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**Roaming the Rural: Shepherds and Pastoralists as Cross-Cultural Actors
in the Mediterranean Basin (15th–16th Centuries)**

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Foreword

LYDIA C. ALLUÉ ANDRÉS, *Legal Control of Pasturelands in the Comunidad de aldeas de Daroca (Aragon, Spain) during the 15th – 16th Centuries: Tensions, Conflicts, Lawsuits and Treaties*

The seizure of the territories that ended up forming the disappeared *Comunidad de aldeas de Daroca* began in the 12th-century, when Christian troops took these lands from the Muslims. Among the new settlers cultivating and protecting these conquered domains were many livestock owners from the north of the Kingdom of Aragon who had left their home due to increasing demographic pressure and the lack of pasture. In and around Daroca, their herding activities were regulated in the *fuero* (charter) of Daroca and in the successive ordinances of the *Comunidad*. The population increase in the 13th and 14th-centuries, along with the growing economic importance of livestock, led to disputes over the possession and exploitation of agricultural and herding spaces not only within the villages or between neighbouring villages of the *Comunidad de aldeas de Daroca*, but also with other nearby institutions, such as the *Comunidad de aldeas de Teruel* or the *Casa de Ganaderos de Zaragoza*. This chapter examines the tensions and treaties related to the control of pasturelands and herding activities in the *Comunidad de aldeas de Daroca* during the 15th and 16th-centuries. By the 15th-century, these conflicts generated numerous lawsuits and ended up being economically unsustainable for the *Comunidad*, which was going through many difficulties – economic and demographic crises, widespread poverty, etc. – derived from the Late Medieval crises. At the

beginning of the 16th-century, a number of agreements and concords were reached, although they did not lead to a long-term easing of the problems.

Keywords: *Comunidad de aldeas de Daroca, Casa de Ganaderos*, herding, livestock conflicts, pasturelands.

DAVIDE CRISTOFERI, *Inside and Outside a Monopoly: Transhumant Pastoralists and the Public Management of Pastures in Southern Tuscany (14th–15th c.)*

This article focuses on the interaction between transhumant pastoralists and Sienese officials within the public management of pastures in the late medieval city-state of Siena. Between 1353 and 1419, a monopolistic system of accessing common and private pastures in Southern Tuscany, called *Dogana dei Paschi*, was developed and established by Siena by means of law enforcement, commons expropriation and military conquest. The aim was to provide winter grazing to transhumant herds from the Apennines, the Latium and the Sienese territory in exchange of fiscal revenues. The *Dogana*, however, suffered from external competition and lack of control, while highly depending on foreign herds from beyond the Sienese borders. Outside the Sienese monopoly of pasturages, transhumant pastoralists were entrepreneurs, livestock owners, and shepherds with freedom of movement because of their citizenship, while under the rule of the *Dogana* they formed an heterogeneous pastoral community, called *vergarìa*, provided with a special legal status, rights and duties. In both cases, pastoralists and the *vergarìa* were in constant bargaining with Sienese officials in order to be able to graze as much and to pay as less as possible. In this regard, they contributed to shaping the legal framework of the *Dogana*. Examining archival records from Siena, such as laws, deliberations and trials recorded in the 14th and 15th centuries, this paper explores the legal definition, regulation and perception of transhumant pastoralists in Tuscany. It moreover analyses their bargaining power and interactions with Sienese officials concerning frauds, collusion and trespassing inside and outside Sienese borders, in order to shed light on the social structure and provenance of herders and livestock owners in late medieval Tuscany.

Keywords: Transhumance, *Dogana dei Paschi*, *vergarìa*, Tuscany, late Middle Ages

ELENI SAKELLARIOU, *Transhumance in Southern Italy (Fifteenth-Sixteenth Centuries): The Mobility Perspective*

This paper is an overview of sheep transhumance in southern Italy from the Aragonese reform of the 1440s to the eve of a second wave of reforms in the 1540s and 1550s. The analysis focuses on the concept of mobility, which proves to be a significant indicator of increasing interdependence between

the factors involved in this complex economic activity (agriculturists, pastoralists, the state, the merchants, the market and local communities), leading to change in settlement patterns, production arrangements, merchant networks, social identities, economic and political thought. The role of the state institution of the sheep custom house in coordinating the seasonal movement of sheep, graziers, officials and merchants, and in negotiating the multiple, overlapping claims of landlords, towns, the state itself and pastoralists on the same lands was pivotal in the long-term survival of this economic sector.

Keywords: Transhumance, mobility, Southern Italy, pastoral products, markets

KATERINA B. KORRÈ, *The Military Function of the Pastoral Colonization. In Search of the Byzantine Institutional Patterns in a Venetian Administrative Environment*

The main research question of this study is the imitation of a Byzantine institutional model by the Venetians, that of the *stratiotes*. The research area concerns the Byzantine Despotate of the Morea and the Venetian possessions in the Greek peninsula. During the 14th–15th century, the lack of cultivators and defense needs forced the Venetians to settle Albanian and Vlach nomads in exposed coastal areas and near fortified locations; the Byzantines have used both legislation and settlement practices while coping corresponding problems. In reference to relevant Byzantine sources, the Venetian documents help us determine the nature of the relationship of the military units camped in rural areas with their pastoral inhabitants and/or newcomers and moreover, whether we could argue for a *Byzantine model* or a *Byzantine background* while forming this relationship. We comment on the typology of choices available to the Venetians, and their attempt to convert the local peasants into a cavalry *militia* through legislation – such as the replacement of a domestic tax or tax exemptions – or integration practices, such as land concession, land re-parcelling, concession of hereditary rights and mixed marriages' license.

Keywords: Migration, Albanian tribes, Vlachs, Byzantines, Despotate of Morea, Venetian possessions, cavalry, stratiote/stradioti, compagnia, angaria, katuns, Ralli (family), Mamona (family), military land, *pronoia*, integration

DANA CACIUR-ANDREESCU, *The Morlachs of Dalmatia: A Glimpse on Damages Caused by Morlach Shepherds in Rural Dalmatia during the 15th and 16th Centuries*

The Morlachs of Dalmatia, as referred to in Venetian documents from the 15th-century onwards, were a heterogeneous and extremely mobile

population of Vlach origin. Even if they were to be found also as merchants, soldiers, thieves, criminals, immigrants, etc., the principal occupation of the late medieval Dalmatian Morlachs remained the traditional sheep breeding. When analysing this latter aspect of Morlach life, we have to keep in mind that the lifestyle of the Morlach shepherds from Dalmatia was strongly connected with that of other Vlachs communities from the Balkans. Together with this, the Morlachs' commercial practices and the ubiquitous presence of Morlach sheep flocks in the agricultural space of the Dalmatian hinterlands in the 15th and 16th -century, contributes equally to the larger topic of the life in border areas. Against this background, this paper exams the crop damages caused by the Morlach shepherds in Dalmatia's fields and vineyards. These damages reveal information about the legal status of Morlach shepherds in Dalmatian communes, about privileges, concessions, agreements, rental contracts, and also about diplomatic negotiations. Moreover, representative examples of crop damages will be used to study the relation and (partially) cross-cultural interaction of Morlachs shepherds with the great regional powers, particularly Venice's reaction to the disruptive Morlachs and its consequences at the diplomatic level with the authorities of the Ottoman Empire.

Keywords: Morlachs of Dalmatia, Morlach shepherds, coexistence, flexible population, border area

WOJCIECH SAJKOWSKI, *The Vlachs in Ottoman Borderlands: The Sanjak of Klis in the Middle of the 16th Century*

The paper proposes the study of the Vlach population of the Ottoman Dalmatian hinterland in the middle of the 16th century, as described in the tax register (*defter*) of the *sanjak* of Klis from 1550, a document that allows for a better understanding of the social and economic history of southwestern Bosnia and the Herzegovina and parts of Lika, Krbava and Dalmatia, which all formed this administrative unit since 1537. The analysis outlined in the case study includes the problem of cross-border migrations, the specificity of transhumant economy, and the functioning of the "Vlach law" as well as the general status of the Vlach community in the Ottoman Empire, which can be also traced thanks to the abovementioned register. This document testifies that Vlachs were used to populate borderland areas, as it mentions that they settled in some deserted territories. Their migrations, which were sometimes caused by the colonization initiated by the authorities of the states (Venice, Habsburg Monarchy and Ottoman Empire) were partially facilitated by the internal social connections that characterized the Vlach community. The register clearly indicates that transhumance pastoralism practiced since the Early Middle Ages remained the main activity of the Vlachs in 16th century.

Some of them also cultivated the land, although agriculture never became their main economic activity.

Keywords: Vlach law, Vlachs, Ottoman Empire, transhumance, Bosnia, Dalmatia, *defters*

Varia

MIHAIL-GEORGE HÂNCU, “*And They Joined Him in Elphegor*”: on the Relationship Between the Romanian Translation of the *Palaea Historica* and Its Slavonic Model

The *Palaea Historica*, a Byzantine apocryphal text from the 9th century, was translated into Romanian between the late 16th century and the early 17th century via a Slavonic intermediary. Although the Romanian text was edited and published in full in 2001, recent developments in the academic discussion around the Slavonic version of the *Palaea Historica* have led to the publication of an edition of the second Slavonic translation in the year 2016, thereby raising the question of whether the Romanian text was solely influenced by the first redaction or not. This study is a continuation of the author’s previous research on the Romanian version’s relationship with the two Slavonic redactions, with more focus being given to grammatical peculiarities and *loci obscuri* that were highlighted by the editors of the Romanian manuscripts as having been stemmed from the Slavonic text’s influence. These passages are analyzed in comparison with the two Slavonic translations and the Greek original, allowing for a better perspective on how dependent the Romanian grammatical constructions were on their Slavonic model. Finally, this study refers to an onomastic confusion between Abraham’s brother and Abraham’s father, which is avoided or possibly corrected in the Romanian version.

Keywords: biblical apocrypha, biblical genealogies, Byzantine literature, linguistic calques, Romanian translations, Slavonic translations.

ANDREI MIREA, *The Slavonic Epistles of Basarab the Elder to the Transylvanian Saxons (1474–1476)*

The Slavonic letters dispatched by the voivodes of Wallachia to Braşov, where they remain preserved to this day, constitute a major and invaluable source for the fifteenth-century history of Wallachia. In this article, our primary objective is to readdress the undated Slavonic epistolary corpus attributed to Basarab the Elder, who ruled Wallachia with several interruptions between 1473 and 1477. These epistles were addressed by the Wallachian voivode to the Saxon town of Braşov, while the answers of the Saxon authorities to the Wallachian lord did not generally survive. A diligent analysis of the clerks’ handwriting habits alongside a comparative

investigation with other types of documentary evidence, such as charters, might not only suggest new reasoned dates for these Slavonic letters, but also could enlarge other research horizons, such as the Romanian-Ottoman relations, the history of audiences and of medieval political discourse, the political thought of the Wallachian lords, the careers of the scribes working in the chancellery, or the functional dynamics of the princely chancellery. Our essay aims to revisit this epistolary corpus through several analytical methods highlighting the usefulness and the potential of such approaches for future research.

Keywords: Basarab the Elder, Wallachia, Slavonic letters, chancellery, Braşov, the Romanian-Ottoman relations, medieval handwriting.

IULIA NIŢESCU, *From a Contested Metropolitan to a Sainly Protector: Shaping Metropolitan Kiprian's Image in 15th–16th Century Muscovy*

This article discusses the shifting perception of Metropolitan Kiprian's image in Muscovy. My analysis focuses on three aspects: Kiprian as a "pro-Lithuanian" actor and the complicated succession of Metropolitan Aleksii in Moscow, Kiprian as a legitimate metropolitan in the accounts and iconographical representations of the 1395 miracle of the icon of the Theotokos of Vladimir, defending Moscow from the Tatar attack, and Kiprian as a rightful member of a legitimate, Moscow-based ecclesiastical succession, after the 1472 discovery of the relics of all metropolitans buried in the Dormition Cathedral. I argue that the initially contested metropolitan became a saintly protector beginning with the second half of the 15th century, due to the emergent Muscovite ideology of power, aiming to illustrate a political and ecclesiastical unity of Rus' polities under Muscovite rule. In Kiprian's case, this culminated with his portrait as an ideal (and legitimate) spiritual father in the 16th -century Nikon chronicle, and with some minor attempts to include him among the local saintly protectors of the city.

Keywords: Church history, second South Slavic influence, metropolitan of Kyiv and all Rus', cult of saints, wonder-working icons.

OCTAVIAN NEGOIŢĂ, *The Grand Dragoman and the Bibliophile: Thoughts on Aan Unknown Fragment from the Greek Translation of Memorie Istoriche De' Monarchi Ottomani*

A Greek translation of the *Memorie istoriche de' monarchi ottomani* authored by the Venetian diplomat Giovanni Sagredo was produced in the eighteenth century by the grand dragoman and future lord of Wallachia Nikolaos Karatzas. The Greek intellectual made his translation not from the original Italian but from the French translation by Jacques Laurent, which was printed in seven volumes in 1724 (Paris) with a second edition in 1732 (Amsterdam). The Greek translation circulated only in manuscript, and it

was considered lost. However, a hitherto unknown miscellaneous Phanariot codex from Princeton University Library (*Sarakēnika*, Princeton University Library, MS Gr. 112) features a brief fragment from the translation. This paper offers a discussion about the fragment and intends to bring it into the scholarly circuit by providing in the appendices a semi-diplomatic edition of the Greek text in parallel with the corresponding passage from the French edition.

Keywords: Greek Translations, Nikolaos Karatzas, *Sarakēnika*, Giovanni Sagredo, Venetian Chronicle, Anti-Islamic Polemics, Histories of the Ottoman Porte, Prophet Muḥammad.

CONSTANTIN ARDELEANU, *Romania and the International Sanitary Conferences of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*

This paper traces Romania's participation in the International Sanitary Conferences of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Romania's interest in international sanitary diplomacy was directly linked to the country's geographical location and the role of the Danube in the spread of epidemics. The cholera outbreak that reached the Lower Danube in 1865 demonstrated that the river, which connected the Levant to Central Europe via steamship companies, was one of the main gateways through which epidemics spread to the continent. With their busy commercial links to other Black Sea ports, Sulina, Galați and Brăila were equally vulnerable to the importation of diseases that reached Ottoman or imperial Russian ports by land, i.e., via Persia or Central Asia. Such serious health concerns became even more important to the Romanian government after the Danube Delta and Dobrudja became part of independent Romania in 1878. The text follows the various interests that Romania had during these decades, defended by diplomats and doctors who worked together to protect public health from various epidemic, political or economic threats.

Keywords: sanitary diplomacy, Romania, Danube, cholera, plague.

RUMYANA CHUKOVA, DANIEL VACHKOV, *The 1942/43 British Initiative: Emigration and Transit of Jews from and via Bulgaria*

The present study's goal is, on the one hand, to trace how the specific negotiations on the British initiative from the period 1942–1943 aimed at the reception of 4,500 children and the accompanying 500 adults from and through Bulgaria fit into the Bulgarian Government's general policy on the Jewish Question, at a time when the country was an ally to the Third Reich. On the other hand, another goal of this study is to outline the role of the initiative in the general British policy focused on the settling of Jews in Palestine throughout the years of the Second World War. In addition, it will examine the impact of some other external factors that would affect the

implementation of the British proposal concerning the emigration and transit of Jews through Bulgaria.

Keywords: Bulgaria, British War Cabinet, Holocaust, 4 500 Bulgarian children, Jewish refugees, Final Solution.

Discussions

“Indigenous” and “Non-Indigenous” in Late Medieval and Early Modern Moldavia and Wallachia. Some Thoughts on Lidia Cotovanu’s Recent Book (Marian Coman)

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In memoriam

† Blagovest Njagulov (1958–2023)

Vie scientifique

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