

FORMULARY AND CHANCERY PRACTICE IN TRANSYLVANIA DURING MICHAEL THE BRAVE'S REIGN (1599-1600)*

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Abstract: *The author aims to reconstruct in the present study the role played by the chancery and its writing practices during the reign of Michael the Brave in Transylvania. In the first part the chancery is defined within the whole institutional ensemble of the principality and its development stages are underlined, together with its two individual compartments: cancelaria minor and cancelaria maior. Ioan Iacobinus' formulary is presented as well; he was the secretary of the Báthory family and of Michael the Brave. Within this formulae styli some Latin writ templates are presented in detail and further analyzed, as the Romanian prince based his issued documents on them. Such are the templates of some letters, like convocatoriae literae, assecuratoria or nova donatio. Some other types of documents are missing from Iacobinus' formulary, even though they were issued by Michael the Brave's chancery and were preserved in Hungarian and Slavic. This writing praxis is analyzed in the final part of the study. The author attempts to bring to light the consistency and novelty present in the activity of the Romanian chancery.*

Keywords: Transylvania, Michael the Brave, cancelaria minor, cancelaria maior, secretary Ioan Iacobinus

The achievements of Michael the Brave's reign in Transylvania are known today due to a wide diversity of written sources, from chronicles and diplomatic correspondence to the documents issued by his chancery from Alba Iulia. The organization and operation of this chancery was a constant concern of the new ruler, and he strived to transform it into an efficient instrument of his government. Thus, the princely chancery covered the writing needs of all institutional departments of the state: from administration to justice, taxation to army, public conduct to religious life, etc. The princely chancery issued in written form all decisions and commands formulated by Michael the Brave, the Princely Council of the Country Assembly, the establishments that held the entire state authority. In order to carry out accordingly its mission to publish documents certifying public and private rights and obligations, the chancery had to be well organized, to function rigorously and comprise trained personnel.

Despite the adversities of the time and the short reign of Michael the Brave in Transylvania (October 1599-September 1600), enough documents and information

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were preserved, including a partial formulary, whose detailed study will allow us to better understand the organization and activity of his chancery.

Michael the Brave seized power in Transylvania by military means (*manu militari*) and without any imperial help. This fact had obvious consequences on his political governing notions, including on the functioning of his newly created chancery from Alba Iulia. The ruler's domestic politics was guided by juridical arguments beyond imperial support, by invoking *ius belli* especially when donation deeds were concerned. In order to gain the loyalty and assistance of the Transylvanian estates, Michael the Brave sanctioned and increased the liberties and privileges of those noblemen willing to obey and serve him. His aim was to obtain a wider political and military independence, as well as recognition of his position as rightful ruler of the country – this was possible by convincing the members of the estates and of town communities to take an oath of allegiance. To this purpose, Michael acted as a true sovereign and convened a General Assembly that was to on November 20th 1599 in Alba Iulia.

At the opening session of the General Assembly, the ruler announced a public decree (*publico decreto*) that stated his intention to accept and sanction ancient donations made by the country's kings and princes, except for those donation deeds issued by Sigismund Báthory, which were annulled. This action was one of the first princely initiatives that would have deep political significance, and resulted in the endorsement by a compelling part of Transylvanian nobility, by the leaders of the Saxons and Szeklers, and by the noblemen of Romanian ancestry, who distinguished themselves through stability and devotion. Many front-ranked noblemen, some of them former princely advisors of the Báthory family (like Stephen Csáky, Gaspar Kornis, Moses Székely, and others), have joined Michael the Brave, trading their assistance in exchange for confirmation of their possessions, the opportunity of gaining new assets and estates, as well as new titles of nobility and higher income.

The square same unifying policy was imposed by Michael the Brave on the country's chancery, an institution preserved from the former administration and adapted to the functioning needs of the new government. In October 1599, when the Romanian ruler took power in Transylvania, the princely chancery was on a developed level of its evolution, divided into 2 sections: the Greater Chancery (*Cancellaria maior*) and the Lesser Chancery (*Cancellaria minor*). The first – and its members¹ – issued most documents of the time and dealt with the affairs of the foreign and internal government under the authority of the Chancellor, while the

¹ For instance, the princely mandate issued on December 1st 1599, addressed to all notaries and scribes: “Egregiis nobilibus Nicolao Swuich, Paulo Koncz, Jacobo Bagossy, Andreae et Paulo Zigethy, Stephano Fenessy, Andreae Thoroczky, Stephano Somogyi, Joanni Tarczaly, Stephano Berczy et Georgio Bodo notariis et scribis maioris Cancellariae nostrae de curia nostra...”, Andrei Veress, *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești*, V (1596-1599), București, 1932, p. 297. Another document, issued on April 13th 1600, mentions other names, cf. *Ibidem*, VI, p. 79.

latter arranged the concerned itself with documents related to judicial cases of Transylvania².

Usually, those nominated to the rank of Chancellor were close and trusted collaborators of the country's ruler. Such was the case of Bishop Dimitrie Naprágy, whom Michael the Brave accepted as Chancellor as a gesture of goodwill and respect for this leader of the Catholic Church, which also had imperial protection. The nomination of a churchman as Chancellor, who had no cultural proficiency, would thus be justified. Naprágy's secretary however, John Iacobinus, was well known to his peers due to his writings of history and rhetoric³. Iacobinus was the true man in charge of the chancery's written output after its takeover by the new ruler. Apparently, he was that anonymous secretary to whom Michael the Brave had entrusted the princely archive after the victory of Șelimbăr (October 18th) and subsequent entrance in Alba Iulia (November 1st 1599), demanding, for political reasons, an account of the most important documents⁴. This directive aimed at an exact inventory of princely donation deeds in order to establish the abrogation of those issued by Sigismund Báthory.

John Iacobinus, the future princely secretary, was Unitarian, from Cluj, born on August 23rd 1574⁵ in a family belonging to the Saxon patriciate. His father, Bernard Iacobinus, was a reputed citizen, used by the Báthory family for diplomatic assignments, including in Poland (1587). The Unitarian school from Cluj, in need of well-trained professors from abroad, commissioned Bernard Iacobinus to bring John Erasmus of Antwerp to town, at the time a refugee in Poland due to religious persecutions. Erasmus was one of the teachers of young John Iacobinus, who displayed his academic training and qualities as a rhetorician in the circumstance of the wedding of Stephen Kakas⁶, princely secretary, – on that occasion Iacobinus delivered the *Chorus Musarum* oration, which made his name known throughout the city and led to his subsequent nomination as town's notary public. In 1595 he joined the military expedition led by Sigismund Báthory against the Turks in Wallachia and took part at

² The evolution of the princely chancery during the second half of the 16th century is described in Trócsányi Zolt, *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540-1690*, Budapest, 1980, p. 184-186; Susana Andea, *Instituțiile centrale și locale în Transilvania*, in *Istoria românilor, V. O epocă de înnoiri în spirit european (1601-1711/1716)*, Ediția a II-a, București, 2012, p. 701-707.

³ Bónis György, Valentiny Antal, *Jacobinus János erdélyi kancellár formuláskönyve (1602)*, Cluj, 1947, p. 7.

⁴ Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, III/1 (1576-1599), București, 1880, p. 367.

⁵ Costin Feneșan, Konrad G. Gündisch, *Informații privind istoria Transilvaniei (sec. XVI-XVII) în calendarele lui Paul Eber*, in "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca", XVII, 1974, p. 84.

⁶ Bónis György, Valentiny Antal, *op. cit.* Details about his life and diplomacy career are available in Veress Endre, *Zalánkeményi Kakas István*, Budapest, 1905. Regarding his activity as secretary in the princely chancery, from 1593 to 1599, see Trócsányi Zolt, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

the battle of Călugăreni, an experience he later described in the work *Brevis enarratio rerum a Serenissimo Transsylvaniae Principe Sigismundo anno MDXCV gestarum. Authore Ioanne Iacobino, Notario urbis Claudiopolitanae* (Claudiopoli, 1596). Iacobinus presented the official, princely sanctioned, narration of events, and his printing was successful in the country and abroad. Soon after, this book was included in one of the well-known historical collections of the time published in Frankfurt am Main⁷ regarding the anti-ottoman conflicts, together with the *Chronicle* of Great Logothete Teodosie Rudeanu (the edition arranged by Balthazar Walther).

The academic training and writing talent led to the nomination of John Iacobinus as secretary of Princess Maria Christierna in April 1598, and later, in August of the same year, as secretary of Prince Sigismund Báthory. From this moment on, the young secretary's activity and career will be linked to the princely chancery, which he administered with commitment and competence, no matter who ruled the state. Showing no political preferences, Iacobinus managed to hold the office of chancery secretary during the reigns of the Princes: Sigismund Báthory (1598-1599, 1601-1602), Andrew Báthory (1599), Michael the Brave (1599-1600), of the Governor Stephen Csáky and apparently during the rule of Moses Székely (1603). Each of them took advantage of Iacobinus' literacy and knowledge in the issuance of documents and correspondence written in Latin and Hungarian. Besides these records, a small formulary-book was compiled, which comprised templates of documents' types, meant to expedite the work of the chancery scribes⁸.

The making of this formulary was not the earliest, as previous formularies were used in the royal chancery: e.g. the well-known *Ars notarialis* from the Anjou era⁹, or the formulary-book (*formuláskönyve*) belonging to the notary John

⁷ The following collections can be quoted: *Rerum Hungaricarum Scriptores varii, historici, geographici ...*, Frankfurt am Main, 1600, p. 536-547; *Rerum memorabilium in Pannonia sub Turcarum imperatoribus, a capta Constantinopoli usque ad hanc aetatem nostram, bello, militiaque gestarum. Exegeses sive narationes illustres variorum et diversarum auctorum. Recensente Nicolao Reusnero...*, Frankfurt am Main, 1603, p. 221-227 (*Narratio auctore Ioanne Iacobino Claudiopolitano*), respectively p. 227-255 (*Brevis rerum a Michaele Moldaviae, Transalpiniae sive Valachiae Palatino Michaele gestarum descriptio. Auctore Baldassare Walthero*); *Syndromus rerum Turcico-Pannonicarum, historiam centum quinquaginta annorum complectens; qua quidquid a capta Constantinopoli ad annum usque 1600, inter Christianos Turcasque rerum pace militiaque gestum est...*, Frankfurt am Main, 1627, p. 211-227 (*Ioannis Iacobini Rerum in Transylvania a Sigismundo Bathori principe anno 1595 gestarum narratio*), respectiv p. 227-255 (*Baldassari Waltheri Rerum a Michaele Moldaviae, Transalpiniae sive Valachiae Palatino gestarum descriptio*). The 1603 edition of Nicolas Reusner was reprinted in 1770 in Kalocsa, Iacobinus' paper was included in the two editions *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* by Schwandtner printed in Vienna in 1746 and 1766, cf. Andrei Veress, *Bibliografia româno-ungară*, I (1473-1780), București, 1931, p. 64-65, 74, 214, 260 and 268.

⁸ The formulary was analysed and published by Bónis György, Valentiny Antal, *op. cit.*

⁹ Bónis György, *Az Ars Notaria mint retorikai és jogi tankönyv*, in "Filológiai Közlöny", 1963, nr. 3-4, p. 373-387.

Magyi¹⁰, or the book of John Bachy from 1569¹¹, during the Principality. Such an instrument, used as model, prototype or template for the practical learning of some juridical elements was part of all the chanceries from the Kingdom of Hungary and Principality of Transylvania, from the country's chancery to the level of authentication places¹².

The chancery formulary used by John Iacobinus is preserved in the form of a small book with 12 pages, included in a registry that later comprised the documents of the Cluj Locksmiths' Guild¹³, with the initials *S*S*T* and the year *1*5*9*9* imprinted on the cover. According to the watermark, the paper was produced between 1598 and 1606 in Germany. The mentioned date, 1599, probably marks the beginning of the registry and the start of the transcription of documents belonging to Sigismund Báthory, Maria Christierna and Michael the Brave. The formulary comprises a total number of 22 templates, all written in Latin, some specifically dated and placed, and others from approximately 1581-1602. 15 templates belong to Sigismund Báthory, one to Maria Christierna, 5 to Michael the Brave and another one which could be attributed to any of the princes from the Báthory family¹⁴.

The formulary comprises noticeably less record templates than the number known today to have been written and issued by the princely chancery during the period under review. This observation only proves the fragmentary character of the formulary book, including the fact that it is not complete – probably it was not finished – as there are missing the templates of the numerous documents issued in Hungarian, as well as those of some preserved documents in Romanian and

¹⁰ Bónis György, *Magyi János formuláskönyve és a gyakorlati jogtanítás*, in “Jubileumi tanulmányok a pécsi egyetem történetéből”, I, Szerk. Csizmadia Andor, Pécs, 1967, p. 225-260; Dreska Gábor, *Jegyzetkönyv, mintakönyv, tankönyv. A Magyi-formulárium*, in “Arcana tabularii”. Tanulmányok Solymosi László tiszteletére, I, Budapest-Debrecen, 2014, p. 43-51.

¹¹ Pécsi Anna, *Az erdélyi fejedelmi kancellária első formuláriumos kézírata*, in “Emlékkönyv Szentpétery Imre születése hatvanadik évfordulójának ünnepére”, Budapest, 1938, p. 385–395; Bogdándi Zsolt, *Fráter György birói működésének emlékei Bácsi János formuláskönyvében*, in “Történelmi Szemle”, LVI, 2014, sz. 4, p.621-638 (Ioan Bachy's manuscript book can be found at the Central University Library/Biblioteca Centrală Universitară “Lucian Blaga” Cluj-Napoca, Colecția de manuscrise, Ms. latin nr. 1271).

¹² Cf. Martinus Georgius Kovachich, *Formulae solennes styli in cancellaria, curiaque regum, foris minoribus, ac locis credibilibus, authenticisque Regni Hungariae olim usitati*, Pesthini, 1799. In the manuscript collection from Transylvanian Museum/Muzeul Ardelean about 25 formulary books were identified, and at the Hungarian National Archives, Holding B 24, there is, among others, a series entitled *Stylianarium*, used in the Chancery of the Transylvanian Gubernium during the period 1694-1797, etc.

¹³ National Archives/Arhivele Naționale – Serviciul județean Cluj (infra SJAN Cluj), Fond bresle, Breasla lăcătușilor, nr. 3.

¹⁴ All documents were published as Annex in Bónis György, Valentiny Antal, *op. cit.*, p. 25-56. We should mention that pages 5 and 6 of the manuscript, with more than one document template from Sigismund Báthory's chancery, have detached from the register and were lost.

Slavonic. The different calligraphy as well as the two different sets of ink used (a lighter ink is used after folio 10r) are evidence that the formulary ended in 1602, notably the form that was the preserved, and was carried out in at least two stages which cannot be for the moment chronologically pinned down.

From the point of view of the contents, the templates of documents comprised in the formulary are diverse, regarding ennoblement (*nobilitatio*), donation (*donatio*), mandate/plenipotentiary (*plenipotentialis*), granting of the magnate title (*creatio in magnatum*), bishopric confirmation (*confirmatio episcopatus*), investiture in the rank of *Primus pillus* with exemption on the house (*primipilatus cum exemptione domus*), ancient immunity mandate (*mandatum, ut in antiqua immunitate conserventur*), tithe grant (*collatio decimarum*), inquiry request addressed to the Oradea Chapter apitile (*requisitoria ad capitulum Varadiensem*), various taxation exemptions, such as house exemption (*exemptio domus usque ad tempus beneplaciti*), or wine exemption (*exemptio vinearum*). Assurance (*assecuratoria*) and approval (*annuentia*) formulae for diverse situations are also present¹⁵.

The document templates from the formulary that are linked to the chancery activity of John Iacobinus during the reign of Michael the Brave concern a convocation letter (*convocatoriae literae*) for lustration in a military camp, an assurance letter (*assecuratoria*), and many formulae of new donation (*nova donatio*) regarding ownership attestation of landed estates¹⁶.

The first mentioned template concerns the convocation, due to the Turkish military menace, on August 15th 1600, of all servicemen from Cluj County in the encampment near Aiud¹⁷. The assurance letter issued on November 22nd 1599¹⁸ regards the nobleman Michael Kathona from Cluj, former judge-mayor of the city and devoted supporter of Prince Sigismund Báthory. Michael the Brave grants him a pardon, even promises him protection from Emperor Rudolf and confirms the ownership of his town house and estates from Middle Solnoc, Cluj and Alba Counties¹⁹. The presence of the three template letters of new donation (*nova donatio*) is explained by Michael's annulment resolution from November 20th 1599 regarding all privileges and donations granted by Sigismund Báthory. The Romanian ruler had to ratify again the ranks and assets of those who had pledged their loyalty to him and to issue new donation deeds and ennoblement letters for those who supported him effectively. Among them we can nominate the noblemen

¹⁵ SJAN Cluj, Fond bresle, Breasla lăcătușilor, nr. 3, f. 3-4, 6-9 and 12.

¹⁶ Idem, f. 10 r.- 11v.

¹⁷ Idem, f. 11 v. (Anexa 4).

¹⁸ Regarding the date and similitude to the document ratifying the ancient liberties of Cluj, see Andrei Veress, *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești*, V (1596-1599), București, 1932, p. 286-288; Bónis György, Valentiny Antal, *op. cit.*, p. 48-49.

¹⁹ SJAN Cluj, Fond bresle, Breasla lăcătușilor, nr. 3, f. 10 v.-11r. (Anexa 2).

John Gyulai of Iara de Sus²⁰, Wolfgang (Farkas) Alia²¹ and Stephen Toldai of Salonta²². All of their assets received from previous Princes in various counties were sanctioned again by granting of new donations (*novae donationis titulo*)²³.

As in the case of any change of ruler, the designation of Michael the Brave as Prince and his resolution from November 20th 1599 led to the increase of the written output from the princely chancery. Subsequently, there was a need to recruit new scribes who could read and write in Latin and Hungarian in order to ensure the continuous operation of the chancery. In 1599 a number of 23 scribes could be identified, a significant increase from the 6 scribes who used to cover the personnel demands between 1596 and 1598; in 1600 the documents reveal 17 names of scribes, while in 1602 only 11 clerks are known²⁴. Michael the Brave's acknowledgment for his scribes (*deákok*) is illustrated in a document issued on April 18th 1600, which nominates 8 people who were exempt of military duty in the service of George Pitar, the curator of the princely residence from Alba Iulia, out of whom 5 were scribes (Martin, Mathew, Peter, Gabriel, Józsa/Joseph of Bărbant)²⁵.

During Michael the Brave's reign in Transylvania, from 1599 to 1600, a much larger number of scribes worked in the princely chancery, as we will show further on – some secretaries or other clerks who wrote in Romanian and Slavonic with Cyrillic letters were nominated, others remained anonymous. The documents they issued, although small in number, add to the Latin and Hungarian written output of the chancery and princely court from Alba Iulia, revealing the complexity of Michael the Brave's literacy policy. Because he had come to Transylvania from a foreign country, as a ruler accompanied by Romanian troops, it was normal for the estates of the Principality to be worried and concerned. In order to appease the nobility and gain their support, Michael confirmed the privileges of the local loyal noblemen and kept their offices, including within the Princely Council, but also brought in representatives of his own aristocracy: the Bans Mihalcea and Calotă, the Grand Logothete Teodosie Rudeanu, the Grand Treasurer Bărcan, the Grand Chamberlain Stoica, the Grand Master of the Horse Leca, and others. The chancery was firstly run by Bishop Dimitrie Naprágy, later by the Grand Logothete Teodorsie Rudeanu, and additional scribes who could write in Romanian and Slavonic (Serbian) augmented the number of chancery

²⁰ Idem, f. 12 r. (Anexa 5). There are more than one differences between the prototype in Iacobinus' formulary and the final form of the document, as can be conferred in Annex 5 and 6.

²¹ Idem, f. 10 r. (Anexa 1).

²² Idem, f. 11 r. (Anexa 3).

²³ The last 2 document prototypes are published by Bónis György, Valentiny Antal, *op. cit.*, p. 46-47 and 50-51, not including the template for the Gyulai family document; the original record was published, with some discrepancies, by Andrei Veress, *op. cit.*, p. 291-292. This act has, on the bottom left side, the signature of the issuer in Cyrillic letters: *ѠВ МНХАНА ВСЕВДА*, and on the top right side the signature of the secretary: Johannes Iacobinus.

²⁴ Trócsányi Zsolt, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

²⁵ Andrei Veress, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 84-85.

clerks skilled in Hungarian and Latin. Furthermore, the Prince requested the goldsmiths from Cluj to produce a combined seal for Wallachia and Transylvania, and used in the solemn and important documents addressed to the Transylvanian estates the style *Michael Valachiae Transalpiniae waiuoda, Sacratissimae Caesareae Regiaeque Maiestatis consiliarius, per Transsylvaniam locumtenens, eiusdemque cis Transsylvaniam et partium ei subiectarum fines exercitus generalis capitaneus*, translated “Michael, the Voivode of Wallachia, counsellor of His Holy Imperial and Royal Majesty, His deputy in Transylvania and Captain General of the Transylvanian and border army”. After becoming the ruler of Moldavia as well, Michael the Brave entitled himself: *Nos Michael Valachiae Transalpiniae et Moldaviae vayvoda, Sacratissimae Caesareae Regiaeque Maiestatis consiliarius et per Transsylvaniam locumtenens*, and in the Slavonic documents issued from Iassy he used the description: “Io, Voivode Michael, through God’s will Lord of Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia”²⁶. Despite all these tactical wordings, meant to ease the Emperor’s suspicions along with his counsellors’, the princely court from Alba Iulia was filled with intrigues plotted by the Jesuits, by some malevolent imperial emissaries, or by the Bishop-Chancellor Dimitrie Naprágy personally. Michael the Brave was accused that in his internal documents written in Slavonic and Romanian, and even in his correspondence with the Moldavian ruler²⁷, Ieremia Movilă, or in the Slavonic documents issued from Alba Iulia, he used the regular appellation: “through the grace of God, Voivode and Lord of all Transylvania and Wallachia”²⁸. The Transylvanian noblemen and estates considered Michael their ruler, and even in the resolutions issued by the country’s assembly used the designation “Highness” (*Nagyságod*) and denominated him “our merciful Lord” or “our merciful Prince” (*kegyelmes fejedelem*)²⁹.

This variety of entitlements and formal styles used to address a singular person led Michael the Brave’s enemies to the conclusion³⁰, not entirely false, that his

²⁶ *Documenta Romaniae Historica. B. Țara Românească, XI (1593-1600) Domnia lui Mihai Viteazul* (infra: DRH-B, XI), București, 1975, p. 529-531, 535-537 († ІѠ МНХАНА ВОЕВОДА БОЖІЮ МНАЕСТІЮ ГОСПЕДАРЪ ЗЕМАН ВЛАШКОН Н АРДЪЛАСКОН Н МОЛДАВСКОН).

²⁷ The preserved letter, issued on December 20th 1599, is a translation in Polish from Romanian or Slavonic, see P. P. Panaitescu, *Documente privitoare la istoria lui Mihai Viteazul*, București, 1936, p. 93-98. The style is: “Ioan Michail woiewoda z bozei milosczi hospodarz Ardelskiew i Wlaskiew Ziemi”. The document was re-published by *Documenta Romaniae Historica. B. Țara Românească, XI (1593-1600)*, București, 1975, p. 497-500.

²⁸ It is significant to this regard the Slavonic document issued on March 21st 1600, written in Alba Iulia by Fiera logofăt [scribe], who uses as princely style the formula: “† МНАЕСТІЮ БОЖІЮ, ІѠ МНХАНА ВОЕВОДА Н ГОСПЕДНИКЪ ВЪСЄЕ ЗЕМАЕ АРДЪЛАСКОН Н ВЛАСКОН”, cf. DRH-B, XI, p. 513-514.

²⁹ Szilágyi Sándor, *Erdélyi Országgyűlési Emlékek. Monumenta Comititalia Regni Transylvaniae*, IV, Budapesta, 1878, p. 429-437 and 520-529; I. Crăciun, *Dietele Transilvaniei ținute sub domnia lui Mihai Viteazul (1599-1600)*, București, 1939 (extras).

³⁰ Regarding the opponents’ discussions about the suspicious style in the donation deeds, see *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, IV, București, 1972, p. 131 and 133.

intentions were to rule Transylvania as divinely appointed master, not to govern the country as a deputy of the Emperor. The ruler's enemies illustrate and imply this practice by the sovereign actions taken, such as the congregation of the Estates' Assembly, the ratification of the Szeklers', Saxons' and towns' liberties and privileges, the sanctioning or annulment of ancient donation deeds, the alteration of the status of received religions, the assignment modification of some of the country's main institutions, etc.

The languages used for the documents issued by the chancery of Alba Iulia range from Latin and Hungarian (most of the preserved records) to Slavonic and Romanian. The ennoblement and privilege diplomas and some official commands were written in Latin for additional decorum and importance, due to the prestige of the language. Even documents issued in Hungarian – which turned into an official language during the times of the Báthory family's rule in Transylvania – had their superscription and final protocol written in Latin. Hungarian gradually became used in official correspondence of the princely chancery with the country's institutions and also with the ethnic communities, as many Saxons and Romanians used this language frequently.

During Michael the Brave's reign the chancery's correspondence with officials from the counties, the Saxon and Szekler seats, the towns, boroughs and citadels was written in Hungarian. We can quote, among others, the letters exchanged with Ladislau Gyulafy, ispan/count of Middle Solnoc (November 4th and 13th 1599)³¹, with the authorities of Cluj County (November 4th 1599)³², with some Szekler seats (March 7th 1600)³³, with Transylvania's officials (March 15th 1600)³⁴, with the Bistrița municipality (December 15th 1599)³⁵, with the town and seat Orăștie (November 3rd 1599), with the Sibiu judges (January 12th 1600), with other Saxon lay and ecclesiastical officials (February-August 1600), etc.³⁶. The correspondence with the towns Cluj³⁷ and Târgu Mureș (November 18th 1599)³⁸, with the borough Ocna Sibiului³⁹, etc. is written in Hungarian too. The resolutions issued by the three Estates' Assemblies, congregated by Michael the Brave between November 1599 and July 1600, were issued in Hungarian, with the exception of the introductory and concluding formulas, which keep their Latin enunciation. Nonetheless, all other official documents

³¹ I. Lupaș, *Documente istorice transilvane*, I (1599-1699), Cluj, 1940, p. 1-2.

³² Andrei Veress, *op. cit.*, V, p. 272; VI, p. 154-155.

³³ *Ibidem*, VI, p. 46-50.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, VI, p. 58-60.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, V, p. 344-345.

³⁶ The main documents regarding the relations of Michael the Brave with the Saxons are printed in the excellent file: *Mihai Viteazul – 410 ani de la prima unire a Țărilor Române*, Coordonator Alexiu Tatu, Sibiu, 2010.

³⁷ Andrei Veress, *op. cit.*, V, p. 330.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, V, p. 283, 302-303; VI, p. 159.

³⁹ I. Lupaș, *op. cit.*, p. 44-49 și 51.

regarding donation deeds, ratifications of ownership records, liberties or privileges granted to towns and boroughs, letters sent to other Christian states (Habsburg Empire, Venice, Poland of the Holy See) are written in Latin.

During Michael the Brave's reign, a complete novelty and unprecedented fact for the Transylvanian princely chancery was the issuance of documents written in Slavonic and Romanian. We should mention that any instructions needed for the standardization of this innovative action are missing entirely. The chancery was the central executive institution that operated on behalf of the ruler – this led to its unofficial and unmentioned division into several sections, which can now be indicated according to the issues concerned: foreign policy, taxation and army, all strategic areas for the Prince. These sections issued most of the documents written in Romanian, as the ruler appointed in key offices his own boyars and Romanian noblemen who advocated for the use of Romanian, alongside Latin and Hungarian, in the country's administration. The number of preserved documents issued in Romanian with Cyrillic letters⁴⁰ is certainly smaller in comparison with Latin and Hungarian records; however, their analysis is equally useful to philologists, legal experts, specialists in the history of writing, etc. From the historians' perspective, these documents encompass diplomatic, juridical and administrative aspects which reflect a social and political reality – additional information can be brought forth by the analysis of the princely chancery's writing praxis.

Most of these documents and writs were issued by the chancery or by high-ranking boyars from the Lord's entourage; they are original and sanctioned with all the authentication marks. Most of them have heraldic seals (representing the country's blazonry, the raven with a cross in its beak), the ruler's signature and follow a particular template, especially the solemn privilege diplomas. Other documents are less explicit, such as the directions issued by Michael the Brave's chancery for the emissaries sent to discuss with Emperor Rudolf II⁴¹ or with Polish king Sigismund III⁴² - it is difficult to determine whether they are drafts or copies of issued documents. Alternatively, for the requests sent in January 1600 as a reply to the Emperor's message⁴³, both drafts and original letters⁴⁴ have been preserved. The reply to another of the Emperor's message⁴⁵, issued by Michael in July 1600,

⁴⁰ A critical re-publishing with Alexandru Măreș's according diplomatic comments in the corpus *Documente și însemnări românești din secolul al XVI-lea*, Text stabilit și indice de Gheorghe Chivu, Magdalena Georgescu, Magdalena Ioniță, Alexandru Măreș și Alexandra Roman-Moraru, București, 1979.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 126-127.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 142-143.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 127-129. The message was written in Romanian after its oral presentation by the Imperial emissary.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 130-133.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 145-146. On the Hungarian translation of this document can be found the well-known annotation made by Michael the Brave: "Și hotaru Ardealului. Pohta ce-am pohtit: Moldova, Țara Românească", apud *ibidem*, p. 152.

has been preserved also. Based on the handwriting's stroke, all mentioned documents were written by the same chancery scribe, whose name remains unknown⁴⁶. Most documents bear the Voivode's autograph signature: **ІѠ МНХАНА ВѢДѦ**, and were safeguarded in the ruler's personal archive, confiscated by the imperial guards after his assassination in Turda⁴⁷ – these documents prove both the working style of the Alba Iulia chancery and Michael's personal attachment to the letters envisioning his political doctrine.

At the present state of the art, the number of Romanian documents known to have been issued by the Transylvanian chancery during the reign of Michael the Brave is 36 – not a small number when compared with the 115 records known to have been issued in Romanian over the entire 16th century⁴⁸. Documents were diverse, according to their contents: annotations (abstracts of other documents), free passes, tax registers and letters, military accounts. They were drafted in semicursive writing, some with autograph signature, others composed on behalf of the Lord, others written and signed by high-ranking dignitaries, such as the Grand Logothete Teodosie Rudeanu, the Bans Mihalcea, Calotă and Udrea, the Chamberlains Stoica and Preda, the Treasurers Bărcan, Dumitrachi and Nica, etc. Except for Ban Calotă, whose handwriting is quite clumsy, the other named boyars together with their master confirm a long and skilful writing habit⁴⁹.

The Romanian documents also name some scribes: Marcu, Fiera of Onești, Ivan the Old, etc. Unfortunately, other scribes have not left their names on the issued documents, thus remaining in anonymity. Some provincial dignitaries have also issued Romanian documents, such as the Burgraves of Făgăraș, the Stolnic Badea, or the Master of the Horse Iane, who sent letters to John Budaki, the Judge-mayor of Bistrița⁵⁰, in November 1599; other officials used Hungarian as correspondence language, such as the functionaries of Gurghiu and Gherla citadels⁵¹.

Slavonic documents issued by the chancery of Alba Iulia also need to be mentioned: e.g. the princely command from February 5th 1600 regarding the acquisition and ownership of the Baiul Mountain by the Râșnov⁵² community, or

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 32. Facsimiles at p.347-365, 371-374 și 377-380.

⁴⁷ Regarding the fate of these documents in the Viennese archives and their depository, see N. Iorga, *Documente nouă în mare parte românești privitoare la Petru Șchiopul și Mihai Viteazul*, in "Analele Academiei Române", Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice, Seria a II-a, XX(1898), p. 488 and Alexandru Mareș in *Introducerea* of the volume *Documente și însemnări românești din secolul al XVI-lea*, Text stabilit și indice de Gheorghe Chivu, Magdalena Georgescu, Magdalena Ioniță, Alexandru Mareș și Alexandra Roman-Moraru, București, 1979, p. 24-25.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 31.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 116.

⁵¹ I. Lupaș, *Documente istorice transilvane*, I (1599-1699), Cluj, 1940, p. 61-62; Andrei Veress, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 100-101, 130-132.

⁵² *DRH-B, XI*, p. 511-512.

the sentence pronounced in the litigation between the boyars from the villages of Sărata and Scorei from Țara Făgărașului (April 20th 1600)⁵³.

It is a known fact that during the Moldavian military campaign a part of the Transylvanian chancery staff followed the Voivode, including John Iacobinus, who travelled as far as Suceava. Besides the Latin and Hungarian documents issued by the Transylvanian scribes during this campaign, there has been preserved a group of Slavonic and Serbian documents written by their Moldavian counterparts: Nebojatco, Creciun, Negilaș, Ionașco, Gligorie, Rusul, Stephen and Tăbuci⁵⁴. Whether any of these scribes ever got to operate in the Alba Iulia chancery is still undetermined.

Slavonic documents issued for Wallachia by Michael the Brave's chancery is far smaller in comparison to Moldavia. This could be explained by the increased written output of the Târgoviște chancery supervised by the Grand Logothete Miroslav, who answered to Nicolae Pătrașcu, the associate ruler. Documents written in Slavonic addressed to Wallachia nominate some scribes, some of them residing in Alba Iulia, such as: Oancea, Fiera of Onești, Marc/Marco, Carca and Ivan the Old from Târgul de Floci⁵⁵.

Even though a great number of documents issued in Latin, Hungarian, Romanian and Slavonic by the Transylvanian chancery during Michael the Brave's reign was preserved, there is no indication regarding any record issued in German for the Saxon Nation University. All letters exchanged with the Saxon officials up to their assistance to George Basta's uprising, in September 1600, were written in Latin and Hungarian, although the Saxon communities used German written in Gothic characters for their internal written communication.

Using Romanian alongside Hungarian and Latin for official documents issued by the Princely chancery has caused a feeling of discontent among the Transylvanian estates. Calling upon their unfamiliarity with the Romanian language, the estates expressed their disapproval and displeasure in the Country's Assembly which took place in Alba Iulia (July 20-27, 1600). Article 20 of the resolutions ratified at this meeting required the assertive dismissal of this innovation: "It so happened, that people of our rank received your Highness' letters, some written in Serbian, some in Romanian, and could not understand your Highness' will. It is because of this that we have decided that such letters would be sent to the noblemen written either in Hungarian or in Latin; the ones who would bring such Romanian or Serbian letters to the nobles would be caught and sent to your Highness together with any letters he may carry"⁵⁶.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 517-519.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 529-562.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 513-519, 538-539, 553-554, 559-560 and 564.

⁵⁶ I. Crăciun, *op. cit.*, p. 20. For the Hungarian text, see Szilágyi Sándor, *op.cit.*, IV, p. 526: "Estenek ilyen dolgok is, hogy némely atyánkfainak Nagyságod levelit hozták, melyek közül ki ráczúl,

None of these mentioned letters have been preserved to this day, but there is no reason to doubt they existed. Their destruction and disappearance was caused by the fact that they were not privilege diplomas, granting rights and liberties. Nonetheless, the simple fact of their existence illustrates a turning point in the evolution of Transylvanian official administrative languages. It is the first time that Romanian and Slavonic join Hungarian and Latin as chancery languages, under the supervision of the Grand Logothete Teodosie Rudeanu. This innovation led to the strong reaction of the estates, who legitimately point to the incomprehension of the new official languages. Aside from the novelty of the language used in official matters, the Transylvanian noblemen revolted against the social accession of the Romanian nobility and boyars – who did not know Hungarian or Latin – in administration, mainly in the military and taxation departments.

Despite these delicate circumstances, the Romanian ruler allowed his officials to further use Romanian in matters of state, in the way that arises from their subsequent correspondence, following the resolution of the Alba Iulia Assembly. For instance, the receipt “*șidula*” from August 14th 1600 issued by the Treasurer Bărcan to Francis Wass, the count of Dăbâca County, regarding the delivery of 4000 thalers⁵⁷. A similar document, issued for the amount of 1000 thalers by the same person, is addressed to the town of Cluj⁵⁸. Treasurer Nica wrote, again in Romanian, on September 2nd 1600, to Luca Engeter, the Mayor of Sibiu, demanding him to keep his loyalty oath to Michael the Brave⁵⁹. It seems that the daily needs of the Princely administration took importance over the biased resolution of the Estates' Assembly. Social and administrative realities enforced a new document issuance praxis, unprecedented in the history of the Transylvanian chancery, which allows us to better grasp the political and cultural extents of this reign.

From the point of view of typical features of the Chancery's⁶⁰ enterprise during the reign of Michael the Brave, one can state that, as a ruler, he opted to act both in continuity of previous writing praxis, and to innovate. The ruler augmented Báthory's chancery with new specialized personnel led by the secretary John Iacobinus, using his formulary as a template for princely issued documents. At the

ki oláhul volt irva, ki miatt az Nagyságod parancsolatját és akaratját belőle meg nem érthették. Végeztük azért, hogy afféle leveleket az nemességnek vagy magyarul, vagy deákul irjanak; a ki afféle oláh vagy rác levéllel az nemesség között járna, afféle embereket megfogassanak és az levéllel együtt ő Nagyságának fogva hozzák”. The text is explained in a wider context by Ioan Aurel Pop, *Decizii referitoare la românii în dietele transilvane din timpul lui Mihai Viteazul*, in *Mihai Viteazul și Transilvania. Culegere de studii*, coord. Camil Mureșanu, ed. Ioan Silviu Nistor, Cluj-Napoca, 2005, p. 110.

⁵⁷ SJAN Cluj, Fond Wass de Țaga, Act nr. 1249.

⁵⁸ Andrei Veress, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 154-156; *Documente și însemnări românești din secolul al XVI-lea*, București, 1979, p. 147.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 147-148.

⁶⁰ For its Functioning in general cf. Traian Ionescu-Nișcov, *Cancelaria domnească a lui Mihai Viteazul*, în “Magazin Istoric”, XIX (1985), Nr. 11, p. 8-10.

same time, Michael the Brave did not hesitate to enrich and diversify the written output of the chancery and princely court with Hungarian, Romanian and Slavonic records. The latter were utilized both internally, in Transylvania, and in Wallachia and Moldavia, preserving some of the scribes' names – their input, alongside Transylvanian scribes' and notaries', perfect the cultural depiction of the epoch.

1. Nova donatio <f. 10 r.>

Nos Michael, Valachiae Transalpinæ Vaivoda, Sacratissimæ Caesareæ Regiæque Maiestatis Consiliarius, per Transsylvaniam Locumtenens, eiusdemque cis Transsylvaniam, et partium ei subiectarum fines exercitus generalis Capitaneus etc.

Memoriae commendamus tenore praesentium significantes quibus expedit universis. Quod etsi in proximis dominorum regnicolarum Transsylvaniensium comitiis generalibus hoc anno praesenti ad vigesimum diem mensis Novembris hic Albae Iuliae ex edicto nostro celebratis universae et quaelibet donationes et collationes Serenissimi Sigismundi Bathori etc. alias Principis Transsylvanicae abrogatae, reiectae, annihilatae, viribusque destitutae et inefficaces redditae sint et pronunciatae, et alioquin etiam Ius belli superioribus diebus armis in potestatem nostram redacta Transsylvaniam habuerimus: Nos tamen cum ad nonnullorum dominorum Consiliariorum nostrorum singularem intercessionem nobis propterea factam: tum vero rationem habentes fidelitatis et fidelium servitorum meritorumque Generosi Volffgangi Alia, quae ipse hactenus Principibus Transsylvanicae et huic regno in omnibus occasionibus et negotiis, fidei et industriae suae commissis summa cum animi sui promptitudine et dexteritate exhibuit et impendit, ac in futurum nobis quoque eadem integritate exhibiturus et impensurus est: Totales et integras possessiones Bonÿha, simul cum domo et curia nobilitari ibidem, ac Zentlazlo, necnon portiones possessionarias in possessionibus Eormenies, Chauas, Bernad et Domald vocatis in comitatu de Kikeolleo existentibus habitas, per eundem Volffgangum Allia propriis suis servitiis partas et acquisitas, et hactenus ex collatione praefati Sigismundi Principis quocumque titulo iusto tamen et legitimo tentas et possessas: Totum item et omne Ius Regium, si quod in praedictis possessionibus, domoque et curia nobilitari, ac portionibus possessionariis etiam aliter qualitercunque existeret, et haberetur, aut eadem et idem nostram ex quibuscumque causis, viis, modis et rationibus concerneret collationem, simul cum cunctis suis utilitatibus et pertinentiis quibuslibet, terris scilicet arabilibus, cultis, et incultis, agris, pratis, pascuis, campis, fenetis, sylvis, nemoribus, montibus, vallibus, vineis, vinearumque promontoriis, aquis, fluviis, piscinis, piscaturis, aquarumque decursibus, molendinis, et eorundem locis, generaliter vero quarumlibet utilitatum et pertinentiarum suarum integritatibus, quovis nominis vocabulo vocitatis, ad easdem et idem de iure et ab antiquo spectantibus et pertinere debentibus, sub suis veris metis, et antiquis limitibus existentibus, praemissisque sic, ut praefertur, stantibus et se habentibus, memorato Volffgango Allia, ipsiusque haeredibus et posteritatibus universis novae nostrae donationis titulo dedimus, donavimus, et contulimus, imo damus, donamus, et conferimus, iure perpetuo, et irrevocabiliter tenendas, possidendas, pariter et habendas, salvo iure alieno, harum nostrarum vigore, et testimonio literarum mediante. Quae tunc in formam privilegii redigentur, dum in specie fuerint reportatae.

Datum etc. 8 Decembris 1599.

2. Assecuratoria <f. 10 v. – 11 r.>

Nos Michael etc. Memoriae etc. Quod cum inter alia, quibus Principes et summi in armis viri perennem nomini suo gloriam comparare, et ad divinae illius nature partem quam proxime accedere solent, primum et precipuum sibi locum clementia, et in victos summa benignitas vendicat, propterea quod cum in eos, quos armis in potestatem redegerunt, et quorum vitae necisque sunt arbitri, ita moderate hac summa facultate utuntur, ut homines tamen se infra divinam potestatem constitutos esse meminerint. Quod ipsum nos quoque, qui armis ab aliquot iam annis Rempublicam Christianam contra immanissimos barbaros tutati sumus, assidue in oculis ferre solemus. Nam postquam superioribus temporibus hoc regnum Transsylvaniae variis, et periculosissimis mutationibus agitatum a fide Sacratissimae Caesareae Regiaeque Maiestatis, etc. Domini nostri clementissimi defecisset, eius recuperandi cura a Sua Maiestate Caesarea nobis demandata, licet profligato exercitu Transsylvanorum victores evaserimus, summumque ius arbitrii in armis positum haberemus, parcendum tamen victis, et benignitate in illos agendum censuimus. Inter quos Egregius, prudens et circumspectus Michael Kathonay de Coloswar, qui Maiestatem Caesaream non levi prius offensione ob receptum Sigismundum Principem laesisse dicitur, propterea quod tunc temporis primarii iudicis officio in praedicta civitate Coloswariensi fungeretur, ut fructum aliquem clementie et misericordie nostre caperet, nobis curae fuit. Quapropter cum eum nec solum neque praecipuum offensionum autorem exitisse, imo neque a fide Suae Maiestatis Caesareae penitus discessisse, compertum habeamus. In eo ipsum assecuramus certumque et securum reddimus, nos ob premissum offensionis commissum, aut alias quascunque indignationum causas, quibuscunque tandem Sacratissima Maiestas Caesarea offendi potuerit aut posset, nullo unquam tempore, aut per nos, aut vero per alios quospiam quocunque ultionis genere vindictam sumtuos. Offerentes nos insuper benevole, quod eundem Michaelem Kathonay in quieto usu et pacifico dominio universorum bonorum et iurium portionumque suarum possessionariarum in possessionibus Kereo in Zolnokinteriori, Zeplak una cum domo civili in civitate Coloswariensi habita in Colossiensi, ac Vyřalu et Thohat vocatis in Albensi Transsylvaniae comitatibus existentibus habitorem, quas scilicet nos ipsi utendas et possidendas reddidimus, et concessimus, aliarumque quarumlibet hereditatum et bonorum tam mobilium quam immobilium possessione et fructu, tam nos ipsi conservabimus, quam etiam per alios quoscunque subditos nostros in violato prorsus iura conservari faciemus. Imo etiam si Sacratissima Maiestas Caesarea superiorum temporum offensionibus exasperata, gravius quippiam de eodem Michaele Kathonay statuendum censuisset, nos tamen id plane in nos recipiemus, receptumque volumus, ut omni studio, labore, et intercessione nostra indignationem Suae Maiestatis Caesareae ab ipso avertamus, et penitus sublatam, et oblitteratam efficiamus, atque etiam pristinam illi gratiam conciliemus, quemadmodum assecuramus, inque praemissis certum et securum reddimus, harum nostrarum vigore, et testimonio literarum mediante.

Datum, etc.

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3. Novae donationis formula <f. 11 r.>

Nos Michael etc. Memoriae etc. Quod etsi etc. Nos tamen dignam habentes rationem praeclarae fidei, insigniumque meritorum Generosi domini Stephani Tholdý de Zalontha,

Consiliarii nostri, quae ipse principibus Transsylvaniae, praedecessoribus nostris in cunctis rebus utiliter exhibuit et testata reddidit, ac in futurum nobis quoque exhibiturus est. Totales et integras, portionem oppidi Buza, simul cum domo et curia nobilitari ibidem, ac portiones possessionarias in possessionibus Nozalÿ, Feketelak et Giente in Dobocensi, ac Budatelke in Colosiensi comitatibus existentibus habitas, et hactenus ex collatione dicti Sigismundi Principis, per eundem quocunquo titulo, iusto tamen et legitimo tentas, atque possessas. Totum item et omne Jus Regium, si quod in eisdem portione oppidi, domoque et curia nobilitari, ac portionibus possessionariis, etiam aliter qualitercunque existeret, aut eadem et idem nostram, ex quibuscunque causis, viis, modis, et rationibus concernerent collationem, simul cum cunctis suis utilitatibus etc. vocitatis, ad easdem, et idem de iure et ab antiquo spectantibus, et pertinere debentibus, sub suis veris metis etc. existentibus, praemissis tamen, sicut praefertur, stantibus et se habentibus, memorato Stephano Tholdÿ, et per eum Egregio Stephano Chiakÿ, privigno ipsius, ex Generosa Domina Clara Banffy, Relicta Generosi quondam Gabrielis Chiakÿ, nunc vero consorte sua progenito, ipsorumque haeredibus et posteritatibus universis, nove nostrae donationis titulo, clementer dedimus etc.

Datum etc.

*

4. Convocatoriae literae <f. 11 v.>

Nos Sacratissimae Caesariae Regiaeque Maiestatis Commissarius, et Excelsi Regiminis Provinciae Transsylvaniae Consiliarius etc. Universis et singulis Magnificis, Generosis, Egregiis, Nobilibus, Strennuis, Comitibus, Vice Comitibus, Iudicibus Nobilium ac Universitati Comitatus Colossiensis, Salutem et benevolam nostri commendationem. Cum manifeste constet Turcam totius Christianitatis hostem, de die in diem, magis ac magis appropinquare, neque minus nobis et huic provinciae, quam aliis Christianitatis ditionibus periculi imminere, non ullo saniori ac meliori prospici posse consilio, eorumque conatum a nobis, nostraque hac miserrima patria avertere, quam si in campum cum aliis Suae Maiestatis militibus exiverimus, armatosque nos, ac paratos, tam iis ad auxiliandum qui in finibus regni degunt [!], quam ad provinciam tuendam, hostique nos ad opponendum ostenderimus. Quocirca Dominationes Vestras nomine Sacratissimae Caesariae Regiaeque Maiestatis hortamur, imo committimus et mandamus firmiter, ut universi et singuli in persona, absque ulla tergiversatione, dilatione, et procrastinatione ad decimum quintum diem praesentis mensis Augusti in campum ad oppidum Enÿed existentem, ubi lustratio celebrabitur, convenire bene armis instructis, ac consilio armisque quantum patriae subvenire poterunt, nobiscum adesse, maxime vero qui in peculiarem Suae Maiestatis gratiam bona adipiscendo consecuti sunt, eniti, ut eorundem praeclaris suis actionibus confirmationem lucrari possint, velint, debeant, ac teneantur. Secus etc. Praesentibus etc.

*

5. Formula novae donationis < f. 12 r.>

Nos Michael etc. Memoriae etc. quod etsi etc. cum ad nonnullorum dominorum consiliariorum nostrorum singularem intercessionem nobis pro parte nobilium Pauli et

Joannis Giulay filiorum, ac puellarum Catherine, Barbare et Elizabethae filiarum Egregii quondam Joannis Giulay de Felseo Jara factam, tum vero compatiendo orphanitati et pupillari conditioni eorundem orphanorum, in quam ipsi ob mortem et decessum parentis ipsorum devenisse perhibentur: Totales et integras possessionem Lupsa vocatam, ac portiones possessionarias in possessionibus Felseó et Alsó Jara, simul cum domibus et curiis nobilitari in eisdem Nagi Oklos [et] Kis Bania et Iwanfalwa nuncupatis, in comitatu Thordensi existentibus habitas, per praefatum Sigismundum principem annotato olim Joanni Giulay donatas et collatas, eisdem aliter etc. aut eadem et idem nostram etc. vocitatis ad easdem et idem de iure etc. existentibus rebusque sit, ut prefertur stante et se habente. Totum item et omne Jus Regium, si quod in memoratis Paulo et Joanni filiis et Catherine, Barbare et Elizabethae filiabus dicti quondam Joanni Giulay, ipsorumque heredibus et posteritatibus universis ex mera liberalitatem nostra dedimus donavimus novumque donationis nostre titulo, contulimus et reddidimus imo damus, donamus, conferimus et reddimus iure perpetuo et irrevocabiliter tenendam, possidendam, pariter et habendam, salva jure alieno. etc.

Datum Albae Juliae, 28. die Novembris. A. D. 1599.

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6. Final document form

Nos Michael Valachiae Transalpinae vaivoda etc. Memoriae commendamus tenore praesentium significantes, quibus expedit universis, quod etsi in proximis dominorum regnicolarum generalibus comitiis hoc anno praesenti ad vigesimum diem mensis Novembris hic Albae Juliae ex edicto nostro celebratis, universae et quaelibet donationes Serenissimi Sigismundi Bethori etc. alias Principis Transsylvaniae etc. publico decreto abrogatae, annihilatae, et reiectae fuerint: nos tamen cum ad nonnullorum dominorum consiliariorum nostrorum singularem intercessionem nobis pro partibus nobilium puerorum Pauli et Joannis filiorum, ac puellarum Catherinae, Barbarae et Elizabethae filiarum Egregii quondam Joannis Giwlay senioris de Felseoiara factam, tum vero compatiendo orphanitati et pupillari conditioni eorundem orphanorum, in quam ipsi ob mortem et decessum dicti genitoris sui devenisse perhibentur: Totales et integras possessionem Lupsa vocatam, item portiones possessionarias in possessionibus Felseó et Alsó Jara, simul cum domo et curia nobilitari in eadem; Item Nagi Oklos et Kis Banya nuncupatis, omnino in comitatu Thordensi existentibus habitas, per praefatum Sigismundum principem annotato quondam Joanni Giulay seniori in perpetuum donatas et collatas, et hactenus tam per ipsum, quam etiam praenotatos heredes et pupillos iusto ac legitimo titulo tentas atque possessas: Totum item et omne Jus Regium, si quod in praescriptis possessione, ac portionibus possessionariis, domoque et curia nobilitari etiam aliter, qualitercunque existeret et haberetur aut eadem et idem nostram ex quibuscunque causis, viis, modis et rationibus concernerent collationem, simul cum cunctis suis utilitatibus et pertinentiis quibuslibet, terris scilicet arabilibus... memoratis Paulo et Joanni filiis, ac puellis Catherinae, Barbarae et Elizabethae filiabus praelibati olim Joanni Giulay senioris, ipsorumque heredibus et posteritatibus universis novae nostrae

donationis titulo clementer dedimus, reddidimus, donavimus et contulimus imo damus...
harum nostrarum vigore et testimonio literarum mediante; etc.

Datum Albae Juliae, 28. die Novembris. A. D. 1599.

ἸϞ ΜΗΧΑΗΛ ΒΣΕΒΣΔ

(L. S.)

Joannes Jacobinus Secretarius mpr.

Andrei Veress, *op. cit.*, V, p. 291-292.

(translated by Teodora Bonțeanu)