

# Banatian Domanial Records

## Conscriptions, Inventories and Accounts (14<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> Centuries)\*

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AVRAM ANDEA

**T**HE BEGINNING of the rule exerted by the Kingdom of Hungary over the Banat was accompanied by the organization of the royal counties of Timiș, Cenad and Caraș and of the Catholic ecclesiastical institutions, the Diocese of Cenad with the Archdeaconries of Timiș, Sebeș, Caraș, etc. One of the consequences of this process of statal-ecclesiastical institutionalization resided in the donations of estates and the granting of benefices (in the form of customs revenue and salt amounts) in favor of certain of servants of the king or of the Catholic Church. The practice led naturally to an intensified scriptural activity regarding the Banat.

The first preserved letter patent that was issued by the royal chancery dates from 1212 and concerns the removal of an estate from dependence upon the city of Timiș.<sup>1</sup> In time, throughout the 13<sup>th</sup> century, this was followed by the granting of other donations, but the Arpadian kings' donative politics did not register significant proportions in the Banat. According to the documents preserved, the alienation of land belonging to the royal domains took place especially in Cenad County and in the flatland areas of Caraș and Timiș Counties. Consequently, in the mountain and border areas of the kingdom, with significant military and strategic purposes, the cities with their domains were preserved, being organized as districts with a large population of Romanian knezes and nobles. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, these social categories with military obligations and natural aspirations of political ascension were of real support to the Angevin royalty. The latter was interested in keeping for itself the domains of the royal cities or in recovering them in cases of alienation through nobiliary usurpations or forced donations. Thus, in the border provinces of the country, including the Banat, a new devoted and faithful nobility emerged, being assimilated by Louis of Anjou, in 1351, with the "true nobles found within the borders of the kingdom" who would "enjoy one and same freedom."<sup>2</sup>

The price for acquiring this integrative framework<sup>3</sup> could not be small for the beneficiaries. For the Banatian knezes and nobles, it consisted in fulfilling military and

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financial obligations and incurring human casualties in the battles against the Tatars, the Bulgarians and the “heretics” or “schismatics” from Wallachia. To these were added the circumstantial concessions made by the same local leaders to Catholic proselytism, which was strongly supported by the Angevin kings. The Catholic Diocese of Cenad and the monastic orders of the Dominicans and the Franciscans managed to consolidate their institutional structures in the territory by increasing the number of parishes and founding monasteries.<sup>4</sup> Last but not least, as a result of their missionary activity, it may be assumed that they won over a number of Romanian believers. Nonetheless, the policy of Catholicization encountered difficulties and its frail success seems to have been demonstrated by the measures of individual coercion recorded in some letters patent, and especially by the royal command of 25 July 1366, regarding the schismatic priests and the laity protecting them in the counties of Kewe and Caraş. We should, of course, emphasize that the subsequent issuance of similar, albeit questionable<sup>5</sup> provisions in 1428 simply put into question their effectiveness and rigorous enforcement.

Beyond the sinuosities of the Catholicization policy and its questionable results, what remains certain for the Banat, in addition to the bias in favor of certain foreign noble families, is the social promotion of the local elites through their ennoblement and appointment to comital and district positions. This small and middle nobility, which supported the Angevin royalty from the very beginning, settled in Timișoara and strove to endorse the reform policy adopted by Charles Robert of Anjou (1308–1342), including as regards the imposition of written practices in the courts and administration. The results of this new orientation can be found in the nobility’s growing interest in education and in the increasing number of those who were literate.

Initially it was schools in the country, especially the capitular ones,<sup>6</sup> that were attended and later, in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, there came the turn of the newly established universities in the kingdom (Pécs, Buda, Bratislava) or abroad (Prague, Vienna, Krakow, etc.).<sup>7</sup> Usually their graduates had the title of *magister* and had a good training in the craft of writing and the science of law, knowledge that they could not acquire in the monastic schools. Given their qualities and skills, they were promoted both to ecclesiastical dignities and to secular positions, distinguishing themselves, especially at the level of the counties, through the issuance of documents. In the Banat, examples of this practice from the 14<sup>th</sup> century included the well-known series of comites and vice-comites of Caraş, these nobles having secured their offices almost entirely due to their quality of *magister*, a title they held almost without exception. Together with the nobiliary judges in the county, they issued confirmation documents attesting acts of violence, letters of investigation, letters of injunction and defense, various accounts, oath submissions, agreements, etc.<sup>8</sup> The same practice was found in the case of Timiș County and of some castellans leading the fortresses of Haram, Keve and Ersomlio (Vârșeț).

From the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, as a result of the increasing number of literate people and the dissemination of writing practices in society, there appeared a new type of documents represented by reckonings. They were no longer exclusively the product of the functioning and administration of justice, or the expression of the beneficiaries’ interest in obtaining documents reinforced with authentic seals. The new type

of documents had a private origin; they were much simpler, without a legal character and responding to practical necessities.

For the Banat, the oldest reckonings, amounting to two, which have been preserved and are currently known, date from 1372. These reckonings are particularly important primarily given their age, since they are among the first and few documents of this kind preserved from the 14<sup>th</sup> century. They are also important given their contents, the data coming from a massive Romanian area. One of these lists contains records of the workers sent to build the fortress of Orșova, while another records the domanial revenue and expenditure of the noble Himfi family.

The first list, datable after 3 July 1372,<sup>9</sup> recorded the names of districts, towns, villages, knezes and estate owners that sent workers to help with the reconstruction of the moat around the fortress of Orșova. The data, it is true, are sketchy, the workers dispatched are not registered with their names or legal status, but are only recorded numerically, by districts, localities and estates. If we had the names of the 316 people registered to participate in the rebuilding of the fortress, they would be of great value for onomastic studies. In the absence thereof, we do have access to four nominated districts (Sebeș, Chery, Hodoș and Beld), 4 or 5 towns (Sebeș, Lugoj, Chery, Hodoș and possibly Caran), several villages with their knezes and, last but not least, the names of some estate owners. Their onomastic remains interesting, but in some cases it is difficult to solve, just like the nomenclature of many of the settlements and some of the districts, some them being certified now for the first time. Their size difference emerges from the outstanding figures written next to them, as an expression of the human potential that was available to them and the equally high obligations they had to the fortress. Foremost among the jurisdictions and localities is the district and town of Sebeș, with 110 people enrolled, nearly a third of the total, followed by the district of Chery with the homonymous town, forced to send 27 people, the towns of Lugoj 9 and Hodoș 6, while the noble families Carapaciu and Dan of Duboz owed each 19 and, respectively, 16 people. Most of the estate owners—like Ioan, son of Neacșu of Ohaba; Ioan, son of Marcu of Dolaj; Nicolae, son of Dominic of Fanchlaka; and Magister Petru of Macedonia—were registered with 6 people each, while the knezes featured, as a rule, with one man per village.

The document is less usual in content and form; it does not have a solemn character, which would be characteristic of privilegial documents; it is written on paper and in a rather slovenly form, displaying numerous erasures and corrections, and even some morphological errors.<sup>10</sup> Beyond these features, the document nonetheless illustrates a new trend, namely the recourse to written documents in the management of local military affairs. The author of the list proves to the beneficiary and, at the same time, the promoter of the dissemination and popularization of the process of writing. Regardless of whether he was aware of his gesture or not, he participates in a radical change in communication, becoming involved in the transition from traditional orality to written and visual communication.

To the same trend with innovative significance belonged the second list of reckonings, compiled in the form of a notebook, by Magister Nicolae, son of Pavel, concerning the income and expenses of the Banat domains that belonged to the Himfi fami-

ly.<sup>11</sup> The content of the document was particularly valuable, including data about Ban Benedict Himfi's revenues in cash and in kind, such as those derived from the customs (*de tributo*) on the river Timiș, from the mills (*de molendinis*) in Remetea, from some taxes collected (*de collectis exigitis*) from the towns of Timișoara and Șemlac, or the bovine tithes paid by the localities Periam, Kenez, Lugoș, Hodoș and Izgar. The expenditures shown in the list refer to the amount of money destined for the purchase of meat, spices and wine for the kitchen or animal fodder; the manufacture of garments and footwear for the owner, for various court servants and domanial employees; for the payment of carpenters headed by their guild master, of some tailors, furriers, potters, strap makers, etc.

Through their details, these notes are most helpful in reconstructing important aspects of quotidian life, such as nutrition and costume. I would like to mention here, as suggested by the list, the structure of food consumption, consisting of grain milling, measured by the Timiș quart (*cum cubulo Themesiensi*), of beef and spices (cloves) bought for cash, and of other quantities of meat derived from the bovine tithes paid by some localities and their lands. To all these, chef Laurențiu could also add the poultry furnished by the fowler (*auceps*) of the court, and, presumably, fish and game, other local produce and ingredients not specified in the reckonings. We also know that purchased wines were not absent from the master's dinner table.

The notes made by Magister Nicolae are also useful as regards some clothing items. We learn from the payments recorded here that Ban Benedict Himfi used to wear clothes made of Colonia felt, while the accountant magister was restricted to the much cheaper cloth of Bohemia. For the shirts worn under the tunic (*sub tunica*) by the master, a fine flax cloth (*sindonem*) was purchased, while for the other needs of the family, of the lady, above all, silk (*sericum*), cambric (*bisum*), fustian (*barhanum*) and even a crown (*sertam*) were bought. The master's expenditures also included gear necessary for riding, significant amounts of money being recorded for reins, whip, saddle straps, and various other harness pieces that were customary at the time.

Without doubt, the calculation list reveals the private life universe of Ban Benedict Himfi's high-ranking Banatian family, although the information provided is fragmentary and partial. It refers to only a small part of the Banat and to a short time, the months April to June 1372. The reckonings are nonetheless significant as a new type of document, representing the beginnings of written accounts in the administration of nobiliary estates. It goes without saying that at the outset, such records were more summary, as a rule, and less communicative than the ones compiled later. They were also more sporadic and lacked the character of consecutive reckonings that might allow us to follow the dissemination of these new domanial practices in time. It should also be noted that the text of these reckonings often features a series of terms from the vernacular languages, often rendered in a corrupt script, in the case of our list, Hungarianisms, such as *rethe*, *kengel*, *zekfw*, *mentenk*, etc. Moreover, such documents are full of cuts and corrections, wrong forms and grammatical disagreements even in the case of some Latin words, like *sumpma*, *nupties*, *currigiam*, *duobus*, *Volachy*, etc., instead of *summa*, *nuptias*, *currigiam*, *duabus* and, respectively, *Volacho*.

From the 14<sup>th</sup> century, more precisely, from the years 1333–1335 and 1367–1374, there have been preserved a few reckonings from the Banat regarding the collection from the

Catholic clergy and parishioners of the outstanding papal revenue from tithes and vacant ecclesiastical benefices (*de decimis papalibus et de beneficiis ecclesiasticis vacantibus*).<sup>12</sup> Based on these activities, a series of documents were compiled and submitted to the papal camera from Avignon by the envoys of the Apostolic See.<sup>13</sup> The accounts shows us indirectly and in codified form, through the monetary value of the tithes collected, the number and geographical distribution of the tithe-paying Catholics. The data recorded also reveal the network of parishes and their grouping in archdeaconries, with the nominal registration of the priests and archdeacons, making it possible to map the information and establish the general framework in which the ethnic-denominational realities of the Banat evolved.<sup>14</sup>

Judged from another perspective, these documents highlight, through their accounting nature, a new use of writing, different from the traditional one, which was generally reserved to privilegial documents and official decrees. At the same time, they highlight the good economic training of some of the papal officials, their competence in accounting and monetary exchange matters, given their knowledge of the coins and metrology of the countries where they had to carry out their mission. Since only fragments have been preserved and they unilaterally refer to denominational realities, such documents must be rigorously judged, verified and completed, where possible, with other sources in order to facilitate an objective historical investigation.

For most of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, there are no documents that might be circumscribed to the subject we are examining here. They appeared only from 1482 and concerned localities in the north-eastern areas of the Banat which represented the exterior pertinences (*pertinentiae exteriores*) of the domain of Hunedoara fortress. From the data preserved, which contain the nomination of the districts, boroughs and villages included in the domain, at the time when it was in the hands of Matthias Corvinus's descendants, we find that the domain comprised about 150 settlements between the years 1482–1510.<sup>15</sup> For the exterior pertinences, i.e. the Banatian areas, a total of 101 boroughs (*oppida*) and villages (*villae*) were recorded in 1506, the same number in 1510, slightly fewer in the years 1512 and 1528–1529, namely 93 and, respectively, 94.<sup>16</sup> For the first two years, i.e. 1506 and 1510, the data come from letters patent issued by King Vladislaus II and include the mere nomination of the settlements,<sup>17</sup> while for the years 1512 and 1528–1529, we have income registers (*registra super proventus*) of the domain, which specify the number of serfs in each borough and village, as well as their obligations in cash and kind.<sup>18</sup>

Given its breadth and revenues, the domain of the Hunedoara constituted one of the largest domains in the country at that time, and when it came into the possession of Margrave Gheorghe of Brandenburg, who lived at the royal court in Buda, it was administered from afar, with the help of a skilled and reliable staff, mostly brought over from Germany. As a result, this practice yielded a rich scriptural activity in Latin and German, which is found both in the numerous provisions and instructions to the castellans and domanial administrators, but especially in a series of income and expenses reckonings, periodically submitted to the owner. A significant part of this material, kept in archives abroad, was published and valorized in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, representing a historical source of prime importance.<sup>19</sup>

For our analysis, these domanial records have a special significance, constituting documents of the oldest of this kind in our country, which illustrate the use of writing

practices and accounting records in the managing of family estates. Including more or less detailed references to the income and expenses of the domain, the ledgers compiled for Gheorghe of Brandenburg resemble, in some respects, what urbarial conscriptions would represent later, in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. In addition, the ledgers also mention, in addition to the master's subjects and their obligations, various other sources of revenue for the domain, such as gold exchange, customs, mills, metal mining, blacksmithing, etc. The same documents contain the registration of the domanial expenses relating to the military and economic organization of the domain, the structure of its salaried personnel, from castellans and administrators, with their subordinates and their servants, to excisemen or reckoners, to the lowest employees, including cooks, housekeepers, gardeners, carpenters, blacksmiths, shepherds, etc. These expenses were paid not only in cash, but also in food and clothing. What were also not ignored, then, were the exemptions and benefices granted to knezes performing military duty in the cities or the collectors of taxes for the master. In other words, they disclose information that is not encountered in any other previous document, relating to everything that the components and functioning of the domanial life meant, with the entire set of social relations between the master and the subjects.

The documentary material preserved from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century reflects the complex evolution of domanial administration, which was confronted, under the circumstances of the Ottoman threat, both with the multiplication of the military duties to the fortress of Hunedoara and the country's defense, and with the growing financial demands of Gheorghe of Brandenburg, who was at the royal court in Buda or had retreated to Germany. To fulfill these requirements as well as possible, attention was paid to allodial management and, given the owner's absence, a corresponding scriptural activity focusing on the income and expenditure of the domain was fostered. The master requested annual or biannual reports with detailed reckonings, quite often personally attending their assessment. He would appoint literate people at the head of the domain, as was the case, between 1516 and 1530, of the castellan Andrei literatus of Zenthimreh, followed by Gaspar from Margina. Ioan Bekes of Faget must also have had thorough school training; between 1509 and 1523, he held the position of either castellan or administrator. All of them, with some of the servants in their suborder, had to be schooled, in order to carry out the tasks entrusted to them, especially those of an economic nature. Moreover, the domanial records mention a reckoner or account keeper (*rationista*), for keeping the daily reckoning, who was helped in keeping the records by various stewards (*dispensatores*), such as the one of the smithy, the kitchen, etc.

Typically, they were recruited from among the domanial clerks, both foreign and local, all bearing the title, according to the documents, of *litteratus*, *Schreyber* sau *Diac(k)*. For example, we should mention here *Steffan schreyber*, identical with *Istwan Diack*, *Mathias Diack*, another *Mathias litteratus alias Szasz*, *Luca litteratus de Zeplak*, *Martinus litteratus*, *Nicolaus litteratus et dispensator*, *Gaspar litteratus*, the brother of the castellan-priest Ștefan, etc. Some of the domanial subjects functioned as stewards without bearing the *litteratus* title, as evidence that they mastered writing and arithmetic, as in the case of Nicolae of Walȳa, Banucz the dispensator of castellan Andrei, and Mihail Charna (of Cerna), all of them probably being Romanian, judging by their origin and name.

What resulted from these scriptural practices of the trained personnel was primarily a series of accounting documents, reports, and ledgers of domanial income and expenditure, which allow us to capture, among others, the expansion of literacy in society and the current use of writing in less typical areas. These ledgers, compiled in Latin or German, written on paper or in the form of notebooks, had a purely economic character and a restricted destination, lacking the legal value of priviledial documents and royal commands. They came from a purely private activity, undertaken by people who had acquired education, coming from the ranks of the small and medium nobility, and who managed, through the skills they mastered (reading, writing and numeracy) to be promoted to major domanial positions and to benefit from the perspective of social ascent.

The ledgers preserved present many word and number cuts and corrections in writing, miscalculations due to carelessness or to digits that had been omitted. The findings apply primarily to the Latin texts, but also, in part, to the German documents. Income and expenditure accounts written in Latin sometimes contain rarely encountered graphic shapes (*somma* instead of *summa*, *de porcys* for *de porciis*, *kneseorum* instead of *keneziorum*, etc.), many grammatical disagreements in the verbal and pronominal forms, a frequently arbitrary use of adjective endings (such as *connumerati-connumerate*, *dati-date* or *dicati-dicate*, etc.). These observations are obviously related to both the clerks' literacy and their cultural level and to the fact that this type of documents reflects a writing practice that is not so elaborate and controlled, the text being rather free and corresponding to a simple logic. The writing practices from the ledgers are less regulated and standardized, being dominated by other requirements than those of a chancery. This new type of document was designed as a means of informing the owner, and not as a privilege with legal value for the estate. The scribes turned to writing as an instrument of domanial administration, the ledgers being compiled and used in a practical sense.

The authors of records of income and expenses often encountered difficulties in finding a suitable Latin language specific to the local domanial life. To resolve these terminology-related difficulties, the clerks were forced, in order to be better understood, to adopt a series of words and phrases from the spoken languages. This explains why the Latin and even the German texts teem with Hungarianisms, rendered in a corrupt script, such as *thaskapenz*—bag money, *ponnywa*—coverings, *swlyok*—rammer, *czondora*—thick woolen cloth, *wdwarlo*—gift in money, *pecunie mensales*—*abrozpyms*—food money, *riskasaath*—rice, *eleókeóteó*—apron, *ad funes istrang*—gallows, *gatya*—tights, *bladium alakor vocatum*—einkorn, *lwgas*—garden shade, *abronch*—(barrel) circle, *chryga*—pulley, *pisces lepenhal*—plaice, *wacarw*—currycomb, *paripa*—riding horse, *kepenjeg*—cloak, *pisces hwngaricales keszeg*—sturgeon, *pannum vjszym*—cherry-red cloth (?), *szabo*—tailor, *heweder*—(saddle) strap, *kouuch-kouach*—blacksmith, etc. Many of these words entered Romanian with a similar meaning.

Of particular importance for the studies of onomastics in the Banat is the nominal list of the serfs from the localities of the domain's exterior pertinences, a list that according to the editors, dates back to the first decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>20</sup> Notwithstanding their Magyarized form and some corrupt spellings, the names registered were worn by Romanians to an overwhelming degree, and as a matter of fact, the entire area was and has remained Romanian. The same features are also valid for the toponyms registered in the income and expenditure ledgers.

Given the transformation, one by one, of the lowlands (1552) and the mountainous areas (1658) of the Banat into a Turkish pashalik (*vilayet*), there are no domanial reckonings and conscriptions from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the next century similar to those discussed above. The changing of the legal status of land ownership, which turned from private and nobiliary into public and state-owned, occasioned the Islamic authorities to conduct only periodical fiscal conscriptions, known as *deftere*.<sup>21</sup> We shall ignore them because they do not fit into the subject of our analysis, and neither does the information contained in the ledger of alms for the Patriarchate of Pec<sup>22</sup> from years 1660-1666 and in the Austrian conscription of the Banatian districts from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>23</sup>

We consider that through the above analysis of the districtal and family reckonings and, respectively, of the domanial income and expense ledgers, we have managed to capture the impact of writing on the Banatian society from the 14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The spread of writing and numeracy in the domestic and domanial economy illustrates the new skills necessary for carrying out certain jobs, as well as the transition from a type of oral communication to one based on writing. The consequences of these transformations can be found in the higher number of literate people, who featured in the documents as *magister* or *literatorus*, in the wide dissemination of writing practices, in the progress of public and private scriptural production, and in the growing influence exerted by the intellectual skills acquisition on social mobility.

All these changes led to a new mentality, to a gradual reconsideration of the system of social and cultural values, to the promotion of a new attitude towards school and written culture, primarily on the part of those who up to that point had dedicated themselves exclusively to arms. For them, social prestige and upward mobility gradually no longer depended exclusively on nobility of origin, but also on the level of education, on acquiring the necessary practices of writing and arithmetic. Both the state and the owners of large estates resorted, ever more frequently and systematically, to written documents in the management of their own affairs, succeeding, with the help of scriptural evidence, in increasing their authority and control over their subjects, in supervising them much better and imposing their own policies more effectively. The state and the nobles proved to be equally the beneficiaries and the promoters of a—true, merely beginning—process of modernization, based on practices of writing and intellectual skills.



*Translated into English by CARMEN-VERONICA BORBELY*

## Notes

1. *Documente privind istoria României*, veacul XI, XII și XIII. C. Transilvania (DIR.C) (Bucharest, 1951), 155–156.
2. *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, C. Transilvania (DRH.C) 10 (1351–1355), (Bucharest, 1977), 91, 96.
3. For a more extensive treatment, see Avram Andea, *Banatul cnezial până la instăpânirea habsburgică (1718)* (Reșița, 1996), 73–81.
4. Dumitru Țeicu, *Geografia ecleziastică a Banatului medieval* (Cluj-Napoca, 2007).



5. See the pertinent assessments formulated by Viorel Achim, *Banatul în Evu mediu. Studiu* (Bucharest, 2000), 149–153.
6. For the function they had in the period, see Békefi Remig, *A káptalani iskolák története Magyarországon 1540-ig* (Budapest, 1910).
7. Cf. Costin Feneșan, “Studentii din Banat la universitățile străine până la 1552,” *Revista de Istorie* 29, 12 (1976), 1945–1965.
8. Pesty Frigyes, *Krassó vármegye története*, vol. III (Budapest, 1883), 5–6, 13–15, 24–25, 28–29, 31, 46–49, 57, 62–65, 69–70, 99–100, 126–130, 155–160, 218, 244–247, 253–254, etc.
9. *DRH.C.*, 14 (1371–1375) (Bucharest, 2002), 237–240.
10. For instance, the inexistent form *destinarunt* is wrongly used instead of *destinaverunt*, and the passive voice *destinati sunt* is used instead of the same *destinaverunt*.
11. *DRH.C.*, 14 (1371–1375), 101–108. See also Ioan Dani, Costin Feneșan, “O listă de socoteli din Banatul secolului al XIV-lea,” *Banatica* 3 (1975): 145–152.
12. *DIR.C.*, 3 (1331–1340) (Bucharest, 1954), 221–248; *DRH.C.*, (1371–1375), 291, 299–300, 303, 311–312.
13. For the fiscal administration and papal finances, see Emil Göller, *Die Einnahmen der apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII* (Paderborn, 1910), XVI+134+782 p.; K. H. Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben der apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII. Nebst den Jahresbilanzen von 1316–1375*, Paderborn, 1911, XI+151+911 p.; K. H. Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben der apostolischen Kammer unter Benedikt XII, Klemens VI und Innocenz 6 (1335–1362)*, Paderborn, 1914, XVI+935 p. For the situation in our space, cf. C. Mureșan, G. S. Ardeleanu, *La politique fiscale de la papauté en Transylvanie au cours de la première moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Bucharest, 1955).
14. Cf. Dumitru Țeicu, *Geografia*.
15. Csánki Dezső, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a hunyadiak korában*, vol. V (Budapest, 1913), 46–51; D. Prodan, *Iobăgia în Transilvania în secolul al XVI-lea*, vol. II (Bucharest, 1968), 29.
16. Iosif Pataki, *Domeniul Hunedoara la începutul secolului al XVI-lea. Studiu și documente* (Bucharest, 1973), 292–294.
17. *Ibid.*, 133–134 and 141–143.
18. *Ibid.*, 158–163 and 216–220.
19. The most comprehensive series of ledgers published to date, which cover - true, with intermittences - the period of 1511–1533, is owed to Pataki, *Domeniul*, 1–127.
20. Pesty, *Krassó*, vol. III, 507–511; Pataki, *Domeniul*, 146–50.
21. Cristina Feneșan, “Recensements fiscaux de l’eyalet de Timișoara de la seconde moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle (d’après les Mühimme Defterleri),” *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 31, 1–2 (1993): 161–169.
22. S. Matic, “Katastig pecki iz 1660–1666 godine,” *Glasnik Srpskog Učnog Društva* (Novisad), 4 (1957): 207–233 and 444–455; 5 (1956), 72–79 and 418–422; Th. N. Trăpcea, “L’organisation kneziiale au Banat du milieu du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle au début du XIX<sup>e</sup>,” *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 7, 3 (1969): 496.
23. Szilády Áron, Szilágyi Sándor, eds., *Török-magyarkori állam-okmánytár*, vol. VII (Pest, 1872), 329–334; Pavel Binder, “Lista localităților din Banat de la sfârșitul secolului al XVII-lea,” *Studii de Istorie a Banatului* 2 (1970): 61–68.

**Abstract**

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(the 14<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> Centuries)**

The study focuses on the dissemination of writing practices in the domestic and domanial economy of the Banat, analyzing two calculation lists from the year 1372 and, respectively, several income and expense records from the years 1511-1533 in the Hunedoara domain, which also included about 100 settlements in the north-east of the Banat. The analysis captures the impact of writing on the Banatian society and highlights the new intellectual skills (writing and numeracy) required for certain jobs, emphasizing, therefore, the reconsideration of the role of school and literacy in the period. All these changes led to a new mindset and attitude towards school and the written culture, gradually entailing the fact that upward social mobility no longer depended exclusively on the nobility of origin, but also on the level of education. The change was illustrated by the remarkable career of many bearers of the title of *magister* or *litteratus*, people with scholarly training who were promoted for their intellectual skills in the political and social hierarchy.

**Keywords**

District, reckonings, income and expenditure ledgers, writing practices, clerks.