

# Death as a Social and Devotional Event, the Case of Several Guilds from Late Medieval Transylvania

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'As soon as a human has life, so soon is he old enough to die' argues *Death* in a dialogue with a ploughman whose blameless wife and mother of his children suddenly disappears from the world of the living.<sup>1</sup> Imagined by Johannes von Tepl around 1400, the dialogue confronts two characters who defend their right to exist one against the other: on one side *Life*, who rises up against the injustice of death; on the other *Death* herself who claims her eternal right and justice to reap mercilessly human life.

The Late Middle Ages revealed a profound change regarding attitudes towards death. Initially, death was recognized, awaited and calmly lived in public, regarded as a prolonged sleep, but beginning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a new and more dramatic idea about the eternal passage developed. Death was reconsidered as an instant separation between body and soul, followed by an immediate and individual judgement that would send the deceased not directly into the heavenly or infernal eternities, but into the 'cleansing fires' of Purgatory.<sup>2</sup> Through—a new set of references towards death, the thirteenth-century man became aware of his own individuality while passing into the afterlife, being both subject and object of what Philippe Ariès called 'death of the self'.<sup>3</sup>

From now on, the care for personal salvation of each individual had priority and took place both during lifetime and after death, the living being mandated with the salvation of their dead fellows. The dead had loosened their anonymity, since it was necessary to keep and proclaim their individuality even after death.<sup>4</sup> The death of an individual did not imply only his disappearance from the living, but also ones

means of interaction with the deceased, whereas the care for salvation was a recurrent feature so that it would have been anticipated during lifetime through the establishment of useful devotions after death. In other words, death had fallen within the range of a social determinant because the help for the soul of a dead person could only come on behalf of the living.<sup>5</sup> During this time, death became a factor of solidarity equally as important as the devotional and charitable aspects in the case of religious associations of lay and clerics, called confraternities. The main purpose of these groups was to arrange the burials of its deceased members and to pray for the salvation of their souls.

Medieval craft guilds also formed devotional solidarities which followed their professional goals because, as part of the same world terrified by the danger of eternal damnation, they sought to organize the religious experience of their members.<sup>6</sup> Gervase Rosser very recently pointed out that burial and commemoration were central and mandatory activities within the guilds of England, since death alone was the common denominator which could unite all late-medieval Christians.<sup>7</sup>

Similar arguments can be advanced for late-medieval Transylvanian craft guilds, which have been studied superficially at a regional level and only poorly within the wider European context. Thus, the main works addressing their activities are not only outdated, but generally written in the spirit of historical materialism, focusing more on their products and on the relationship with the urban establishment.<sup>8</sup> However, in the past two decades, there have been several historiographical improvements, mainly due to the publishing of two diplomatic editions with documents reflecting the medieval and early modern history of the craft guilds from Sibiu [Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben]<sup>9</sup> and Brașov [Kronstadt, Brassó],<sup>10</sup> two of the most important towns in Transylvania, established by German settlers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

As a result of the rather late urban development of this area, if compared to Western or even to Central Europe, local craftsmen started to organise themselves more thoroughly in guilds only at the beginning of the fifteenth century. This was a period characterized by frequent changes to the legal framework - especially their statutes - in which they carried out their activities. In this respect, these regulations are not necessarily the most accurate historical source for reconstructing

their daily activities, but rather they represent a set of ideal rules, aspirations, and norms that the community of masters designed for themselves, and they worked to fulfil them unconditionally.

This study will thus explore how death articulated the behaviour of such professional associations by referring to the funeral rituals and gestures organised by the medieval craft guilds from Sibiu and Braşov for their deceased members. As John Bossy stated, ‘death certainly might have been a strictly individual event for the one who dies, yet it was a social event for those who remained after him’.<sup>11</sup> The medieval craft guilds from these two Transylvanian towns were also part of the same paradigm since the type of solidarity they proposed to their members exceeded simple professional affiliation.

The main objectives of all medieval craft guilds were to assure production and to avoid competition, their statutes, sanctioned by urban authorities, being the ones which organized and detailed their specific activities. The same statutes however came with a number of clauses which regulated the devotional experience of guildsmen.<sup>12</sup> Generally, they referred to the cult of the patron saint, the care for the guild altar, the participation at religious processions and celebrations, funerals, the aid of ill members and of the poor; these activities being very similar with the ones specific to medieval confraternities.<sup>13</sup>

However, of the 26 statutes analysed from the craft guilds from Sibiu and Braşov, covering about 29 different professions,<sup>14</sup> only a small part, namely 10, contained information on organizing the funerals of a deceased member, for the period 1376-1532. The superior chronological limit represents the confirmation year of the last regulation by urban authorities for a professional association, namely for the Carpenters’, Painters’ and Wood Sculptors’ Guild from Braşov in June 15<sup>th</sup> 1532,<sup>15</sup> before the emergence of the Protestant Reformation in Transylvania.

The *hora mortis* put in motion a large number of rituals which started to work around and for the benefit of the deceased. There were rituals for preparing the body at home (washing, clothing and putting it in the coffin), for the wake, for mourning, for preparation of the grave, rites for carrying the dead to the church, the funeral mass around the body lying in front of the altar, rites for burial, alms for the dead, obligations to be fulfilled in favour of the soul, or individual and

collective commemorations.<sup>16</sup> At all these rituals clerics, kith and family attended who, through their mourning and funeral gestures, fulfilled a series of well-established social roles.<sup>17</sup>

Part of these rituals were present in the Transylvanian craft guilds' statutes, these associations having the role of organizing the funeral ceremonies as attested by the oldest regulation preserved until today for the guilds of Sibiu, Sighișoara [Schäßburg, Segesvár] and Orăștie [Broos, Szászváros] which was granted by the representatives of the Seven Seats (November 9<sup>th</sup> 1376): 'all expenses made by guilds for funerals, those received and those to be received for candles and for burial of the poor, must be given to the glory of God'.<sup>18</sup> The difference between the received expenses and the ones that are to be received might indicate two types of burials organized by guilds - the ones received, ordinary, regarding the funerals of their own members and the other ones, rather unpredictable, of the poor, based on a deep sense of Christian charity.

The articulation of solidarity between members of the same craft occurred in the moment of regulation, confirmation or reconfirmation of the guild statutes. It was a public moment that reunited the presence of several masters before the urban authority, symbolizing the acknowledgement of all statutory articles by each and every guildsman.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, all references to the moment of death of a guildsman present in these regulations were extremely important, death being a factor that determined the exercise of group cohesion. All analyzed statutes established the mandatory presence of all guildsmen at the burial of a fellow, the absence being severely punished by paying the guild an amount of wax. Such stipulations can be best illustrated by the Statute of Tailors' Guild from Sibiu (April 25<sup>th</sup> 1485) which stated: 'the master who will not come to the funeral and will be missing shall owe the guild a quarter of wax',<sup>20</sup> or by the Statute of the Belt-makers' Guild from Brașov (September 25<sup>th</sup> 1511) which stated: 'if a master dies, all the other masters are bound to go to the funeral and to church. Whoever shall defy this rule has to give as penalty 2 pounds of wax'.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, the participation *in corpore* of a guild at the funeral of a fellow guildsman represented a method of developing a sense of complete attachment amongst its members within the group.<sup>22</sup>

The importance of candles, torches and chandeliers in the religious life of professional associations has already been discussed by Catherine

Vincent.<sup>23</sup> Therefore it is most likely that all fines imposed by the medieval craft guilds from Sibiu and Braşov, in various quantities of wax, were used for the manufacturing of candles necessary to their devotional activities. Unfortunately, there are no sources available leading to a better understanding of this particular relationship, and this is even more so given that wax quantities were also requested when new members were welcomed into the guild. The only reliable information we have is for Braşov's wax trade in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when it was imported in high quantities from the neighbouring Romanian principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia.<sup>24</sup>

Indicated by specific statutory articles, the funeral rites to which the guild adhered to were numerous and best summarized in the regulation of the Locksmiths' and Spur-makers Guild from Sibiu (August 20<sup>th</sup> 1518): 'if a master or a master-woman dies, all of the masters are bound to come all year to the dead and to help with the funerals. If someone is missing, he has to give 1 pound of wax'.<sup>25</sup> The presence of a female master in this context, a sole example among the analysed statutes, can be attributed to the successional character of the guild right within the family of a deceased guildsman. This situation was strictly regulated by the vast majority of medieval craft guilds since it represented the most efficient lever by which the guildsmen could hold an exclusive control in order to keep the guild right available only to a limited number of families.

It is difficult to tell whether the guild members participated in the washing of a fellow's lifeless body, one of the first funeral rites, but they probably took part in his wake. From the moment of death, the deceased's body would not belong to the family anymore, but to the Church. However, because it couldn't eliminate the practice of the wake, this being a pre-Christian tradition and symbolizing an act of awareness of death among family and kith, the Church co-operated with this situation.<sup>26</sup> There are two statutes that suggest this, both from Sibiu. The Cloth-makers' Guild regulation (August 28<sup>th</sup> 1469) stated that: 'if there was a death within the guild, each master should be there before the dead [person] is taken out of the house', and the Statute of the Painters', Table- and Window-makers' Guild (June 8<sup>th</sup> 1520) also mentioned that: 'the master who receives the sign to go to a dead person and does not come while he is still in the house [...] must pay one pound

of wax'.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, one can observe that the guild was making its presence felt, suggesting a close cooperation with the Church.

The following placements of the lifeless body in a precise funeral itinerary can be traced within the Church and eventually in the cemetery. The physical presence of a deceased in the church, lying in front of the altar, and the funeral mass, allowed the kith to decently begin the fulfilment of a long line of obligations towards his soul in order to help its transition through Purgatory.<sup>28</sup> As mentioned earlier, the participation in the funerals of a fellow was mandatory for the guild members, their undoubted presence during the funeral mass being most clearly expressed, as we have seen above, by the statute of the Belt-makers' Guild from Brașov (1511): 'all masters are to go to the funeral and church'.<sup>29</sup> The same type of information can be found also in the regulations of several guilds from Sibiu, such as in the one of the Painters', Table- and Window-makers' Guild (1520), which stated that 'the master who does not stay until the service is over or until the end [...] will pay 1 pound of wax', or in the one of the Furriers' Guild, (ca. 1520), by which masters would bound themselves to 'accompany the dead to the church', under penalty of half a pound of wax.<sup>30</sup>

Following the funeral service in the church, the guild members also took part in the actual burial of the body; this is shown with the help of information provided by several regulations from Sibiu. The statute of Goldsmiths' Guild (1494) stated that 'the youngest four masters are to carry and bury the dead under the penalty of 2 pounds of wax for each'; the one of the Painters', Table- and Window-makers' Guild (1520) compelled the master who 'does not accompany the dead to his house, to pay a pound of wax', the one of the Furriers' Guild (1520) forced four young masters 'to bury the dead, and if one of them was missing, that one should pay 2 pounds of wax'; while the regulation of the Glove-makers' Guild (November 21<sup>st</sup> 1523) bound its masters 'to go with the dead to the grave'.<sup>31</sup> The death of a guildsman activated the guild's internal hierarchy with regard to age criteria, the youngest masters being responsible for the burial of a deceased fellow, at first sight probably determined by their physical capacity. However, the precise mentioning of this activity within the guild regulations and its drastic punishment, when it was eluded, suggests its importance - the hierarchical rearrangement among the masters who formed the guild. Moreover, the use of Purgatory as an immediate destination of the dead has led the

historian John Bossy to suggest the idea that death represented the entrance into a community of the dead. Located in the cemetery, this community had its own part of land, just as the living also had their own.<sup>32</sup> In other words, the medieval cemetery was the equivalent of a distinctive social institution, where the youngest members of the guild, being directly involved in the burial process of a fellow, served as witnesses of the social transition that death produced within the guild through the relocation of the deceased from the living community to the one of the dead.

Nevertheless, at the end of the Middle Ages, the actual moment of burial and the funeral mass were no longer considered as defining elements in the portrayal of death within the social space, the new role now being taken by funeral processions.<sup>33</sup> The solemn moment of a funeral cortege had become, beginning in the thirteenth century, the symbolic image of death and burial, particularly in northern Europe, this being considered from now on the most important and significant feature of all funeral rites.<sup>34</sup> The importance of the funeral cortege for the Transylvanian medieval craft guilds emerged from information provided by statutory clauses referring to the moment of ‘carrying the dead’, these representing, as we should point out, the largest category of the funeral domain within these sources. The statute of Goldsmiths’ Guild of Sibiu (1494) stated that: ‘when a master loses somebody from his house, who eats his bread, that person shall be led by the masters, following the guild’s tradition, if not everyone shall be punished with 1 pound of wax’.<sup>35</sup>

This fragment led to the idea of ‘a functional solidarity which included all members of a craft guild and also of those who belonged to the domestic space of the master’.<sup>36</sup> However, this opinion is worth further examination for the reason that, although the journeymen and, more often, the apprentices were frequently living in their master’s workshop (usually the same space for living, manufacturing and selling products),<sup>37</sup> this stipulation would more likely refer to the family members of a master and, exceptionally, to his apprentices. A proper solidarity among journeymen could exist within a specific group, following the example of the journeymen’s confraternities of Shoemakers (1463), of Furriers (1468), of Tailors (1476), of Blacksmiths (1478) and of Weavers (1481), all from Braşov, of

Shoemakers from Sibiu (1484), of Tailors from Cluj [Klausenburg, Kolozsvár] (1502) and that of Shoemakers from Saschiz [Keisd, Szászkézd] (1508), these being the only examples that are known to have functioned in Late Medieval Transylvania.<sup>38</sup> Such confraternities of journeymen had their own statutes, which reveal their purpose of enforcing social and religious behavioural standards, especially against immoralities that could corrupt this youngest and most unstable social and professional category within the medieval town.<sup>39</sup> This is evident in the statute of Glove-makers' Guild of Sibiu (1523), which stated: 'if a master or the wife of a master or the child of a master dies, all the masters of the guild shall go with the deceased to the grave'.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, in the event of funerals, the solidarity within a guild encompassed the deceased family members of a master, most likely because they were the legal successors of the guild law held by the master who was also head of the family.

Other stipulations which refer to the establishment of the funeral processions belong to the guilds from Sibiu. The statute of the Drapers' Guild (ca. 1500) stated that 'the youngest four members shall carry the dead to the funeral. He who does not do this, shall pay as punishment 1 pound of wax', the statute of the Painters', Table-makers' and Window-makers' Guild (1520) fined the master who 'did not carry the dead' with 1 pound of wax, and the one of the Glove-maker's Guild (1523) stipulated that 'the youngest masters shall carry the dead, meaning the coffin [...] each master, young or old, if he is told to come to the deceased and he does not do so, shall be punished after the guild's counsel'.<sup>41</sup> The information that suggests the clearest idea of this type of funeral procession is found in the statute of the Furriers' Guild from Sibiu (1520) that stated:

About carrying the dead: Item, the youngest eight masters shall carry the dead, the youngest four shall carry him and the others shall bury him and if one is missing, he shall pay 2 pounds of wax; About going to the dead: Item, if a master is late at the funeral up to the third house, he shall pay a quarter of wax; About accompanying the dead: Item, each master shall accompany the dead to the church and outside again. He, who does not do so, shall pay half a pound of wax.<sup>42</sup>



By far, the most interesting stipulation is the one referring to a delay in punishment ‘up to the third house’, suggesting the idea of a solemn procession carried out in the urban space.

Therefore, the meaning of the funeral cortege was to mark the same social transition caused by death, allowing the presence of the entire urban community, besides the actual moment of burial in which only a few guild members would take part. Yet again, age became a selection factor for the masters who would carry the body of their fellow, an aspect surely determined by the same paradigm of hierarchical regeneration within the guild, based on physical capacity to accomplish this task. Besides the fact that it marked a public practice of group cohesion, the massive participation of guildsmen in these processions also marked a way to represent the guild as an institution in urban society. Therefore, the solemnity of a funeral procession suggested the power and prestige of a guild held within the town and,<sup>43</sup> quite often, in direct competition with the other craft guilds.<sup>44</sup>

The members of a guild, based on the logic given by Purgatory, would continue to care for the souls of deceased brethren after the completion of all funerary rites. Several of the analysed statutes contain regulations more or less precise regarding the accomplishment of masses for the deceased guildsmen, their main purpose being to help their souls’ transition through Purgatory. For example, the Goldsmiths’ Guild from Sibiu (1494) stated: ‘at all *Quator Tempora* across the year, the grandmasters should pay one mass for each dead member using guild money’.<sup>45</sup> Other statutes that suggest these devotional obligations belong to the Drapers’ Guild of Sibiu (ca. 1500), which stated that: ‘the young master who is in charge of candles and does not light them at the daily bell tolls or at vespers, matins, high mass and masses for the dead, shall pay 1 pound of wax every time he doesn’t fulfil his duty’, and to the Locksmiths’ and Spur-makers’ Guild (1518), which requested their members ‘to come all year long to the dead, [...] and to have a mass for the dead be held’ under the punishment of 1 pound of wax.<sup>46</sup> The Glovers’ Guild from Sibiu held in their statute (1523) a peculiar succession of funerary rites – ‘all masters of the guild shall accompany the dead to his grave and from the grave to church and shall take part, as accustomed, at the mass for the dead’.<sup>47</sup> The presence of guildsmen, together with the deceased, first at the grave and only after in church is

highly unlikely and one can suppose that this fragment suggests a return to the liturgical space of the church, following the actual burial of the deceased fellow, with the purpose of taking part in an intercessional mass. Usually, this type of post-mortem services was held at different time intervals during the year after death, but they could continue, in theory even into perpetuity, if the dead person were to leave a bequest to the Church (property, money or an annuity), thus transforming themselves from prayers for the dead into prayers for the donor, or with the help of the family or of the association of which he was part of during his lifetime that could support the specific masses.<sup>48</sup> Yet, the growing need for this type of services led to a major change in medieval ecclesial topography – the emergence of chantry altars that could provide for mass almost independent of the main altar which catered for specific masses for the dead. The foundation of a chantry altar was the ultimate act of religious individualism, for it tied the celebration of the Eucharist to the interests of a single individual and his family or to the ones of an associative group.<sup>49</sup> The stipulations regarding the caring of a guild altar, or just the suggestion of its simple existence, were quite frequent in the analysed statutes, suggesting the existence of a more complex devotional solidarity between guildsmen.

At Brașov, the craft guilds had under their protection an altar for which they had to take care by supplying it with candles and lighting them on several precise moments, indicated by their statutes were the Furriers' Guild (1424, 1528; dedication: unknown), the Belt-makers' Guild (1511, dedication: probably 'Holy Trinity'), the Tailors' Guild (1511; dedication: '11.000 Virgins') and the one of the Painters, Sculptors, Carpenters, Wood Sculptors and Glassmakers' (1520, 1523; dedication: 'St. Luke').<sup>50</sup> While at Sibiu, the guilds which had an altar to take care of were the Furriers' Guild (1376, 1520; dedication: 'St. Michael'), the Tailors' Guild (1485; dedication: probably 'Saint King Ladislas'), the Goldsmiths' Guild (1494; dedication: 'All Saints'), the Drapers' Guild (ca.1500; dedication: probably 'Saint Nicholas'), the Locksmiths' and Spur-makers' Guild (1518; dedication: unknown) and the Painters', Table- and Window-makers' Guild (1520; dedication: 'Saint Luke').<sup>51</sup> It should be pointed out that all these guild altars functioned within the local parish church.<sup>52</sup>

To conclude, this analysis, which followed the reconstruction of funerary rituals in which several Transylvanian craft guilds took part at

the death of one of their members, points out that *Death* was one of those events that could profoundly articulate the universe of late-medieval corporations. Although the main objectives of these groups were tied to their lucrative activities, they proposed to their members a further devotional solidarity, imagined by lay men for the laity, and complementary to the one offered by the local parish church,<sup>33</sup> which was regulated in its smallest details. The death of a guildsman activated a series of mechanisms within the craft guild – the presence of his brethren during the wake, funeral mass, burial, post-mortem services and, most importantly, the funeral cortege.

The highly punitive lever, which characterise all these regulations, suggests not only an interior disciplinary purpose for their members, but also a type of social reassurance when guild activities became public and available for the entire community to see. In other words, the devotional solidarity that was put into motion by these funeral rituals among guildsmen gave the craft guild the occasion to transform the moment of death into ways of representing the power and prestige it wanted to endorse within the urban society. Significant in this respect is a fragment from the statute of the Cloth-makers' Guild of Sibiu (1469), which stated: 'if there is a pompous funeral, the masters should go twice to make their oblation, but if there is a simple funeral they should go only once, under the penalty of a quarter of wax'.<sup>34</sup> An attempt to deconstruct this piece of information leads to the idea that the guild obliged its members to act according to degrees of social representation in the funerals in which it was heavily involved with. One can observe this with the Cloth-makers' Guild from Sibiu, yet the same thing can be said about all craft guilds examined in this study, which were deeply interested in their own image projected within the urban community on such occasion. Therefore, the institution of a craft guild, at the death of one of its members, activated not only a religious behaviour specific to the Late Middle Ages, but also a series of complex mechanisms that allowed the projection of its social status within the urban community and its almost natural hierarchical regeneration, since the young masters were obligated to carry and bury their dead members.

Table. Funeral rituals organised by the medieval craft guilds of Sibiu and Brașov.

Nr.	GUILD	DATE	FUNERAL RITUALS					SOURCE
			A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	
1.	<i>General</i>	9 Nov. 1376						Doc. 12 ( <i>Q.H.II</i> )
2.	Cloth-makers'	28 Aug. 1469	•	•	•			Doc. 61 ( <i>Q.H.II</i> )
3.	Tailors'	25 Apr. 1485		•				Doc. 66 ( <i>Q. H.II</i> )
4.	Goldsmiths'	1494				•	•	Doc. 78 ( <i>Q.H.II</i> )
5.	Drapers'	ca. 1500		•			•	Doc. 82 ( <i>Q.H.II</i> )
6.	Belt-makers'	25 Sept. 1511			•			Doc. 42 ( <i>Q.K.IX</i> )
7.	Locksmiths' and Spur-makers'	20 Aug. 1518			•		•	Doc. 93 ( <i>Q. H.II</i> )
8.	Painters', Table- and Window-makers'	8 Jun. 1520	•	•	•	•		Doc. 94 ( <i>Q.H.II</i> )
9.	Furriers'	1520		•	•			Doc. 95 ( <i>Q.H.II</i> )
10.	Glove-makers'	21 Nov. 1523		•		•	•	Doc. 99 ( <i>Q.H.II</i> )
<b>TOTAL</b>			2	6	5	3	4	

Legend: A.: wake; B.: funeral cortege; C.: funeral mass; D.: burial; E.: post-mortem services.

## Notes

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- 1 Johannes von Tepl, *Plugarul și moartea* [Ploughman and Death], ed. and trans. M Tarangul (Bucharest, Humanitas, 1997), p. 60.
  - 2 M. Lauwers, 'Moarte/Morți' [Death/Dead] in, *Dicționar tematic al Evului Mediu Occidental* [Thematic Dictionary of Western Middle Ages], ed. J. Le Goff and J.-C. Schmitt (Iași, Polirom, 2002), p. 493.
  - 3 P. Ariès, *Omul în fața morții. Volumul I - Vremea gisantilor* [The Hour of Our Death. Book 1 - Sleepers of Stone] (Bucharest, Meridiane, 1996), p. 190.
  - 4 J. Le Goff, *Nașterea Purgatoriului* [The Birth of Purgatory], vol. 1 (Bucharest, Meridiane, 1995), pp. 24-26 and pp. 34-35.
  - 5 C. Daniell, *Death and burial in Medieval England, 1066-1550* (London, New York, Routledge, 1997), pp. 11-12.
  - 6 E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional religion in England c.1400-c.1500* (New Haven, London, Yale University Press, 1992), p. 142.
  - 7 G. Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages: Guilds in England 1250-1550* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 214-226.
  - 8 Ș. Pascu, *Meșteșugurile în Transilvania pînă în secolul al XVI-lea* [The Handicrafts in Transylvania up to the 16th century] (Bucharest, Editura Academiei, 1954).
  - 9 *Documente privind istoria orașului Sibiu, Volumul II - Comerț și meșteșuguri în Sibiu și în cele Șapte Scaune 1224-1579 / Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Hermannstadt. Band II - Handel und Gewerbe in Hermannstadt und in den Sieben Stühle 1224-1579*, ed. and trans. M. Vlaicu, R. Constantinescu, A. Ghibu, C. Feneșan (Sibiu, Heidelberg; Hora, Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 2003); henceforth: *Quellen Hermannstadt II*.
  - 10 *Documente privind istoria orașului Brașov, Volumul IX - Documente de breaslă 1420-1580 / Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt, Band IX - Zunfturkunden 1420-1580*, ed. and trans. G. Nussbächer and E. Marin (Brașov, Heildelberg; Aldus, Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 1999); henceforth: *Quellen Kronstadt IX*.
  - 11 J. Bossy, *Creștinismul în Occident, 1400-1700* [Christianity in the West: 1400-1700] (Bucharest, Humanitas, 1998), p. 44.
  - 12 Garry Richardson 'Graft Guilds and Christianity in Late-Medieval England: A Rational Choice Analysis', *Rationality and Society*, 17/2 (2005): 139-189.
  - 13 L. Gross, *Confrațiile medievale în Transilvania: sec. XIV-XVI* [Medieval Confraternities in Transylvania: 14th-16th c.] (Cluj-Napoca, Argonaut, 2009), pp. 289-290.

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- 14 It goes without saying that the present study is based on regulations that have survived until today, in reality the number of statutes and crafts were certainly much higher.
- 15 *Quellen Kronstadt IX*, doc. 76, pp. 153-156.
- 16 D. Alexandre-Bidon, *La Mort au Moyen Age, XIIIe-XVIe siècles* (Paris, Hachette Littératures, 1998), pp. 120-133 and pp. 165-175.
- 17 J.-C. Schmitt, *Răziunea gesturilor în Occidentul medieval* [The Gestures Reason in Medieval West] (Bucharest, Meridiane, 1998), p. 280.
- 18 *Quellen Hermannstadt II*, doc. 12, p. 65/69.
- 19 C. Florea, 'Despre tensiunea unei solidarități în Evul Mediu târziu: exemplul unor orașe transilvănene' [On the Tension of a Solidarity in Late Middle Ages: the Example of Some Transylvanian Towns] in *Reprezentări ale morții în Transilvania secolelor XVI-XX* [Representations of Death in 16th-20th Transylvania], ed. M. Grancea, (Cluj-Napoca, Casa Cărții de Știință, 2005), p. 59.
- 20 *Quellen Hermannstadt II*, doc. 66, p. 168/172.
- 21 *Quellen Kronstadt IX*, doc. 42. p. 98/100.
- 22 Daniell, p. 45.
- 23 Catherine Vincent, *Fiat Lux. Lumière et luminaires dans la vie religieuse du XIIIe au XVe siècle* (Paris, Cerf, 2004), pp. 390-406.
- 24 R. Manolescu, *Comerțul Țării Românești și Moldovei cu Brașovul (secolele XIV-XVI)* [Wallachia's and Moldavia's trade with Brașov (14th - 16th c.)] (Bucharest, Editura Științifică, 1965), pp. 125-128.
- 25 *Quellen Hermannstadt II*, doc. 93, p. 262/263.
- 26 Alexandre-Bidon, pp. 121-124.
- 27 *Quellen Hermannstadt II*, doc. 61, p. 158/159 and doc. 94, pp. 265-266/268.
- 28 Bossy, pp. 45-46.
- 29 *Quellen Kronstadt IX*, doc. 42. p. 98/100.
- 30 *Quellen Hermannstadt II*, doc. 94, pp. 265-266/268 and doc. 95. p. 270/275.
- 31 *Quellen Hermannstadt II*, doc.78, p. 216/219; doc. 94; pp. 265-266/268; doc. 95. p. 270/275 and doc. 99, p. 283/286.
- 32 Bossy, p. 49.
- 33 Daniell, p. 49.
- 34 Ariès, pp. 225-226.
- 35 *Quellen Hermannstadt II*, doc.78, p. 216/219.
- 36 Florea, p. 66.
- 37 S. Cassagnes-Brouquet, *Le monde de métiers au Moyen Age. Artisans et marchands* (Remmes, Éditions Ouest-France, 2010), pp. 106-107 and pp. 112-114.

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- 38 S. Cassagnes-Brouquet, *Le monde de métiers au Moyen Age. Artisans et marchands* (Rennes, Éditions Ouest-France, 2010), pp. 106-107 and pp. 112-114.
- 39 L. Gross, 'Primele fraternități ale callilor din Transilvania medievală (secolele XIV-XVI)' [First confraternities of journeymen in Medieval Transylvania, (14th- 16th c.)], in *Bresle și confrerii sau despre pietatea urbană în Transilvania medievală (secolele XIV-XVI)* [Guilds and confraternities or about urban piety in Medieval Transylvania (14th- 16th c.)] ed. L. Gross (Cluj-Napoca, Argonaut, 2014), pp. 184-202.
- 40 *Quellen Hermannstadt II*, doc. 99, p. 286/283.
- 41 *Quellen Hermannstadt II*, doc. 82, p. 236/238; 94, pp. 265-266/268 and doc. 95. p. 270/275.
- 42 *Quellen Hermannstadt II*, doc. 95. p. 270/275.
- 43 Daniell, p. 45.
- 44 Duffy, p. 151.
- 45 *Quellen Hermannstadt II*, doc.78, p. 216/220.
- 46 *Quellen Hermannstadt II*, doc. 82. p. 236/238 and doc. 93, p. 262/263
- 47 *Quellen Hermannstadt II*, doc. 99, p. 286/283.
- 48 Ariès, p. 244.
- 49 Duffy, p. 139.
- 50 *Quellen Kronstadt IX*, doc. 2, pp. 24-26, doc. 73, pp. 146-150; doc. 42, pp. 97-100; doc. 43, pp. 100-101; doc. 66, pp. 136-137, doc. 68, pp. 139-141.
- 51 *Quellen Hermannstadt II*, doc. 12, pp. 64-70, doc. 95, pp. 269-278; doc. 66, pp. 168-175; doc. 78, pp. 213-220; doc. 82, pp. 234-239; doc. 93, pp. 261-264; doc. 94, pp. 264-269. Until very recently it was believed that the Goldsmiths' Guild from Sibiu had its altar dedicated to Saint Eligius, the patron saint of this handicraft, but new sources and information point to the All Saints' patronage; see C. Firea *Arta polipticelor medievale din Transilvania (1450-1550)* [The art of Medieval Polyptychs in Transylvania], PhD. Thesis (Cluj-Napoca, 'Babeș-Bolyai' University, 2010), p. 175.
- 52 Duffy, p. 139.
- 53 Duffy, pp. 145-150.
- 54 *Quellen Hermannstadt II*, doc. 61, p. 158/159.