomans such as the Banat, Sylvania, Bačka, Vojvodina, Slavonia and Croatia, where they mixed with many other ethnic groups. These were, however, not places where panning for gold was possible, so their alternative occupation of woodcarving became their main source of employment.

Table 3 The number of deserted and repopulated villages in Austrian occupied Oltenia in 1728, by county. (Source: the map of Schwantz von Springfels, 1728)

Counties	Deserted villages	Repopulated villages
Vâlcea	50	20
Gorj	33	16
Dolj	48	16
Romanați	46	15
Mehedinți	96	15
Total	273	82

Contributing to the large internal migration in rural areas was the relative instability of Wallachian settlements: "Here, the peasant does not live in villages similar to those in Germany, but [lives] in scattered groups of three, four

10 Hurmuzaki, IX, 1, p. 646. The following monasteries owned villages: Tismana, 31 entire villages and 13 parts of estates; Bishopric of Râmnic, 21 entire villages and 15 parts of estate; Cozia, 21 entire villages and 4 parts of estates; Bistrița, 15 entire villages and 4 parts of estates; Segarcea, 14 entire villages and 5 parts of estates; Bucovăț, 10 entire villages and one part of estates; Căluș, 15 entire villages and 2 parts of estate; Motru, 8 villages and 3 parts of estates; Jitianu, 9 entire villages and 6 parts of estates; Sadova, 8 villages.

or five houses, built for better or worse, from branches glued with clay ... The peasant settles away from the roads, near the mountains and forests, so that he can flee as soon as he sees any danger at the horizon ... or in dark forests, hard to reach, in pits dug in the ground" (Hurmuzaki VI: 324). According to foreign generals, Königsegg and Tige: "They are in fact nothing more than poor villages and, with the exception of Craiova, they are inhabited only by regular peasants."¹¹

Austrian officials had plans to reorganise the villages as part of the effort to increase population, not just for taxes, but also for military defence. However, in 1722, General Königsegg the Supreme Director expressed disappointment that not enough had been accomplished in the way of building new villages. He blamed the problems on an inability to control migration.

From the time of my predecessors, Counts Steinville and Virmond, it had been decided that all the peasants who leave the forests, should settle together, as well as those who are scattered to fix their settlements where churches are built and to establish their villages there. [...] The administration has the task of devoting itself with all the means to this aim, and what cannot be done with its own means, to be achieved, where necessary, with the military support.¹²

The results of making large permanent villages were delayed. By 1735 little progress had been made. The form of resistance was the simplest and yet the most effective: flight. Authorities tried to forbid peasants to move. The provisions included the death penalty for those who "move without approval from their designated village."¹³ Such drastic orders indicate not just the desperation of authorities, but also the fluidity of movement among the rural population. There was a felt need to curb the power of the nobility in order to "not only keep the subjects inside the country, but also to attract those who fled to neighbouring regions, especially to Turkey [probably meaning Bulgaria] and Turkish Wallachia" (Hurmuzaki VI: 347).

7.1.5 *Rudari in Austrian Oltenia: First Steps towards Liberation*

During the Austrian occupation, the princely monasteries and those whose founders lived in Wallachia were transferred to the direct ownership of the Emperor.¹⁴ Immediately after the occupation of Oltenia, the Austrian officials in

11 Giurescu, C. 1913, I: 639. Iorga. 1925: 275: "In Oltenia there has never been an urban life."

12 General Königsegg quoted in Dobrescu 1906: 142–143; Giurescu, C. 1913: I, 537–538.

13 Giurescu, C. 1913: II, 221–222; "[...] damit alles im richtigen Stand gebracht wurde, wäre einem jedwederen die Todes Strafe anzukundigen, welcher ohne zuelass von dem angewiesenen Dorf sich weckbewegete [...]"; see the text also in Papacostea 1971: 60.

14 Dobrescu 1906: 86–102; Furtună 1915; Meteş 1928; Iorga 1925.

Craiova summoned the abbots of the monasteries (Donat 1936: 262–346). They were to bring with them property documents translated into Latin. Regular verification of the entire patrimony, real estate and movable, was undertaken annually, according to categories such as landed estates, precious items, books, Gypsies, etc (Papacostea 1971: 293). The transfer of the Cozia Monastery to the direct subordination of the Imperial Court also determined the status of the Rudari who became the property of the Austrian ruler between 1718–1739. The Austrian administration did not recognise the gold-washers' legal status of dependents of the Cozia Monastery. Subsequently the gold-washers refused to deliver tax demanded by Cozia's abbot (Haşdeu 1876: 361–364).

The Gypsy and Rudari communities in Austrian Oltenia are described by the Levantine Nicolo de Porta as being fundamentally different.¹⁵

Gypsies in this province are of two kinds that can be used by the royal Treasury. These are: Rudari and tent Gypsies (*ţiganii de şatră*). The first deal with washing the gold from the Olt riverbed. The Rudari Gypsies during the voivodship, were obliged to give every year 1000 drams of pure gold, and the rest that would have been collected over it, was not allowed to be sold out to anyone else under death penalty, except to the voivode, who paid 2 florins for each dram, half as much as it was worth. The latter [type of Gypsies] belongs to the voivode and boyars of Turkish Wallachia [...] Of these, thousands are craftsmen, especially blacksmiths, and they pay a tax to the tax office of 6-7-8-10 Lyon-thalers per year, according to their occupation. Others serve in the houses of the boyars in the countryside or in the city, not being vagabonds as elsewhere. Thus, through their work they enrich the boyars. The price of a Gypsy is usually 30 thalers and some boyars get good money from their sale.

The remaining Rudari of Ottoman Wallachia, who previously belonged to the Cozia Monastery, were considered ownerless. They were granted the legal status of "Princely Gypsies" (*ţigani domneşti*). The Austrian administration made the same status change. The Rudari in Austrian regions received the status of "Imperial Gypsies" (*ţigani împărăteşti*). In both regions they were transformed into employees of the state. Historically, the Princely or State Gypsies had better legal status and living conditions than those belonging to boyars or monasteries. They were able to move around for their livelihood, their only duty being the payment of an annual tax. They also became the first enslaved group to be officially liberated, through the decree of emancipation of the "State Gypsies" during the reign of Barbu Stirbey in 1856.

15 Nicolo de Porta, 1726, July 5, in: Popescu 1927a: 216.

7.1.6 *Migration of the Rudari from Oltenia to the Austrian Territory*

The new legal status of State Gypsy on both sides of the Olt River could be perceived as the Rudari victory over the unrightful dominance of the Cozia Monastery. However, the monastery still claimed the right to the Rudari's taxes, but the Austrian authorities decided that the tax due to the monastery had to be paid to the Imperial Treasury. Thus, it happened that the Rudari had to pay double taxes, to the state and to the monastery. Naturally, the double taxation caused discontent. To escape paying twice, some Rudari left Oltenia for Banat. Migration to Banat was also encouraged by the Austrian government interested in the continuity of mining operations taken over from the Turks.

After 1718 there was a large inflow of miners into Austrian territory. Before the partition of Wallachia, the Rudari gave annually four drams of gold for each household to the Treasury. The total amount of this tax that year was 1000 drams, the equivalent of slightly over three kilograms of gold, which indicates payment from 250 taxed families. Any additional amount of gold they produced was purchased from them by the Imperial Treasury at the rate of two florins per dram (Giurescu, C. 1913: I, 410). In 1719, the Rudari delivered to the Wallachian Treasury 400 drams equivalent to the tax from 100 families (Giurescu, C. 1913: II, 282), which means that their numbers in Oltenia had decreased by more than half. After ten years, in 1729, there was a slight increase of 25 in the number of Rudari families. The amount of taxes paid in this area was 500 drams (Giurescu, C. 1913: II, 283). In Râmnic County a special office was set up to receive the gold handed over by gold-washers. Its function was also to determine the purity of the metal and to purchase any additional quantities discovered by the Rudari. It also had to police clandestine sales and smuggling (Giurescu, C. 1913: I, 412–414). At the same time, heavy penalties were inflicted upon those who tried to escape their obligations (Giurescu, C. 1913: I, 360–361). After many years some Rudari returned to Wallachia. For example, in the 1838 Census there is one Rudar named Toader sin Ioniță Lezpezeanu, a boyar slave belonging to the aristocrat family Brâncoveanu, who lived in an upland village. He was said to have “returned from Austria”, making a living by cutting down trees with his axe in the forest, even though he ended up losing three fingers because of it.

7.1.7 *The Development of Banat Mining from 1722 to 1763*

The progress of mining in the Banat mines was an Austrian economic priority. One initiative was the import of experienced miners from abroad. In May 1722 a group of smelters, miners, blacksmiths, and journeymen arrived from Bohemia and were settled in Oravița. Also 247 families of miners from Tyrol and Styria moved in (Feneșan-Bulgaru 1976; Feneșan-Bulgaru 1987: 885–898;

Țintă 1972: 126–128; Ștefan 1968; Giurescu, Dinu C. 1973; Birou 1957: 157–178). The training of skilled workers was an imperative and resulted in the creation of special schools. Responsibility for mining education in the Austrian Empire was assigned to the Schemnitz Mountaineering Academy located in Banská Štiavnica in Slovakia. Among the graduates were students of Romanian origin (Neamțu 1957: 97–127).

The Ottomans returned and defeated the Austrians and after the Peace of Belgrade in 1739 the Ottomans regained all of Oltenia and the southern part of the Banat of Temeswar. One of the immediate consequences was the exponential increase in Austria's mining interest in the rest of Banat. Previous state centralism was replaced by a decentralised system through lease-holding by entrepreneurs. Mining operations were subordinated to officials placed in Oravița, Moldova, Sasca and Dognecea (Feneșan 1993: 345–351). Progress was, however, halted by a new crisis when Austria was defeated in the Seven Year's War (1756–1763). Among the new territorial losses Austria suffered were its mines in Slovakia. The effect of this was to shift the focus of imperial mining towards Banat. Geological prospecting intensified, new mines were opened, and foundries were built (Feneșan 1993: 345–351; Feneșan 1995). Experienced German and Romanian miners were brought in. The only unchanged sector was the ancient practice of washing gold-bearing sand. A study carried out in the Bozovici perimeter of Banat in 1769 showed that gold-washing there was unprofitable.¹⁶ Washing thirty wheelbarrows of gold sand resulted in only two grams of gold.

A professional mineralogist, Ignaz Edler von Born,¹⁷ related that the Rudari not only washed the gold sand, but they also dug pits near the rivers where they searched for gold (von Born 1774: 78). He thought that the gold-washers (*aurari*) called Rudari or *țigani-rudari* remained the only possible solution for collecting this gold, due to the insignificant remunerations paid to workers. In both Banat and Transylvania, although very poor several hundred families lived from gold-washing.

Gold-washers who did not pass under military border jurisdiction did not have their own houses and during their stay are content with tents and miserable

16 The report of commissar Koczian is published by von Born 1774: 84–93.

17 Ignaz Edler von Born, 1742, in Alba Iulia, Transylvania as son of Ludwig von Born, an artillery officer and manager of a mine in the Apuseni part of the Carpathian Mountains. In Prague he attended courses in mineralogy, geology and chemistry. In 1770 he visited the mines in Banat, Transylvania and Hungary. In 1775, Empress Maria Teresia appointed him a court counselor to the Chamber of Mineralogy and Numismatics. He discovered two minerals which bear his name.

earthen huts. Some of them withdraw during the autumn and winter under the leadership of their leaders (*cneaz*). As in Transylvania, they were organized in professional “guilds” of 120 people each (Christoph 1773: 482).

As a by-occupation during the autumn and winter seasons they made wooden household objects. The living conditions were primitive. “The Gypsy is half-naked and lives with his family on one groschen a day, often even less. Satisfied with his small means of subsistence and without being ashamed of his nakedness, in the summer he searches for gold, and in the winter, he carves wooden vessels and tubs which he sells” (von Born 1774: 89). In time, neighbouring people began calling them *lingurari*. The gold-washers under Austrian military jurisdiction in the so-called Militär-Grenze of Slavonia were said to have abandoned gold-washing for other ways of making a living and seem thereby to have improved their conditions: they “have their own houses and practice the trade of blacksmiths or the like” (Feneşan 1967: 60).

7.1.8 *Other Austrian Reforms*

The Austrians were very critical of the way serfs and slaves had been treated in Wallachia and sought to change their status. One of the institutions restructured by the Austrians in Oltenia was the legal system. The right of the boyar and monastery owners of villages to judge their dependent subjects was transferred to civil courts. Along with the ambition to counter injustices committed by the large landowners, preparations were made for the abolition of Gypsy slavery. Austrian criticism of Wallachia’s previous treatment of the *Rumâni* and *Țigani* was clearly stated in the Imperial Decree of 1719:

Local masters should not have the right to act as they please as tyrants towards serfs, that is, their *Rumâni*, or Egyptians, that is Gypsies. But if they erred, they should bring them to trial, as with our other subjects, and to judge them according to the law and punish them. And if it happens that the master kills a serf, that is, a *Rumân* or *Țigan*, let that one be judged as murderer.¹⁸

Thus, when the Oltenian landowners petitioned the new ruler in 1719 to retain the *rumân* institution, they were refused with the words: “To deprive the subservient peasant of all his rights, as has been established here, is inhuman and a custom far from Christian piety” (Hurmuzaki VI, 335).

Consequently, between the years 1718 and 1739, the *Rumâni* and Gypsies could defend themselves in impartial court trials. In addition, a significant number of *Rumâni* and Gypsies were directly owned by the Austrian Emperor

¹⁸ Papacostea 1971: 267–284; Georgescu and Strihan 1979.

and had relations only with state institutions. However, an exception was made for Țigani who served as domestic servants in boyar households. “Dependent or serf people are not recognized as belonging to anyone in Oltenia, except for the Gypsies, and if any of the boyars would make any such claim, he has to produce written evidence of his right.”¹⁹

In the description of his map of Oltenia, Schwantz von Springfels noted the existence of domestic slavery. He wrote that “only the Gypsies must work for the boyars as subject personal servants such as cooks, bakers, fiddlers, gold-washers (*aurari*), and the females as housekeepers, as nurses [...]” (Hurmuzaki IX, 1: 637). Another official concluded “the main function of slavery in the Danubian Principality was, in general, represented by the domestic servitude within the boyar’s property, in the countryside or city.”²⁰

7.1.9 *Oltenia’s Reunification with Wallachia*

A new war broke out between Austria and the Ottoman Empire in the summer of 1737, ending with Turkish victory. At the Peace of Belgrade in 1739 the Habsburg Empire lost the gains it made through the Passarowitz Peace Treaty, among them Oltenia which returned to Wallachia. One of the restored Wallachian voivode’s priorities was inspecting the monasteries. Oltenia’s abbots were summoned to Bucharest and commanded to bring the deeds to movable and immovable property of their patrimonies. From December 1739 to February 1740 the prince and the abbots examined the property deeds and then confirmed them by princely decree. A reunification program, including some reforms, was presented in 1741.²¹ The most important reform, inspired probably by Austrian reforms was the abolition of *rumânism* (the status of *rumân*), that is, peasant serfdom, which was similar to that of the slave status of Țigan. However, he did not abolish the *țigănărit* tax.

The Sultan appointed Mihai Racoviță to rule Wallachia in 1741. He cancelled most of the enlightened Austrian reforms and brought back the *rumânia* serfdom. In 1741, Racoviță held a meeting of Parliament to examine decisions that the Habsburg authorities took concerning the Rudari. Constantin Obedeanu (Stoicescu 1971: 220–221), the *supremus commissarius* of Austrian administered Oltenia was also present to testify about the conflict between the Rudari and the Cozia Monastery. His father formerly served as Chief Police Commander in Plai in Buzău County, where he was responsible for supervising the delivery

19 December 16, 1721, General Viermond quoted in C. Giurescu, C. 1913: I, 494.

20 Berza (1957: 42–43) estimates to 580 gold pouches the value of the annual tribute paid between 1741–1744.

21 *Cronica Ghiculeștilor* 1965: 621.

of Rudari gold to the Treasury. It was decided that since there was tax due by Rudari to the Cozia Monastery, the superintendent (*Mare cămăraș*) of the mines at Ocnele Mari was to transfer 650 *lei* from the funds of the salt mine.²² The right of the abbot of Cozia Monastery to be judge over the Rudari was reinstated. However, the monastery could not interfere in the Rudari's work.

The Rudari protested about being placed back in the hands of Cozia Monastery. Shortly after the communication of this decision the Rudari protested and petitioned the ruler to organise a new meeting of Parliament to re-examine their status. Racoviță summoned Cozia's abbot to Bucharest with all the supporting documents.²³ A new resolution was formulated, but it did not substantially alter the previous decision.²⁴ Rudari discontent continued, and there was a risk of their increased emigration. Afraid of this prospect the ruler made another decision. On January 12, 1742, Racoviță changed the Rudari's status by removing them from direct subordination to the monastery. On the model of taxes paid in the seventeenth century, he re-established three categories of tax to be paid in coin depending on the estimated capacity of the Rudari families: 3 *ughi*, 1,5 *ughi*, or 0,5 *ughi*.²⁵ *Ughi* was the name used in Wallachia for the Hungarian golden ducat coin. This sum was to be delivered to the Wallachian Treasury, and not to the monastery. This return only partially satisfied the Rudari and protests continued. Making a U-turn, the prince issued another decision re-instating subordination of Rudari who were commanded to hand over a fee to the Cozia Monastery. In turn, the monastery had no right to interfere in the work of the Rudari or in their private lives.²⁶ This tax was only paid for a few years: "The monastery received this money only during Mihai Racoviță's reign, and after the change of reign, no one could take anything from the *cămărași* of the Ocna Mare."²⁷ Cozia Monastery complained about its loss on the coronation of a new prince in 1748. A trial followed in October 1749. Once again there was a thorough examination of the historical documentation of the dispute. The prince ruled that the Rudari were to remain directly subordinate to Cozia Monastery, though it would be the prince who would appoint the *vătafș* and to collect the tax. Based on the register of the Treasury, a list of Rudari was compiled containing the names of 433 *sălașe* of Rudari and handed over to the monastery. In 1762 the Rudari-Cozia conflict was back in court, but the position of the Rudari remained unchanged.

22 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 340–341; fond mănăstirea Cozia, XLIII/42.

23 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 339v–340.

24 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 245v–246.

25 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 339–339v.

26 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 344v–345.

27 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 343.

7.1.10 *Further Changes in the Rudari's Status*

A period of foreign influence of Wallachia also occurred during the Russo-Turkish war of 1768 to 1774. Oltenia remained under Ottoman influence, while Muntenia (the eastern part of Wallachia) fell within the area of Russian operations and was at times occupied. This was a very confusing time with many changes taking place with respect to the rulers and their fiscal policies. It was common practice that newly appointed princes would confirm previous donations of land and taxes, and that context they needed had to make decisions about the long-running Cozia-Rudari conflict.

Throughout, the rulers decided against the Rudari and in favour of the Cozia Monastery. Such decisions were decreed in 1770 by a prince and in 1773 by a Russian general. Still the Rudari did not respect these decisions. The abbot of Cozia, Sofronie, made repeated complaints. Once again in 1774 the state council placed the Rudari under the subordination of the Cozia Monastery, to a number of 443 taxable families, 1 *thaler* each per year.²⁸ The seemingly exact number of 443 families of taxable Rudari had been calculated based on a report from the Treasury on the quantity of gold delivered in 1773.

The report was submitted to the state council on January 25, 1774, by the head of the department, Iordache Zarafu. For the first time, this report used in official documents the phrase “Romanian *băiași* gold-washers” (Șerban 1959). Eighteen such *băiași* were registered as under the supervision of the Chief Police Commander (*Marele Armaș*). These Romanian *băiași* gold-washers might have been newly recruited workers needed to replenish the declining number of Rudari, principally due to migration. An explicit migration of the Rudari from Wallachia to Moldavia is mentioned in a document issued in 1792 by the Moldavian voivode Alexandru Constantin Moruzzi.²⁹

The term *băiași* was usually applied to the Romanian miners at the iron mines in Baia de Fier, which was located near places with gold sand in the Olt River valley. Cozia's abbot, Sofronie, agreed to annually deliver the quantity of gold officially established for each family of the monastery's Rudari. Moreover, he promised to increase the number of taxable Rudari. “I promise that I will make every effort to bring other Rudari of the monastery who now are scattered abroad due to these hostile times, to work for the gold [panning] to increase the amount of gold for the benefit of the Treasury.”³⁰

However, on May 26, 1774, abbot Sofronie was ordered to come to Bucharest: “without any delay, wake up an hour earlier, for you must come to court with all

28 ANIC, Ms. 712, f. 419v–420.

29 BAR, Documente istorice, XXXV/194. See doc. nr. 32 in the Appendix.

30 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 347–347v; fond mănăstirea Cozia, XLIX/30.

the documents concerning these Gypsies.”³¹ The urgent summons was signed by the Russian governor of Wallachia, Field Marshal Rumyantzev. The Rudari had protested again about being placed under the control of Cozia: “The Gypsy Rudari came with a written complaint to His Highness, claiming that they were not slaves of Cozia Monastery, because their people had been pardoned and freed from slavery (*eliberat din robie*) by the voivodes of Wallachia.”³² The war between the Russians and the Ottomans ended soon after leaving no time for Rumyantzev to judge in this matter.

On September 15, 1774, a Phanariot was appointed prince of Wallachia. His priority was fiscal reform, and so he put off decision on the conflict between the Rudari and Cozia Monastery. The trial resumed in May 1775. The new ruler reconfirmed the rights of Cozia to tax Rudari at the rate of one *thaler* for every “married man”³³.

7.2 War of 1787–1792 and the Rudari

In August 1787 Turkey declared war on Russia, with Austria allying itself with Russia. Until the signing of a peace treaty in 1792, Wallachia was occupied by Austrian and Russian troops. The country lacked stable government and Wallachia was turned back into a vassal of the Ottoman Sultan. For the civilian population the war brought much hardship:

The rule of the Christian Emperor in the West was over. From this it remained an empty Treasury and a ruined country, a somewhat more corrupt nobility and a somewhat poorer peasantry. The hovels described by him [Struve (1802: VIII+398 p.), a Russian traveller, n.a.], with savage women who, upon being thrown a chicken wing, take the starving child out of their clothes and greedily feed it; these are the illustrations of the regime of Christian happiness that our countries once again came to experience. 1700 families from the lowland counties had fled to Giurgiu. Finally, in the spring of the last year of occupation, the peasants near Craiova ate bread mixed with chopped straw and tree moss (Iorga 1911b: 219–221).

During the war no analysis of the situation of the Rudari was carried out. The post-war return of the Phanariot princes brought up the issue of the Rudari, but their subordination to Cozia continued. However, in 1796 the ruler received a memorandum concerning the failure for two years of the Chief Police

31 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 348.

32 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 348v.

33 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 349.

Commander (*Mare Armaş*) to deliver the Rudaris' taxes.³⁴ He was ordered to deposit the money taken by him.³⁵ The dispute with the Police Commander continued and had to be dealt with again in 1798.³⁶ Historian C. Şerban believed that 1796 represents the date of the transformation of the Rudari to the status of state employees.³⁷ In reality, the Rudari were not yet released from slavery under the Cozia Monastery.

As seen above, explicit reference to migration flows of the Wallachian Rudari to Moldavia were made through a chancellery document from 1792.³⁸ According to the "custom of the land", foreigners coming from other countries should be fiscally registered with the state Treasury. In this way the migrant Rudari in Moldavia became State Gypsies. In a chancellery document from March 25, 1793³⁹, the Rudari are mentioned along with the Lingurari and Ursari, in a decision concerning the abolition of the right of the ruler of the country to make donations of Princely Gypsies to monasteries and boyars. This act represents in structure the first form of liberation from slavery of the social category of Princely Gypsies, and implicitly this affected the status of the Rudari.

Thus, outside the borders of Wallachia the migrant Rudari experienced the status of State Gypsies and hence, of liberty.

7.3 Russians Transform the Rudari (1828–1834)

Between 1828 and 1834, a Russian occupation of Wallachia established an administration coordinated by a governor-general for both Wallachia and Moldavia. The most important governor was Count Pavel Kiseleff. A thorough program of modernisation of the Wallachian state began with the adoption of a constitution, named the *Organic Statutes*. A special chapter was dedicated to improving the situation of the Gypsies, the only inhabitants of Wallachia still with slave status.

The Rudari continued their demands to be freed from subordination to the Cozia Monastery. They were removed from the control of Cozia on June 9, 1833, on a recommendation drafted by the chief of the Chancellery, Alexandru Geanoglu Lesviodax:

34 ANIC, Ms. 31. *Condica* lui Alexandru Moruzzi, f. 671v.

35 ANIC, Ms. 31, f. 671v.

36 ANIC, Ms. 39, *Condica* Constantin Hangerli, f. 116.

37 Academia Română, *Istoria Românilor*, vol. VI, 2002: 186.

38 See doc. nr. 32 in the Appendix.

39 See doc. nr. 33 in the Appendix.

The Ministry of Religious Affairs (*Logofeția Credinței*) to: the administrator of Cozia Monastery, the pious father Metodie Cotmăneanu,

On the question [addressed] by appeal, what does Your Holiness answer? From the first day of the next month, what should the monastery do to now receive the money from the Rudari Gypsies, which the Cozia Monastery used to previously take from the Chief Police Commander for the whole year; as well as from the salt-cutter Gypsies from Ocelele Mari, donated in full control to the monastery, as they were before? The Ministry of Religious Affairs informs Your Holiness:

Firstly, regarding the decision about gold-washer Gypsies (*țiganii aurari*) taken last March 27, through order no. 755, the Honourable Treasury informs the Ministry that after the appeal you submitted to His Excellency the fully-empowered President, addressing with the resolution of His Excellency the Honourable Administrative Council, through the report no. 561, submitted to the knowledge of His Excellency that, since these Gypsies from the beginning were princely, that is, they belonged to the state (*au fost domnești, adică ai statului*), and according to the power of donation that the rulers had, as Voivode Mircea could donate them (*și după puterea ce aveau Domnii, precum a putut Mircea Vodă a-i dăruî*), thus could also the late Grigorie Vodă Ghica cel Bătrân take them back.

And now, while working on reform, the State Gypsies were found with non-payment of <taxes> to the monastery through the Chief Police Commander (*Armășie*), amounting to 44 *parale* per Gypsy per year. On this appeal, the decision of His High Excellency was given by the act r no. 189, stating that this amount due for the whole year by the gold-washer Gypsies (*țiganii aurari*), established by the late Grigore Ghica, to be deducted by the monastery from the amount of money that is due as aid for the whole year for the Help Houses.

For this reason, the Minister informs Your Holiness as per above and you should have no other choice but to inform the Minister of the number of the gold-washer Gypsies (*țiganii aurari*), so as to know how much money the monastery should deduct from the amount for the entire year that is due to the Help Houses. June 9, 1833.⁴⁰

From a short notation made on a document in the Register of the Cozia Monastery,⁴¹ we discovered that the entire register of the Cozia Monastery, which is today the manuscript ANIC 209, was handed over on October 12, 1832, to the Chancellery.

40 ANIC, Logofeția Pricinilor Bisericești, dos.6559/1832, f. 34; document published by Ion Cojocaru (1958: II, 523).

41 "This register was shown to the Honorable Chancellery, to His Excellency, the Fully Empowered President of the Divan of the Principalities, on 1832, October 18, A. Lesvioudax." ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 6 v.

It may thus be inferred that the Governor Pavel Kiseleff's administration investigated once again the available documentation. But this time the decision was different. Kiseleff commented: "Since these Gypsies from the beginning were princely, that is, they belonged to the state, and according to the power of donation that the rulers had, as Voivode Mircea could donate them, thus the late Grigorie Vodă Ghica cel Bătrân could take them back."

7.4 The Gold-Washers and Spoon-Makers in the Organic Statutes

In the Constitution, which carried the name *Règlement organique* (Organic Statutes), and which was issued in 1831 under the direct supervision of Kiseleff, there are special provisions for each socio-professional category of Gypsies, including *Lingurari* and *Aurari*.

1) The class of spoon-maker Gypsies (*tagma țiganilor lingurari*). Their occupation is working with wood; they make tubs of various sizes, spindles, spoons, and other household utensils; some of them manufacture roofing-material for houses. Their homes are close to the forests, are stable/permanent, hovels or cabins. They are supervised by the *vătafs* approved by the police. They should be required not to leave the places they occupy, and if the number of Gypsies, currently living at the border of a village, is composed from 40 to 50 families, the Police Chief should appoint a *vătaf* chosen from among the most active of them. This *vătaf* must manage them according to government regulations. He will ensure that they do not change their place, that they dedicate themselves to the cultivation of the land; he will collect the determined taxes, which he will transfer to the *zapciu*. But if their number is over 50 families, then there should be two or more *vătafs* over them, according to needs. This class of Gypsies would be subjected to day labour (*claca*) like the other inhabitants; they would pay the tithe on their products. Their owners will have to provide them with land to plough, meadows for harvesting hay, and pastures for their cattle, according to the provisions of the constitution. As for the wood they need for the service of their trades, they will negotiate amicably with the owners of the forests. Wood for heating and food preparation will be provided to them by the landowner, in the same way as is provided for the other inhabitants of the Principality.

A description of one agreement between woodworkers and the owner of a forest comes from B.P. Hașdeu's ethnographic questionnaire (1878). It describes a case from Moldavia. This work was poorly paid, and the cost of the material was quite expensive, a situation also observed in the beginning of the twentieth century by I. Chelcea.

The most skilled carpenters of the village often associate with others in order to work together. During the summer and until the end of autumn they settle by

a forest in operation, in order to make wheels, baskets, staves and other items. First, they bargain for the necessary wood, for which if they have money, they pay for it, if not, then they give over three items out of five. Thus: from five pairs of wheels, three, from five baskets, two, from one hundred staves, sixty. From these proportions it can be seen that material is more valuable than the labour. Often the forest owner lets craftsmen operate the forest for an entire year. And then, in addition to food and salary, they are given products from their work (1 to 10) so that the craftsmen will keep doing their best at work. When the craftsmen get together to go to the forest to work, after paying the fee for the wood with money, or in kind, what they have left of the work they share fraternally, although one works better than another. The leader of such a fellowship is the most skilful, and he is the one who advises and shows what kind of work to perform. The customs officer bargains with him, but obviously this bargain must be approved by the others. The leader, listening to the customs officer's proposals, always answers: "Then give, be it as you say, only to get along with my comrades, etc." (Fălciu, Plasa Crasna, Moldavia).

The category of gold-washer was described in the constitution as already having converted to woodworking.

2) The class of gold-washer Gypsies (*tagma țiganilor aurari*). Some of them live on gold prospecting, that is to say, on the surplus which they can collect, beyond the three drams which they must give to the state. Others work with wood, like the above-mentioned Lingurari. The rest live by making bricks, digging pits, and the like. These Gypsies have permanent houses, like those mentioned above. They will be subjected to the same regulations as those mentioned above.

7.5 Relocation of Rudari from their Ancient Settlements

Another disruption in the Rudaris' way of living was caused by the obligation to leave their native places due to the modernization project for creating large, planned villages. As already shown in sub-chapter *Austrian Economic Reforms*, some attempts towards the systematisation of the villages took place earlier in Oltenia, during the Austrian occupation (1718–1739), but these changes didn't materialise. In Wallachia, in 1831, the above-mentioned *Organic Statutes* – specifically, the chapter "For preventing the relocation of the villagers, and for taking actions to build stable houses for dwelling"⁴² – enacted, for the first time

42 *Analele Parlamentare*, II-1, p. 617–618. This reform was unevenly implemented in the country. The bill was not discussed in the scheduled meeting and the rescheduling of the debate was proposed for the next parliamentary session, 1832/1833 (*Analele Parlamentare*, II-1, p. 36). This time, the Interior Minister, at the meeting of March 21, 1833 (*Analele Parlamentare*, II-1, p. 617–618), stressed the need to discuss the systematization

in Romanian history, the obligations of all rural residents to build a proper house. First of all, drafting a project was an imperative prerequisite:

A plan (*izvod*, lit. ‘source’) in the shape of the house should be outlined, with what every villager ought to have in terms of stables, enclosures for growing vegetables, fruit trees and especially mulberry trees for silkworm rearing. Subsequently, one engineer with two officials, one from the Ministry of Interior and one from the prefecture of each county, chosen from among the local landowners [*boyar*] will be instituted, and they will wander around all the villages of the county, along with the owners of each estate, to carefully analyse: 1) the actual status of the villagers’ houses; 2) what would be the best location where to settle the village; 3) what would be the most suitable way to build the villagers’ houses, how wide should the road be, what should be the distance between the houses, where should be the location for the church, where should be built the travellers’ auberge, meaning the inn; 4) by which means and from which suitable material, according to the region, should houses be built. (*Analele Parlamentare*, II-1, p. 617)

In this context, the administration issued several acts for the resettlement of the population. Quite often, this relocation was met with opposition from the alleged beneficiaries. The Romanian and Gypsy villagers, through notaries, priests or village teachers, drew petitions against this relocation. In these petitions, the actual status of some Rudari could be described by their Romanian neighbours as good settlers, with proper occupations and “useful for the community.”

In regard to the Rudari from the villages Balta Doamnei and Curcubeu, we hereby state that since when we are born here, we, kindred people from Balta Doamnei village, we and our parents who were also born and lived in this village, with the fear of God, acknowledge that we found these Rudari here settled with their homes, orchards and gardens, farmyards with crops for food to feed themselves, and land for hay fields cleaned by them out of the forests, with axes, and cleaned from roots dug out of the ground with the pickaxes. I, Rad Coldea from Balta Doamnei village, hereby confirm; I, Nicolae, from the same place; I, Oprea from the same place; I, Dumitru from Curcubeu village, hereby confirm; I, Gheorghe Olaru from the same place; I, Stoica Pârcălabu from the same place. The people of these two villages testify. Ioan Popa, from Balta village, Snagov District. [...] March 31, 1836.⁴³

project, but the Parliament postponed the debate for the next session, 1833/1834 (*Analele Parlamentare*, III-1, p. 577), when actually it wasn’t discussed at all (*Analele Parlamentare*, IV-1, p. 491).

43 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, dos. 3678/1836, f. 139–139v.

Importantly, on the nominal lists of the 1838 Census, there is no Rudar mentioned among the 44 households, 149 individuals living in this village. At the time, the whole village cultivated 52 acres of land, which means that probably all villagers were engaged in agricultural activity. To explain this: either the Rudari declared themselves to be Romanians to the administrative authorities, or they were not Rudari, if in two years their makeshifts were removed from the village, and they were relocated.

In the neighbouring village Gherghița, owned by the Metropolitan Archbishopric, it seemed that the relocation of the Rudari did not take place. The Rudari owned by the state requested the Metropolitan not to implement their relocation:

With due respect we humbly intimate the Honourable and Holy Metropolitan, that we, the Rudari Gypsies (*țigani rudari*), belonging to the *vătaf* Iorga Măriuca and *vătaf* Oprea Bocoliu, from the time of our ancestors we truly knew ourselves residents of the estate Gherghița which belongs to the Holy Archbishopric, wherein most of us built houses and other annexes, such as granaries, cattle stables, and barns, [...] and only a few of us have just hovels; and because now they want to relocate us to other estates, hereby we humbly request the Holy Archbishopric to consider keeping us here where constantly our ancestors, parents and children are and will be buried, and, on the other hand, we kindly request <the Honourable and Holy Metropolitan> to have mercy on us and allow us to take wood from the forest of this estate, in order to build our houses as per the ordinances of the High Officials. We all the Gypsy residents belonging to the mentioned *vătafi* and other Gypsies that are settled in Gherghița village thus confirm.⁴⁴

After two years, the authorities recorded the following demographic situation. In the village lived 179 households, mostly *clăcași* (a peasant without his own land obliged to pay day labour). The majority had the occupation of ploughmen, but many had other occupations, which are regularly found in cities: two furriers; six grocers; two dyers (*boiangiu*); three bakers; five tailors; five shoemakers; two carpenters; three itinerant sellers of groceries (*mămular*); two silk workers (*mătăsar*); three infantry soldiers of the national army (*dorobanț*); one potter; one carpenter, and one soap maker who sold his products going by his cart at surrounding fairs. Gherghița also contained a toll house for trade coming from south of the Danube and Transylvania.

44 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, dos. 3678/1836, f. 141–141v.

Ethnicity was also diverse in Gherghița: there were three Serbs and five Transylvanians. The renting landlord (*arendăș*) was a Romanian who had many servants in his yard: one Serb, one Romanian, seven Gypsies of his own property and one a Monastery Gypsy. There was another Gypsy, the widower Dragnea Bucătar, a cook, who lived in the village in his own house with his son, but who was servant to the lord. In the village lived 33 households of Gypsies belonging to the Crown Church “Sf Procopie” built in 1641. Most of them did not cultivate the land, with the exception of the ploughman who had his own pair of oxen and cultivated 1 hectare of maize, the blacksmith who cultivated one-and-a-half hectares of maize and another blacksmith who cultivated one hectare of maize and one of hay. Some of them had large plum orchards: the *vătaf* Nicolae Anghel had 70 plum trees, one cobza player 90 trees, a tailor had 36 trees, and two blacksmiths had 40 and 37 trees, respectively. The blacksmiths had in addition 12 and 5 mulberry trees, respectively used for feeding silkworms which were grown in the village by the two Romanian silk workers. The Gypsies had six other fruit trees, which was quite rare at that time. They thus had stable settlements and possessed animal stock: 20 cows; 8 pairs of oxen; 3 horses, and two beehives.

This representation of the households’ condition tallies with the description from the petition signed by Rudari Gypsies together with “other Gypsies” of Gherghița in 1836.

In 1838, apart from six who were day workers, almost all the Gypsies had service occupations that complemented the other villagers except one ploughman. Six fiddlers (*lăutari*), four cobza players and one drum player (*daragiu*) composed the “village orchestra”. There were six blacksmiths, one cord-maker (*găitan*), one shoveler, one tailor, one servant working for the landlord, and one was *vătaf* of the Gypsy community, while the five widows registered as heads of households were spinners of yarn.

It seems that the Rudari Țigani of the *vătaf* Iorga Măriuca and *vătaf* Oprea Bocoliu (who were probably living on other estates, as it happens) coexisted with “other Gypsies”, had poor but stable settlements and made their living from traditional Gypsy occupations or had other skills that were complementary to the surrounding farm society.

7.6 Divisions among the Rudari

Already in the eighteenth century, gold-washing had begun to decline and some Rudari left Wallachia in search of other places and ways to make a living. Many of those who left were among the poorest families and they took to

the sort of work that had previously been a secondary aspect of gold-washing, such as making wooden implements. Poverty made them wander widely even to foreign countries. The transition to woodworking was, however, incomplete, since the majority of Rudari still panned for gold. Nonetheless, and as will be shown through official Wallachian documents a sizeable part had left the area.

The number of persons classified as Rudari began to decline slowly. A list from 1811⁴⁵ counted 870 Rudari. However, a report from 1829 stated that their numbers had declined to around 776, while the population inventory (that did not include all of Wallachia) made in 1838 listed 800 Rudari, but not all were gold-washers:

The gold-washers of the Crown (*aurarii coroanei*) are 57 Romanians living in the counties of Argeş and Vâlcea and 776 Gypsies, who are from antiquity and have been settled to pay their taxes for 6 months, from 1st July to January, in natural washed-gold (*în aur nisip natur*), that is, the first semester 5 drams and the second 3 drams, which they search out from the rivers Olt, Topolog and Dâmboviţa.⁴⁶

The same report told of increasing difficulty in finding gold and the difficulties of the Rudari to pay their tax in gold, as per the regulation issued in July 1803, stipulating the payment of the tax in gold.⁴⁷ So, their tax was converted from gold into cash payment.⁴⁸

For quite long, due to their inexperience to hunt gold, most of them have given up this craft, and have been determined by the state to pay their tax in money, as equivalent for the established amount. The last such established amount was made in 1827, by Grigore Vodă Ghica, who ordered that they should pay their tax in money and not in gold, 11 *lei* for 1 dram. In 1828, seeing the Treasury of that time that the price of one *galben* rose to 31 lei, and on the other hand, the payment of the tax remained the same and was thus insufficient, considered to add another 9 lei, in addition to 11, to make 20 lei [...]

The calculation of the amount collected to be taxed was converted into Dutch gulden.⁴⁹

The cupellation of the washed gold by smelting and purifying is one dram in ten. So, at 3 drams as much as a Gypsy must give, the next reduction is calculated, 1 leu and 5 *parale*. 31 thalers and 60 *bani* is the price of a Dutch gulden. 9 *thalers*,

45 ANIC, fond Administrative Vechi, dos. 2356/1811, f. 82.

46 ANIC, fond Administrative Vechi, dos. 14/1829, f. 3–3v.

47 ANIC, Ms. 47, f. 353.

48 ANIC, fond Administrative Vechi, dos. 2356/1811, f. 82.

49 ANIC, fond Administrative Vechi, dos. 14/1829, f. 3–3v.

54 *bani* decrease from the first decrease. 1 *thaler* and 69 *bani* is the price of the first part. 226 *thalers* remain to be counted for the price of one dram of un-melted washed gold, in reference to the rate of the Dutch gulden. But because this gold is lower <percentage> than gold in the Dutch gulden, it should be decreased as the state considers to be appropriate.”

Ultimately, the once rich golden sands depleted, requiring the necessity for new techniques. The place of the gold-washers could sometimes be taken by professionals such as an engineer from the city of Brăila, Alexandru Popovici, who invented a machine for washing the alluvial gold⁵⁰. Two silversmiths, Hagi Avram and Mihai sin Iacov, from Constantinople wrote to the Minister of Finance to obtain a permit for prospecting the golden sands.⁵¹

Since we, Christian under-signers, who are serving at the Royal Mint in Țsarigrad, [Constantinople] came here with royal passports to collect waste from silver-smiths and jewellers and after purifying the silver and gold that we send it to Țsarigrad. But because we have learnt that on Argeș River in Argeș County and on the Olt River in Olt County, where previously the gold-washer Gypsies used to prospect for gold, we also request to be allowed to do prospecting for 15 days on the banks of those rivers. Then we will return to the Treasury with that evidence, and we will negotiate our profit and the profit [belonging] to the Honourable Treasury. We will bring our families here, as natives.

Carol Garilland, a prospector from France, made a similar request to the finance minister:

Wishing to make a few investigations of the golden sands of different rivers of Wallachia, I have the honour to apply for the concession under the patent title, and later, in case of success to comply with the provisions.⁵²

The depletion of the gold in the sand banks of the rivers, and the introduction by outsiders into gold-washing of new technology contributed to the occupational conversion of the Rudari to other ways of making a living. The closest employment to what they already knew were as blacksmiths or woodcarving. Making wooden household objects linked them even more to the forests. In the woods some could also trap bear cubs, which they trained. In the villages,

⁵⁰ See doc. nr. 35 in the Appendix.

⁵¹ ANIC, fond Ministerul Administrației Domeniilor, dos. 569/1853, f. 2: 14 July 1853, Departamentul Visteriei, and f. 14.

⁵² ANIC, fond Ministerul Administrației Domeniilor, dos. 569/1853, f. 7: 5 October 1853. To Mr. Ioan Filipescu, Finance Minister.

along with the *Vătrași*, those who had become blacksmiths, *lăutari* or brick-makers settled. In the locality Pucheni-Miroslovești, out of the 84 household heads registered in 1838, 14 Rudari stated that they were state gold-washers (*aurari ai Statului*), but among them was a family of brickmakers. All Rudari in this village cultivated some land and raised domestic animals, showing signs of sedentarisation.⁵³

Ignaz von Born, explored Transylvania in 1770 and documented the Gypsies in the Carpathian region. Some were *lăutari*, others were blacksmiths or locksmiths and gold diggers.

All the streams and rivers that flow from Transylvania carry gold. But of all these streams and rivers, the one that carries the most is Arieș, which is compared to the Tagus [river in Spain and Portugal] and the Paktolus [river from the gold of which the legendary Cressus made his treasure]. The gold washers, apart from the Romanians who live along the rivers, are mostly Gypsies. However, one should not confuse the Gypsies in Transylvania with those in Hungary. The latter are poor and miserable, without skill, while those in Transylvania know how to find work and know how to get out of poverty. Some of them entertain the people as *lăutari*, in pubs and at parties, others are blacksmiths and locksmiths or trade in cattle and horses, and most are engaged in washing the golden sands. The latter pay their taxes with gold dust, the difference is paid in money to the royal cashier. They know the best places where gold is found.⁵⁴

There is a similar description from Wallachia made by Friedrich von Bauer, a general in the Russian army and participant in the war 1768–1774⁵⁵:

The Gypsies are the only slaves in Wallachia; those in the ruler's domain are Rudari, Ursari and Lăieți. The Rudari are woodworkers. The Ursari are so named after the bears with which they walk around the country for livelihood; they are also farriers. The Lăieți work brass and practice all kinds of simple crafts. *Vătrași* or those who live in houses and live in villages, are exempt from taxes and work for their masters. As for the princely Gypsies, the Rudari pay a tax in gold for the right to pan in the rivers, and the others pay a fixed annual tax. The Gypsies [belonging to] private individuals are at the disposal of those who own them, they almost all live in tents and change their places and homes for better livelihoods and to be able to pay their debts.⁵⁶

53 Source MapRom Database.

54 *Călători străini* 2000: X, 1, 116–117.

55 Friedrich Wilhelm von Bauer (1731–1783) was a German in the service of the Russian army. He took part in the Russo-Turkish war of 1768–1774, under the command of General Rumyantzev.

56 *Călători străini* 2000: X, 1, 161.

Jean Louis Carra, a French adventurer who spent a year in Moldova, gave a similar account.⁵⁷ Spoon-makers, bear-tamers and small-scale blacksmiths travelled through the villages and went to fairs, and sometimes left the country to foreign places such as Moldavia⁵⁸ or Bulgaria for better livelihoods. Their hopes for improvement were not always up to expectations and they returned but hid to avoid paying taxes.

Fourteen Gypsy families who were in the village of Căscioarele, coming from Turkey [...] (October 19, 1829): 14 families of runaway Gypsies from Căscioarele village, Ilfov County, showed to us the notation of the army officer at Turtucaia that shows that long ago they passed from the Ottoman Empire into the Wallachian Principality. They ask us to take into account their document and expect that they will be given a permit of free travel through the Principality until they improve their condition.⁵⁹

February 10, 1830. The report of the Chief Police commander to the Treasury of the Principality for the Gypsies who came from the Ottoman Empire and live in the village of Căscioarele: it is being informed that these Gypsies from the group of Lingurari, who previously belonged to this Principality, and because of their bad nature moved themselves across the Danube, being in all 16 families who settled after their return to the land of the country in hovels in Căscioarele village, Ilfov County. The police commander registered them at their request and now are accountable for paying the tax since January, along with the other Lingurari Gypsies. And next spring they must move to the upland counties where they previously lived and where they have their relatives.⁶⁰

This is another phase in Rudari history, marked by their proletarianization. There were cases of alleged theft and illegal use of common land, such as in Afumați, Ilfov County, in Voinești and Tătărei, Dâmbovița County. The inhabitants of the village of Afumați complained on August 3, 1831, that “the Rudari Gypsies living in the Afumați forest, cause great damage to the inhabitants. After suffering for so long for their livelihood, they were afraid that they would remain hungry because of the above-mentioned Gypsies, because they let their herds of cattle graze in the growing crops, and they stole sheaves of wheat

57 *Călători străini* 2000: X, 1, p. J.L. Carra.

58 ANIC, fond Administrative Vechi, dos.1381/1828, Inv. 294: “25 families of Rudari Gypsy who want to return from Moldavia to their places in Wallachia.”

59 ANIC, fond Administrative Vechi. Divanul Săvîrșitor, dos. 38/1829, f. 4.

60 ANIC, fond Administrative Vechi. Divanul Săvîrșitor, dos. 38/1829, f. 11.

and sacks of maize. That is why they ask to the gendarme of the sub-district to remove them from that place.”⁶¹

The lease-holder (*arendaş*) Vasile sin Constandin Povarnagiul at Voineşti, in Dâmboviţa County, complained “that having rented the estate called Izvoarele from the holy monastery Din Vale, on which estate are living about 40 families of Rudari Gypsies, who not do not pay to the estate as is regulated, but they also cut down the forest to make their livelihood.”⁶²

The villagers from Tătărei village, Ialomiţa sub-district, Dâmboviţa County, addressed the Ministry of Interior, “because a few families of Princely Rudari Gypsies, who according to their natural bad habits, completely ruined us, they killed the cattle, they destroyed our crops with their herds and stole from them; we thus request them to be removed.”⁶³

At other times, Rudari were themselves victims of robbery by officials.

The overseer (*ispravnic*) of the State Gypsies from the Fifth Department, together with *vătaf* Manole and four others, fled with the poll-tax money collected for the last half-year. I published a letter to all the county councils to inform the inhabitants of the villages to be vigilant and careful, that if those are seen in any village, they should catch them and send them under guard.⁶⁴

7.7 Conclusion

Throughout the eighteenth century there are signs that the Rudari self-organised as a unique group with ethnic characteristics. This evolved against the background of Enlightenment reform ideas brought to Wallachia by Austrian and Russian occupation administrators. Gypsy slavery, which was institutionalised in the Romanian Principalities, did not exist in other countries. Administrators did not recognise Gypsies and Rudari as the property of their previous owners. For the Rudari this challenged their historic bondage to the Cozia Monastery, since they were set free for as long as the occupation of Oltenia lasted. The experience of this freedom was important for forming a Rudari identity, namely that they were different from the *Țigani*. Over the course of this century, they actively rejected association with Gypsy slavery.

61 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, dos. 490/1831, Dosar pentru supărările ce încearcă locuitorii satului Afumați; f. 23.

62 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, dos. 490/1831.

63 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, dos. 490/1831, f. 87.

64 ANIC, fond Vornicia din Lăuntru, dos. 100/1834, f. 1, 3 august, Vornicia Temnițelor, report.

This distancing became increasingly important even when they no longer dealt with the extraction of precious metals. They carried this non-Gypsy identity with them as they migrated into other parts of the Habsburg Empire, such as Banat, Serbia, Slavonia and Croatia. However, when the Austrian occupation ended, the Wallachian rulers, after having examined Cozia's ownership documents, continually and officially returned the Rudari to the property of the monastery. The Rudari contested this and repeatedly refused to pay taxes to Cozia. Until the early nineteenth century, with a Russian occupation, the Wallachian rulers had to make decisions concerning the Rudari-Cozia conflict. As a rule, they decided in favour of the monastery, but the Rudari still refused to comply. These protracted conflicts, which carried on from one generation to the next, probably helped to solidify the Rudari's feeling of non-Gypsy identity. Thus, their anti-slavery stance made it necessary to insist on being different.

However, parallel to the making of the Rudari identity, gold-washing became increasingly difficult, with reserves of alluvial gold diminishing. By the time of the census of 1838 there are clear signs of on-going disruption for the Rudari community. A process of social tension evolved splitting communities by marginalising some and forcing out some of the Rudari from the gold-washer collective. These marginalised families had to leave and find other types of work that they could do in their new environment. A large group took to woodcarving of household utensils, but commonly they still called themselves Rudari. However, it stands to reason that some stopped using the term Rudari and instead called themselves *Lingurari* spoon-makers or *Ursari* bear-trainers⁶⁵. A few Rudari become blacksmiths or *lăutari* musicians.

The process of leaving the gold-washing collective involved a marginalisation and proletarianization of those Rudari. They became poor and needed to travel more widely to sell or barter their products, as well as to avoid paying taxes. Poverty brought them into conflict with officials about their non-payment of taxes and with the peasants who accused them of theft of forest wood.

65 The sliding of some Rudari into hunter-gatherer lifestyle and turning to bear-tamers has been shown in the case of the so-called *orsanti* in Italy (Piasere 2004: 289–308).

Table 4 The Rudari: Demography, Taxation, Subordination (1388–1833)

Date	Demography	Compensation	Tax paid to Treasury	Tax paid to Monastery	Tax collector	Other events	Source	Issuer of the document
1. 1388, May 20	300 families						DRH B, vol. 1, doc. 9; ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 25v; Ms. 712, f. 244v–245 Testimonia: ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 435, 587	Mircea the Elder
2.	65 families						DRH B, vol. I, doc	Radu Praznaglava
3. 1421, 19 June	300 families			First mention of tax to monastery			DRH B, vol. I, doc. 49/19 June <1421>	Dan III
4. 1436, June 25	300 families						DRH B, vol. I, doc, 77/ 25 June 1436	Alexandru Aldea
5. 1443, 9 January	50 families						DRH B, vol. I, doc. 96/ 9 January 1443	Vladislav II

Table 4 The Rudari: Demography, Taxation, Subordination (1388–1833) (cont.)

Date	Demography	Compensation	Tax paid to Treasury	Tax paid to Monastery	Tax collector	Other events	Source	Issuer of the document
6. 1451, 7 August	50 families						DRH B, vol. I, doc. 107/7 August <1451>	
7. 1475, July 15	300 families						DRH B, vol. I, doc. 150/15 July 1475	Basarab the Elder
8. 1488, 17 April	300 families						DRH B, vol. I, doc. 212/17 April 1488	
9. 1501, 24 May	300 families						DRH B, vol. I, doc. 5/24 May 1501	Radu cel Mare
10. 1620, September 20		Treasury pays in money	Work for the Crown	300 <i>bari</i> for each Gypsy from Ocnele Mari, taken from their salary	Cămăraş (only for Gypsies from Ocnele Mari)		DRH B, vol. XVIII, doc. ANIC, Ms. 209, fl. 77; Ms. 712	Gavril Movilă

Table 4 The Rudari: Demography, Taxation, Subordination (1388–1833) (cont.)

	Date	Demography	Compensation	Tax paid to Treasury	Tax paid to Monastery	Tax collector	Other events	Source	Issuer of the document
11.	1630, January 13				The tax to Monastery is confirmed	Arnaş		DRH B, vol. XXIII, doc. 16, p. 33; ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 71; Ms. 712, f. 411	Leon Tomşa
12.	1632, October 3				The tax to Monastery is confirmed			DRH B, vol. XXIII, doc. 420, p. 619; ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 77v; Ms. 712, f. 422v–423.	Matei Basarab
13.	1659, January 12				The tax to Monastery is confirmed			ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 336, Ms. 712	Milneea III
14.	1660, March 24				The tax to Monastery is confirmed			ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 336; Ms. 712	Gheorghe Ghica

Table 4 The Rudari: Demography, Taxation, Subordination (1388–1833) (cont.)

Date	Demography	Compensation	Tax paid to Treasury	Tax paid to Monastery	Tax collector	Other events	Source	Issuer of the document
15. 1662, January 10				The tax to Monastery is confirmed			ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 336–336v; Ms. 712	Gheorghe Ghica
16. 1670, October 7				three taxable categories: 3 <i>ughi</i> (ancient Austrian golden coin); 1.5 <i>ughi</i> ; 1 <i>ughi</i>	<i>vătaf</i> over Rudari to be appointed by abbot and monks		ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 336v–337; Ms. 712	Antonie Vodă from Popești
17. 1679, November 11		The Crown pays them	Work for the Crown	3 <i>ughi</i> ; 1.5 <i>ughi</i> ; 1 <i>ughi</i>	<i>Vătaf</i> to tax and collect taxes		ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 337v–338; Ms. 712	Șerban Cantacuzino
18. 1679, November 12				3.5 <i>ughi</i> per year	<i>Mare Armaș</i> to compel the <i>vătaf</i> to pay tax to monastery		ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 338–338v; Ms. 712	Șerban Cantacuzino

Table 4 The Rudari: Demography, Taxation, Subordination (1388–1833) (cont.)

Date	Demography	Compensation	Tax paid to Treasury	Tax paid to Monastery	Tax collector	Other events	Source	Issuer of the document
19. 1689, January 5		The Crown pays them salary	Work for the Crown	3 <i>ughi</i> ; 1.5 <i>ughi</i> ; 1 <i>ughi</i>	Appoint <i>vătaf</i> to collect tax for monastery		ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 338v–339; Ms. 710, f. 413–413v	Constantin Brâncoveanu
20. 1705, April 20					<i>Armaş</i> to survey them and <i>Vătaf</i> to collect tax		ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 344–344v; Ms. 712	Constantin Brâncoveanu
21.				“Settlement of Brâncoveanu” 300 <i>galbeni</i> per year, equivalent of 650 thalers or 100 bani, total amount of Rudari tax, transferred by Treasury to Cozia			ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 340–342, fond Mânăstirea Cozia XLIII/42	Mihai Racoviță

Table 4 The Rudari: Demography, Taxation, Subordination (1388–1833) (cont.)

Date	Demography	Compensation	Tax paid to Treasury	Tax paid to Monastery	Tax collector	Other events	Source	Issuer of the document
22. Before Austrian Occupation, 1716	Aprox. 250 families		4 gold drams for each head of household per year 1000 drams= 3.180 g gold				Popescu 1927a: 216	Nicolo de Porta (traveller)
23. 1716, April 11						Census of Rudari and Census of Lăieți is ordered but is not accomplished/unavailable	ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 344v, Ms. 712	Nicolae Mavrocordat

Table 4 The Rudari: Demography, Taxation, Subordination (1388–1833) (cont.)

	Date	Demography	Compensation	Tax paid to Treasury	Tax paid to Monastery	Tax collector	Other events	Source	Issuer of the document
24.	1719	Aprox. 100 families (only in Oltenia)		400 drams of gold				Giurescu C. 1913: II, 282	
25.	1726, January 13				Tax to Monastery is confirmed	in the hand of the <i>vâtaf</i> , as any servant of the monastery		ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 344v; Ms. 712	Ioan Mavrocordat
26.	1729	Aprox. 125 families (only in Oltenia)		500 drams of gold				Giurescu, C. 1913: II, 283	
27.	During Austrian Occupation		Treasury pays in money	Tax due to monastery is transferred to Imperial Treasury				ANIC, Ms. 712, f. 419v–420	Imperial Administration of Craiova City

Table 4 The Rudari: Demography, Taxation, Subordination (1388–1833) (*cont.*)

Date	Demography	Compensation	Tax paid to Treasury	Tax paid to Monastery	Tax collector	Other events	Source	Issuer of the document
28. 1734, June 5				The Imperial Administration confirms Cozia's right to tax the salt-cutter Gypsies (<i>măglași</i>) and the salt cutters from Ocna Mare, and the Rudari			ANIC, Ms. 712, f. 419v–420	Imperial Administration of Craiova City
29. 1741, October 20			3 grams of gold per each; Surplus—200 <i>bani</i> for 1 dram	650 thalers at St Demetrius, via the <i>cămăraș</i> of Ocna Mare	<i>Vătăf</i> under authority of <i>Mare Armaș</i>		ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 340–342, fond Mânăstirea Cozia XLIII/42	Mihai Racoviță

Table 4 The Rudari: Demography, Taxation, Subordination (1388–1833) (*cont.*)

Date	Demography	Compensation	Tax paid to Treasury	Tax paid to Monastery	Tax collector	Other events	Source	Issuer of the document
30. 1741, October 28						Trial of the Monastery with Rudari	ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 339v–340; Ms. 712	Mihai Racoviță
31. 1741, November 20			Work for the Crown	Treasury transfers cash (<i>bani gata</i>) to Monastery	<i>vătaf</i>		ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 245v–246; Ms. 712	Mihai Racoviță
32. 1742, January 12				3 <i>ughi</i> ; 1.5 <i>ughi</i> ; 0,5 <i>ughi</i>	<i>vătaf</i>		ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 339–339v	Mihai Racoviță
33. 1742, July 7		Crown pays in money	Work for the Crown	the tax for the Monastery is confirmed, with the specification “without any work”			ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 345–345v; Ms. 712	Mihai Racoviță

Table 4 The Rudari: Demography, Taxation, Subordination (1388–1833) (cont.)

	Date	Demography	Compensation	Tax paid to Treasury	Tax paid to Monastery	Tax collector	Other events	Source	Issuer of the document
34.	1749, October 9	433 individuals registered			1 <i>thaler</i> per household in 2 instalments, St Demetrius and St George	<i>Vătaf</i> under authority of <i>Marele</i> <i>Armaş</i>	Census is made and handover to Cozia	ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 342–344; and f. 435	Grigore Ghica II
35.	1757, April 8				1 <i>thaler</i> each married man, in 2 instal- ments, at St Demetrius and St George, “for the support and adminis- trative care to the monastery”			ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 346–346v	Constantin Mavrocordat

Table 4 The Rudari: Demography, Taxation, Subordination (1388–1833) (cont.)

Date	Demography	Compensation	Tax paid to Treasury	Tax paid to Monastery	Tax collector	Other events	Source	Issuer of the document
36. 1770, October 3			Work for the Crown	1 <i>thaler</i> per each household	<i>Marele Armaş</i> takes the gold, and the Monastery encashes the tax directly		ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 346v–347	Manoil Geani Roset
37. 1773	153 families		611 drams of gold in total, 4 drams per person		<i>Vătaf</i> under authority of <i>Marele Armaş</i>		ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 349–349v, fond Mânăstirea Cozia XLIX/30	Parliament of Wallachia
38. 1773, May 23				1 <i>thaler</i> per each household in 2 instalments, St Demetrius and St George	<i>Vătaf</i> under authority of <i>Marele Armaş</i>		ANIC, Ms. 290, f. 347–347v, fond Mânăstirea Cozia XLIX/30	Parliament of Wallachia

Table 4 The Rudari: Demography, Taxation, Subordination (1388–1833) (cont.)

Date	Demography	Compensation	Tax paid to Treasury	Tax paid to Monastery	Tax collector	Other events	Source	Issuer of the document
39. 1774, January 25	151 families		764 drams of gold in total				ANIC, Ms. 209, fond Mánăstirea Cozia XLIX/30	Parliament of Wallachia
40. 1774, March 20				Confirmation of the <i>rob</i> status and <i>ohabnici</i> of Rudari	Transfer of control from <i>Marele Arnas</i> to the Monastery		ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 349–349v, fond Mánăstirea Cozia XLIX/30	Parliament of Wallachia
41. 1774, April 24						Abbot of Cozia Monastery called to Parliament Chancellery with ownership charters	ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 349–350 fond Mánăstirea Cozia XLIX/30	Parliament of Wallachia

Table 4 The Rudari: Demography, Taxation, Subordination (1388–1833) (cont.)

	Date	Demography	Compensation	Tax paid to Treasury	Tax paid to Monastery	Tax collector	Other events	Source	Issuer of the document
42.	1774, May 20			611,5 drams of gold in total	Tax to the monastery	Gold delivered to the Monastery who is responsible to transfer it to Treasury		ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 347v–348v	Parliament of Wallachia
43.	1774, May 26						Trial of the Monastery with Rudari		Parliament of Wallachia
44.	1775, May 15		Work for the Crown		1 thaler per each married man, in 2 instalments, at St Demetrius and St George	Through <i>Marele Armaş</i>		ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 350v–351	Alexandru Ipsilanti
45.	1811	870 individuals						ANIC, fond Administrative Vechi, dos. 2356/1811, f. 82	

Table 4 The Rudari: Demography, Taxation, Subordination (1388–1833) (cont.)

Date	Demography	Compensation	Tax paid to Treasury	Tax paid to Monastery	Tax collector	Other events	Source	Issuer of the document
46. 1827			3 drams of gold per Rudar at 11 <i>lei</i> , for 1 dram of gold at 33 <i>lei</i>				ANIC, fond Administrative Vechi, dos. 14/1829, f. 3–3v	Grigorie Vodă Ghica
47. 1829	776 individuals						ANIC, fond Administrative Vechi, dos. 14/1829, f. 3–3v	Kiseleff
48. 1833, June 9				The tax of 44 <i>parale</i> per Gypsy per year is abolished	<i>Marele Armaş</i>		ANIC, Logofeția Pricinilor Bisericești, dos. 6559/1832, f. 34; Cojocaru, 1958: II, 523	Kiseleff

The Rudari's Occupational Transition

The Rudari represent an interesting example of a historic community in Europe that adapted to changes in their environment: living from the start along auriferous rivers, they needed to practice by-employments dictated by seasonal changes when gold-washing was impossible, including woodworking, which in time became their main occupation. A decrease of gold in the sand banks of the rivers necessitated not only transition to a new main occupation, but also enabled expanding the territory of Rudari settlement: at the same time linking them closer to forests but allowing them to disperse over great distances. This chapter deals with the changing socio-economic conditions of the Rudari as well as their movement out of Romania. It will treat the consolidation of the gold-washers into an ethnicity calling itself Rudari, but at the same time it deals with the fractioning of this ethnicity economically into rich and poor, and geographically between those who remained in Wallachia and those who migrated to other countries adapting to new environments.

There were only a few places in Wallachia where enough gold dust accumulated along a handful of rivers in which panning for gold proved worthwhile. Naturally, this set a limit on the size of the Rudari population and concentrated settlements to a few villages near bends in the river. The amount of gold produced by washing river sand was relatively small, but it remained an essential commodity for the rulers. However, there were abundant forests elsewhere and once the Rudari changed their way of living to focus on making wooden products, the size of the population and the geographical limits on their settlements expanded greatly, bringing about a dispersal throughout the Balkan countries.

8.1 Gold Production

Since the earliest documentation in the fourteenth century, the Rudari as a gold-washer community were placed under the direct control of the state administration, which had a monopoly of trade in gold. They worked as gold-panners, legally belonging to the Crown, and had to hand over all their finished gold to a special official who then delivered it to the Treasury. A head-tax was deducted out of the delivered gold and whatever surplus there was given back to the gold-panners in the form of coinage at a rate that varied over time but

was usually more beneficial for the prince than for the Rudari. This system continued when the Oltenia area of Wallachia was annexed by the Habsburg Empire, and the Rudari had to deliver the gold to the Austrian emperor. In 1774 the Cozia Monastery, during a short Russian occupation, obtained the right to take the gold directly from the Rudari and to then hand it over to the Wallachian administration.

The Treasury paid the Rudari in coins for any surplus they had produced, but the amount paid varied. Some documents mention a payment of one *leu* (silver coin) per dram (3.18 grams) for the head-tax due, while the surplus was sold to the Crown at a rate of 200 *bani* per dram.¹ In the beginning of the nineteenth century finding gold had become difficult and many Rudari had difficulty to pay their taxes with gold. A large number had ceased to pan for gold and instead sold wooden items at local markets. Consequently, the tax of three drams of gold was converted into a cash payment, at the equivalent of 11 lei for one dram. Hence the Rudari had to pay 33 *lei* per year.²

The gold collected from the alluvial sand was either delivered in the form of gold flakes or was refined by a heating process called cupellation. The registers of the Cozia Monastery mention the refinement of gold to obtain the quantity due to the tax authorities. A foreign traveller mentioned that Rudari kept the gold in feathers (Clarke 1818: 255³).

The Rudari's production of gold was not an important aspect of the general economy of Wallachia. All the same, it did contribute to the ability of the rulers to pay in gold. The prince expected from each Rudari household (*sălaș*) quantities varying from 3 to 4 drams (9.54 to 12.72 grams) per year. This tax burden varied and there were rulers who requested the same quantity from each married man instead of from each household. According to the number of the Rudari who could be found and be registered, the Treasury obtained in the year 1719 the sum of 400 drams which increased in 1774 to 764 drams. These are very small amounts of between one and two kilograms of gold per year. A foreign traveller believed in somewhat larger sums, for instance 1000 drams, over three kilos, from approximately 250 households, "and the rest that would have been collected beyond this, was not allowed to be sold out to anyone else under death penalty, except to the voivode, who paid two florins for each dram, half as much as it was worth". (Nicolo de Porta, 1726, July 5 in: Popescu 1927a: 216). A very similar system existed in Transylvania:

1 ANIC: Fond mănăstirea Cozia, XLIII/42; Ms.209, f. 340–342.

2 ANIC, fond Administrative Vechi, dos. 2356/1811, f. 82.

3 Probably an influence from the literature on gold collection; see description by Herodotus on gold washing in India (*Histories*: IV, 195) referred in Chapter 3.

The Gypsy gold-washers are divided into twelve bands of eighty, one hundred or one hundred and twenty individuals. Each band has an overseer, who reports to a general manager, who resides in Zalathna (Zlatna). They are exempt from public charges, but not from *corvée* [unpaid day-labour] owed to the lord. These bands have no fixed place where they must continually live; each Gypsy washes the sand where he wants, today in one river, tomorrow in another, most often in Aranyos. He is issued a permit by virtue of which he goes on one place and the other to exercise his occupation. In return, he must give every year one *pizète* (5 grams 2 decigrams) of gold dust, which is bought from him for 3 florins 40 kreutzers (9 francs and 52 cent). If he is active, he can collect three *pizètes* a week, and each *pizète* is paid to him at the same price. The harvest is more abundant during heavy rains, when the torrents carry gold from the mountains. All the gold that the Bohemians collect must be handed over to the overseer; they are forbidden to sell it to others. To date, the maximum of gold washed in a year has been twelve kilograms. There is no doubt that much more could be obtained if this exploitation were entrusted to industrious workers. (de Gerando 180–181).

De Gerando observed, as did other travellers, that the work carried out by the gold-washers in Transylvania was inefficient and that it was possible to increase production. Similarly, a report of an engineer from Wallachia written in 1843 mentioned that one Rudar could in a month collect up to 15–20 drams (48–64 grams) of pure gold. This sum, he considered to be insufficient for paying their taxes.

For centuries, Cozia Monastery demanded the Rudari to pay a tax which varied. It was 300 *bani*⁴ for each household in 1620 but changed in 1670 to three tax categories: the richest to pay 3 *ughi* (an Austrian golden coin), a middle group to pay 1.5 *ughi*; and the poorest to pay 1 *ughi*. Later on, a total of 300 *galbeni* per year (equivalent of 650 thalers⁵ or 100 *bani*) was paid in 1710. In 1741 the payment was fixed at 1 thaler per household to be paid in two instalments, on the holidays of St Demetrius and St George. This changed in 1757 to 1 thaler for each married man instead of per household, to be made in two instalments. Finally, sometime before 1833 it changed to 44 *parale* per Gypsy per year.

Foreign travellers recorded that other Gypsies had to pay as tax “6-7-8-10 Lyon-thalers per year, according to their occupation. The [sale] price of a

4 300 *galbeni* per year was equivalent of 650 thalers or 100 Wallachian *bani*.

5 ANIC, Ms. 377, f. 709 v. “Incomes of Brâncoveni Monastery at 1741”: 45 thalers ‘Austrian silver coin’ are recorded as “tithes of the taxable Gypsies”, probably the total sum from all of its slaves. The amount is important compared to its other incomes: for 440 liters of wine the monastery was paid 29 thalers; for 5 lambs it received 4 thalers; for 11 rams 24 thalers; for 30 kilograms of wool 10 thalers.

Gypsy is usually 30 thalers and some boyars receive good money from their sale.” (Nicolo de Porta, 1726, July 5 in: Popescu 1927a: 216).

The lives of the Rudari were precarious. Gold washing could practically only be done from spring till autumn, but the most profitable and intense months were May and June, after the snow in the mountains had melted and the spring flood had slowed down and the water no longer freezing cold. Teams of Rudari stood in the river’s stream with their wooden apparatus known as *urca* or *scufa* and would pour water over sand to obtain small quantities of gold by the end of the day. They moved during the summer along the auriferous valleys prospecting for gold, and by autumn they returned to their huts or hovels.

They had neither contact nor support from the Cozia Monastery. They did have an administrator appointed by Cozia, apart from the *vătaf*, who was sent to collect the tax at St Demetrius (26 October) and St George (23 April), when the Rudari were expected to be at home. The tax had to be paid in coin. If the Rudari were to pay both to Cozia and the state, they would be paying double taxes. They felt such a demand an injustice and refused to pay to Cozia. In turn, Cozia Monastery was abusive and forced the Rudari to provide free labour for its benefit. This was many times counteracted by the Wallachian rulers who explicitly stated in their decrees that the Rudari must work for the Treasury and must be exempted from any work for either the monastery or private individuals. Gold collection was permitted only to those household heads who had paid tax to the Treasury. With few exceptions, tax was requested only from married men. It follows that widows and unmarried males were not permitted to wash for gold and had to make a living from other skills like woodworking, as reflected in the 1838 Census, as will be further shown.

8.2 Socio-Economic Conditions of the Rudari in Mid-Nineteenth Century

The 1838 census-like inventory of Wallachia registers households by *neamul* for “nationality”, which corresponds with the modern term ethnicity. There is an additional column for occupation (*meșteșug*), which we assume indicates the main employment. The designation Rudar can appear in both columns. So, “Rudari” could be both an ethnic and an occupational designation. The census is missing for some counties, but in the surviving documents eight hundred households were identified as Rudar using the information entered in both columns. In 1838 more than three hundred of these households had a different way of making a living than by extracting gold. One cannot be sure that when

using the term Rudar those officials who wrote the census always meant gold-washer as an occupation. By the twentieth century those who called themselves Rudari (or outside Romania as Ludari or Boyash) no longer washed the river-sand for gold, but instead carved wood into household utensils and were spread over many countries. The 1838 inventory gives us a picture of an ongoing transition to woodworking in the middle of a process that would inevitably change the meaning of the term Rudari throughout the Balkan lands. This fundamental change, although retaining the name, is just one more indication of the fluidity of ethnic identity. Making our research even more complicated there are 52 households identified by occupation as gold-washers (*aurari*) but not classified as Rudar but instead as “*țigan domnesc*” or as “*țigan al statului*”, that is belonging to the state. It is possible that this might indicate that the Wallachian authorities who put together the census recognised that Rudari and Țigani were two different ethnicities. However, it might be just as possible that the census-makers used the two terms as synonyms.

Thus, in the village Hârtiești there lived a community of five households of gold-panners (*aurari*) registered as State Gypsies. One of them, an old man named Dobre sin Brica, who was classified as an *aurar*, had in his household a servant registered as Țigan. Obviously, the officials making the registrar thought there was a clear distinction between a Rudar and Țigan even when they lived in the same household. Later in the same village, the ethnographer Chelcea found here five households of people who called themselves Rudari and who believed they were indigenous.

In all probability, the number of Rudar households in Wallachia could have been much higher because the lists have disappeared for the mineral-rich county of Vâlcea, which included the historic Cozia Monastery. Cozia had been donated 300 “Gypsy” households in 1388 that in all likelihood evolved into a large part of the Rudari that the monastery possessed centuries later. Perhaps as many as 80 percent of Cozia’s Rudari belonged in Vâlcea’s missing inventory. Although the term Rudar appears for the first time in official documents nearly two centuries later than the 1388 donation, many later documents from the monastery connect the Rudari then belonging to it to as *rob* slaves. The monastery maintained that the Rudari became its possession through the original donation and over the centuries Cozia insisted on this interpretation. Their version was reinforced by a long series of political decisions made Wallachian rulers throughout the Early Modern Period.

As described in other chapters, the Rudari constituted a unique group that has proved difficult to research: although constantly portrayed by neighbours and authorities as a type of “Gypsy” they reject being so identified, and many

of them do not speak the Romani language. The information from the 1838 census gives further indication of the changing circumstances of this group and how it differs from those others classified as “Gypsies”.

The 800 Rudar households in our database⁶ contained 3,096 persons living in 70 different communities, some of which were quite large. In 1838 they lived mainly in places close to the slopes of the Carpathian Mountains, specifically they were concentrated beside the rivers flowing down from the mountains. They congregated in places where the rivers made a bend where gold dust and flakes accumulated in the sand. Even after their transition to wood-carving, such locations would be important, given that soft-wood trees suitable for carving thrived along riversides. The geographical distribution by counties is shown in Table 5.

Table 5 The size of Rudari settlements in 1838 Wallachia, by counties
(Source: ANIC Catagrafia 1838, retrieved from MapRom Database)

County	No. villages	No. households	Households/village
Săcueni	8	204	25.5
Dâmbovița	12	139	11.5
Buzău	2	119	59.5
Vlașca	8	109	13.6
Muscel	13	72	5.5
Slam Râmnic	10	56	5.6
Ilfov	4	30	7.5
Dolj	2	23	11.5
Olt	4	21	5.2
Argeș	4	17	4.2
Romanați	2	9	4.5
Prahova	1	1	1
	70	800	11.4

The biggest Rudari communities were located along the Buzău, Dâmbovița and Ialomița rivers in north-eastern Wallachia. Because of the aforementioned missing lists, important Rudar settlements along the Olt River are not available. The largest listed settlement was Tisău with 110 Rudar households followed by Măgura with 78 and Lapoșul Nou with 59. All three, along with two

⁶ MapRom Database: www.maprom.se.

smaller villages Grăjdana and Unguriu, were situated relatively close to each other at bends in the Buzău River and close to foothills with deep forests. A large number of these Rudari had taken to wood carving. All of Lapoșul Nou's Rudari were registered by occupation as spoon-makers, as were 38 of Măgura's 78 Rudari (48 percent). Most of them were located in the sub-district of Pârscov.

According to notations in the register these Pârscov region villages contained individual households, both gold-washers and spoon-makers, that would be considered wealthy by the standards of that time. The register counted many horses, oxen, cows, sheep, goats, pigs and even the odd buffalo. The richest spoon-maker household was headed by a spoon-maker named Călin in the village of Măgura who farmed seven acres of land, possessed three horses, four oxen, six cows, twenty goats and ten pigs. As Călin was said to be 70 years old he probably would have needed outside help to tend the fields and animals and make wood carvings. This wealthy household was unique among the spoon-maker Rudari. Considerably more of the gold-washers possessed sizeable property. For instance, in the village of Pucheni in Dâmbovița County there were nine households of princely gold-washers all of whom owned land, and the majority of whom possessed seven acres.

The large number of animals indicates that some Rudari must have had permanent fields and meadows in which to gather fodder for the winter. Keeping so many and different domestic animals was unusual for the "Gypsy" households. The late nineteenth century Romanian geographic dictionary gave a few details about the Rudari living in Tisău, and that are probably relevant also for earlier dates. Accordingly, the Rudari there specialised in making wagon-wheels, with one of their main occupations being the transportation of timber. Apparently, they left the village in the summer to collect wood and timber and returned in the winter to make their wooden products (*MDG* 1889: V, 601). Metaphorically, one can identify the region of Pârscov near the town of Buzău as the cradle of Rudari transition from metallurgy to woodworking. In 1838 the region contained 119 Rudari households classified by nationality, but only 38 (or 32 percent) were classified by occupation as gold-washers, the others lived on spoon- and sieve- making or agricultural pursuits.

Among the most remarkable Rudari were those living in Pucheni village in Dâmbovița County in central Wallachia. Here nine households of Rudar slaves belonging to the prince all had large landholdings. Seven of them had seven acres while the remaining two had six acres. They cultivated maize and hay as well as fruit and plum orchards. By far the richest Rudar community was that of the village of Vulcana de Jos, also in Dâmbovița County. Its 44 Rudari households were registered as State Gypsies and almost all cultivated land, more than half also had fruit orchards and many animals. By occupation they

were listed as *rudari aurari* and were probably gold-washers and woodworkers. Soon transition to wood-working was complete. After a century the whole community living here was called *Lingurari* and were known only for making spoons (Block 1938: 146).

Rudar was being used as an ethnic term that covered all sorts of occupations besides that of being a gold-washer. The 1838 population inventory shows that the Rudari community was divided into richer and poorer strata. Many of the wealthiest Rudar families were situated in the largest settlements, while the poorest Rudar families lived in small hamlets or were completely isolated. There were 26 villages in which there lived a solitary Rudar household, and a further six villages containing only two households, three villages had three households. All these households appear to have been very poor in terms of lacking fields and keeping domestic animals. Few possessed any animals at all, which made them similar to most “Gypsies” in the register. It is possible that the Rudari were subjected to a process of pauperisation with marginalised individuals or families being forced out of the depleting gold-washing places and needing to move into the outskirts of farm villages to be closer to where they could sell their wooden products or perform services.

The Rudari were originally employed in mining or in gathering precious metals, like gold and silver, sometimes working in iron and salt mines. No hard-rock gold mines existed in Wallachia, so prospecting for gold was limited to panning sand taken from the riverbanks. The sand could sometimes contain aggregations of gold which could be sifted out through a complicated process of washing. An often-used illustration from around 1850 shows a team of five men working with wooden structures held up by stilts, partially on a riverbank and the rest in the water. Another illustration shows a mixed team made up of both men and women. Sand was washed over a broad wooden board into a tub, and the board had been notched so that particles would fasten. The sand that had fastened was then poured along a long board, also with notches, and water flowed over it as the workers raked it along. Finally, the remaining sand, hopefully containing gold, would be filtered through coarse cloth. The washing process could hardly be done by any single individual, and therefore the practice involved several persons working as a team. According to Alexandru Popovici, an engineer from Brăila, the Rudari teams running the apparatus usually consisted of five persons and could produce 15–20 drams of gold in a month.⁷

⁷ ANIC, fond Visteria, dos. 1633/1843 f. 2.

A different form of mining was by digging with hammers and pickaxes in gallery shafts or pits in the ground or mountainside. Extraction in this way was usually undertaken by piling great quantities of wood against the rock and then setting fire to the wood so that the rock would be heated up to as high a temperature as possible. Then the hot rockface was doused with water causing it to crack and fissure in a process used since antiquity known as "fire-setting". The metal bearing stone was then removed from the rockface and crushed either by hand with hammers or, by instruments powered by watermills. Even this process involved pouring large amounts of water over the crushed ore through a series of wooden tubes and tubs.

Because of the seasonal nature of the mining processes, the Rudari had to be more than just miners and prospectors.⁸ They needed to be good at wood carving, carpentry and the construction of wooden apparatus capable of holding heavy loads and joining together troughs, tubes, tubs and washing boards for leading water and sand in the right direction and separating out gold and silver. They also needed to be efficient foresters to gather the vast amounts of wood that the firing in the shafts and pits demanded. They also needed to know the differences between the various types of wood: which soft-woods were best for carving, which hard-woods were best for constructing the apparatus, which were best for making tubs barrels and wheels, and finally which were best for firing in the pits or converting into charcoal. Considering the different phases of extracting gold, the complicated processes of extracting a pure metal must have employed large numbers of people running, constructing and repairing the apparatus, chopping down trees, drying fire-wood, transporting the wood, crushing the stones, manning the washing-board apparatus and so on. The amount of firewood needed for heating up the rock could be enormous. Probably the whole family could be engaged as women and older children could hammer and crush the stone and control the running of water. Certainly, there would be seasonal changes in the type of work being done: forestry and transport of heavy loads being carried out in winter using sledges drawn by horses or oxen over the snow and frozen rivers and lakes. After the snow melted in late spring water flow would be strong enabling the use of water-power for crushing rock, but high and freezing cold water might hinder accessing the sand along the river banks which later become more accessible to panning or washing during the summer.

8 See Butură 1969 for rural gold mining. The miners made their own equipment from wood, such as sieves, tables, etc.

To carry out this complex work of extraction on any scale it was an advantage if several families could pool their labour in teams and divide tasks according to individual expertise and capability. This sort of cooperation was certainly possible in the large Rudar settlements. The lack of the possibility of collective work and division of labour probably contributed to the poverty of the solitary Rudar households and may have meant that they had to rely on other type of work that could be performed by a single individual, such as carving wooden utensils, such as spindles for yarn or weaving baskets. Only the adult married male head of the household, who paid the special gold-washer tax, was allowed to pan for gold. That excluded widows and unmarried men who instead had to live from woodworking. Woodworking as an alternative to panning for gold therefore probably co-existed throughout history.

For example, in the village with the name Ruda, in Argeş County, in 1838, there were 21 households of State Gypsies classified with the occupation *aurari*, that is, taxpayers to the state. On average each household reared a pair of oxen, probably for pulling a wagon with their wooden wares. Some of the personal names in this village alluded to woodworking: such as several named Pădure 'Wood' (this name was found also in the lists of Rudari belonging to the Cozia Monastery in 1770⁹). Also, the name Tăeraru, probably Tălerariu, was a common occupational name among the Rudari for those who made wooden "talere (plates) on a lathe" (Chelcea 1944a: 100, 1944b: 127). Two widows in Ruda, also classified as Princely Gypsies, made their living by "making spindles and spoons from wood". Probably incorrectly, one of the widows was stated as 70 years old, but she had one son of 15 years of age and one daughter of 18 years. The other widow was said to be 40 years old and had a son of 12 and a daughter of 15. Similarly, in Hârtieşti village in the upland Muscel County, among the 4 households of State Gypsies said to be working as *aurar*, there lived a widow named Rada, 27 years old, with her son aged 6 years, and who lived by spinning yarn. There were no women heads of households classified by occupation as "aurar". Instead, the registers record widows in other ways such as "Ivana Rudăreasă" (Hereşti, Ilfov County), "Neda a lui Dinu Burtea" (Zgaia, Vlaşca County), "Stoica a lui Tudor" (Coeni, Vlaşca County), and so on.

A classic economic problem of any community that worked with extracting metal ore, even precious metals, was the inability to grow enough of their own food and the need to buy it and transport it from outside. The Rudari who extracted gold-flakes and nuggets from riverbank sand lived in mountain valleys unsuited for full-scale agriculture and at any rate had their busiest and

9 ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 376–377v: Pădure al lui Sâmbotin, Pădure al Ioanei, Pădure al Mătuşei Anca, Tudor sin Pădure, Mircea Pădure f. 435: Pădure al Tudorei, etc.

most intense period at the same time as farmers would be sowing their fields. Their locations, however, sometimes allowed domestic animals to graze in the forest and open spaces. Cows, goats and sheep could give milk allowing the production of cheese and other dairy products as well as some meat. However, most, if not all, of the grain had to be brought in from elsewhere, which made it expensive. It was however possible to grow maize in small fields contributing to the one-sided undernourished diet of polenta for which Romanian peasants were famous.

As already mentioned the Rudari were divided into richer and poorer strata and this is reflected in their possession of cultivated land. Table 6 shows the potential of the Rudari to be agriculturally self-sufficient. More than half had no land at all. A very small percentage had something like a farm with sizeable fields, of which probably only half would be cultivated in any year, the other lying fallow. Thus, in general the Rudari were dependent on buying, trading or bartering products or services in order to feed their families. As the gold had to be delivered directly to the Treasury, this meant that marketing handicrafts became an important economic resource.

Table 6 Number and size of the land cultivated by the Rudari in 1838
(Source: ANIC Catagrafia 1838, retrieved from MapRom Database)

Acres of cultivated land	Number of Rudari households	Percentage
0	436	54.5
1	175	21.9
2	122	15.3
3	26	3.3
4	27	3.4
5	2	0.3
6	4	0.5
7	7	0.9
9	1	0.1
Total	800	100

The well-being of the miners also depended on the price for the gold for which the state was the only buyer. Mining communities everywhere faced an economic dilemma. On the one hand, because there were no other buyers the price the state paid for the gold was kept low, but, on the other hand, the Romanian farmers wanted high prices for whatever grain they brought to market. Since

the Crown had a monopoly on the gold, any additional income had come from other skills, as in the case of the Rudari who possessed expertise in woodcarving, making wheels, barrels, tubs and kitchen utensils, making charcoal, and so on, for which the forests supplied near unlimited resources.

The vast majority of Rudari, 86 percent, were legally princely slaves belonging to the Wallachian Crown, according to the 1838 inventory. A further ten percent belonged to monasteries, probably through donations from the rulers, and a relatively small four percent were owned by boyar noblemen. However, this may reflect the lacuna in the archival documentation. The proportion belonging to the monasteries must have been considerably higher as the lists for the county where the Cozia Monastery was located are missing. Still in the counties where lists are available it is possible to find forty-one households living in seven separate locations that belonged to the Cozia Monastery, even though they were quite distant. Table 7 shows the type of owners of the Rudari recorded by the enumerators.

Table 7 The slavery status of the Rudari in Wallachia in 1838
(Source: ANIC Catagrafia 1838, retrieved from MapRom Database)

Slavery status	Number of Rudari households	Percentage
Princely slave	686	85.8%
Monastery slave	80	10.0%
Boyar slave	32	4.0%
Exempt from taxes	1	0.1%
Not yet included ¹⁰	1	0.1%
Total	800	100.0%

Earlier lists done specifically for the Cozia Monastery in 1770 and 1773 enumerated 531 Rudari on three separate documents. While remaining cautious about any changes that might have taken place between 1770 and 1838, it is nonetheless possible that the 41 households, which were declared in 1838, probably made up less than ten percent of all the Rudari that belonged to Cozia.¹¹

10 See Rotaru 2018c about this classification.

11 AINC, Ms. 209, f. 435–436, f. 376–377.

The economic condition of Cozia's 41 Rudari in 1838 was complex. Only 13 of them cultivated any land at all, while the rest were landless. Nearly half, 20 of 41, had apparently long since abandoned gold washing for other occupations, among which most were listed as *Lingurar*, that is spoon-makers. The Colțea Monastery possessed ten Rudar households which all cultivated some land. Five of the households had large orchards varying between 100 to 200 plum trees for the making of alcoholic spirits, which is a good indication of permanent settlement. The Govora Monastery had 24 Rudar households living in four different locations in the Slam Râmnic County. The majority of them possessed some cultivated land but almost none kept domestic animals. One hundred twenty-two Rudari households were registered in 1838 as spoon-makers, 18 belonged to Cozia, all the others were State Gypsies. One can only speculate as to whether the monasteries enabled and encouraged the Rudari to change from gold-washing to other pursuits.

Over time gold reserves became depleted, less productive, or less competitive and thus less economically viable. Our research has led to the discovery that a transition to non-mining work had begun before the census took place, when a sizeable minority had already converted to other ways of earning a living. The 1838 register indicates that thirty percent – and in some places the majority – of the Rudar households had stopped metallurgy and although were still classed by “nationality” as Rudari but were listed as doing different occupation. These occupations usually were one of the by-employments of traditional Rudar life in the forests. 122 households specialised in carving spoons and other household utensils, 24 made wooden tubs, barrels, tubes and troughs, 5 were carpenters, 5 made sieves, 3 were woodsmen. In some places, all of the Rudari had already abandoned the extraction of gold. For example, the large Rudari settlement of Lapoșul Nou village in Săcueni County, were all identified as Rudari by nationality, but by occupation were named as spoon-makers. In other places Rudari could do work that was different from both mining and woodworking. There were 11 Rudari brickmakers in Miroslăvești village in Dâmbovița County and there were scattered domestic servants, musicians, ploughmen, and day-labourers designated as Rudari. We conclude that by this time the term Rudari had been established as an ethnic marker, detached from metallurgy.

The various professional occupations recorded for the Rudari are shown in Table 8. Although 70 percent were still mentioned as “rudar” or gold-panners, nearly one third had other occupations. Nearly 20 percent worked in skills related to woodwork.

Table 8 The Rudari occupations in Wallachia in 1838
(Source: ANIC Catagrafia 1838, retrieved from MapRom Database)

Occupation	Number of Rudari householders	Percent
Rudar	388	48.5
Gold-panner	175	21.9
Spoon-maker	122	15.3
No mention	34	4.3
Tub maker	24	3.0
Brickmaker	13	1.6
Ploughman	7	0.9
Lăutar	7	0.9
Sieve maker	5	0.6
Carpenter	5	0.6
Blacksmith	4	0.5
Wood man	3	0.4
Spinner	3	0.4
Vătaf/headman	2	0.3
Domestic servant	2	0.3
Day labourer	2	0.3
Begger	1	0.1
Butcher	1	0.1
Cobza player	1	0.1
Drum player	1	0.1
Total	800	100

8.3 Țigani as Gold-Washers

The population register of 1838 included 52 households that were classified by occupation as *aurari*, but by nationality were designated Țigani rather than Rudari. They were found in only three counties: one household in Dâmbovița county; 34 households in four villages of Argeș county, and 18 in four villages of Muscel county. These were also counties in which a large number of persons named as Rudari lived, so it is unlikely that there was confusion over ethnicity on the part of the registrars. The largest non-Rudari settlements were the

villages of Ruda (with 20 *aurar* households) and Budești (with 12 *aurar*) in the Topolog sub-district of Argeș County. All these households belonged to the Crown.

As far as economic resources are concerned, 26 of the 52 or half of the non-Rudar gold-washers possessed one or two acres on which they grew maize, as shown in table 9. These gold-washer households were relatively poorer than that of the Rudari.

Table 9 Number of the land cultivated by the Țigan gold-washers in 1838
(Source: ANIC Catagrafia 1838, retrieved from MapRom Database)

Acres of land cultivated	Number of households
0	26
1	4
2	18
3	4
Total	52

Five households had at least one horse, 22 had oxen, while 20 kept cows. But none had vineyards or orchards. Judging by the economic data in the register these *aurari* were considerably poorer than the richest Rudari households in terms of land, animals and orchards. But they were in general much better off than the spoon-makers.

There is the possibility that this small gold-washer group should have been classified as Rudari but were written down as Țigani. They lived in the same sub-Carpathian region, they had the same gold-panning way of life, they had the same type of princely owners and, in contrast to the average Țigani, they did possess land and animals. However, it is also possible that these persons did not or could not identify themselves as Rudari and were perceived as a separate collective. It is possible that some were attempting to break away from the Rudari community altogether. The 1838 population register gives some evidence leading in this direction. For instance, in the village of Jupânești in Muscel County there was a single household registered simply as a Țigan gold-panner living among 9 others that were classified as Țigan but giving each the additional nickname of "Rudaru". This locality is referred by Prince Demidoff as a centre for gold panning (1853: 195–196). A century later, the ethnographer

Chelcea found in Jupânești a colony of 20 households identified as Rudari. Similar households identified as Țigan, but nicknamed Rudaru, turned up in the village of Davidești in Muscel. In the village of Piscani in Muscel there were 32 households classed as *țigani rudar al statului* (Gypsy Rudar belonging to the state), as were two similarly classified households in Țițești in the same county. The sizeable and prosperous settlement Vulcana de Jos, Dâmbovița County, had State Gypsies, designated with the occupation *rudar aurar*. The mixing of households classified as Rudar or Țigan can indicate either confusion on the level of the census enumerators, or that the two ethnicities co-existed, or, even, that the ethnic boundaries themselves were fuzzy.

8.4 The Lingurari

In modern times the Rudari are mostly carvers of wooden household utensils and are spread throughout the Balkan countries. By 1838 the transformation to woodcarving was quite significant. According to the register there are a total of 169 Gypsy households that were by occupation classified as spoon-makers, in Romanian language *lingurar*. This was not at that time employed as an ethnic identification which would appear in the “nationality” column, but rather had been entered in the column for occupation. Of these households 122 (72 per cent) were by nationality Rudari and 47 others were simply classified as Țigan (Gypsy). This gives one more indication that the census-takers were aware of an ethnic difference between Rudar and Gypsy. The 122 Rudar nationality spoon-makers made up 15 percent of all Rudari. Thus, the modern equation of spoon-makers with Rudari was on-going but far from complete. Table 10 shows the geographic distribution of the spoon-makers.

Table 10 The size of Lingurari settlements in 1838 Wallachia, by localities
(Source: ANIC Catagrafia 1838, retrieved from MapRom Database)

County	Sub-district	Locality	Rudar	Țigan	Total
Săcueni	Plasa Dinspre Buzău	Lapoșul Nou	58	0	58
Buzău	Pârscov	Măgura	38	0	38
Argeș	Pitești	Borlești	0	16	16
Buzău	Sărata	Grăjdana	0	10	10

Table 10 The size of Lingurari settlements in 1838 Wallachia, by localities (*cont.*)

County	Sub-district	Locality	Rudar	Țigan	Total
Slam Râmnic	Râmnic	Dănulești	9	0	9
Slam Râmnic	Râmnic	Biceștii de Jos	8	0	8
Slam Râmnic	Râmnicul de Sus	Dedulești	0	8	8
Ilfov	Snagov	Ciocănari	0	6	6
Buzău	Pârscov	Unguriu	6	0	6
Slam Râmnic	Grădiștea	Șuțești	2	2	4
Argeș	Topolog	Ruda	0	2	2
Slam Râmnic	Râmnic	Buda	0	2	2
Buzău	Sărata	Cândeștii de Jos	0	1	1
Slam Râmnic	Râmnicul de Sus	Răducești	1	0	1
Total			122	47	169

The spoon-maker families resided in only 14 villages, of which 6 were in the historic county of Slam Râmnic as well as 4 in Buzău, 2 in Argeș and one each in Săcueni and Ilfov counties. Those who were identified as Rudari lived mainly in Buzău (44), Slam Râmnic (20) and Săcueni (58) counties – basically in Wallachia's northeast, which was the likely geographic centre for the wood-working Rudari. In these three counties the shift to woodworking was very strong and from 28 to 37 percent of all Rudari were listed as spoon-makers. In the village of Lapoșul Nou, 59 families lived, all of whom were Rudari spoon-makers, and in the village of Măgura there were 38 Rudar spoon-makers. As to those spoon-makers designated Țigan, 16 families lived in the villages of Borlești and 10 lived in Grăjdana, which were both located near other villages populated by Rudar spoon-makers. Such a concentration of wood-working families in the same geographic area indicates that the local markets for spoon-makers would be insufficient, and they would need to leave their villages to sell or barter their wares at markets in villages further afield, perhaps needing to travel long distances and rotate between marketplaces. Logically, they would have little time for agriculture and besides only a handful possessed land, as shown in the tables 11 and 12.

Table 11 Number of the land cultivated by the Rudari spoon-makers in 1838
(Source: ANIC Catagrafia 1838, retrieved from MapRom Database)

Acres of land cultivated	Number of households
0	109
1	9
2	2
3	1
7	1
Total	122

Table 12 Number of the land cultivated by the Țigan spoon-makers in 1838
(Source: ANIC Catagrafia 1838, retrieved from MapRom Database)

Acres of land cultivated	Number of households
0	32
1	7
2	5
3	3
Total	47

Some had domestic draft animals necessary for travelling with many items to distant markets. Twenty-two Rudar spoon-maker families in Lapoșul Nou kept a pair of oxen, probably for pulling wagons. Only eleven percent of the Rudar spoon-makers cultivated land, with the usual extent being around one acre. A larger number of Țigan spoon-makers cultivated land (28 percent of them), and the average holding was larger than for the Rudari. The richest spoon-maker was seventy-year-old Călin Tudor a Rudar of Măgura village whose household cultivated 7 acres of land and kept 3 horses, 4 oxen, 6 cows, 20 goats, and 10 pigs.

The largest number of Rudar spoon-makers belonged to the state, while those in Slam Râmnic were the slaves of Cozia Monastery (15 families) or the Govora Monastery (3 families), as shown in table 13.

Table 13 The slavery status of the Rudari spoon-makers in Wallachia in 1838
(Source: ANIC Catagrafia 1838, retrieved from MapRom Database)

Slavery status	Number of households
Boyar slave	2
Monastery slave	18
Princely slave	102
Total	122

Most Țigan spoon-makers belonged to the state, and only three had boyar noble owners, while a further six were free tax-payers, as shown in table 14.

Table 14 The slavery status of the Țigan spoon-makers in Wallachia in 1838
(Source: ANIC Catagrafia 1838, retrieved from MapRom Database)

Slavery status	Number of households
Boyar slave	3
Monastery slave	10
Princely slave	28
Tax payer	6
Total	47

The Rudar spoon-makers gave the impression of undergoing a process of proletarianization or having been forced out of gold-washing communities. No longer working with the prestigious gathering of gold, they turned to making wooden utensils and tools. They had few resources and had to sell all their produce at markets.

8.5 The Zlătari

One of the hypotheses of this research was to investigate the possibility that the group designated *Zlătari*, that is jewellers and goldsmiths, as opposed to gold washers, in the 1838 register were in some way related to the Rudari. Could it be that they were originally part of the gold extracting Rudar community,

but later came to specialise themselves in crafting artisanal objects out of gold instead?¹² However, none of the Rudar households so classified by nationality had been designated as *zlătar* by occupation.

The 1838 register preserved in the National Archive gives data for 96 households classified as *Zlătar* in the counties of Wallachia. However, this excludes the large goldsmith community living inside the city of Bucharest (Poissoniere 1885: 62), which was not included in our data-collection. These families were so wealthy that they managed to build their own church and have their own residential quarter. Hence, our information only pertains to the rural or provincial jeweller families. They were legally *rob* slaves, but in contrast to the Rudari, who overwhelmingly (84 percent) belonged to the Wallachian state, the *Zlătari* to an even greater extent (95 percent) were the slaves of a handful of boyar nobles, as shown in table 15.

Table 15 The slavery status of the *Zlătari* in Wallachia in 1838
(Source: ANIC Catagrafia 1838, retrieved from MapRom Database)

Slavery status	Number of households
Boyar slave	91
Monastery slave	3
Princely slave	1
Tax payer	1
Total	96

This is a significant difference, since the state was relatively lenient towards the Rudari, while noblemen were more controlling. It is possible that the large number of goldworkers and jewellers belonging to the nobility were employed in making luxury items such as personal jewellery or religious objects for churches and chapels patronised by the nobility. This would mean that the *Zlătari* were often in direct contact with the boyars and lived near them. They probably played no part in the extraction of the metals with which they worked, but had it supplied by the boyars.

12 In the fifteenth century the *zlatari* miners of southern Serbia were used for casting the typefaces in the first Montenegrin printing house and were known for using various metals or alloys for that purpose (Nemirovski 1996: 156).

Some of the boyar owners are named in the register. Several were well-known and powerful aristocrats such as Alecu Ghica who owned one Zlătar household, Grigore Cantacuzino who owned nine and Mihai Filipescu who owned six. However, the largest number of Zlătar slave households, 22, belonged to a minor noble of no political importance, named Costache Niculescu who even lived together with his slaves in the town of Râmnicu Sărat.

Compared with the numerous Rudar families, those of the Zlătari were not just fewer in number, they lived in very different places, scattered in Wallachia's southern Danubian counties, far from the more northern gold-bearing mountain streams. In close proximity to vibrant Bucharest there were 37 Zlătar households in the surrounding Ilfov County and 24 in near-by Vlaşca County. Near to the second-largest Wallachian city of Craiova there were 9 Zlătar households. There was, however, an exception in the form of 22 boyar-*rob* Zlătar families which were settled in the small town of Râmnicu Sărat in the north-eastern county of Slam Râmnic, near the growing towns of Buzău and Brăila. This was a county with only ten Rudar settlements, so it is possible that this group might have emerged from the gold-washers. Another sign that they might have once been Rudari is that the Zlătar were living mixed with some families registered as Rudar. However, this is the only settlement in the 1838 register in which Zlătari and Rudari co-resided.

All told in 1838, there were 19 settlements with Zlătar households. Most of them, 11, were small and consisted only of a single family. The exception again was Râmnicu Sărat with 22 households, as well as the important villages Ciocăneşti with 17 and Buciumeni with 12, the latter two of which are in Ilfov County just outside Bucharest. Ciocăneşti was owned by the aristocratic Ghica family and Buciumeni by the politically important Stirbey family. The large concentrations of goldsmiths in these places could possibly be enterprises selling to a range of urban consumers for the benefit of their owners. Today they are integrated into Romani society and speak the Romani language. It is probably the case that they were never part of the Rudari community.

Compared to the Rudari, the Zlătari households possessed fewer resources and appear to have been poverty-stricken. The overwhelming majority (90 percent) had no agricultural land, while 54 percent of the Rudari did. The few Zlătari that did possess land had at the most two acres, while many Rudari had more than two acres. A few who were classified by nationality as Zlătari had other metal-working occupations that had nothing to do with gold – such as being a coppersmith or blacksmith – metallurgists, smelters rather than goldsmiths. However, none of the Zlătari was registered as working with wood. Table 16 shows the rare land cultivation in the Zlătari community.

Table 16 Number of the land cultivated by the Zlătari in 1838
(Source: ANIC Catagrafia 1838, retrieved from MapRom Database)

Acres of land cultivated	Number of households
0	86
1	8
2	2
Total	96

Judging by their socio-economic profile, it seems unlikely that the Zlătari were closely related to the Rudari in 1838, although this does not rule out that they may have shared a common past far back in time. Basically, Rudari and Zlătari lived in separate settlements and in different geographic regions, had different access to natural resources, and as rob slaves they belonged to completely different types of owners. If there was a transition from Rudari to Zlătari it must have gone through several stages: 1) an occupational change from gold-washer to goldworker (metallurgist, smelter) and/or to goldsmith (metalworker, jeweller) 2) a legal change from state ownership to boyar private ownership, 3) a geographic change away from the sub-Carpathian Mountain region to the Wallachian flat-land. Each of these stages would have taken time. Probably the key factor would have been the change in ownership to the boyar aristocracy.

8.6 Further Divisions of the Rudari

The process of transition of the gold-washers to the wood-workers as Rudari, and Lingurari was on-going in 1838. The division deepened in the second half of the nineteenth century when Rudari ethnic identity unconnected with gold-washing is further crystalized.

In 1878 the scholar Barbu Constantinescu travelled through Walachia and Moldavia to collect among other things, information on Romani folklore. He observed and copied some statistics gathered by local administrations which are partially preserved¹³ (Rotaru 2018a: 48–51). In the Beleți village, Argeș County, the Țigani and the Rudari had been registered on separate lists. All the 17 families of Rudari nationality were born in the village, but only one was listed as being Rudar by occupation while the rest worked as wheelwrights. Forty years

13 See Ms. BAR 3923.

earlier, in 1838, in Beleți the population inventory listed 8 households of *Țigani domnești* (Princely Gypsies), paying taxes to the state, with Rudar as occupation, who were rearing each a cow and a pair of oxen (Rotaru 2018b: 40–41). In Vizurești village, Dâmbovița County, Constantinescu recorded a song from one Gypsy but noted that the rest of the villagers were Rudari. At this time, the Rudari were basically sedentary, and they made small domestic wooden objects. A few made larger and more complicated ploughs and wagons. There were some Rudari communities which practiced semi-nomadism, and from October to March encamped in villages, living next to the local Romani people (Rotaru 2018b: 43–44). Most of the Zlătari that Constantinescu encountered were itinerant and made rings and knives. However, some had other occupations which they had in common with other Romani groups, such as blacksmith, *lăutari*, and brickmakers. Constantinescu recorded several *zlatarisko* songs, some with an original content, mainly from itinerant informants: Ilie Căldăraru found in Bucharest, one Vătafu Marin who wandered from Moldavia to Oltenia, and a Zlătar from Ilfov (who made rings and earrings and was also a blacksmith), and two from Bucharest, Radu Dan and Costache Sandu Zlătaru (Rotaru 2016). The peculiarity of their language resembled those of the itinerant *Căldărari*.

Conclusions

This study evolved out of a research project that investigated census-like population registers completed in Wallachia in 1838, now in the Romanian national archives. These lists were very detailed and gave the names and ages of all household members and proceeded to indicate both their “nationality”, that is to say ethnicity and their main occupation. The registers also included economic data such as the amount of land cultivated and the crops grown, as well as how many horses, oxen, sheep, goats and pigs were kept, if there were beehives, the size of orchards, what fruit trees were tended and how large were the vineyards, etc. The lists were made for each village by local officials. A few of the lists are missing, but the archived material covers most of Wallachia. An article based on the analysis of more than 12,000 households classified as Țigan has been published concerning the living conditions of “Gypsy” slaves (Gaunt and Rotaru 2021).

Studying the preserved registers revealed 800 households classified as *rudar*. Because the modern Rudari have been the object of much research and speculation, we decided to undertake this separate study on these households to see if the register could cast further light on the development of this group. There are many reasons why the Rudari have attracted researchers. Although considered by their neighbours as marginalized outsiders, mainly because of their lifestyle, which has meant they have been constantly treated as part of the Romani or Gypsy ethnic community, most Rudari reject the Romani identity and for this they give many reasons. Particularly, those Rudari interviewed in Romania by linguists and ethnographers during the twentieth century, do not speak Romani *čhib* but rather an archaic variety of the Romanian language. Also, the very name Rudar is an older Slavic term for miner, even though at present they work mostly with wood. Hence, it is possible to interpret them as a case of the fluidity of socio-professional identities coupled with flexible ethnic identity. Our research expanded in order to gain increased knowledge about this group: when and where did the Rudari change from extracting precious metals along Wallachia’s sub-Carpathian rivers into carving wood throughout the Balkan countries? How did this community maintain self-identification as Rudar despite no longer prospecting for gold? When, where and indeed did they ever begin to distance themselves from the Romani community? When did they begin to migrate out of Wallachia?

Ethnologists, folklorists, linguists, and social anthropologists have dominated studies of modern Rudari and they describe various aspects of groups of wood-carving people who have cultural traits that mix elements taken from

many different ethnicities and religions. The bulk of modern ethnographic studies have been made about Rudari groups who live outside Romania in other Balkan countries and who make wooden household utensils and speak Romanian language. Most of them insist on not being Gypsies or Roms¹. The informants who have been interviewed give widely differing narratives about their origins, but many relate a legend of descent from the ancient Dacians. Few ethnographic studies have investigated Rudari communities actually living inside Romania.

Our investigation led us back in time, using as many Romanian historical sources as possible. Our hypothesis, based on evidence indicated by linguistic research, was that the Rudari originated in Wallachia and that they later spread to other Balkan and Central European regions. A constant migration of Rudari to Transylvania is evident from the onomastics. Samuel Köleséri junior, inspector of mines in Transylvanian in 1692, mentioned a locality named Ruda where gold was panned. During the same period, naturalist Grisellini referred to the village Rudăria on Almăj river (Grisellini 1984: 301). The Hapsburg conscriptions of nomadic tax-payer Gypsies mention Stoica Rudaru (1744, 1749, 1752, (as Sztojka Rudály in 1753), 1756, and 1785), Rudar/Rudan Mucsindu (1761, 1781, 1785) (Zsupos 1996). A few Rudari would return to Wallachia, as shown in the case of one Rudar lumberjack, Toader sin Ioniță Lezpezeanu, a boyar slave belonging to the aristocratic family Brâncoveanu, and who is recorded in 1828 as having returned from Austria.

The sources used here were difficult to subject to normal historical source criticism. Comparison with other statistics proved impossible. The population and economic resource register completed in 1838 was a solitary occasion. There are very few contemporaneous documents to compare it with. We have presented a source critical examination (Gaunt and Rotaru 2021) and shown some categories of Gypsies were excluded from registration, for instance the so called “Turkish Gypsies” (Rotaru 2021). However, some useful older documents concerning the Rudari are in the archive of the medieval Cozia Monastery, also deposited in the Romanian national archive. Most useful for our purposes are two volumes of transcripts copied in the second half of the eighteenth century. The monastery delivered these to the prince of Wallachia when asking confirmation for all previous privileges and donations of property and slaves given by the Wallachian princes. Some of these documents concern a dispute over who actually “owns” the Rudari and who controls the collection of their taxes paid in gold. These documents are difficult to examine source critically,

1 See for instance Sorescu-Marinković 2011: 10–24 and for a hazy identification with the Gypsies see Marushiakova and Popov 2021: 37–73.

since the original privileges and donations, some of them dating from the fourteenth century, have not been preserved, and we therefore only have the version supplied by the monks. Also, in the dispute over “ownership” of collecting the Rudari tax, no protest written by the Rudari or their representative has been found, so their side of the story has to be filtered through Cozia’s interpretation.

Investigation of the Cozia Monastery archive reveals much concerning the history of the Rudari. Many documents show that for a long time the monastery was considered responsible for “all” Rudari in Wallachia. In 1388, prince Mircea the Elder donated 300 Țigani households to the monastery. This was one of the first ever mentions of Țigani in a Romanian territory. Wallachia had recently emerged as a principality after defending itself in a long series of wars with its neighbours and nomadic invasions. By the late fourteenth century, it achieved stable territorial boundaries, an unchallenged dynastic succession in the Basarab family and it established an orderly chancellery and taxation, and a system of military defence. Cozia situated in the Vâlcea County along the Olt River began being built in 1388. It is unclear whether the Țigani donated that year were intended to move to the monastery and help with its construction, which is unlikely, or if the donation merely concerned the delivery to the monastery the money of 300 Țigani’s taxes, which is more likely given conditions at the time. The document gives no indication where the donated families were living, who was their leader, who was their previous owner, and this gives a possible indication that it was not the physical persons but rather the tax money that was donated to the amount that 300 households would be expected to pay. Gold dust and flakes washed out from sand deposited along the riverbanks was one of the few domestic economic resources of medieval Wallachia, which was sparsely populated by pastoralists. The fourteenth century was an era of general economic boom throughout the Mediterranean region, thereby giving all supplies of gold and silver an increased value. This continued even after, in the mid-fifteenth century, Wallachia became a semi-independent vassal-state subjected to the Ottoman Sultan and committed to paying an annual tribute.

Other medieval documents transcribed by Cozia’s monks indicate that the original donated Țigani were working as gold prospectors, gold-panners and gold-washers along Wallachia’s rivers. Further the monastery had the right to appoint *vătafs* (headmen) to collect their taxes. Throughout the Middle Ages they had been identified by the Romanian language term *aurari*. However, in the sixteenth century there was a change, and the Wallachian gold prospectors began to be called Rudari. This was a Slavic term used in Serbia and Bosnia for the miners working in gold and silver mines. The Serbian *rudar* miners were famous for their self-governing regulations, inspired by German models. It has

not been possible to determine if the transition from *aurari* to *rudari* reflected other changes to the gold prospecting community. It might be that the legal framework of the Wallachian institution of slavery was itself changing, from a loose sort of “ownership” over the product of the slave’s labour to a tighter control over the slave’s person, who, in being a “Țigan”, was becoming equal to being a slave.

The issue of slave “ownership” came to a head in the eighteenth century when Hapsburg Austria defeated the Ottomans and was in 1718 granted Oltenia, the western part of Wallachia, which was kept until 1739. This was the province in which Cozia was located and it also included some of the richest gold sand reserves worked by the Rudari. In contrast to Wallachia, the Austrians did not have a legal institution of slavery and it was in a period marked by political enlightened despotism. This meant that Cozia’s claim to ownership over the Rudari as slaves was not recognised. The gold prospectors were treated as freemen for the two decades that the Austrian occupation lasted. Austria had renewed control over Oltenia in 1769–74.

The Austrians began a process of economic modernisation and placed great importance on mining, which resulted in some expert geological surveys of mineral resources, which sometimes included descriptions of gold-washing methods and living conditions. Two major changes took place during this time. The first was that the Rudari became free from the constrictions of Wallachian legal slavery and the second was that Cozia was no longer recognised as the receiver/owner of their taxes. Instead, their taxes were paid to the Imperial Treasury. Inside of the Hapsburg Empire, they were free to move away from Oltenia and particularly to regions that had been devastated and depopulated during the Austrian-Ottoman wars. Thus, they could and did settle in Banat, Bačka, Slavonia and Croatia, particularly in the southernmost districts that formed part of the Austrian military frontier (now parts of Hungary, Serbia and Croatia), where the need for re-population was acute, and officials encouraged movement in by all sorts of ethnicities and new settlers had privileges and benefits. These were places where the newcomers found washing river sand for gold not possible, but there were many forests available for those skilled at carving wood. Another direction of migration of the Rudari was eastwards to Moldavia. There is explicit mention of the migration of the Rudari here by 1792.² They enjoyed the status of Princely Gypsies, a status different from being slaves to the monastery or to private owners.³

² See doc. nr. 32 in the Appendix.

³ See doc. nr. 33 in the Appendix.

Thus, in the eighteenth century the Rudari experienced the liberty associated with being reclassified as State Gypsies. This might have helped their group identification and dissociation from the “Țigan” community which implied the bondage of slavery.

At about the same time the Austrian administration tried to stop migration northwards and set up the well-known signs prohibiting entry into Austrian territory proper and made entry for Gypsies punishable by death. Those Gypsies who already lived inside the Austro-Hungarian core territory were subjected to a series of restrictions aimed at destroying their culture – language and clothing became forbidden; children were taken from families to be brought up as Austrians – in an effort to make them “useful” to the state. Thus, it became risky to self-identify as Gypsy. The Rudari who lived in Wallachia’s eastern province of Muntenia were unaffected by emancipatory impulses coming from Austria. But as Cozia was in occupied territory it was unclear how the monastery could exercise its still-legal control and receive the taxes collected inside Wallachia.

The Rudari experience of living in the Austrian Empire is part of the background to their conflict with the Cozia Monastery. After Oltenia was returned to Wallachia, the monastery was eager to resume its control over gold extraction and tax collection. The two archive volumes containing a selection of privileges and donations is part of its campaign to regain its “ownership”. Almost without exception previous Wallachian rulers on their coronation had confirmed previous donations to Cozia and its privileges. Now the monks made the claim that the 1388 act of donation meant that the 300 Țigan households given then were “inalienable property”. Hereby, one can suspect a change of meaning in what slave “ownership” in Wallachia meant from a loose control through appropriation of taxes, to that of chattel slavery permitting harsh discipline and personal inherited servitude. The Rudari contested this “inalienable property” interpretation as not applicable to them, given that they were not *țigani*. In fact, the Rudari had already made this ethnic/legal distinction in the seventeenth century, with the Austrian experience only reinforcing these separatist feelings. By the start of the nineteenth century, Cozia was no longer the sole legal owner, but ownership was shared with the state in the form the State Treasury collecting taxes, and then paying an amount to the monastery.

In 1838, in the aftermath of a Russian occupation that re-organised Wallachia, an inventory was made of its population and its taxable economic resources. Typically for its time it demanded details on ethnicity or nationality. Studying this enormous multi-volume inventory resulted in information on more than 12,000 households classified as Țigani with nearly 50,000 inhabitants. It also revealed 800 households of the Rudari practicing various occupations and

belonging to various types of owners: 173 (21,6%) were gold-washers and belonged to the state, while 122 (15,3%) were spoon-makers and belonged to the state for the greatest part (102) and the rest to the Cozia Monastery (18), while only two were registered as being owned by the boyars.

The Rudari were not the only ones to prospect for gold. The 1838 census registered also 52 Țigani households who practiced gold-washing in the rivers, and who belonged to the state. A small group of 47 households were registered as Țigani spoon-makers, belonging for the greatest part to the state (28), the rest belonging to monasteries (10), private owners (3) and 6 of them were free taxpayers.

Thus, overwhelmingly, the gold-washer Rudari and Țigani were registered as belonging to the state, and so was the majority of the Rudari who had converted to spoon carving and the Țigani spoon makers. Only a few Rudari and Țigani spoon-makers were still in the hands of monasteries, among others Cozia. The cases of private ownership over these two categories were very rare.

Geographically the gold-washer Rudari and Țigani lived in large or medium-sized communities along certain rivers and tributaries flowing down from the Carpathian Mountains. Very few Rudari lived in the Wallachian plains, and those that did were, of necessity, engaged in occupations other than panning for gold. The large communities enabled the Rudari to work in large teams tending complicated wooden apparatus for washing and cleaning the sand.

However, the same 1838 inventory shows that the Rudari were in a process of transforming into making a living from carving wood, carpentry, making wheels and so on. This had previously been a side-line of making gold-washing tools and apparatus, but now evolved into the main source of income. While gold-washing was confined to certain bends in rivers, wood working could be done in many places where forests gave suitable wood. Wood carvers also needed to be mobile in order to peddle their wares door-to-door or in market towns and fairs.

The two ways of making a Rudari living split the communities and polarised them. In 1838 more than 300 of the 800 Rudari households no longer panned for gold. They had a large range of occupations, but the majority were making products out of wood. The gold-washer Rudari appear in the inventory as relatively rich by Wallachian standards. They possessed land, sometimes sizeable areas of which were cultivated; they could also have many animals, and a few had orchards. This indicated permanent settlement. In contrast, the wood-carvers with few exceptions are relatively poor; few had land and those who did, had also small holdings, few animals and hardly ever orchards. It might be possible to see them as having been marginalised out of Rudari society and proletarianized. One of our early hypotheses was that the group registered in

the inventory as *zlătari* (metallurgists and/or goldsmiths) could have been an off-shoot from the gold-washer communities. This seems not to have been the case. In contrast to the gold-washers they were very poor and lived in the Wallachian plains as solitary households or in small groups. They belonged to only a handful of boyar noblemen, some of whom were extremely powerful. There was no evidence that the *Zlătari* goldworkers and the goldsmiths had any relation to the Rudari. If there ever had been it must have been far back in time before the transfer to boyar ownership and their movement into southern Wallachia.

Two special investigations of other groups listed in 1838 have been made. One of *Lingurari* spoon-makers and the other of *Țigani* who were attributed the occupation of gold-washers. The aim was to see if there were any connections to the Rudari. This connection seemed to hold in both cases. Like the Rudari, the spoon-makers could in some instances live in very large communities and possess land and animals. Their settlements were located similar places as the gold-washers. One could see that the most prosperous spoon-maker communities were grouped in deeply forested areas close to the town of Buzău in north-eastern Wallachia. This may be the cradle of Rudari woodworking. In the case of just over 50 households of "Gypsies" being gold-panners, one can see certain similarities with the Rudari in the form of settlement patterns, occupation and economic resources. The census-takers seem to have recognised ethnic distinctions, since some villages are recorded as containing both Rudari and *Țigani* among the gold-washers.

The decline in alluvial gold forced people to find new ways of earning a living and new places to live. By the end of the nineteenth century the Rudari in Wallachia made the transition for which they are now known: working with wood. They are now dispersed throughout the world. Not just to the former Austrian military frontier region, but far and wide. Our investigation cannot answer all questions about the origins of the Rudari, but one can indicate somewhat better the chronology of various transitions of occupation, legal status and self-identification. What one finds is a fluidity of ethnicity marked by migration and multiple ways of making a living, together with a solidity marked by keeping the name Rudari despite forgetting their gold prospecting past.

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Appendix

1–29: Official Documents of the Voivodal Chancellery Regarding the Rudari from the Cozia Monastery Registers

1.

1388<6896>, May 20

Mircea cel Bătrân donates and confirms to Cozia Monastery several villages, estates, ponds, Rumâni and 300 Gypsy families (*sălașe*)

[...] I, My Highness, still add a *mertic* (food ratio of 1–2 kg) from the Court of My Highness, every year 220 buckets of wheat, ten barrels of wine, ten bags of soft cheese and twenty of hard cheese, ten buckets of honey and ten pieces of wax, twelve pieces of felt and 300 Gypsy families (*sălașe de țigani*). [...]

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 25v; Ms. 712, f. 244v–245; DRH B, doc. 9, 1966: 25–28. In Ms. 209, the document represents a translation into Romanian, f. 25–26, “the chapter of the estate of Călimănești” and resumed at f. 137, the chapter “the estate of Jiblea”, where there are unimportant differences of translation: *am adaug* ‘I added’= *am miluit* ‘I granted’; *burduf=foi* ‘bags’, *aba=postav* ‘felt’, but the most important change refers to the number of Gypsy families, namely 50 *sălașe* instead of 300 *sălașe*. In Ms. 712, the Slavonic version of the document is given.

Testimonia of this document:

f. 435: “The Rudar Gypsies (*țiganii rudari*) who are inalienable property (*ohabnici*) of the holy monastery of Cozia. These are since they were given as slaves (*robi*) under the rule of the holy monastery by the founder of the holy monastery, I, Io Mircea Voivode, and because they knew the craft of prospecting gold in the rivers, they paid their tax to the monastery according to the figures established by the abbot. Similarly, the abbot appointed a *vătaf* (headman) for them. The gold which they collected was taken to the Treasury and they were paid in money, and they paid their tax to the monastery as I said. And in the days of the late Io Mihai Racoviță Voivode, His Highness decided through His Highness’s charter, that the holy monastery should receive from Ocna Mare 600 thalers and exemption from payment of the “Princely Horse tax”. And His Highness, Io Grigore Ghica Voivode, decided through a charter that the holy monastery should receive from the Rudar Gypsies one thaler from each married man, and he gave to the monastery 533 <thalers> recorded in the princely register.”

f. 587: "And the Rudari, as many as live in the country, all belong to the monastery through the authority of many princely charters; they pay their tax to the Treasury, and now His Highness Voivode Grigore has been merciful to restore to the monastery the right to collect each year one thaler for each household (*sălaş*)."

2.

1620 <7129>, September 20

Gavril Movilă confirms Cozia Monastery's right to tax Gypsies who are under the title charter

By the will of God, I, Io Gavril Movilă¹, Voivode and Ruler of all Ungrovlachia, son of the great and worthy, the late Io Simion Movilă Voivode, I have given My Highness's Decision <that> the abbot and the monks of the holy monastery of Cozia, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, be empowered through this charter of My Highness to defend the Gypsies belonging to the holy monastery of Cozia who reside in the small monastery in Râmnic City which is subordinate to Cozia Monastery, and other Gypsies, as many as they would reside in other places, either blacksmiths, Rudari, or any other craftsmen who belong to the holy monastery, all to be <left> in peace and independent by the mine-superintendent (*cămăraş*) of Ocna Mare² and by all the officers of My Highness, with the obligation to work only for the necessities of the holy monastery. The mine-superintendents of Ocna Mare <have the right> to coordinate only the Gypsies who work in the Mine, and it is <forbidden> to subordinate others. Also, those <Gypsies> who work <in the salt mine>, should be paid in money (*să li se plătească cu bani*).

Therefore, you, the mine-superintendents of Ocna Mare, when you see this charter of My Highness, and you, the mine-superintendents who will be appointed this year, must identify the Gypsies of the holy monastery <of Cozia> who work in the Mine, and take from their salary the tax for a year, 300 *bani* for each Gypsy, which you shall give to the holy monastery, as was the custom before. And if the monks again complain about you taking the Gypsies' money, you will have a great punishment from My Highness.

DIR B, Veacul XVII, vol. III, doc. 523

ANIC, Ms. 209, fl. 77; Ms. 712

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- 1 Gavril Movilă was the son of Voivode Simion Movilă and Margherita, with the Polish name Melania Zolkiewska; his paternal grandmother was Maria, the daughter of Voivode Petru Rareş. He had brothers Moise Movilă twice ruler in Moldova and Petru Movilă/Moghila, Metropolitan of Kiev, author of the fundamental work of international outreach *The Orthodox Confession*. He was twice ruler in Wallachia: August 1616- to September 1616, and July 1618 to July 1620.
 - 2 Lit., Big Mine. A locality in Vâlcea County, Oltenia region.

3.

1630<7138>, January 13³**Leon Tomşa confirms Cozia Monastery's right to tax Gypsies who are under the title charter**

By the will of God, I, Io Leon Tomşa⁴, Voivode and Ruler of all the Land of Ungrovlachia, son of the great and worthy, the late Io Ştefan Tomşa Voivode, have given My Highness's Decision that Abbot Ioanichie of the holy monastery of Cozia, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and the monks be empowered through this charter of My Highness and through My Highness's servant (*sluga*), namely <...>, to collect taxes from the Gypsies of the monastery who are Rudari, from the tax-payers (*globnici*) and from all the Gypsies of the monastery as was the custom before, and that no one obstruct them. Father Abbot Ioanichie has come before My Highness and complained about the Rudar Gypsies belonging to the monastery who do not want to obey and to pay the tax according to the law.

Therefore, you, the officers (*armaşi*)⁵ who ride with the Rudari, when you see My Highness's charter and My Highness's servant referred to above, should leave the Rudari to pay their taxes. Since I, My Highness, have seen also the charter issued by Voivode Alexandru⁶, I have also issued My Highness's charter, that none may face any hindrance. And whoever does not obey the provisions of My Highness's Decision, that man will suffer great punishment from My Highness.

DRH B XXIII, doc. 16

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 71; Ms. 712, f. 411

3 On January 13, 1630, Voivode Leon Tomşa signed five charters, two of which are for Cozia Monastery, doc. 15 and 16 in DRH B. In the former, the ruler of the country confirms Cozia Monastery's rights over the villages of Sudenita and Frăsinetul in Romanaţi County, together with their Rumâns (serfs), and Abbot Dionisie is mentioned, while in the latter, regarding the Rudar Gypsies, Abbot Ioanichie is mentioned.

4 Leon Tomşa, voivode of Wallachia from December 1629 to July 1632. He was born in Constantinople. His father, Ştefan Tomşa, was voivode in Moldavia (1559), where his brother Ştefan Tomşa II also ruled. He was married to Lady Victoria and had a son Radu Leon, who was voivode in Wallachia. The date and place of his death are unknown.

5 "Administrative and judicial manager in charge of guarding prisons, executing corporal punishments and carrying out death sentences". (DLR s.v.)

6 Alexandru Ilieş ruled twice in Wallachia: 1616–1618; 1628–1629. His father, Ilie, was the son of Alexandru Lăpuşneanu.

4.

1632<7141>, October 3

Matei Basarab confirms Cozia monastery's right to tax Gypsies who are under the title charter

By the will of God, I, Io Matei Voivode and Ruler of all Walachia⁷, the nephew of the worthy and honourable, the late Voivode Basarab⁸, My Highness, have decided that all the Gypsies of the holy monastery of Cozia, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, those who reside near the holy monastery, and those who live in the small monastery in Râmnic City, which is subordinate to Cozia Monastery, are to be <left> in peace and independent by all the Rudar Gypsies; the Gypsies of the monastery may not face any hindrance from the Rudari.

Also, to be <left> in peace and independent by the <mine-superintendents> of Ocna Mare. The Rudari who have been registered in the monastery's registry for a long time (*rudarii înscriși în condica mănăstirii de mult timp*) are an exception, but as for the others, any interference is forbidden, because I, My Highness, have left them in peace and exonerated them, as they were <left> in peace and independent by all other Rulers; since My Highness has seen the charter of Voivode Radu, the charter of Voivode Gavril, the charter of Voivode Alexandru Ilieș and the charter of Voivode Leon. In the same way, My Highness has exonerated them and renewed their charters through this charter, by negotiation as written above.

Also, Father Abbot <along> with the servant of My Highness is empowered to fetch any Gypsy of the monastery who lives among the Rudari, to bring him to the monastery and to beat him greatly as a slave of the monastery (*ca pe un rob al mănăstirii*). And whoever does not obey the provisions of My Highness's Decision, that man will suffer great punishment from My Highness.

DRH B, XXIII, doc. 420

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 77v; Ms. 712, f. 422v–423

7 Matei Basarab, ruler of Wallachia from October 1632 to April 1654. Born in 1580, in the village of Brâncoveni and died, in April 1654, in Târgoviște, buried in the Arnota monastery. He was married to Elina Năsturel Herescu.

8 Neagoe Basarab, ruler of Wallachia from February 1512 to September 15, 1521.

5.

1659<7167>, January 12

Mihnea III confirms Cozia Monastery's right to tax Gypsies who are under the title charter

By the will of God, I, Io Mihail Radu Voivode and Ruler of all Wallachia⁹, and <arch-duke of the adjoining lands>, the son of the great and worthy, the late Radu Mihnea, I have given My Highness's Decision to the abbot of Cozia, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, to be empowered through My Highness's order and <along> with the servant of My Highness <...>, to compel all the Rudari of the monastery to pay their taxes, as they previously paid. Let none violate the provisions of the Decision because this is the command of My Highness.

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 336, Ms. 712

6.

1660<7168>, March 24

Gheorghe Ghica confirms Cozia Monastery's right to tax Gypsies who are under the title charter

By the will of God, I, Io Gheorghe Ghica¹⁰, Voivod and Ruler of all the Land of Ungrovlachia, I have given My Highness's Decision to Abbot Theodosie of the holy monastery of Cozia, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, to be empowered through this charter of My Highness to impose the tax payment on all Gypsies of the monastery, on the Rudari and on the salt-miners (*ciocănași*) who cut salt at Ocnele Mari, together with all other Gypsies of the monastery, as was the custom before. Let no one go against the provisions of My Highness's charter. March 24, 1660.

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 336; Ms. 712

9 Mihnea III or Mihail Radu, son of the voivode Radu Mihnea, was ruler in Wallachia between March 1658 and November 1659.

10 Gheorghe Ghica, born on March 3, 1600, in Veles, was ruler in Wallachia between November 20, 1659 and September 1, 1660. From his second marriage to Smaranda he had a child, Grigore, referred in the following documents in the Appendix. Gheorghe Ghica died in 1664, in Constantinople.

7.

1662<7150>, January 10

Grigore Ghica confirms Cozia Monastery's right to tax Gypsies who are under the title charter

By the will of God, I, Io Grigore Ghica¹¹, Voivode and Ruler of the all Land of Ungrovlachia, son of the great and worthy Gheorghe Ghica Voivode, have given My Highness's Decision to Abbot Theodosie of the holy monastery of Cozia, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, to be empowered through My Highness's charter to enforce the tax payment on the Gypsies of the monastery who are Rudari and to the Gypsies who are salt-miners (*ciocănași*), as it was paid before. Let no one go against the provisions of My Highness's charter.

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 336–336v; Ms. 712

8.

1670<7178>, October 7

Antonie Vodă from Popești confirms Cozia Monastery's existing right to tax the Rudari, and grants the right to establish three tax categories and to appoint a *vătaf* (headman) for the Rudari

By the will of God, I, Io Antonie¹², Voivode and Ruler of all Wallachia, have given My Highness's Decision to the holy monastery of Cozia, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, to Father Abbot Theodor and to the whole community of the holy monastery, to be empowered through this charter of My Highness:

- to tax all the Rudar Gypsies who belong to the holy monastery of Cozia;
- to organize three taxable categories of Rudari:

I: 3 *ughi*¹³ (three *ughi*);

II: 1.5 *ughi* (one *ughi* and a half) for those [who are] poorer;

III: 1 *ughi* (one *ughi*), for those who are even poorer;

11 Grigore Ghica was ruler in Wallachia twice: September 1, 1660, to November 1664; February 1672 to November 1673. He was married to Maria, and they had a son, Matei, who lived between 1664–1708.

12 Voivode Antonie from Popești was the son of an important merchant, Mihail from Târgșor, nicknamed Mihail Grecul, raised to noble rank by Mihai Viteazul. His niece, Maria (Marica), was the wife of Voivode Constantin Brâncoveanu.

13 an old Austrian golden coin.

– to appoint as *vătaf* (headman) for the Rudari, any <person they consider capable>, because these Rudar Gypsies belong to the holy monastery of Cozia, previously donated and gifted by other honourable and deceased Rulers.

So, although <the Rudari> work at [panning] gold (*lucrează la aur*) for the benefit of My Highness, My Highness pays them, for which reason My Highness is entitled to give to the holy monastery of Cozia and to Father Abbot Theodor, together with the entire community of the holy monastery, the right to tax the Rudari, to appoint the *vătafs* of the Rudari and to compel <the Rudari > to pay taxes to the holy monastery, according to custom. Let no one go against the provisions of the decision, because I, My Highness, add to and confirm the donations to the holy monastery and I do not lessen them, that there may be eternal commemoration for My Highness and for the deceased parents of My Highness.

Witnesses: Pan Mareş grand *ban*; Cralenschi and Pan Radu Popescu grand *vornic*; pan Radu Creţulescu grand *logofăt*; pan Şerban Cantacuzino grand *pitar*; Pan Hrizea grand *vistier*; Pan Gheorghe Gheaţă grand *chelar*, Pan Gheorghe grand *paharnic*; Mihail Cantacuzino grand *postelnic*; Tudoran grand *pitar* and Radu Năsturel grand *logofăt*. The registrar Olănescu wrote [this], in Bucharest, October 7178.

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 336v-337; Ms. 712

9.

1679<7>, November 11

Şerban Cantacuzino confirms Cozia Monastery's existing rights regarding the Rudari

By the will of God, I, Io Şerban Voivode¹⁴ and Ruler of all Wallachia, have given My Highness's Decision to the holy monastery of Cozia, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, to Father Abbot Theodor and to all the monks of the holy monastery, to be empowered through this charter of My Highness to tax all the Rudar Gypsies who belong to the holy monastery of Cozia, to organise them into three tax categories, of three *ughi*, and the poorest of one *ughi* and a half, and those who are below them, to give one *ughi*.

14 Şerban Cantacuzino, the son of the *postelnic* Constantin Cantacuzino and of Elina, the daughter of the voivode Radu Şerban, was ruler in Wallachia between 1678 and 1688.

Let the abbot have the right to appoint as *vătaf* (headman) of the Rudari whomsoever he wishes, because these Rudar Gypsies belong to the holy monastery referred to above, long before donated and gifted by other deceased Rulers.

So, although <the Rudari> work at [panning] gold for the sake of My Highness, My Highness pays them (*Domnia Mea îi platește*), for which My Highness has empowered the holy monastery of Cozia, Father Abbot Theodor and all the monks of the holy monastery with the right to tax, to appoint *vătafs* of the Rudari and to collect the taxes due to the holy monastery from the Rudari, as per the custom. Let no one go against the provisions of this Decision, because I, My Highness, have seen also Antonie Vodă's charter and other older princely charters about the custom mentioned above.

Inasmuch as My Highness adds to and confirms the donations to the holy monastery and I do not lessen them, My Highness empowers the holy monastery of Cozia with the rights to have authority over the Rudar Gypsies, to appoint the *vătafs*, to tax and collect the taxes, according to the custom and right of the Holy House (*Sfânta Casă*), that there may be eternal commemoration for My Highness and for the deceased parents of My Highness.

Witnesses: Jupan Neagoe grand *ban*; Badea grand *vornic*; Radu grand *logofăt*; Hristea grand *vistier*; Vintilă grand *spatar*; Coruian grand *clucer*; Barbu grand *paharnic*; Stoian grand *postelnic*; Dumitrașco grand *comis*; Alexander grand *stolnic*. the registrar Badea Vlădescu wrote [this], in Bucharest, November 11, 1788 (1679).

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 337v-338; Ms. 712

10.

1679<7>, November 12

Șerban Cantacuzino empowers the Chief of Police to impose the payment of the tax on the Rudari of Cozia Monastery

By the will of God, I, Io Șerban Voivode and Ruler of all Wallachia, have given my Decision to My Highness's servant, namely the grand *armaș* (chief of police) to be empowered through this charter of My Highness to compel the *vătafs* of the Rudari and all the Rudari to pay the tax to the holy monastery of Cozia, as is the custom, three and a half *ughî* per year. Because time has passed, and they have not taken care to pay their tax, now let My Highness's servant who is referred to above be fully empowered to compel them to pay their tax as per the custom, willingly or against their will. Let no one resist since this is the command of My Highness. November 12, 1788.

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 338-338v; Ms. 712

11.

1689<7197>, January 5

Constantin Brâncoveanu confirms Cozia Monastery's rights regarding the Rudari

By the will of God, I, Io Constantin Basarab¹⁵, Voivode and Ruler of all Wallachia, have given My Highness's Decision to the holy monastery of Cozia, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, to Father Abbot Gligorie and all the monks of the holy monastery, to be empowered through this charter of My Highness, to tax all the Rudar Gypsies who belong to the holy monastery of Cozia and to organize them in three categories of taxation:

I: 3 *ughi* (three *ughi*);II: 1.5 *ughi* (one and a half *ughi*), for those who are poor;III: 0.5 *ughi* (half *ughi*), for those who are even poorer.

The Father Abbot is also empowered to appoint as *vătafs* of the Rudari (*vătafi de rudari*) whomsoever he wishes, because these Rudar Gypsies belong to the holy monastery of Cozia, long before donated and gifted by other deceased Rulers. Since they work at (panning) gold for the benefit of My Highness, My Highness pays them, as a result of which I, My Highness, have also given to the holy monastery of Cozia, to Father Gligorie the abbot, and all the monks of the holy monastery, the right to tax them, to appoint *vătafs* for them, and to collect the taxes of the holy monastery from them, as per the custom. Let no one go against the provisions of this Decision.

I, My Highness, add to and confirm the donations of the holy monastery, I do not diminish them, that there may be eternal commemoration for My Highness and for the deceased parents of My Highness. Written in Bucharest, January 5, 7197.

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 338v–339; Ms. 712, f. 413–413v.

12.

1705<7213>, April 20

Constantin Brâncoveanu instructs an officer to put a stop to damage caused to Cozia Monastery by the Rudari

By the will of God, I, Io Constantin Basarab, Voivode and Ruler of all Wallachia, am writing to you, the officer who watches over the Rudari, to you, the *vătafs* of Rudari, and to all the Rudari, and by this My Highness lets you know that Father Serafim, abbot

15 Constantin Brâncoveanu, was born in the village of Brâncoveni, in 1654, the son of the *postelnic* Papa (Matei) Brâncoveanu and Sultana Cantacuzino, the sister of the voivodes Șerban and Ștefan Cantacuzino. He was ruler in Wallachia between 1688 and 1714. He was married to Marica, the niece of the voivode Antonie Vodă from Popești.

of the holy monastery of Cozia, has proved how you let your animals feed on the monastery estates, which is why My Highness commands you that when you shall see My Highness's charter, be careful with the monastery estates, do not let the animals to grass on them, causing in this way damage and losses to the monastery.

Also, know that if I receive any further complaint from the abbot that you continue to cause damage to the monastery, you will have a great punishment and it will not be good.

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 344–344v; Ms. 712

13.

1716<7224>, April 11

Nicolae Alexandru Mavrocordat orders the *ispravnic* (overseer) of Rudari to compile a census of them and separately a census of the *Lăieși* Gypsies belonging to Cozia Monastery

By the will of God, My Highness, Io Nicolae Alexandru <Mavrocordat>¹⁶, Voivode and Ruler of all Wallachia, writes to you, who are overseer over the Rudar Gypsies and through this, My Highness lets you know that, here, in front of My Highness, Father Ghenadie, abbot of Cozia Monastery, has complained that he used to tax directly the Rudar Gypsies who belonged to Cozia Monastery, but some time ago, Constantin Brâncoveanu decided that the salt mine of Ocna Mare should ensure to Cozia Monastery the payment of the total amount of the Rudari's tax, of 100 (one hundred) *bani*, the amount transferred to Cozia Monastery by the Treasury (*Cămara Domnească*, lit. 'Princely Chamber').

Now, the Father Abbot says that the Rudar Gypsies have multiplied, both the Rudari and the *Lăieși* who have mingled among the Rudari. For these reasons, behold! My Highness commands you, together with the representative of the monastery, to

16 Nicolae Mavrocordat was the first foreign ruler imposed by the Ottoman Empire in Wallachia. He inaugurated the Phanariot era in the history of Romania, named after the Fanar district of Constantinople, the district where the representatives of Greek families lived among whom future tulers were recruited. They succeeded to the throne of Wallachia in the period 1716–1821. Nicolae Mavrocordat was born on May 3, 1680, in Constantinople. His father, the great *dragoman* Alexandru Mavrocordat Exaporitul, was particularly concerned with the child's education. His Latin teacher was the Jesuit Jacques Piperi, and French teacher Aubry de la Montrage. In Wallachia he learned the Romanian language. He died in 1730, suffering from the plague, in Bucharest. One of his works, *On Duties*, was published in London.

register all the Rudari, as many households (*sălaş*) as there are, as well as the *Lăieși* mixed with the Rudari. To register them all and to send a register with the Rudari and another, separately, with the *Lăieși*, so that My Highness will see how many they are. Also, My Highness orders you to register them all with their real number and not to go with falsifications of figures, because My Highness will send you back to make a second census, and if it is found that you have falsified the data, you will be severely punished by My Highness.

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 344v, Ms. 712

14.

1726<7227>, January 13

Ioan Alexandru Mavrocordat empowers the *vătaf* (headman) of the Rudari belonging to Cozia Monastery to collect the tax from all Gypsies, regardless of their domicile

By the will of God, Io Ioan Alexandru Mavrocordat¹⁷, Voivode and Ruler of all Wallachia, My Highness writes to you <who are> appointed by the Father Abbot as *vătaf* for the Gypsies of Cozia Monastery who live and feed themselves in My Highness's land and pay their tax to this monastery, to be empowered through this charter of My Highness to gather them no matter where they are subordinated, inside princely or boyar or monastery *țigănias*, or among the Rudari, and to organize them under your subordination, so that each one pays his tax as per the custom into the hand of the *vătaf*, who must then bring the collected sum to the holy monastery which is referred to above, as a servant of the monastery (*om al mănăstirii*). Let no one go against these provisions.

Therefore, I command you, tax payers (*globnic*) who are living inside the boyar or monastery *țigănias*, wherever Gypsies of the holy monastery can be settled, to immediately notify the *vătaf* and not to cause them (sic) any difficulty, no matter what motives may exist, because whoever goes against the provisions of My Highness's order and would cause them any trouble, you should know that against such people, I, My Highness, will send to bring them in manacles and they will receive great punishment, because that is My Highness's order.

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 344v; Ms. 712

17 Brother of Nicolae Mavrocordat. He was ruler in Wallachia between 1716 and 1719.

15.

1734, June 5

The administration of Craiova City confirms Cozia Monastery's right to tax the salt-cutter Gypsies (*măglași*), the salt cutters of Ocna Mare, and the Rudari

The Charter of the Administration of Craiova City for the Rudar Gypsies and salt cutters of Ocna Mare

Because His Excellency, the Director General Commander and our most high Director, Count Devale, has decided, and the new Imperial Administration has given a decision regarding the salt-cutter Gypsies (*țigani măglași*) and those who cut salt at Ocna Mare, and also regarding the Rudar Gypsies who collect the Imperial gold, who are Gypsies of the holy monastery of Cozia (*care țigani sunt ai sfintei mănăstiri Cozia*), and from whom, previously, in the time of the Voivodes, the monastery used to take the tax (*dajdia*), which each paid according to his power, but since our Most Merciful Emperor took this Romanian country this side of the River Olt under the merciful rule of His Highness, as well as these Gypsies referred to above to the Imperial Treasury (*Chesariceasca Cămara*), and the property (*cuprinsul*) under his possession for cutting salt and for gold panning, and did not let them pay the tax to the monastery as per the custom, but what was their tax they took also to the Treasury (*cea ce a fost birul lor l-au luat tot la Cămara*).

For this above-mentioned reason, His Excellency the Director, has decided, since they do service and are useful for the Treasury, that the monastery, which is their owner, should get from them the due tax.

More importantly, the decision of the Excellent Imperial Court is valid until another order, that the monastery should keep its privileges stated in this merciful decision. We, the Imperial Administration (*Chesariceasca Administrație*), issue this charter to the holy monastery, to enable it to take from those Gypsies the tax that is due from the past time when it stopped taking the tax until now, and from now on, forever.

ANIC, Ms. 712, f. 419v–420.

16.

1741, October 20

Mihai Racoviță confirm Cozia Monastery's rights regarding the Rudari

By the will of God, I, Io Mihai Racoviță¹⁸, Voivode and Ruler of all Wallachia, have given My Highness's Decision <to> the holy and godly monastery of Cozia, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and to Father Abbot Ghenadie, by which I empower the holy monastery with the right to have authority over all the Rudar Gypsies who work at <panning> gold, because after the dismembering of the country when the Austrians occupied the region of Oltenia [and held it] under their control, some of the Rudari remained in the country, and the others from across the [River] Olt [remained] in Oltenia. Those who remained in the country were subordinated to the Crown, as the Crown's workers and gave the princely gold (*aurul domnesc*) according to custom, since Cozia Monastery was under the rule of the Germans. Meanwhile, those in Oltenia were subordinated by the Germans to the newly created institution, the Imperial Treasury (*Cămara Împărătească*), with the status of Princely Gypsies (*țigani domnești*). For these reasons, because the Rudar Gypsies had long before been donated to the monastery by the late Rulers, the Father Abbot made many attempts until he managed to change their subordination to the Imperial Treasury and managed to take his tax from them. For the collected gold they were paid by the Treasury in money, as was the custom before, and an agreement (*așezământ*, lit. 'settlement') was made according to which the monastery was given the amount of money equivalent to the value of the tax on the Rudari.

But now, since the country has been made whole again by <re>unification with Oltenia, and the abbot has seen that he is not receiving the money from the Crown, he has made a complaint to My Highness, and he has set down the situation in detail in writing.

For these reasons, I, My Highness, have investigated, firstly, whether the monastery was empowered to tax the Rudar Gypsies and, secondly, whether all the Rudar Gypsies belonged to Cozia monastery, gifted by princely charters. In this way, we have been persuaded and convinced from other charters issued by other deceased Rulers, and especially from the charter of the late Voivode Constantin Brâncoveanu, that all the Rudar Gypsies who work at <panning> gold belonged to Cozia monastery, and inasmuch as

18 Mihai Racoviță was a country boyar related to the Cantacuzino family. He was born around 1660 and died in 1744 in Constantinople. He was married twice. His first wife was Safta Cantemir, daughter of Constantin Cantemir and sister of Dimitrie Cantemir, and his second wife was Ana Dediu, daughter of mine superintendent Dediu Codreanu. From the two marriages resulted seven children. He was ruler three times in Moldavia and twice in Wallachia, from October 17, 1730 to October 24, 1731 and from September 1741 to July 1744.

the monastery was endowed with Rudar Gypsies, the latter were taxed by the monastery. As for the money taken by the monastery from <the Princely Treasury>, <representing> the value of the Gypsies' tax, since the Gypsies gave the gold to the Crown, and in the charters it was not written how much was paid for a *dram*, the real value of the tax could not be known; some said they were paid one *leu* (silver coin) for each *dram*, [while] others said they were paid more.

It happened that Mr Constantin, former grand *șetrar*, the son of the late Petru Obedeanu who, during the reign of the late Constantin Brâncoveanu long held the position of Chief of Police (*armaș mare*) until that Ruler was deposed, stood before My Highness and confessed that, although the princely charters establish that the abbot should take his tax from the Gypsies, nevertheless, there was always disorganization regarding the procedure for collecting the princely gold, for which reason the monastery could not receive the real value of the tax from the Rudari. In these conditions, His Highness, Constantin Brâncoveanu made an agreement with the monks of Cozia Monastery, that the monastery should receive from the Crown 300 ducats (*galbeni*) per year, the equivalent of 500 thalers and for the Princely Horse tax 150 thalers, that is 650 thalers in total.

Now, My Highness has shown kindness and decided that the monastery should receive from the mine superintendent of Ocna Mare 650 thalers a year and, apart from this money, the monastery should be exempt from the tax for the Princely Horse.

My Highness decides, by this charter of My Highness, that from now on, the Crown should receive from each Rudar 3 grams of gold, and the gold that is additional to the compulsory amount due to the Crown, if it is for sale, should be paid for at 200 *bani* for a *dram*, as was the custom before. On St Demetrius's Day (October 26), the monastery must receive 650 thalers from the mine-superintendent of Ocna Mare, the whole amount, without any delay and without any resistance, and [the monastery] will be exempt from the Princely Horse tax. When the value of this tax is collected and when the abbot appoints a *vătaf* for the Rudari, that *vătaf* must also be under the authority of the Chief Police Commander in order to collect the princely gold under the conditions established and written above.

Likewise, when it happens that any of the Rudar Gypsies commits any more serious crime and inasmuch as, at present, such persons are sanctioned excessively by the *ispravnic* of Rudari and by their *vătaf*, so that it causes their complete impoverishment and thus they can no longer achieve the quota established for the princely gold, while others migrate to other countries due to the injustices encountered, My Highness has decided that *ispravnic*s of Rudari or their *vătaf*s should no longer have the right

to impose sanctions on these Rudari. They will notify the abbot, and the abbot must investigate and judge the crime, and the sanction will be established only according to the gravity of the crime. Judgments in contempt of the truth and according to the whim of the *ispravnic*s of Rudari and their *vătafs* are forbidden.

As far as the work of extracting the princely gold and the value of the tax is concerned, the monastery has no right to interfere with the Gypsies. They must have complete freedom so that they can work without any hindrance.

With regard to the exchanges of male or female Gypsies (*țigani sau țigănci*) made or to be made as a result of marriages concluded regardless of the <type of> *țigania*, whether belonging to a monastery or a boyar, the abbot has the obligation to ensure that those exchanges are not sold by the *ispravnic*s of Rudari or by the *vătafs* of the *Rudari*; and wherever the abbot finds them, he will take them into the possession of the monastery. The same will apply in the case of exchanges among the Rudari, so that for their exchanges, either between Rudari or with other *țigănia*s of the monastery, they will be defended <by the abbot> in the face of those who would take the exchange, because thus My Highness has truly and rightly decided.

I have confirmed this charter in the Council of the honourable and faithful great boyars of My Highness's Divan: witnesses: *jupan* Iordache Crețulescu, grand *vornic*; *jupan* Constandin Dudescu, grand *logofăt*; *jupan* Andronache, grand *ban*; *jupan* Manolache grand *spătar*; *jupan* Grigorie Greceanu, grand treasurer; Barbu Văcărescu, grand *clucer*; Ștefan Dudescu, grand *paharnic*; *jupan* Iordache, grand *postelnic*; Radu Crețulescu, Iordache, grand *comis*; Constandin Notariul, grand *serdar*; Vasilache, grand *sluger*; Drăghici Greceanu, grand *pitar*, Constandin Corbean, grand *șetrar*, and *ispravnic* Dumitrașco Racoviță, *logofăt*.

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 340–342.

17.

1741<7250>, October 28

Mihai Racoviță invites Father Ghenadie, abbot of Cozia Monastery, to Bucharest, for a trial with Rudari

By the will of God, I, Io Mihai Racoviță, Voivode and Ruler of Wallachia, wish you, pious abbot of Cozia Monastery, Kir Ghenadie, health. I, My Highness, inform you about the Rudar Gypsies who, after the notification made by My Highness according to which they were given in the possession of the monastery, now, all the Gypsies have come, and they claim that they do not belong to the monastery but are Princely Gypsies.

My Highness writes to you that as soon as you receive this charter of My Highness, to proceed to leave all other business you might have and to rise up and come here, taking with you the princely charters with which you must prove that these Gypsies are the monastery's, because you will be face to face with them. Certainly, try to come an hour earlier because the Gypsies will not leave until you come. This [I had to say] and be healthy!

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 339v–340; Ms. 712

18.

1741, November 20

Mihai Racoviță renews Cozia Monastery's rights of property over the Rudari

By the will of God, I, Io Mihai Racoviță, Voivode and Ruler of all Wallachia, have issued the decision of My Highness to the holy monastery of Cozia and to his holiness the abbot Kir Ghenadie, as well as to the father monks of this holy monastery, to be empowered through this charter of My Highness over the Rudar Gypsies who live on the land of my country, as they were given in the past by the charter of My Highness to be in the property and under the authority of the holy monastery, in good peace and unchanged forever, being longstanding and inalienable slaves (*robi*) of the holy monastery.

Thus that the holy monastery may possess them without change, because the great boyars have also proved to us that they [i.e. Rudari, n.a.] are from their forefathers and for life *robi* of the holy monastery, but especially the charters of the deceased Rulers and especially of the late Constantin Voda Brâncoveanu, charter which provides and gives the right to the abbot of Cozia Monastery to establish their tax and to appoint *vătafș* for them, according to the old custom. After these good discoveries, I, My Highness, also ruled that they should belong to the holy monastery (*și Domnia Mea i-am dat ca să fie ai sfintei mănăstiri*), but the Rudar Gypsies protested through complaints and shouts of discontent against the holy monastery, formulating the accusation that they are not Gypsies of Cozia Monastery (*că nu ar fi țigani ai mănăstirii Cozia*); for which reason I, My Highness, ordered Father Ghenadie, the bishop of Cozia Monastery, to come to the Divan with his charters; and he stood with them in front of the Divan, before My Highness, and in the same way I, My Highness, understood that they are longstanding and lifetime slaves (*robi*) of the monastery (*că sunt vechi și pe viață robi ai mănăstirii*). But because the Rudar Gypsies provide gold to the Treasury (lit. Princely Chamber), and other deceased Rulers gave the holy monastery cash (*bani gata*) from the Treasury, similarly I, My Highness, have renewed this custom of the monastery to receive money from the Treasury, as the charter specifies in detail.

Thus, since the Rudar Gypsies remain before My Highness for ruling and judgement, I have issued to the holy monastery this charter of My Highness to confirm <its ownership> and rule, and that henceforth it should own them forever, without change (*spre întărirea și stăpânirea lor și de acum înainte să-i stăpânească în veci nestrămutat*).

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 245v-246; Ms. 712

19.

1742, January 12

Mihai Racoviță confirms Cozia Monastery's right to collect the tax from the Rudar Gypsies

By the will of God, I, Io Mihai Racoviță, Voivode and Ruler of all Wallachia, I have given My Highness' Decision to Cozia Monastery, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and to the archimandrite abbot, Father Genadie, and all the community of the holy monastery, to empower them through this charter of My Highness, with the right to tax all the Rudar Gypsies who belong to the holy monastery, to organize them in three categories: of 3 *ughi* (three *ughi*), of 1.5 *ughi* (one and a half *ughi*) the poorer, and of 0.5 *ughi* (half *ughi*) the poorest. Also, the abbot should have the right to appoint as *vătaf* of the Rudari whomsoever he wishes, because these Rudar Gypsies belong to the holy monastery referred to above, long ago donated and gifted by other honourable deceased Rulers. Therefore, My Highness has given the right to the holy and godly monastery of Cozia, to the abbot, the archimandrite Ghenadie and all the community of the holy monastery, to tax, to appoint the *vătafs* of the Rudari and to collect the taxes, as it is the old custom (*vechiul obicei*). No one has the right to oppose, because My Highness adds to and confirms the donations of the holy monastery and does not lessen them, so that they may be eternal commemoration for My Highness and for the deceased parents of My Highness, as My Highness has seen the charters of the other Rulers.

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 339–339v.

20.

1742<72> July 7

Mihai Racoviță confirms Cozia Monastery's right to collect the tax from the Rudar Gypsies

By the will of God, I, Io Mihai Racoviță, Voivode and Ruler of all Wallachia, notify the servant of My Highness, the *ispravnic* of Rudari, as My Highness has issued this charter to empower the authority of the holy monastery over the Rudari whom it owns with documents (*pe care îi are cu documente*); yet, the Rudari are not to work at anything

for the monastery, but they will pay their tax without any opposition, and will work at [panning for] gold as is the custom and they will be paid in money (*și li se va plăti cu bani*).

This I command you!

However, the value of their tax must be as it is written in the charter, and <the monastery> is not entitled to take a single a penny more from them (*să nu fie liber să le ia un ban*), because they work at [panning for] the princely gold. The monastery does not have the right to take a higher tax from them, but only what is written in the charter, and they are to work without fail at [panning for] the princely gold, and they will be paid for the gold in money (*și li se va plăti aurul cu bani*) as was the custom before.

Thus you should do!

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 345–345v; Ms. 712

21.

1749<72>, October 9,

Grigore Ghica II confirms Cozia Monastery's rights regarding the Rudari

By the will of God, I, Io Grigorie Ghica Voivod¹⁹ and Ruler of all Wallachia, the Rulers and the overseers to whom is entrusted authority over the country and the diocese have the undeniable duty to remember and correct the things that were done with much devotion by the past Rulers, for the holy abodes of God, that they may not be diminished, including those donated by the past Rulers to the holy monastery of Cozia, dedicated to the Holy Trinity. From the complaint of the abbot of this monastery, Kir Rafail, My Highness has understood that all Rudar Gypsies belong to this monastery, being long ago donated and gifted by other deceased Rulers.

I, My Highness, have seen a charter of the late Voivode Antonie from 7178 (1670), another of the deceased Voivode Șerban Cantacuzino, from 7188 (1679) and another charter of the late Voivode Constantin Brâncoveanu from 7196 (1689), which certify

19 Grigore Ghica II was the son of Matei Ghica, son of Grigore I Ghica, and Ruxandra, daughter of Alexandru Exaporitul Mavrocordat, sister of voivodes Nicolae and Ioan Mavrocordat and aunt of voivode Constantin Nicolae Mavrocordat. In Wallachia, he was twice voivode: April 16, 1733, to November 27, 1735; April 1748 to September 3, 1752, and in Moldavia four times. He was replaced in Moldavia and Wallachia, alternatively, with his wife's nephew, Constantin Mavrocordat.

and empower the abbot of the monastery with the right to tax the Rudar Gypsies, who belong to the holy monastery of Cozia, organizing them into three categories, of 3 *ughi* (three *ughi*), 2 *ughi* (two *ughi*), and 1 *ughi* (one *ughi*), to appoint *vătafs* for the Rudari and to collect the tax. It is written in the charters that these Rudar Gypsies belong to Cozia Monastery, undeniably from old days, donated and given by other deceased Rulers and, although they worked at <panning> gold (*lucrau la aur*) for the benefit of the Crown, the Crown paid them in those times (*Domnia le plătea în acele vremi*). They have also shown to My Highness a charter of His Highness Voivode Mihai Racoviță, from 7250 (1742), which includes His Highness's investigation on these Rudari based on the testimony of the former Grand *Stolnic*, Constantin Obedeanu, who held the position of grand *șetrar* during the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu, the son of Pătru Obedeanu, Chief Police Commander during the reign of the late Constantin Voda Brâncoveanu. In front of the Divan of the Country, Constantin Obedeanu confessed that he knew what was written in the Rulers' charters and that the abbot of Cozia had been empowered to tax the Rudar Gypsies, but there was great confusion because the Rudari were taxed both by the princely officers for gold and by the monastery's people for taxes (*mare dezordine întrucât rudarii erau impozitati atât de slujitorii domnești pentru aur, cât și de oamenii mănăstirești pentru taxe*).

Thus, there were always unclear situations regarding the princely gold, and in its turn the monastery could not collect the taxes in full (*nu putea să încaseze în întregime taxele*). Therefore, the late Voivode Constantin Brâncoveanu made an agreement with the monks of Cozia Monastery, through which he empowered the Treasury to annually transfer 500 thalers to the monastery and he exempted the monastery from the "Horse Tax" worth 150 thalers, as was the custom in that time. Likewise, Voivode Mihail Racoviță issued a charter through which the holy monastery received 650 thalers annually from the mine-superintendents of Ocna Mare, on St Demetrius's Day. However, the monastery received this money only during the reign of Voivode Mihail Racoviță, and after his replacement, it could not take anything from the mine-superintendents of Ocna Mare and has remained at a loss until now. Also, My Highness, God permitting me a second reign in the ancestral Seat of the Crown of Wallachia, and understanding such issue, and trusting that the Rudar Gypsies indeed belonged to Cozia Monastery, and that from them <there is> no income and no benefit (*care de la dânșii niciun venit și niciun folos*), I, My Highness, could not allow the monastery to remain at a loss from the tax (*dajdia*) due by those Gypsies, so I, My Highness, decided to ordain that the monastery should take that money (*acei bani*) either from the Treasury (lit. Princely Chamber) or from the mine-superintendents of Ocna; but if it should happen from any circumstances, that the monastery is not able to take it, it follows that the monastery will remain at loss by that money, not being able to take it in time every year.

Secondly, <I thought> that in future times one may omit to consider those Gypsies as if they belonged to Cozia Monastery, and that they will remain only Princely Gypsies (*De-a două, că după vremile viitoare poate să se și părăsească a se mai numi acei țigani cum că sunt ai mănăstirii Cozia și vor rămânea de tot numai domnești*).

But, in order to consider those Gypsies as belonging to Cozia Monastery as well (*pentru că să se numească acei țigani și ai mănăstirii Cozia*), as they were found by My Highness's investigation from the charters of the previous Rulers, I, My Highness, commanded the Treasury Registry to be searched and 433 *linde* (people) of households (*sălașe*) of Rudar Gypsies were found, under the authority of this *vătaf*-ship (*vătășie*), for which I, My Highness, considered that the abbot of Cozia Monastery should put his *vătafs* over the Rudari and as inalienable Gypsies who belong to this monastery to take the tax (*dajdia*) from them every year unfaillingly: one thaler per household per year, but half of this money on St Demetrius's Day, and half on St George's Day.

But those *vătafs* of the Rudar Gypsies must also be under the authority of the Chief of Police, since, for some time, it has been an old custom for these Rudar Gypsies to give gold to the Crown. So I, My Highness, found them under the rule of the Crown, and likewise I, My Highness, also decided that annually, the Gypsies should hand over the due gold to the Crown. And I, My Highness, took mercy through this charter of My Highness, for the monastery to annually collect the tax from these Gypsies, as My Highness ordained above, and to appoint *vătafs* to collect the money on timeto be useful to the holy monastery, and to its dear monks and to the whole community of the monastery for food and for administration. From now on, those Rudar Gypsies should always give to the monastery the tax that is referred to above, as slaves bound for life (*robi ohabnici*) of the monastery, as I, My Highness, have confirmed with the names of the Rudar Gypsies in the register which I sent to Cozia Monastery. I have confirmed this charter in the Council of the honourable and faithful great boyars of My Highness's Divan, *Jupan* Grigore Greceanu grand *vornic*; *Jupan* Constantin Dudescu, grand *spătar*; *Jupan* Ianache Hrisoscoleu, grand *logofăt*; *Jupan* Barbu Vacarescu, grand *vistier*; *Jupan* Nicolae Ruset, grand *postelnic*; *Jupan* Ștefan Vacarescu, grand *clucer*; *Jupan* Toma Gulianul, grand *paharnic*; *Jupan* Grigorie Topliceanu, grand *stolnic*; *Jupan* Grigorașco Ghica, grand *comis*; *Jupan* Drăghici Greceanu, grand *medelnicer*; *Jupan* Stavro, grand *pitar*; *Ispravnic* Constantin Brâncoveanu, grand *logofăt*.

And this charter was written in the second year of the Reign, the second reign of My Highness, here in Wallachia, by Popa Florea, teacher at the Slavonian Princely School, in the year since the creation of the world, 7258, October 9.

22.

1757 (7265), April 8,

Constantin Nicolae Mavrocordat reconfirms Cozia Monastery's right to tax the Rudari

By the will of God, I, Io Constantin Nicolae Mavrocordat²⁰, Voivode and Ruler of all Wallachia, have given My Highness's Decision to empower the holy and godly monastery of Cozia, in Vâlcea County, and the abbot, the pious archimandrite Sofronie, together with all the community of the monastery to tax all the Rudar Gypsies belonging to the monastery, each married man 1 (one) thaler, because those Gypsies have been donated and gifted to the monastery through the charters of the former deceased and honourable Rulers, and paid tax to the monastery. But, because they annually hand over gold to My Highness's Treasury, <they> consider they should not give anything to the monastery, so the monastery has no benefit or help from them. Therefore, I, My Highness, decided that they should also give the monastery 1 (one) thaler per married man, as shown above, and to pay this money twice a year, half a thaler on St George Day, the other half thaler on St Demetrius Day, for the support and administrative care of the monastery.

Therefore, My Highness commands you, all the Rudar Gypsies, as many as belong to the abovementioned monastery, to pay the money without fail, as shown above, since he who puts up any opposition will be punished by My Highness.

Consequently, My Highness has commanded all you Rudar Gypsies, as many as belong to the abovementioned monastery, to try to pay the money shown above without making any trouble, for whoever puts up any opposition will be punished by My Highness.

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 346–346v.

20 Constantin Nicolae Mavrocordat was the son of the voivode Nicolae Mavrocordat and of Puleria Tzukis. He was born on February 27, 1711, and died on December 15, 1769. He was raised in Moldavia and Wallachia, where he received a high level of education. Extremely cultured, owner of an impressive library that the King of France wanted to buy, a follower of the ideas of the French Enlightenment of the time, he abolished in Wallachia and Moldavia the feudal institution of *rumân* (serf) status, which had become anachronistic and retrograde. In Moldavia he was ruler four times, and in Wallachia six times: September 15, 1730, to October 17, 1731; October 24, 1731 to April 16, 1736; November 27, 1735, to September 16, 1741; July 1744, to April 1748; February 20, 1756, to August 14, 1758; June 16, 1761, to March 1763.

23.

1770, October 3

Manoil Geani Roset reconfirms Cozia Monastery's right to tax the Rudari

By the will of God, I, Io Manoil Roset²¹, Voivode and Ruler of all Wallachia, have given My Highness's Decision – since the holy monastery of Cozia has the custom of taking tax from all Rudar gold-panner Gypsies (*țigani rudari aurari*) of the holy monastery, except for the princely gold that the Rudari hand over to the Chief of Police (*Marele Armaș*) – to empower Abbot Sofronie of the holy monastery to collect one thaler per Gypsy household, to take this one thaler as he took it in previous years, for such is My Highness's order.

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 346v–347.

24.

1773, May 23

Laws of the Parliament of Wallachia regarding the Rudari: the Divan of Wallachia reconfirms Cozia Monastery's right to tax the Rudari

The Divan of the Principality of Wallachia,
To the Pious Archimandrite and Abbot of Cozia Monastery, Argeș County, Kir Sofronie

The Abbot of Cozia Monastery asked the Divan in writing to renew his right to tax the Rudar Gypsies of this monastery with the usual taxes of 1 thaler per each household, as he took in the time of the deceased Rulers, as the old charters show. Of these, the charter of His Highness Voivode Gregorie II Ghica, from the year 7258 (1750), October 9, was brought to the Divan, and when it was read it was seen in their contents that the abbot of this monastery has the right to appoint a *vătaf* for the Rudari, and from such inalienable Gypsies (*țigani ohabnici*) of the monastery, to take the taxes, every year unfaillingly, but every year 1 thaler per household, half of this money on St Demetrius's Day, and half on St George's Day. It is also provided that the *vătaf*s appointed by the abbot over these Rudar Gypsies should be under the authority of the Chief of Police (*Marele Armaș*), to oversee the delivery of the extracted gold to the Crown.

Consequently, the Divan gives this charter to the pious abbot named above, to initially appoint a headman *vătaf* for the Rudar Gypsies, so that the Chief of Police should go

21 Manoil Giani Roset, son of Eufrosina Rosetti and the priest Giani, was born in 1715 in Constantinople and died on March 8, 1794, in Kherson. He was ruler in Wallachia from May 1770 to November 24, 1770.

around together with his man and wherever he finds them according to the inventory sealed by His Highness, Voivode Grigore Ghica, with the names of those Rudar Gypsies, a register which he handed over to Cozia Monastery, to compel them to pay the tax as specified above; but since they have not paid until now, and some of those registered in the sealed inventory have died, to force their sons to pay the tax of 1 thaler per household, so as not to cause loss to the monastery.

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 347–347v.

25.

1774, March 20,

Laws of the Parliament of Wallachia regarding the Rudari

The Divan of the Principality of Wallachia

By the power of the Order of the Most Enlightened and the High Commander of the army of His Highness, the Field Marshal and knight of many orders, Count Piotr Alexeevich Rumyantzev, sent on March 4, with no. 168, to the honourable brigadier and knight Meder, is ordered the investigation of the situation of the Rudar Gypsies who work at <panning> gold, who because they gave gold to the Crown according to the old custom of the time of the Rulers, until now were subordinated to the Chief of Police (*Marele Armaş*). But, according to the charters issued by the Rulers of the country to Cozia Monastery, these Rudar Gypsies belong to this holy monastery. Now, the pious archimandrite Kir Sofronie, the abbot of this monastery, has promised the Most Enlightened Field Marshal, that he will not only give to the Treasury (lit. Imperial Chamber) the quantity of gold given by these Gypsies, but he will strive to increase it. Consequently, the Most Enlightened Field Marshal ordered that the subordination of the Rudar Gypsies should no longer be exercised by the Chief of Police but should be transferred to the pious archimandrite named above, who is the abbot of this monastery. To investigate the state of affairs of these Rudar Gypsies, the Divan of the Country asked the pious archimandrite to present all the princely charters in the possession of the monastery. In the meeting of the Divan were read the charters issued by the late Ruler Voivode Mihai Racoviță and from the charter issued on December 1, 1742, it is observed how the Voivode himself, following the investigations made by His Highness at that time with witnesses and examination of the charters issued by previous Rulers, was convinced that all the Rudar Gypsies who worked at <panning> gold belonged to the holy monastery of Cozia and only because they had this gold-panners' craft (*meşteşug de aurari*), it was the custom to hand over the gold to the Crown, and the Treasury to pay them. The abovementioned Ruler, Voivode Mihai Racoviță, decided that in compensation for the work done by the Rudari in collecting gold, the monastery should

receive, every year, 650 thalers from the mine superintendents of Ocna Mare and, apart from this amount, to be exempted from the payment of the “Horse Tax”, which consisted in handing over a horse to the Crown on the feast day of the monastery. In this way, the Rudar Gypsies were also subordinated to the Crown with the obligation that each household should annually hand over 3 *drams*²² of gold.

Despite this charter, the provisions were respected only in the time of His Highness Voivode Mihai Racoviță, and after the change of His Highness, the monastery received nothing from the Treasury, except in 1749, October 9, when Gregory II Ghica was the Ruler. The voivode issued a charter ordering the investigation of the Treasury’s register. Following checks, only 433 people were found to be registered, a reality that determined the cancellation of the Settlement issued by Voivode Mihai Racoviță. At the same time, Gregory II Ghica issued a charter of reconfirmation of the abbot’s older rights, including the appointment of *vătafs* for the Rudari to ensure the collection of the tax. The Rudari were compelled to pay unconditionally 1 thaler per household, as they are inalienable Gypsies (*țigani ohabnici*) of the monastery. These *vătafs* of Rudari remained with double subordination, to the abbot of the monastery of Cozia and to the Chief of Police, since, according to the old custom, it was necessary to ensure the obligatory handing over by the Rudari of the due quantities of gold for the Crown. However, the pious archimandrite of Cozia Monastery claims that due to this disposition, the monastery has no benefit from the Rudari.

Consequently, according to the Order of the Most Enlightened Field Marshal, the Divan investigated the register of the Imperial Treasury (*Haznaua Imperială*), kept by Iordache Haznagel, and it was found that last year, in 1773, 680 *drams* of gold <as tax> for all the Rudari were handed over to the Chief of Police, from which the pious archimandrite of Cozia has shown that 18 people, calculating 4 *drams*²³ for each man, which makes 68 *drams*²⁴, are Romanians, and not Rudar Gypsies of the monastery. Therefore, the abbot did not agree to be burdened with the obligation to hand over the amount of gold collected from the waters by Romanians and, thus, they remained under the subordination of the Chief of Police, as they have been until now. Only the 611 gold *drams* remained the responsibility of the Rudar Gypsies, and His Sanctity has undertaken with a note registered at the Treasury, that he will be responsible for this amount of gold that must be handed over annually to the Imperial Treasury.

22 *Dram*, cf. Modern Greek δράμι. Old unit of weight, equal in Wallachia to 3.18 grams.

23 Correct is 3.8. For the amount of 4 *drams* see also the traveller Nicolo de Porta in 1726 (Popescu 1927a: 216).

24 melting losses are included. See the next document.

Therefore, by virtue of the Order of the Most Enlightened Field Marshal and the written commitment given by His Sanctity, this charter has been issued from the Divan, open to His Sanctity and to the whole community of the monastery, to take over all the Rudar Gypsies in possession and in the care of the monastery, and to own them as Gypsies who are inalienable property (*ohabnici*) of the monastery. The Chief of Police is instructed, as are the Police Department and all the police officers, not to get involved and to strictly observe the status of Rudari, so as not to upset them, but for them to be left only under the authority and administration of the monastery.

PERILIPSIS / INVENTORY

The report given on January 25, 1774, by the Chief of Police for the gold received from the Rudar Gypsies and handed over to the Treasur

Drams		
618	from 103 people	<i>mătaș</i> for 6 drams
83	from 23 people	from people for 3 drams
63	from 25 people	Newly married (<i>spornici</i>) for 2 drams
764		151

Except for 86 drams for 18 people, calculated 4 *drams* per each man, Romanian *băiaș* who (*băieși rumâni*) remain subordinate to the Chief of Police, who receives their gold and hands it over to the Treasury, the losses from fire [in the refining process] are reduced, 2 *drams* in ten, i.e. six hundred and eleven and a half *drams* remain pure gold.

Iordache Zarafu

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 349–349v.

26.

1774, April 24

A cleric invites the Abbot of Cozia Monastery to send the documents of ownership over the Rudari to the Parliament Chancellery

With the expected and respectful bow to Your Holiness, I received the letter sent by you and I was glad that you are healthy. I also saw the letter from the Honourable Governor and Knight Medar, after which I have shown him that it is not polite to get you tired by travelling to Bucharest, especially now that it is time for spring works. However, in order to convince the Brigadier that the monastery has the documents

issued by the Rulers in the past regarding authority over these Gypsies, to order the Chancellery of the Parliament to make a copy of the document sent to Your Holiness by the Parliament upon receiving the Order of the Most Enlightened, together with a Russian translation of that document, the Brigadier will understand that it is no longer necessary to exhaust Your Holiness by coming to Bucharest. But it happened this holy feast of Easter and the translation could not be done. The letter of Your Holiness was translated with great difficulty to the Brigadier, about which he said that he could not give an answer. In order not to have more messengers of Your Holiness staying in Bucharest for a long time, I suggest you send through a trusted person from here, all the documents that the monastery possesses regarding these Rudar Gypsies, in order to convince the Brigadier that they were not under the authority of the Police.

I remain Your Holiness's soul son and true servant. April 24, 1774.

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 349–350.

27.

1774, May 20

The Abbot of Cozia Monastery, Archimandrite Sofronie, confirms the receipt of the official documents regarding the transfer of the Rudar Gypsies and assumes the responsibility of depositing a larger amount of gold at the Treasury.

Charter (*zapis*)

I, the undersigned, Sofronie the Archimandrite and Abbot of the holy monastery of Cozia, with this true charter of mine, written with the knowledge of the Divan of the Principality of Wallachia, which I submit to the Imperial Treasury, declare for all Rudar Gypsies who work at <panning> gold, that it will be mandatory to be taken from them the obligatory gold for the Treasury, as it was in the time of the Rulers when these Gypsies were under the authority of the Chief of Police. All these Rudari are inalienable *robi* of the holy monastery of Cozia because this is what the Rulers of olden times established through charters.

Through the official address I have asked the Most Enlightened and the High Commander of the army of His Majesty the Emperor, the Field Marshal and knight of many orders and medals, Prince Piotr Alexeevich Rumyantzev to transfer rightly the Rudari from being under the authority of the Chief of Police to being under the authority and administration of Cozia Monastery. In exchange, I have promised that I will be responsible for the amount of gold that must be handed over by Rudari, every year, to the

Chief of Police and for [its] registration at the Treasury. The Most Enlightened Prince, as a result of my official request and my promise to answer for the obligations of the Rudari towards the Treasury, has been kind enough to send through His Highness's Order, no. 164 of March 4, 1774, the disposition to the honourable governor and knight Meder to transfer the Rudar Gypsies to the authority of Cozia Monastery. Now that the monastery has received in my name both the Order of the Most Enlighted Prince and the law adopted by the Parliament of the Principality of Wallachia, I promise again that I will be responsible for the amount of gold registered in the Treasury Register and I will hand over, as did the Chief of Police Manolache Grădişteanu, 611.5 drams of gold, every year, regularly, at the end of each year, as is the old custom.

In addition to this amount, I promise that I will make every effort to bring other Rudari of the monastery who work at [panning] gold, but now because of these adverse times are scattered in other foreign countries, to increase the amount of gold for the benefit of the Treasury.

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 347v–348v.

28.

1774, < terminus post quem May 26 >

Laws of the Parliament of Wallachia regarding the Rudari: The Parliament of Wallachia requests the Abbot of Cozia Monastery to come to Bucharest for a trial with the Rudari

Parliament of Wallachia

The official address to the Abbot of Cozia Monastery, the pious Archimandrite Sofronie

He, the Honourable Governor and Knight Medar, informed the Parliament with the address no. 390 of May 26, 1774, that he received Order no. 747, of May 11, 1774, of the Most Enlightened and Most High Commander of the Imperial Army, His Highness, Field Marshal and knight of many orders and medals, Piotr Alexeevich Rumyantzev, regarding the Rudar Gypsies, who according to the older rights of the monastery and according to the provisions of the Order promulgated these last days by the Most High Field Marshal, were under the authority of Cozia Monastery. After taking note of the Order of His Highness, the Most Enlighted and Most High Field Marshal, the Rudar Gypsies have come with a written complaint to His Highness, claiming that they were not slaves of Cozia Monastery, because their people were freed and released from the slavery of Cozia Monastery by the past Rulers of Wallachia (*ei nu au fost robi ai mănăstirii Cozia, pentru că neamul lor a fost iertat și eliberat din robia mănăstirii Cozia*

de către Domnii Țării Românești din trecut), and they ask for investigation to be done in order to for His Enlightenment to be convinced. As a result of this complaint, with the power of the command of the Enlightened, an order was received that this investigation should be done immediately. Consequently, Your Holiness, without any delay, at an hour's notice, must come to the Parliament with all the documents of the monastery regarding these Gypsies, as the honourable governor and knight Medar asks you to give as soon as possible a written answer about the historical flow of the past of these Rudari, so that, in his turn, he too may answer the Most Enlightened and the Highest, His Highness, Field Marshal and Commander.

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 350.

29.

1775, May 15

Alexandru Ipsilanti reconfirms Cozia Monastery's right to tax the Rudari

By the will of God, I, Io Alexandru Ipsilanti²⁵, Voivode and Ruler of all Wallachia, have decreed by My Highness's decision, [addressed] to Cozia Monastery, in Vâlcea County and the abbot, the pious archimandrite Kir Sofronie together with the whole community of the monastery to empower them with the right to collect from all the Rudar Gypsies, who are married and who belong to the holy monastery, for each name 1 thaler, because these Gypsies are given to the monastery with the obligation to pay tax according to the charters of the previously deceased Rulers. But, inasmuch as the Rudari collect gold from the waters and hand it over for the benefit of the Treasury, they do not pay any tax to the monastery. Consequently, because the monastery has no benefit or help from them, I, My Highness, have decided that each married man should pay to the monastery a thaler, as shown above, and this money to be paid twice a year, that is, on St George's Day, half a thaler, and on St Demetrius's Day, the other half. This is how we, My Highness, have decided from the charter of the late Voivode Constantin Nicolae Mavrocordat, from 1757, reconfirmed by His Highness himself, in 1762, February 9.

25 Alexandru Ipsilanti was born in Constantinople in 1726 and died there in 1807. He was twice Voivode in Wallachia: September 1774, to January 1782; August 1789, to December 1797. He carried out a series of reforms, especially in the field of justice.

Consequently, I, My Highness, because this custom was before, have given this Decision [addressed] to Cozia Monastery to follow exactly, for the help and for the administration of the monastery. Also, My Highness commands you, all Rudar Gypsies who belong to Cozia Monastery, to pay the money without any resistance, because the whoever resists will be severely punished by My Highness. This tax, 1 thaler per each married Rudar, to be paid to the monastery through the Chief of Police.

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 35^{ov}-35^l.

This registry is written by the me in 1778, in Cozia Monastery according to the real charters and other letters through the interpretation of the archimandrite Kir Sofronie of Cozia and other interpreters.

For confirmation, Gherasim, Archimandrite of the Metropolitan See, April 24, 1794.

30: The lists of the Rudari of Cozia Monastery, 1794

At f. 376 and f. 436 a title is added in the header of the page, “Țigani aurari”. The Rudari/Aurari are grouped in 12 *vătășies* each led by a *vătaf* headman. There are 424 householders. 175 households of “Rudari Buzoieni” are listed separately.

I. Vătășia of Dinu Zorilă

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Radu al Ilincăi | 14. Stan al lui Ciucă |
| 2. Stanciul a lui Rămădan | 15. Ion Zoreanu who was vătaf |
| 3. Oprea al Chiciului | 16. Cârstea a lui Dima |
| 4. Stanciu al Chiciului | 17. Dragomir al lui Ciucă |
| 5. Dobre, brat Dinu Vătaf | 18. Pârvu al lui Sâmbotin |
| 6. Pârvul, brat Dinu Vătaf | 19. Pădure al lui Sâmbotin |
| 7. Dobre sin Pârvul lui Vătaf | 20. Pădure al Ioanei |
| 8. Radu Gumaș | 21. Stanciul Dugăi |
| 9. Vasile sin Gumaș | 22. Dragomir Jârța |
| 10. Ștefan sin Gumaș | 23. Stanciu al Păunei |
| 11. Ștefan sin Nica | 24. Radu al lui Ciuhurez |
| 12. Iorga sin Nica | 25. Dima al lui Ciuhurez |
| 13. Dumitru sin Bejan | |

II. Vătăşia lui Samfir Burghioae Buz

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Dobre Dodoae | 15. Oprea Urdu |
| 2. Stoica si Badea | 16. Voica al Mânzării |
| 3. Mirea sin Miercani | 17. Ion Gândac |
| 4. Cârstea sin Zamfir | 18. Radu Gudului |
| 5. Din sin Dumitru | 19. Ghinea al Ancăi |
| 6. Cârstea brat Dinu | 20. Dudu Vilei |
| 7. Radu sin Lepădat | 21. Dragomir Gânjul |
| 8. Negoită Fierarul | 22. Ispas |
| 9. Pârvu brat Negoită Fierarul | 23. Stan al Lorii |
| 10. Ion Dedulache | 24. Ion al Meclăi |
| 11. Radu sin Eftenie | 25. Constandin al Meclăi |
| 12. Stan al Caprei | 26. Preda Ocnarul |
| 13. Tudor al lui Stan | 27. Ştefan al Turcului |
| 14. Dragomir Roşca | |

III. Vătăşia lui Drăgan Farmegiul

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. Drăgan Guşatul | 15. Constadin his brother |
| 2. Stan al Ologului | 16. Stan al Burnei |
| 3. Budulan | 17. Constandin Stângă |
| 4. Ion | 18. Radu Gula |
| 5. Radu al Dochiei | 19. Stanciu Ciuca sin Ion |
| 6. Oprea Prica | 20. Dragomir Turca sin Dragomir Zbârcea |
| 7. Toma al lui Coriatu | 21. Radu sin Dragomir Turca |
| 8. Radu Rusu | 22. Tudor sin Pădure |
| 9. Pădure al Mătuşei Anca | 23. Dumitru sin Stanciu Ciocan |
| 10. Constandin Măturarul | 24. Dragomir brat ego |
| 11. Cârstea al Kozlei | 25. Tudor brat ego |
| 12. Dragomir Pătrofan (Pătrojan) | 26. Mircea Pădure |
| 13. Oprea Gula | 27. Stanciul |
| 14. Vlad his son | |

IV. Vătăşia Stanciului Sârbul

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Pârvu sin Sâmbotin | 8. Stoica sin Cărpălan |
| 2. Tudor his brother | 9. Guţul, his brother |
| 3. Sandul | 10. Vlad sin Ion |
| 4. Vasilie sin Stanciu | 11. Neagu son of Brânduşa |
| 5. Stroe sin Drăgan | 12. Dumitru Betegan |
| 6. Dinu sin Crăciun | 13. Tudor his brother |
| 7. Dumitru his brother | 14. Dima son of Conta |

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 15. Stan his brother | 23. Dan al Ganei |
| 16. Constandin Fega (Jega) | 24. Radu al Ganei |
| 17. Dragomir Ducica | 25. Ion al Şchiopului |
| 18. Tudor Cipa | 26. Vasilie al lui Ion |
| 19. Berechez | 27. Ion al lui Tudor |
| 20. Radu Cioroiuş | 28. Stanciu al lui Drăgan |
| 21. Stanciu Sârbu | 29. Cârstea al Stanciului |
| 22. Tudor al Ganei | |

V. Vătăşia lui Toader al lui Mirică Vătaf

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Stanciu sin Mihiu | 15. Stanciu Muratu |
| 2. Ion Pleşoiul | 16. Vasilie al lui Toader |
| 3. Stanciu Lungu | 17. Radu sin Toader |
| 4. Ion Greceanu | 18. Dobre sin Baltog |
| 5. Stanciu al Mumelui | 19. Stanciu sin Ştefan |
| 6. Ion Gulea | 20. Alexandru sin Oprea |
| 7. Dragomir sin Mumelui | 21. Ion Robul |
| 8. Constandin al Stanciului | 22. Dragomir sin Mihiu |
| 9. Ion Bârlodoi | 23. Pârvu Ciovică |
| 10. Tudor Burghilea | 24. Ion sin Ciovică |
| 11. Radu Capră | 25. Tudor sin Mihiu |
| 12. Dobre sin Radu | 26. Diţa sin Ciovică |
| 13. Tudor Buzatul | 27. Constandin sin Guna |
| 14. Oprea sin Colceag | 28. Cârstea sin Nedelea |

VI. Vătăşia lui Şerban Ungureanul²⁶

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Ion Băiaşul | 12. Oprea Vulpe |
| 2. Nedelea Băiaşul | 13. Dragomir Bivul |
| 3. Sima | 14. Dima al lui Bălţatu |
| 4. Niţul | 15. Dragomir Burdulea |
| 5. Ion | 16. Neagu al lui Brâncuşi |
| 6. Zevedei | 17. Dinu al Guşei |
| 7. Radu Băiaşu | 18. Dumitru Cioacă |
| 8. Nica Băiaşu | 19. Radu Gozii |
| 9. Matei Băiaşu | 20. Cârstea Moacă |
| 10. Vlad Băiaşu | 21. Nicula al Guşei |
| 11. Constandin Băiaşul | 22. Simidra al Niculei |

26 In *vătăşia* of Şerban Ungureanul, who is hailing from Transylvania, Băiaşu occurs as surname or nickname, or in Wallachia *băiaş* was restricted only to Romanian miners.

VII. Vătășia of Ion

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Ion Ceribaș ²⁷ | 10. Vlad sin Caprei |
| 2. Ion al Dimei | 11. Tudor sin Oprei |
| 3. Mirea al Dimei | 12. Dragomir brat Tudor |
| 4. Constandin al Zlatei | 13. Radu brat ego |
| 5. Gonței brat ego | 14. Stanciu brat ego |
| 6. Drăgan sin Zlatei | 15. Stan sin Vasilie |
| 7. Stanciu sin Guțul | 16. Ion al Boicăi |
| 8. Tudor sin Guțul | 17. Oprea al lui Prodan |
| 9. Radu sin Guțul | |

VIII. Vătășia lui Iane Țiganul

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Neagoe Bolofan (Bolojan) | 20. Alexei sin Șerban |
| 2. Dumitrașca sin ego | 21. Vlad sin Coman |
| 3. Dobrin sin ego | 22. Radu Lungul |
| 4. Constandin sin Stoian | 23. Constandin Lefter |
| 5. Oprea sin Ion | 24. Matei sin Drăgulin |
| 6. Ion sin Matei | 25. Ștefan brat ego |
| 7. Preda sin Radu | 26. Pascu sin Matei |
| 8. Constandin sin Stanciu | 27. Lefter |
| 9. Dumitru sin Cranci | 28. Andrei |
| 10. Nicula sin Vlad | 29. Radu sin Nicula |
| 11. Enache sin Nicula | 30. Ion sin Iane vătaf |
| 12. Drăghici sin Vlad | 31. Tănăsie Deșelatul |
| 13. Vasilie Zlătariul | 32. Tudorache sin Stoian |
| 14. Drăghici Zlătariul | 33. Ion Friptul |
| 15. Ion Căldărar ²⁸ | 34. Stoica Buzatul |
| 16. Lefter | 35. Paraschiv Bondoc |
| 17. Constandin Doncea | 36. Chirea sin Costea |
| 18. Stoian brat Constandin | 37. Ion sin Ivan |
| 19. Ivan brat ego | |

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 376–377v.

²⁷ *keribaş* denotes in Turkish 'tax collector.'

²⁸ Căldărar = (Romanian) 'cauldron maker'

IX. Vătășia of Oprea Nebunul

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. Stan Bocalinia (Bocalip) ²⁹ | 29. Stanciul al Măria |
| 2. Ion Bocalinia (Bocalip) | 30. Dobrica, his brother |
| 3. Prundul al Vovezăi | 31. Stoica al Sindii |
| 4. Simbotin | 32. Tudor Bercu |
| 5. Tudor sin Simbotin | 33. Dan, brother of Oprea Vătaf |
| 6. Vasile Simbotin | 34. Stanciu, his brother |
| 7. Oancea | 35. Ion, his brother |
| 8. Tudor sin Oancea | 36. Duminică sin Dobre |
| 9. Dragomir sin Oancea | 37. Vasilie al Dulgăi |
| 10. Dobre al Sincăi | 38. Oprea sin Motoman |
| 11. Dicu al Copiilor | 39. Ion Sărăcilă |
| 12. Stanciul | 40. Dinu sin Bocalia ³⁰ |
| 13. Dobre Cimpoa | 41. Manea |
| 14. Ștefan Oneicu | 42. Bran al lui Porcu |
| 15. Iorga sin Ștefan | 43. Marin al Mengăi |
| 16. Radu, his brother | 44. Vasilie Ciuciul |
| 17. Dan sin Țiținga | 45. Cârstea Roncea |
| 18. Trifa Docilă | 46. Ion sin Dârga |
| 19. Docilă | 47. Ștefan sin Dan |
| 20. Ion Oneicu | 48. Pârvu sin Durga |
| 21. Cârstea sin Căfilă | 49. Oprea sin Oance |
| 22. Pârvu sin Ciurcul | 50. Dumitru sin Sincăi |
| 23. Nagomir | 51. Stanciu al Scorcei |
| 24. Vasilie sin Cofilă | 52. Oprea al Scorcei |
| 25. Ion sin Cârstea | 53. Radu Jega |
| 26. Tudor, his brother | 54. Pădure al Tudorei |
| 27. Bran, his brother | 55. Dima Cipa |
| 28. Crăciun sin Cârstea | 56. Oprea Ologu |

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 435v–436.

29 bokhalipe(n) = (Romani čhib) hunger.

30 Bocalia is a derivate from *bokh* (Romani čhib) 'hunger', with the adjectival suffix *alos* (m), *ali* (f), with the addition of the Romanian adjectival suffix *a*.

X. Vătășia of Ion Berale³¹

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Lepădat sin Bocale ³² | 31. Crăciun who was vătaf |
| 2. Dobre sin Bocale | 32. Țanca brother of Crăciun |
| 3. Radu sin Bocale | 33. Marin sin Căzoel |
| 4. Oprea sin Bocale | 34. Rotea |
| 5. Pureca | 35. Călin al lui Negroite |
| 6. Dobre al Durgăi | 36. Pârveu al Vovigăi |
| 7. Alexandru al Percăi | 37. Ghelan |
| 8. Purece | 38. Papa |
| 9. Duminecă Șchiopu ³³ | 39. Dumitru sin Papa |
| 10. Marin sin Duminecă | 40. Vasile Surdu |
| 11. Prundur sin Duminecă | 41. Stanciu sin Ștefan |
| 12. Bughea (Bucea) | 42. Cârstea |
| 13. Stan sin Mânga | 43. Ilie sin Ciucu |
| 14. Lunea | 44. Dima sin Dobre |
| 15. Ion al Slamnei | 45. Vasile sin Lepădat |
| 16. Alixandru al Bunei | 46. Dan sin Iorga |
| 17. Radu al Iorgăi | 47. Oprea sin Dan |
| 18. On al Iorgăi | 48. Stanciu sin Borcea |
| 19. Iorga al Mariei | 49. Drăguț |
| 20. Tudor Chibzuială ³⁴ | 50. Miloș |
| 21. Danciul ³⁵ al Ciuntei | 51. Cozan |
| 22. Cârstea al Banului | 52. Iorga Unchiașu |
| 23. Catana ³⁶ | 53. Iorga Ciurcu |
| 24. Iorga al Vasilicăi | 54. Pârveu al Despei |
| 25. Ion Ciucul | 55. Arsenie |
| 26. Stanciu Ciucul | 56. Lepădat |
| 27. Dobrea Jagardea ³⁷ | 57. Dan |
| 28. Dobricul | 58. Stanciu |
| 29. Țanca sin Dobre | 59. Ungurean Ciungul ³⁸ |
| 30. Rau sin Bra | |

31 Cf. Bara (Romani čhib) 'big'.

32 Bocale is the plural *bokhale* 'hungry ones'. See above footnote 30.

33 Șchiopu = (Romanian) 'lame'.

34 Chibzuială = (Romanian) 'wisdom'.

35 *Danci* is allegedly a Gypsy word for child.

36 Catana = (Romanian) soldier.

37 Jagardea (Romanian) slang for 'rascal'.

38 Ciungul = (Romanian) 'crippled'.

XI. Vătăşia of Stan Ciulei

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Ştefan sin Marin | 20. Alixandru sin Boloji |
| 2. Ion | 21. Vasile sin Dulea |
| 3. Dima brat Stanciu vătaf | 22. Ion al lui Dan |
| 4. Cârstea brother of Dima | 23. Nedelco al Voicăi |
| 5. Vasile brother of Cârstea | 24. Novac |
| 6. Niţu Grumaz | 25. Cârstea sin Dan Uncheaşul |
| 7. Dobre al Sandei | 26. Duminică sin Oancea |
| 8. Brat al Dumitrei | 27. Nastur sin Dragomir Stângă |
| 9. Dobre brat ego | 28. Lixandru, his brother |
| 10. Vasile sin Brat | 29. Trifoi, his brother |
| 11. Duminică sin ego | 30. Lixandru al lui Tudor Bărcan |
| 12. Ion Ciovică | 31. Sâmbotin |
| 13. Pârvu Boezoi | 32. Drăgan who was vătaf |
| 14. Ion al Bratului | 33. Dima Lupul |
| 15. Stanciu al Bratului | 34. Tudor al lui Neagoe |
| 16. Ion sin Ilinca | 35. Oprea Palaloga |
| 17. Vasile Tătaru | 36. Ion Ciublea |
| 18. Alexandru al Tătarului | 37. Dragomir al lui Prodan |
| 19. Marin brat ego | |

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 435–436.

XII. Vătăşia lui Vasile

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Dumitru sin Miron | 17. Oprea brat ego |
| 2. Radu brat ego | 18. Stancu brat ego |
| 3. Constandin brat ego | 19. Radu Şchiopulescu |
| 4. Tudor sin Miron | 20. Tudor Şchiopulescu |
| 5. Radu Ciulei (Ciulea) | 21. Luca Nevolnicul |
| 6. Nilea brat ego | 22. Dragomir Şchiopulescu |
| 7. Marin sin Miu | 23. Lixandru sin Luca |
| 8. Vasilie Miu | 24. Radu al Ganei |
| 9. Radu al Nedelei | 25. Nicula al Caplei |
| 10. Tudor al Stancăi | 26. Dragomir Rostogol a Neculei |
| 11. Stanciu Zbârcea | 27. Năstasie Ungureanul |
| 12. Vasile Zbârcea | 28. Radu Ciovică |
| 13. Stan al Stanciului | 29. Ion al Micului |
| 14. Simedrea Pleşuvul | 30. Simedru al Niculei |
| 15. Florea sin Simedrea | 31. Ion al Niculei |
| 16. Stan sin Găidacu | 32. Stanciu Orbul, brother of Vasilie |

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 33. Gheorghe sin Nicula | 47. Pârvu sin Epure |
| 34. Nicula Orbul | 48. Stanciu sin Epure |
| 35. Constandin al Ciontei | 49. Oprea Treclul |
| 36. Constandin al Pocii | 50. Radu Cotigă |
| 37. Stnciu al Pocei | 51. Stanciu al Mirei |
| 38. Vlad al Ciontei | 52. Goțu brat ego |
| 39. Stanciu al Ciontei | 53. Stoica al Mirei |
| 40. Stoica Pițigoi | 54. Vlad Țicu |
| 41. Radu sin Stoica | 55. Constandin al Incăi |
| 42. Tudor sin Vlad Ochiarii | 56. Oprea al Fleașcăi |
| 43. Cârstea al Monei | 57. Mutu al Mirei |
| 44. Radu al Monei | 58. Dragomir Tuba |
| 45. Oprea al Monei | 59. Oprea Bălaur |
| 46. Oprea sin Epure | 60. Vasile al Dimei |

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 476v.

<Rudarii Buzoieni>. The Lăieți Gypsies that are also called Rudari who work in Secueni and are called Rudarii Buzoieni and pay taxes in Podenii Noi.

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Cârstea Vătaf sin Vreamet | 22. Samfir |
| 2. Tudor Rață | 23. Oprea |
| 3. Lepădat Rață | 24. Gheorghe |
| 4. Oprea Rață | 25. Ioan Toloe |
| 5. Ghinea Rață | 26. Stanciu |
| 6. Stanciu Rață | 27. Vătaful Gheorghe |
| 7. Stoica Rață | 28. Stanciu |
| 8. Banu, son of Rață | 29. Stoica |
| 9. Potoțki | 30. Bratu |
| 10. Ghinea | 31. Pătru |
| 11. Ion, son of Potoțki | 32. Soare |
| 12. Oprea Gulie | 33. Toader |
| 13. Tudor sin Oprea | 34. Gheorghe Pepeneăță |
| 14. Dumitru | 35. Banu |
| 15. Radu Bondilă | 36. Vlad sin Vârzob |
| 16. Dinu | 37. Dragomir sin Marin |
| 17. Radu | 38. Stan sin Arsenie |
| 18. Oprea | 39. Arsenie sin Radu |
| 19. Lepădat | 40. Andrei sin Radu |
| 20. Maria Văduva | 41. Bunea si Pucă |
| 21. Stoica | 42. Radu |

- | | |
|--|--|
| 43. Tudor Otul | 83. Oprea sin Lepădat |
| 44. Radu sin Otul | 84. Pătru brother of Miu |
| 45. Gheorghie | 85. Soare sin Pătru |
| 46. Liți | 86. Voicu sin Brusture |
| 47. Voicu | 87. Samfir sin Voicu |
| 48. Dumitru sin Oprea | 88. Frangulea Vătaf |
| 49. Stan brother of Dumitru | 89. Frangulea son of Radu Vârzob Vătaf |
| 50. Ilie | 90. Samfir brother of Frangulea son of Radu Vârzob |
| 51. Marin | 91. Ion sin Radu Vârzob |
| 52. Ioan Ceanpela | 92. Radu sin radu Vârzob |
| 53. Marin | 93. Stan sin Radu Vârzob |
| 54. Stanciu Ureche | 94. Ion Burdulea |
| 55. Dumitru Fleancă | 95. Stanciu son of Ion Burdulea |
| 56. Ion Lăutaru | 96. Oprea Ohan |
| 57. Cârstea cel Mare | 97. Mihai son of Oprea Ohan |
| 58. Dragomir sin Cârstea cel Mare | 98. Manea Panciu sin Stan |
| 59. Dumitru Surdul sin Costea cel Mare | 99. Stanciu Voverga |
| 60. Ion sin Lepădat | 100. Oprea son of Stanciu |
| 61. Ghinea sin Lepădat | 101. Tudor sin Voicu Vătaf |
| 62. Stanciu sin Vreameș | 102. Stoica sin Voicu Vătaf |
| 63. Stan Faca sin Vreameș | 103. Oprea son of Stoica |
| 64. Oprea Coteț | 104. Stan sin Voicu Vătaf |
| 65. Oprea Buzea | 105. Radu sin Voicu Vătaf |
| 66. Costea sin Oprea Buzea | 106. Marin sin Voicu Vătaf |
| 67. Dinu Ciucu | 107. Stancu sin Voicu Vătaf |
| 68. Tudor | 108. Apostu sin Voicu Vătaf |
| 69. Ion Țânțaru | 109. Hegoiță sin Ion Roată |
| 70. Tănăsie Melciu | 110. Neagu sin Stan Panciu |
| 71. Ion sin Oprea | 111. Stan sin Stan Panciu |
| 72. Vlad son of Vârzob | 112. Cârstea sin Vasilie Panciu |
| 73. Unchiașul Oprea | 113. Maria widow of Vasilie Panciu |
| 74. Stanciu sin Ciuciulea | 114. Pătrașcu |
| 75. Tudor brother of Oprea Buzea | 115. Ion Fugărelul |
| 76. Ion Țugulea | 116. Radu son of Constandin |
| 77. Trifu sin Ceampelea | 117. Gheorghie son of Dragomir |
| 78. Stan Zbârcilă | 118. Stan son of Gheorghie |
| 79. Constandin brother of Zbârcilă | 119. Stanciu Ursuleci |
| 80. Stoica Pântea | 120. Ion son of Stanciu |
| 81. Tudor Balea | 121. Marin son of Stanciu |
| 82. Oprea Titirin | |

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 122. Sanda widow | 149. Marin son of Bârsan |
| 123. Stoian son of Dima | 150. Sandu son of Bârsan |
| 124. Tudor Bălan | 151. Stan Piticu |
| 125. Dumitru Bălan | 152. Sima Lăcătușu |
| 126. Stan Bălan | 153. Gheorghe brother of Sima |
| 127. Radu son of Tudor | 154. Stan Ungureanul |
| 128. Dumitrache Giubagă | 155. Ion brother of Gheorghe |
| 129. Constandin son of Ion Fugărelul | 156. Stanciu Negrea |
| 130. Radu Puță | 157. Dragmoir son of Stanciu Negrea |
| 131. Stan son of Radu Puță | 158. Pătru son of Necula |
| 132. Stoian son of Dima | 159. Tudor Boțoi |
| 133. Pătru Casap ³⁹ | 160. Dragmoir brother of Tudor Boțoi |
| 134. Dragomir Casap | 161. Dumitru son of Necula |
| 135. Tudor Casap | 162. Stanciu Boțoi |
| 136. Sandu son of Tudor | 163. Ion Gușatu |
| 137. Badea son of Tudor | 164. Aghel son of Stoica |
| 138. Dragomir son of Radu | 165. Stanciu son of Ion |
| 139. Vlad Ieremia | 166. Enache brother of Ion |
| 140. Barbu son of Vlad Ieremia | 167. Enache son of Preda |
| 141. Iordan son in law of Vlad | 168. Manta son of Anghel |
| 142. Dumitru son of Vlad | 169. Mihai Boțoi |
| 143. Oprea son of Radu | 170. Matei son of Dumitru |
| 144. Tudor son of Oprea | 171. Dumitru Boțoi |
| 145. Radu son of Ion | 172. Stan son of Danciu |
| 146. Ioana widow | 173. Stanca Văduva |
| 147. Gheorghe brother of Radu | 174. Pătru Lăcătușu |
| 148. Danciu Bârsan | 175. Dumitru son of Pătru Lăcătușu |

ANIC, Ms. 209, f. 412–416.

List of the Gypsy salt-cutters (*Țiganii ciocănași*)

In the beginning of the chapter with the title *Țiganii ciocănași* there is this note:

“The Gypsies salt-cutters. They cut salt at Ocna Mare. They do not belong to the Crown. Long before, there was a salt mine belonging to Cozia Monastery. The abbots ordered that the Gypsies should cut salt. After some time, that salt mine was taken by the Crown and the Gypsies remained as workers with income, and they paid their tax

39 Casap = (Romanian) butcher.

to the monastery, as per the abbots' arrangements. The Ruler Constandin Mavrocordat has established the tax for them 3 thalers for each married individual, to be given to the Monastery."

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Mihai Vătaf | 28. Dumitru sin Țevelei, married for 1 year |
| 2. Ion Vătaf | 29. Ioan sin Țevelei, married for 1 year |
| 3. Lazăr Epure Vătaf | 30. Voico sin Florea |
| 4. Oprea sin Constandin Epure | 31. Stan, unmarried, 8 years old |
| 5. Dumitru Epure brat Oprea | 32. Stanciul Panei |
| 6. Chera Surdul | 33. Pătru brat Stancul |
| 7. Gheorghe the child of Chera, 8 years old | 34. Gheorghe sin Chera Faurul |
| 8. Pătru Dumitru | 35. Iane brat ego |
| 9. Pătru sin Lazăr | 36. Stan sin Negoită |
| 10. Chera sin Lazăr | 37. Marin Negoită |
| 11. Gheorghe sin Dima | 38. Pătru al Surdului |
| 12. Ioan, infant of Gheorghe | 39. Stan sin Duțu, unmarried |
| 13. Gheorghe Ungurean sin Stan Ungurean | 40. Dobre Mutul |
| 14. Marin Ungurean brat Gheorghe | 41. Chera sin Lupu |
| 15. Ghiță infant of 3 years of Marin | 42. Radu sin Ivașco |
| 16. Stoica sin Pătru Burdia | 43. Stan sin Tudor |
| 17. Dincă sin Epure | 44. Dumitru sin Anghel |
| 18. Sandu Țăvlea | 45. Sandu Tudor |
| 19. Stan | 46. Sandu sin Botan |
| 20. Ion | 47. Pătru Toboșarul |
| 21. Păun | 48. Radu sin Toboșarul (drumplayer), child of 9 |
| 22. Dobrița | 49. Stan sin Pinteia |
| 23. Ion Mutul sin Sandu, married, 16 years old | 50. Ion Duțul, unmarried |
| 24. Oprea Epure | 51. Radu sin Golea |
| 25. Gheorghe sin Lazăr | 52. Iane sin Anghel |
| 26. Marin al Ivanei | 53. Duțu sin Ion Negoită |
| 27. Marin, married for 2 years | 54. Părvu sin Țevelei |
| | 55. Marin Tincu Lăutarul |
| | 56. Gligorie sin Marin Tincu, 8 years |

31–34: Documents from the Moldavian Chancellery Referring to the Rudari (Eighteenth Century)

31.

1785, July 10

By the mercy of God, We, Alexandru Ioan Mavrocordat, Voivode and Ruler of the Land of Moldavia, entrusted with the high duty of rule and protection, with which those who govern and guide peoples are appointed by God, to be always vigilant and doers of good deeds for the peace of the community and the good implementation of rulership, which is especially exercised for the people of high rank (*obrazelor de cinste și a slăvitelor neamuri*) who live in the land he governs. And may he serve all with princely support that can be exercised with good intention and commitment, for the praise of his rule and eternal commemoration.

Therefore, from the hour the divine providence mercifully granted us the rulership, so that we ascended to our ancestral and parental princely throne of the country, we have not failed to fulfil our duty for the peace and order in the interest of the many (*spre odihna și buna întemeiere a tuturor de obște*), above all.

I, My Highness, thinking of the enlightened voivode Grigorașco Ghica, the son of the late voivode Matei Ghica, who is living here in the city of Iași, have given to His Highness four Gypsy households (*sălășe de țigani*) from among our princely Rudari Gypsies (*țigani domnești rudari*), namely: Tudor Breaza, Iorga Breaza, Dobre Broască, and his son Stancu, with their womenfolk and all their children. So, from now on, these Gypsies listed above, with their womenfolk and all their children, will belong to the enlightened voivode Grigorașco Ghica as rightful slaves (*drepti robi*) with all the descendants that will come from them, and he should be their master (*să și-i stăpînească*) forever and in peace, from generation to generation. And may this charter be issued for the donation (*de danie și dăruire*) from My Highness of those above listed Gypsies, steadfastly and forever. This charter has been confirmed by our princely signature and seal. I, My Highness, invite other enlightened rulers, who will be ordained by Almighty God after us to the rulership of this country, not to weaken this mercy, but more virtuously to add to it and strengthen it, for their honour and eternal commemoration.

This charter was written at the Seat of My Highness, in the city of Iași, during our first rulership in Moldavia, by our faithful boyar Dimitrie Vîrnav, former grand *clucer*, in the first year of our rulership, in 1785, July 10.

BAR, Documente istorice, CXXV/116.

32.

1792

We, Alexandru Constantin Moruzzi Voivode, Ruler of the Land of Moldavia,

I, My Highness, have given the Decision to Stancu Ungurean, governor and judge (*jude*) of princely Rudari Gypsies, that he should take care of all the Gypsies in his group (*ceată*) who are listed in the register that was given to him. Let the Gypsies obey their *jude* in all that he may show them of princely order and let no one else interfere with his group. And in addition, for the Gypsies of his group who are run-away, to have <[blank space:] the right> to seek them and after finding them to bring them back to the group and as many foreign Gypsies <[blank space:], or from another country, as he may find>, wherever he may find them, <he has the right> to take them all here and bring them to his group, <but> not Gypsies from here in this country who belong to the boyars, to the monasteries or to others, run-aways who have later returned under the label of “foreign Gypsies” (*țigani streini*), as per their habit. And after making a list of their names, he is to bring them to Răducanu Roset, grand *comis*, in whose care all the Princely Gypsies have been given this year, to record them in the princely register. Let those Gypsies obey their *jude* in all respects and let no one trouble them, because they will pay their yearly tax (*dajdea*) as per the custom (*după obicei*).

For this, we, My Highness, command that the administrations of the regions, the captains, the servants, and all the residents of the villages, wherever these Gypsies will travel through My Highness’s country seeking their food, providing for themselves properly, without causing any harm or trouble, either they or their cattle, no one should trouble them in any way, because even the disputes that they might have among themselves for small reasons, the grand *comis* and their guard (*vornic*) will look to settle them, avoiding to take from them payments for reconciliation (*împăcăciuni*). And if they should have cases with other residents of the county, the governor of the region will investigate them, as well as cases of murder and theft. Again, the administrators of the region where the cases take place will examine them and will notify My Highness so that I may decide with the Princely Divan; I, My Highness, will order also those who ride as couriers with princely correspondence, not to take their horses or their carts for courier purposes; and in addition, I have already shown mercy in regard to this case and to this group, and we command that they be left in peace [...] not even for <[blank space:] the profit?> that they will have from their carts, as well as from their work at the Princely Court. In order that they be not troubled by these duties shown above, we rule that they be forgiven, and those who would dare to go against My Highness’ decision and try to trouble them, will be punished as any opponent of the princely order.

BAR, Documente istorice, XXXV/194.

33.

1793, March 25

Princely Charter of Decision bound with an episcopal curse that princely Gypsies, that is bear tamers and spoon makers, may never be donated again (*să nu se mai dea danie țigani domnești, adică ursari și lingurari*) [...] printed on the order of our Most High Prince, His Highness voivode Mihail Constandin Suțul with the blessing of His Holiness Metropolitan of Moldavia and Exarch of the Plai, *kirio kir* Iacov, in His Holiness's recently established printing house in Iași, 1793, March 25. Printed by the priest Mihalache and by Gerasim, printers.

Notification is given with this charter of My Highness to all who should know that after the holy providence set us down on our princely throne of the God-protected country of Moldavia, our whole purpose is to put in order all the living conditions of our subjects.

Among other things, I, My Highness, have taken note of the princely Gypsies, bear-tamers and spoon-makers, who are from olden times taxpayers (*birnici*) to the Princely Treasury, that through the complaint (*jalba*) forwarded to My Highness by the Gypsy superintendent (*bulibaș*) and the governors and judges (*jude*) <of princely Gypsies>, and by all the Gypsies households (*cetași*) of these two guilds, complaining that they were from the beginning living a settled life in this country, paying always their taxes (*dăjdiile*) as any resident in these lands; previously they were many, because people from their community were not donated through old donations to the monasteries and to the boyars, and thus were safeguarded the privileges that they had through holy charters and confirmed with a binding curse (*legătură*) that none of them should be donated (*ca să nu se dea danie dintre dănșii*). But then, in the past years, when those charters were lost from their hands, many of them were given as donation with documents; and those of them who remained undonated, being seized by fear of donation and on the other hand being asked for money (*geremetisiți*) by the gendarmes appointed for them (*zapcii lor*) to escape from being donated, were completely hopeless. And fearing that they might fall into bondage of slavery to the boyars (*și temându-se ca nu cumva să cază și ei în robie pe la boieri*), they fled from here to the German border and to other foreign lands, where most of them are still living. Because of this, too few Gypsies have remained here in the country, who have since been granted by the Enlightened Rulers charters according to which they will not be given as donation. But those charters have not been strengthened by a curse (*fără legătură de blestem*), and thus they have not been taken into account and the Gypsies have remained with great fear, and the fear of donation lives like an everlasting wound in their hearts. For this, they begged My Highness with tears to give them back their peace and to be given the charter of My Highness strengthened by the priestly curse, that this fear might leave their hearts, and that they might become sedentary, also gathering those who had fled elsewhere.

My Highness has carefully examined the appeal and found it true.

First of all, regarding the reduction in their number, we, My Highness, have ascertained from the register of the Treasury that too few Princely Gypsies have remained in this country, knowing beforehand how many Gypsy spoon-makers and bear-teamers the country of Moldavia had.

Second, that indeed some of them were given as donations, we have established from the register of the Divan, according to which since they were dispersed, they caused a great loss to the Treasury of the Rulers who later ruled in this country, which nowadays affects My Highness too.

So, wishing My Highness to convince ourselves that they had princely charters that they would not be donated, as they showed, these were found upon investigation in the acts of the Divan.

First, a charter from the late voivode Grigore Alexandru Ghica, from the year 1776, November 24, showing that these spoon-makers had a charter from his first reign not to be given as donation to anyone; since this charter was lost at the time of the uprising, His Highness through that second charter strengthened the decision to be followed in the same way.

The second charter from the late voivode Constandin Dimitrie Moruzzi, from the year 1781, January 22, in which he shows that His Highness established that by longstanding custom the Gypsy spoon-makers were not donated by the Rulers to anyone and similarly, he resolutely insisted that the Gypsy spoon-makers should never be donated to monasteries, to boyars, or anywhere else.

The third charter from His Highness voivode Alexandru Constandin Mavrocordat, from the year 1782, December, in which he shows that His Highness established that regarding the Princely Gypsy spoon makers and the Rudari of the old time, there was the custom that they were never donated, and similarly, His Highness through that charter strengthened the decision to be kept unchanged.

The fourth charter from His Highness voivode Alexandru Constandin Moruzzi, from last year, 1792, October 10, in which His Highness similarly decided that the Princely Gypsy spoon-makers and bear-tamers should never be donated. He issued other decisions to their advantage, presented in detail in the same charter that I have seen, signed and sealed by His Highness.

Then, I, My Highness, ascertained that they truly had this privilege (*pronomion*) decided through princely charters, which, not being strengthened with a curse, were later disregarded; because from time to time, some found means and took from their people many Gypsies as donation with princely charters. Because of this, most of the remaining princely Gypsies fled abroad, but especially the Rudari Gypsies – only nine crosses in the Treasury register marked those that remained undonated.

My Highness considering that, after the reign of My Highness, this population should not be completely diminished, and to prevent such loss to occur to our

descendants as well: behold, with complete determination through this princely charter and agreement (*legământ*) we decide that from now on Gypsy spoon-makers and bear-tamers may not be given as donation by the Ruler of the country, no matter what a great noble one may be and however many may have charters of possession for this kind of Gypsies and have not been able so far to fetch them from the princely *țigănia*s, they should not be given into their possession, but should remain legally as Princely Gypsies.

For His Highness voivode Alexandru Constandin Moruzzi, knowing that so many Gypsies were mistakenly donated, redeemed from slavery twenty households (*sălașe*) of spoon makers that were donated to his brother's lady. The enlightened lady gave those to the Master of the Horse (*comis*) Răducanu Roset, in place of which he gave other foreign Princely Gypsies, as the charter of His Highness from last year, 1792, November 10, shows.

Second, however many others will have disagreements with My Highness's decision, and after an investigation is made among the boyars in possession of princely charterers, in the presence of the Gypsy supervisor (*vornicul de țigani*), the Gypsy superintendents (*bulibași*) and the governors and judges of Princely Gypsies (*juzii de țigani domnești*), however many Gypsy bear-tamers or spoon-makers are found there, let no one take from these two categories, but My Highness should give from another group of Princely Gypsies living in Moldavia, strengthening that decision through a princely charter.

Third. Anyone who secretly and without the knowledge of My Highness marries any Gypsy male of his with a princely Gypsy female or a Gypsy female of his with a princely Gypsy male, so that he could then ask for and take possession of Princely Gypsies, whenever the estate administrators (*epistași*) and the Princely Gypsy supervisor (*vornicul de țigani domnești*) prove that they committed such a cunning act to the detriment of the Treasury, then the foreign party, Gypsy male or Gypsy female, will be fully taken under princely control and recorded in the register, and their loss should serve as a penalty to be an example for many.

Fourth. If any case of dispute occurs among them and with others, only the estate administrator (*epistat*) and their supervisor (*vornici*) should impart justice as per the old custom, and the superintendents (*ispravnici*) or other officials (*dregători*) should interfere as little as possible, except where someone is killed.

And to keep the agreement of this charter, it should be signed below and then it should be printed for the notice of all, so that everyone may be prevented from acting against it. [...]

BRV, nr. 564, 25 March 1793, "Hrisov Domnesc de așezământ".

34.

The Ministry of Religious Affairs (*Logofeția Credinței*) to: the administrator of Cozia Monastery, the pious Father Metodie Cotmăneanu,

On the question [addressed] by appeal, what does Your Holiness answer? From the first day of the next month, what should the monastery do to get now the money from the Rudari Gypsies, which Cozia Monastery used to previously take from the Chief of Police for the whole year; as well as from the salt-cutter Gypsies from Ocnele Mari, donated in full control to the monastery, as they were before? The Ministry of Religious Affairs informs Your Holiness:

Firstly, regarding the decision about gold-washer Gypsies (*țiganii aurari*) taken last March 27, through order no. 755, the Honourable Treasury informs the Ministry that after the appeal you submitted to His Excellency the fully-empowered President, addressing with the resolution of His Excellency the Honourable Administrative Council, through the report no. 561, they [the Council] submitted to the knowledge of His Excellency that, since these Gypsies from the beginning were princely, that is, they belonged to the State (*au fost domnești, adică ai statului*), and according to the power of donation that the Rulers had, as Voivode Mircea could donate them (*și după puterea ce aveau Domnii, precum a putut Mircea Vodă a-i dăru*), thus could also the late Grigorie Vodă Ghica cel Bătrân take them back.

And now, while working on reform, the State Gypsies were found with non-payment <of taxes> to the monastery through the Police Department (*Armășie*), amounting to 44 *parale* per Gypsy per year. On this appeal, the decision of His High Excellency was given by the act no. 189, stating that this amount due for the whole year by the gold-washer Gypsies (*țiganii aurari*), established by the late Grigore Ghica, is to be deducted by the monastery from the amount of money that is due as aid for the whole year for the Help Houses.

For this reason, the Minister informs Your Holiness as per above and it remains only for you to inform the Minister of the number of the gold-washer Gypsies (*țiganii aurari*), so as to know how much money the monastery should deduct from the amount for the entire year that is due to the Help Houses. June 9, 1833.

ANIC, Logofeția Pricinilor Bisericești, dos. 6559/1832, f. 34; published in Cojocaru 1958: II, 523.

35: Application for a gold-washing concession from Alexandru Popovici, the engineer of Brăila city, addressed to Gheorghe Bibescu, the Ruler of Wallachia, on March 21, 1843

Your Highness, in order not to upset your Highness with too many stories <I shall cut this short>. A special predilection urged me to send my eldest son, Scarlat, to the Schemnitz Academy in Upper Hungary [at Banská Štiavnica, Slovakia, n.a.] to study the sciences of metallurgy and mineralogy, namely: 1) Chemistry, 2) Analysis of metals 3) Subsoil geometry, 4) Mining engineering, 5) Mine legislation; 6) Mining extraction; 7) Earth science and others, as shown by the certificates issued by the Academy. After 16 years of study, today he works at the *baia* (mine) at Oravița, in the Banat of Timișoara. This project application [that I send] does not concern the construction of *băișag* smelters or iron manufacture, for the building of which much capital is needed. Not at all. Your Highness, my project is limited to requesting Your Highness's approval for me to wash and refine the gold sand that flows in the River Olt together with all the rivulets and streams that flow into it.

- 1) My method of gold-washing will be done with a special machine that can be placed on each stream. No grain of gold will escape from it.
- 2) It can wash as much sand <in a short time> as five Rudari can do in a day with their *urca* or *scuța*⁴⁰.
- 3) No Rudar would be able to steal or hide any gold during treatment.
- 4) Skilled workers are not needed for this machine. I can employ anyone.
- 5) The machine can be easily moved from one place to another. Workers do not have to use their hands, so they can work during the winter as well.

Because it was not customary in Wallachia to wash alluvial gold according to this procedure and under close surveillance, some of the princely Rudari used to wash in May or June, after the snow melted and after the stream declined. In a month <some produced> up to 20 drams⁴¹ of pure gold, but others only 15 drams, so they could barely pay their taxes. In the Austrian Empire, one pays nothing to the State for the authorization to wash gold except for the capitation <fee>. However, I agree to pay one tenth of the profit according to article 178 of the Organic Regulation, with the only condition to be aided and supported by Your Highness with the Rudari's *sălășe* (families). Those from Ocnele Mari and from Vâlcea County belonged to the Crown up until the last Ruler who liberated and relocated them to boyar estates. <If the Rudari start again extracting alluvial gold>, the *vătăfș* will oblige me to pay their taxes due to the Honourable

⁴⁰ a wooden board covered with a cloth filter.

⁴¹ one dram equals 3.18 grams.

Treasury. My only request is that these Rudari should compensate Your Highness in kind or in money for as many days as you deem fit. For the security of the Treasury, an official will be constantly present throughout the summer, so that no abuse is done to the detriment of the State Treasury. This new company does not need any great capital. It is possible to do the work for the sum of 450 *galbeni*⁴² that will be brought by my son from Oravița, together with a few *băiași* from the mines. This money can pay the taxes of the Rudari workers and the cost of the machine. They will work with drills and other tools to geologically explore all the banks of the rivers near the Olt to discover where the layers of alluvial gold are. After discovering this, a different type of work comes into play, namely, to work more efficiently and wash 10 to 20 scales of sand or gravel per day.

- 6) To lease those places where the layers of alluvial gold will be found.

ANIC, fond Visteria, dos. 1633/ 1843, f. 2; published in Cojocaru 1958: 787–790.

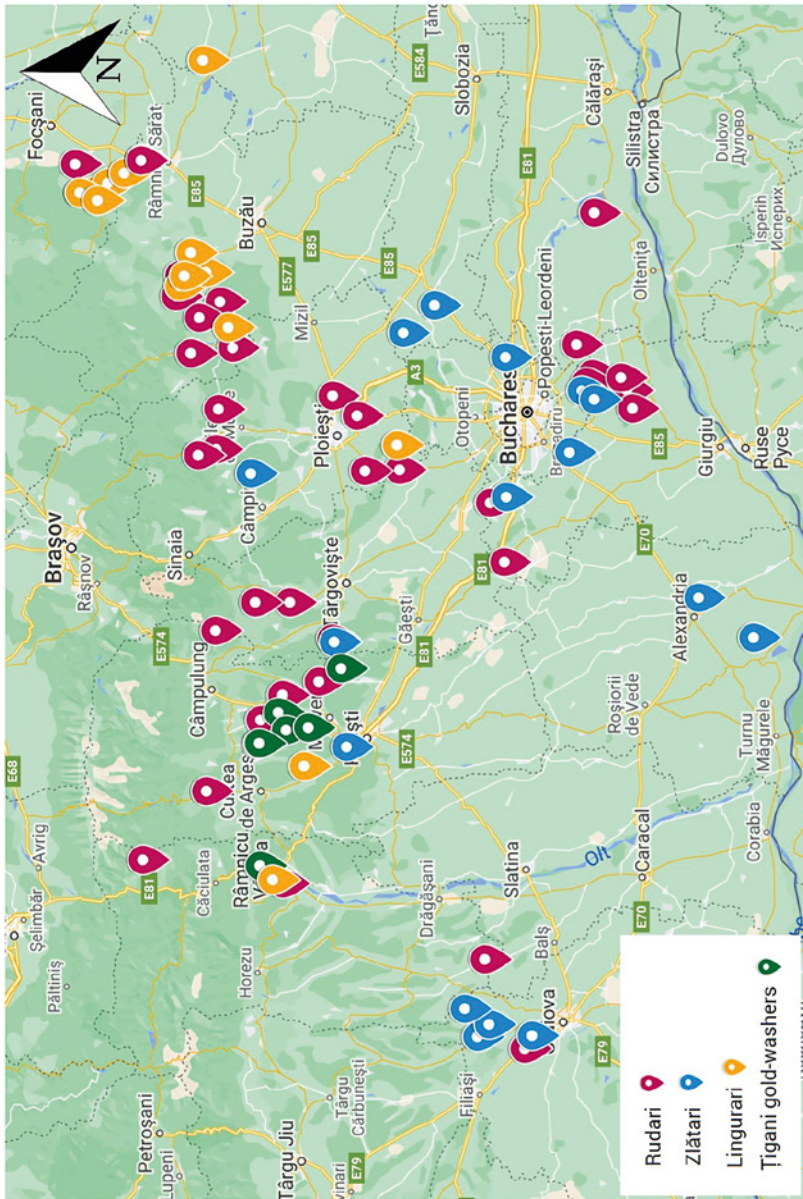
36–39: Lists of the Localities⁴³ Inhabited by the Rudari, etc Reconstructed from the 1838 Census and *Marele Dicționar Geografic*

Site of the map:

https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?lang=en&mid=1JCM_02SDPScUhkpHg4FBa sm9VvcqF72&ll=44.65160179037328%2C25.5639248966666656&z=8

⁴² Romanian gold coin weighing 6.45 grams.

⁴³ The names of the localities are written as found in the 1838 register but with modern orthography. Where the name of a locality has since changed, this is mentioned. The identification is made with the Encyclopedic Geographic Dictionary of Romania (Ghinea 2002) and MDG. The division into *plăși* (sub-districts) is not mentioned. The current county is mentioned, which might differ from the administrative division of 1838. For example, the counties of Secuieni and Vlașca no longer exist: Secuieni was divided between the counties of Prahova and Buzău, while Vlașca was divided between the counties of Dolj and Romanați (itself later abolished and divided among neighbouring counties).



Map 1 Geographical Distribution of the Rudari, Țigani Gold-washers, Zlătari, and Lingurari in Wallachia in 1838

36. List of the localities inhabited by Rudari by 1838

- Adunați Village, Râca Commune, Argeș County; 44°27'7"N 25°01'45"E
- Albești Pământeni Village, Albești Commune, Argeș County; 45°13'01"N 24°40'01"E
- Bălilești Village, Bălilești Commune, Argeș County; 45°04'05"N 24°56'19"E
- Bâscenii de Jos Village, Calvinii Commune, Buzău County; 45°14'49"N 26°18'59"E
- Beleți⁴⁴ Village, Beleți-Negrești Commune, Argeș County; 44°54'23"N 25°05'9"E
- Bercioiu Village, Budești Commune, Vâlcea County; 45°0'10"N 24°19'3"E
- Bordești Commune, Vrancea County; 45°32'42"N 27°02'17"E
- Butimanu Village, Butimanu Commune, Dâmbovița County; 44°41'7"N 25°53'42"E
- Cacaleți⁴⁵, Gogoșari Commune, Giurgiu County; 43°52'57"N 25°39'46"E
- Călugăreni Village, Călugăreni Commune, Prahova County; 45°05'04"N 26°22'34"E
- Cepari Village, Cârlogari Commune, Olt County; 44°29'50"N 24°10'16"E
- Chiselet Village, Chiselet Commune, Călărași County; 44°10'13"N 26°51'18"E
- Ciumești⁴⁶ Village, Mărăcineni Commune, Argeș County; 44°54'N 24°53'E
- Cocorova Village, Turburea Commune, Gorj County; 44°39'24"N 23°33'26"E
- Coeni⁴⁷ Village, Goștinari Commune, Giurgiu County; 44°10'10"N 26°14'53"E
- Cornești Village, Cornești Commune, Dâmbovița County; 44°46'03"N 25°53'16"E
- Cotu Village, Breasta Commune, Dolj County; 44°21'18"N 23°41'49"E
- Crețu, integrated in Snagov Commune, Ilfov County; 44°42'2"N 26°9'47"E
- Dănulești Village, Buda Commune, Buzău County; 45°30'26"N 26°56'11"E
- Davidești Village, Davidești Commune, Argeș County; 45°00'34"N 25°01'59"E
- Dragoslovești⁴⁸ Commune, Vrancea County; 45°33'54"N 27°4'22"E
- Drugănești, quarter of the village Stoenești, Florești-Stoenești Commune, Giurgiu County; 44°30'28"N 25°41'42"E
- Gheboiaia Village, Finta Commune, Dâmbovița County; 44°48'7"N 25°44'55"E
- Gura Căluui Village, Căluui Commune, Olt County; 44°27'32"N 24°2'7"E
- Herești Commune, Giurgiu County; 44°12'49"N 26°21'53"E
- Jupânești Village, Cosești Commune, Argeș County; 45°4'3"N 24°51'4"E
- Lacul lui Baban Village, Gura Caliiței Commune, Vrancea County; 45°36'12"N 26°58'30"E
- Lapoșul Vechi⁴⁹ Village, Lapoș Commune, Prahova County; 45.1366°N 26.3446°E
- Ludești Village, Ludești Commune, Dâmbovița County; 44°52'24"N 25°14'40"E

44 Today, Beleți-Negrești.

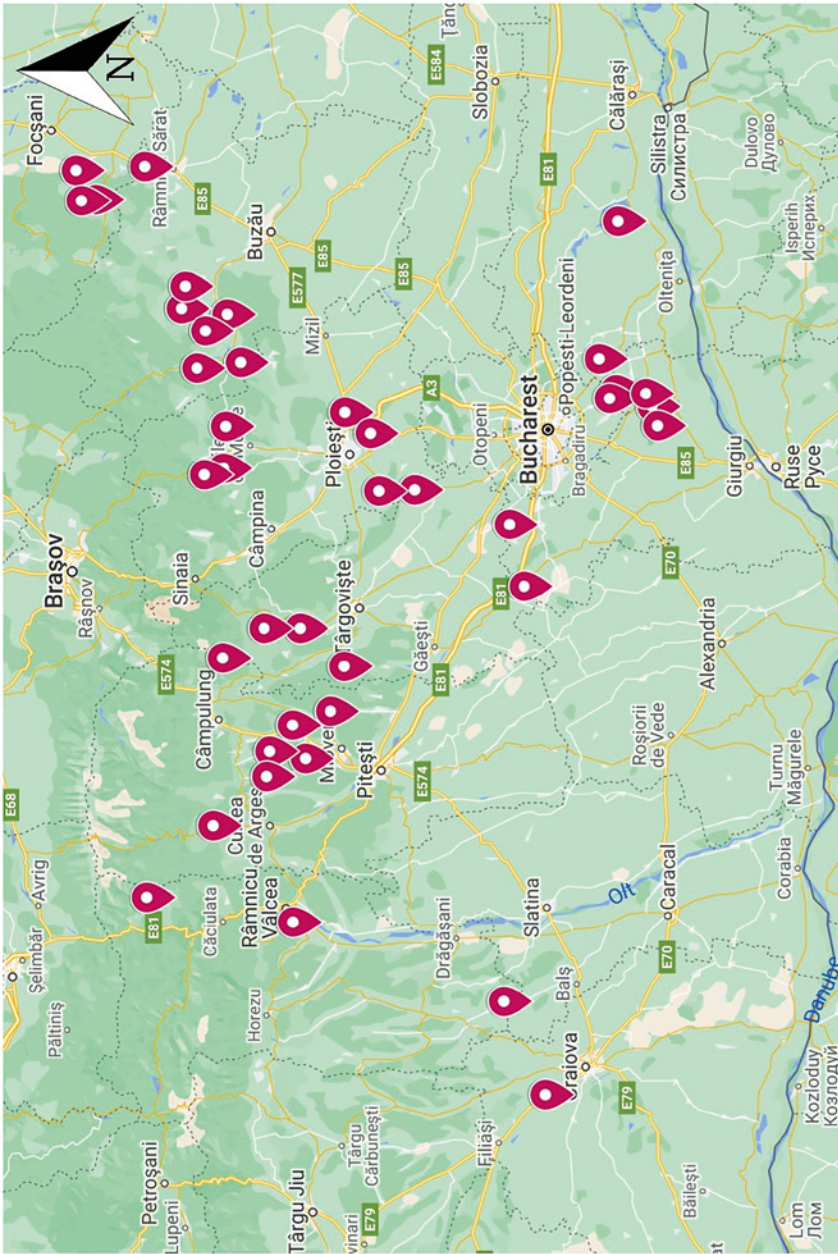
45 Today Izvoru.

46 The name was changed to Argeșelu.

47 The name was changed to Mironești.

48 Nowadays Dragosloveni.

49 Today Lapoș.



Map 2 Geographical Distribution of the Rudari in Wallachia in 1838

Măgura Commune, Buzău County; 45°16'44"N 26°34'52"E
 Mioveni City, Argeş County; 44°57'25"N 24°56'26"E
 Mirosălveşti⁵⁰, Dâmboviţa County.
 Moroieni Village, Moroieni Commune, Dâmboviţa County; 45°12'52"N 25°26'13"E
 Negreni Village, Dârmăneşti Commune, Argeş County; 44°59'31"N 24°54'47"E
 Negrenii de Jos Village, quarter of the city Scorniceşti, Olt County; 44°34'12"N 24°33'0"E
 Optaşi Village, Optaşi-Măgura Commune, Olt County; 44°34'45"N 24°39'6"E
 Perişani Village, Perişani Commune, Vâlcea County; 45°22'23"N 24°24'32"E
 Pietrile Village, Băneasa Commune, Giurgiu County; 44°3'53"N 26°6'57"E
 Piscani Village, Dârmăneşti Commune, Argeş County; 44°58'23"N 24°54'58"E
 Podul Lacului Village, Poiana Cristei Commune, Vrancea County; 45°38'36"N 26°59'23"E
 Poienari de Argeş Village, Poienari de Argeş Commune, Argeş County; 45°4'5"N 24°31'47"E
 Poienile, quarter in the city Pătârlagele, Buzău County; 45°15'58"N 26°21'19"E
 Predeşti⁵¹, Vipereşti Commune, Buzău County; 45°13'44"N 26°27'38"E
 Prundu Village, Prundu Commune, Giurgiu County; 44°05'40"N 26°13'46"E
 Pucheni Village, Pucheni Commune, Dâmboviţa County; 45°11'6"N 25°16'48"E
 Puieni Village, Prundu Commune, Giurgiu County; 44°04'33"N 26°11'24"E
 Răduceşti Village, Topliceni Commune, Buzău County; 45°25'30"N 27°0'19"E
 Râmnicu Sărat City; Buzău County; Coordinates: 45.3865° N, 27.0462° E
 Ruda Village, Argeş⁵² County; 45°1'50"N 24°19'59"E
 Sineşti Village, quarter of the city Potcoava, Olt County; 44°28'04"N 24°39'57"E
 Slănic City, Prahova County; 45°14'0"N 25°56'21"E
 Şotânga Commune, Dâmboviţa County; 44°58'40"N 25°23'19"E
 Spălăturile Village⁵³
 Strâmba Ştirboaipei⁵⁴
 Suseni, quarter in village Bilciureşti, Dâmboviţa County; 44°45'N 25°47'E
 Şuţeşti Village, Şuţeşti Commune, Brăila County; 45°13'31"N 27°26'14"E
 Telega Village, Telega Commune, Prahova County; 45°08'23"N 25°47'17"E
 Tisău Village, Tisău Commune, Buzău County; 45°10'18"N 26°31'15"E
 Țițești Village, Țițești Commune, Argeş County; 45°00'35"N 24°59'18"E
 Unguriu Commune, Buzău County; 45°18'N 26°38'E
 Valea Vecii⁵⁵

50 Not identified.

51 It has been organised within Vipereşti.

52 Noawadays in Vâlcea County.

53 It is a lake area, Pârâu.

54 Unidentified.

55 Unidentified.

Vărbilău Village, Vărbilău Commune, Prahova County; 45°11'11"N 25°57'13"E
 Vârfuri Village, Vârfuri Commune, Dâmbovița County; 45°5'53"N 25°30'54"E
 Vlădeștii de Sus⁵⁶ Village, Vlădești Commune, Argeș County; 45°9'14"N 24°55'36"E
 Vulcana Pandele Commune, Dâmbovița County; 45°1'19"N 25°23'21"E
 Zănoaga Village, Dăneasa Commune, Olt County; 44°6'13"N 24°36'39"E
 Zgaia⁵⁷, Roata de Jos Commune, Giurgiu County; 44°24'0"N 25°33'26"E

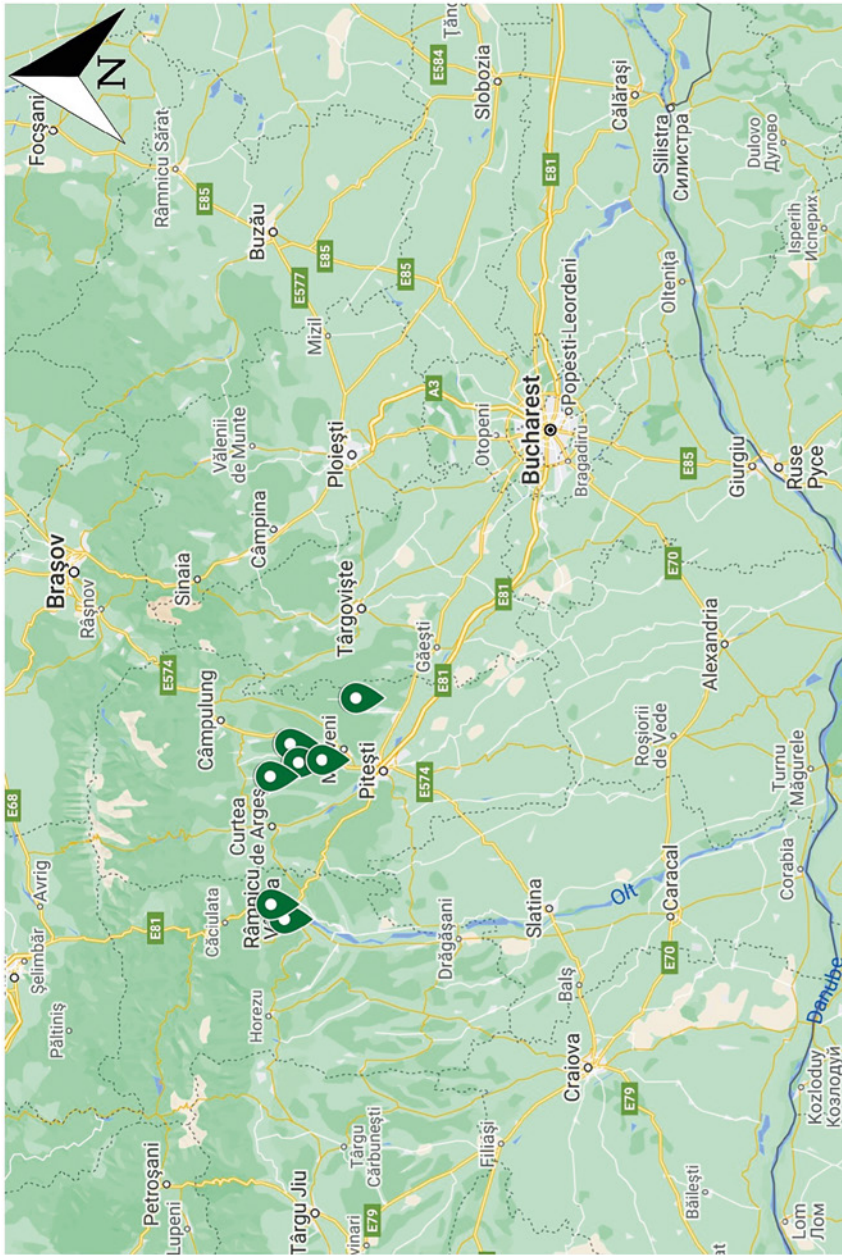
37. List of the localities inhabited by Țigani gold-washers⁵⁸ by 1838

Bogați Village, Dâmbovița County; 44°50'54"N 25°07'55"E
 Ruda Village, Vâlcea County; 45°1'50"N 24°19'59"E
 Budești Commune, Vâlcea County; 45°3'53"N 24°23'14"E
 Hârtiești Commune, Argeș County; 45°01'N 24°58'E
 Jupânești Village, Argeș County; 45° 4' 0" N 24° 51' 0" E
 Tămășești Village, Dârmănești Commune, Argeș County; 44°59'43"N 24°53'58"E
 Colibași, Argeș County; 44°56'7"N 24°54'32"E

56 Today Vlădești.

57 The name was changed to Roata Mică.

58 Țigani as ethnicity, gold washers as occupation.



Map 3 Geographical Distribution of the Tigan gold-washers in Wallachia in 1838

38. List of the localities inhabited by Zlătari by 1838

Adâncata Village, Goești Commune, Dolj County; 44°28'56"N 23°44'24"E
 Bordeni Village, Scorțeni Commune, Prahova County; 45°5'22"N 25°52'10"E
 Brânceni Village Brânceni Commune, Teleorman County; 43°53'N 25°24'E
 Cernele de Jos, quarter of Craiova City, Dolj County; 44°20'04"N 23°44'40"E
 Chiroiu Village, Drăgoiești Commune, Ialomița County; 44°35'51"N 26°30'21"E
 Comana Village, Comana Commune, Giurgiu County⁵⁹; 44°10'N 26°9'E
 Falaștoaca Village, Comana Commune, Giurgiu County⁶⁰; 44°12'1"N 26°10'57"E
 Gaia Village, Murgăși Commune, Dolj County; 44°30'57"N 23°50'46"E
 Ludești Village, Ludești Commune, Dâmbovița County; 44°52'N 25°14'E
 Milești Village, Șimnicu de Sus Commune, Dolj County; 44°27'0"N 23°47'10"E
 Ogrezeni Village, Ogrezeni Commune, Giurgiu County⁶¹; 44°24'17"N 25°46'53"E
 Râmnicu Sărat City, Buzău County; 45°22'48"N 27°3'36"E
 Singureni Village, Singureni Commune, Giurgiu County⁶²; 44°14'N 25°57'E
 Smeura Village, Moșoaia Commune, Argeș County; 44°50'2"N 24°50'8"E
 Stroești Village⁶³, Fierbinții Târg Commune, Ialomița County; 44°40'54"N 26°24'7"E
 Suhaia Village, Suhaia Commune, Teleorman County; 43°44'N 25°15'E
 Tânganu Village, Cernica Commune, Ilfov County; 44°24'24"N 26°18'32"E

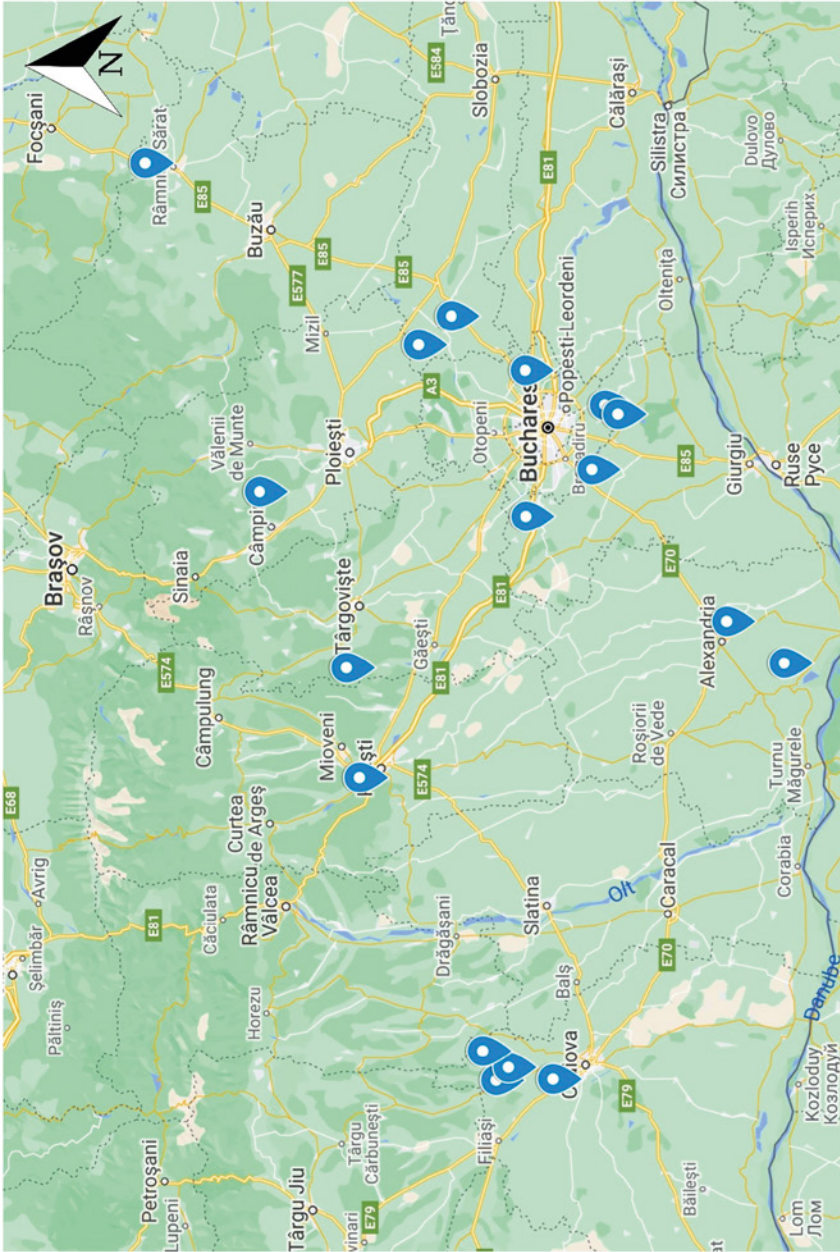
59 Previously Vlașca.

60 Previously Vlașca.

61 Previously Vlașca.

62 Previously Vlașca.

63 Since 1968 is called Fierbinții de Sus.

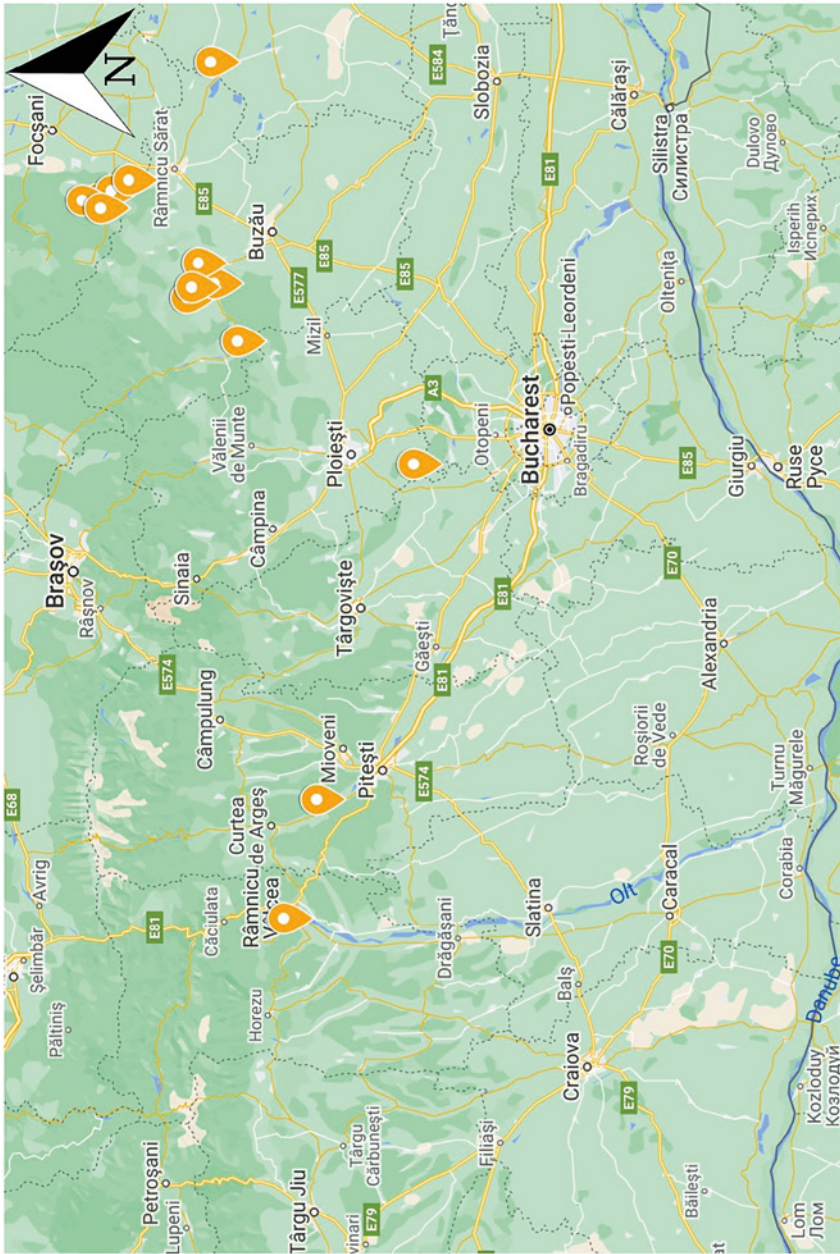


Map 4 Geographical Distribution of the Złtari in Wallachia in 1838

39. List of the localities inhabited by Lingurari by 1838

Biceștii de Jos Village, Dumitrești Commune, Vrancea County; 45°32'36"N 26°55'56"E
 Borlești Village, Merișani Commune, Argeș County; 44°56'52"N 24°45'49"E
 Buda Village, Buda Commune, Buzău County; 45°29'47"N 26°54'8"E
 Cândeștii de Jos⁶⁴, Vernești Commune, Buzău County; 45°14'57"N 26°42'16"E
 Ciocănari Village, Niculești Village, Dâmbovița County; 44°41'51"N 25°58'37"E
 Dănulești Village, Buda Commune, Buzău County; 45°30'26"N 26°56'11"E
 Dedulești Village, Topliceni Commune, Buzău County; 45°28'12"N 26°58'2"E
 Grăjdana Village, Tisău Commune, Buzău County; 45°12'31"N 26°37'52"E
 Lapoșul Nou, Village Lapoș Commune, Prahova County; 45°08'56"N 26°25'21"E
 Măgura Village, Măgura Commune, Buzău County; 45°16'44"N 26°34'43"E
 Răducești Village, Topliceni Commune, Buzău County; 45°25'30"N 27°0'19"E
 Ruda Village, Budești Commune, Vâlcea County; 45°15'0"N 24°19'59"E
 Șuțești Village, Șuțești Commune, Brăila County; 45°13'N 27°26'E
 Unguriu Village, Unguriu Commune, Buzău County; 45°16'N 26°37'E

64 Village merged in Cândești village.



Map 5 Geographical Distribution of the Lingurari in Wallachia in 1838

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