

A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE GYPSY SLAVERY IN ROMANIAN COUNTRIES. CURRENT HYPOTHESES AND RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

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ABSTRACT

The origins of Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries in the medieval period are considered obscure and almost impossible to explain. Over the years, several hypotheses have been put forward to explain this social condition of the Gypsies, apparently unique in Europe. Most of these hypotheses lack a documentary basis and are in fact speculations of circumstantial evidence, being unable to provide a coherent explanation for the Gypsies' enslavement.

Keywords: Gypsies, slavery, slavery in Wallachia and Moldova.

The first documents in Romanian countries that mention Gypsies in the 14th century are now interpreted as attributing to them the status of slaves. An analysis of the terms used to designate ethnicity and the social status associated with it, together with the evolution of these terms over time, could reveal more details about what Gypsy slavery meant in Romanian countries during this period. What is certain is that the Gypsies who arrived north of the Danube in the 14th century found themselves in a state of dependence on the Romanian monarchs. The practical content of this state of dependence or Gypsy slavery is not the subject of this article, but the way in which the historiography devoted to the question tries to offer a plausible explanation for the origins of Gypsy slavery. Unfortunately, the earliest written sources, whether official documents or chronicles, do not offer any explanation for how the Gypsies became slaves. The medieval documents of Wallachia and Moldavia simply note the state of Gypsy slavery as a fact and nothing more.

A first local attempt to establish the origins of the Gypsies can be found in the work "Descriptio Moldaviae", written by the former voivode Dimitrie Cantemir between 1714–1716, almost 400 years after the arrival of the Gypsies in the Romanian lands. Dimitrie Cantemir thus lists the ethnic groups of Moldova:

"Apart from the Moldavians, whose ancestors came from Maramures, there are also Greeks, Albanians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Cossacks, Russians, Hungarians, Germans, Jews, and Gypsies with many children (...) Gypsies are scattered here and there all over

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Moldova, and you cannot find a landowner who does not own a few of their villages. Where and when did this race come to Moldova? They themselves do not know, nor is there anything about them in our chronicles. All Gypsies, from all lands, have the same language, which is mixed with many Greek words, and probably also Persian. They have no other occupation than smithing and gold panning”²⁴.

The next Romanian author to look into the history of the Gypsies was Mihail Kogălniceanu, who published a study in 1837 in Paris dedicated to them in the context of the movement for the abolition of slavery. Kogălniceanu notes the state of slavery in which the Gypsies of Wallachia and Moldavia found themselves since their arrival in these territories, without commenting on the origin of slavery. Kogălniceanu is later cited by several authors as the one who put forward the idea that the origin of gypsy slavery was to be found among the Tartars, but the first edition of his work on gypsies does not contain such an idea²⁵.

The French ethnographer and archivist Paul Bataillard noted in 1850, on the basis of several contemporary accounts, that the Gypsies on the island of Cyprus had an ambiguous status, between slaves and enslaved peasants, being largely sedentarised. The small number of sources and their lack of clarity led Bataillard to avoid a definitive conclusion on the social status of the Gypsies on the island of Cyprus in the 14th–15th centuries. As for the enslavement of the Gypsies in the Romanian countries, Bataillard notes that it is a phenomenon attested in the earliest local documents, without, however, being able to say precisely how the enslavement of the Gypsies north of the Danube occurred. Bataillard, alluding only to a possible comparison between Gypsy slavery in Cyprus and Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries, considered that Romanian historians should be more insistent in clarifying the origin of Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries²⁶. Around the same time, the Frenchman Jean Alexandre Vaillant (professor at the College of Saint Sava in Bucharest) published a large work on the Gypsies in Romania in which he noted their Indian origin and the existence of their slavery in Romanian countries since ancient times, but without providing an explanation of the origin of slavery²⁷.

²⁴ „Afară de moldoveni, ai căror strămoși au venit îndărăt din Maramureș, mai locuiesc în Moldova și greci, albanezi, sârbi, bulgari, leși, cazaci, ruși, unguri, nemți, evrei și țigani cei cu mulți copii (...) Țigani sunt împrăștiați ici și colo în toată Moldova și nu află boier care să nu aibă în stăpânirea sa câteva sălașe de-ale lor. De unde și când a venit acest neam în Moldova? Nu știu nici ei înșiși și nici nu se găsește nimic despre dânșii în cronicile noastre. Toți țigani, din toate ținuturile, au același grai, care este amestecat cu multe cuvinte grecești, și pesemne și persienești. Ei nu au altă îndeletnicire afară de fierărie și zlătărie”, in Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descriptio Moldaviae*, Chișinău, Litera International, 2001, pp. 168–169.

²⁵ Mihail Kogălniceanu, *Esquisse sur l'histoire, les mœurs et la langue des Cigains, connus en France sous le nom de Bohémiens*, [Sketch on the history, customs, and language of the Gypsians, known in France as Bohemians], Paris, 1837, pp. 9–10.

²⁶ Paul Bataillard, “Nouvelle recherches sur l'apparition et la dispersion des bohémiens en Europe” [“New research on the appearance and dispersion of Gypsies in Europe”], in *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, Vol. XI, No.1, 1850, pp. 14–55.

²⁷ Jean Alexandre Vaillant, *Les Romes. Histoire vraie des vrais Bohémiens* [Romas. True story of the real Bohemians], Paris, 1857.

Similarly, the Austrian author J. H. Schwicker presented in 1883 the state of slavery of gypsies in Romanian countries without offering an explanation²⁸.

Even in 1908 Octav Lecca could not offer an explanation of the origin of Gypsy slavery. In an article published in the magazine *Viața Românească*, Lecca affirmed that the state of gypsy slavery was not found in any other country outside Romania. The article proposes the hypothesis that at the time of their arrival on Romanian territory, Gypsies were already slaves, as attested by the first Romanian documents referring to Gypsies. Lecca considers that the exact date of the Gypsies' enslavement and the circumstances in which it occurred cannot be established²⁹.

In 1930 the historian Nicolae Iorga published in Paris a study of medieval Romanian law in which he stated directly without offering any argumentation in support of the claim that the Gypsies arrived in Romanian countries already enslaved, having been brought by the Tartars during their invasions in the 13th century³⁰.

An early study devoted specifically to the problem of Gypsy slavery was written by the French professor Marcel Emerit in 1930³¹. It starts from the assertion that gypsy slavery in Romanian countries was not a continuation of slavery in ancient times, but a different institution. Moreover, such a continuity would not have been politically, legally, and economically possible following the changes brought about by the withdrawal of the Roman Empire's administration north of the Danube. Marcel Emerit argues that war as a source of slaves for Romanian countries in medieval times cannot be an explanation for Gypsy enslavement. He goes on to present medieval documents from Moldavia in which Gypsies appear as slaves alongside Tartars and argues that while Tartars were most likely prisoners of war turned into slaves, Gypsies were enslaved because of their inability to defend themselves.

The hypothesis that the Gypsies were enslaved by the Tartars and brought to this situation in the Romanian countries that took over this institution appears in an article by Toma Bulat, but again without being supported by any argumentation or documentary evidence³².

The first study of the history of Gypsies in Romanian countries based on a critical approach to a significant base of historical documentary sources appeared in 1939 under the signature of George Potra³³. The author offers three hypotheses concerning the arrival of Gypsies in the Romanian principalities: 1) they arrived as slaves of the

²⁸ J. H. Schwicker, *Die Zigeuner in Ungarn und Siebenburgen [The Gypsies in Hungary and Transylvania]*, Wien, 1883, p. 30.

²⁹ Octav Lecca, *Asupra originii și istoriei țiganilor [On the origin and history of Gypsies]*, Romanian Life Publishing, 1908, III, pp. 190–191.

³⁰ Nicolae Iorga, *Anciens documents de droit roumain [Old documents of Romanian law]*, Paris-Bucharest, 1930, pp. 22–23.

³¹ Marcel Emerit, "Sur la condition des esclaves dans l'ancienne Roumanie" ["On the condition of slaves in ancient Romania"], in *Revue historique du sud-est européen*, VII, No. 7–9, (1930), p. 129.

³² Toma Bulat, *Țiganii din Moldova la 1810 [The Gypsies in Moldova in 1810]*, Archives of Bessarabia, IV, No. 2, Chișinău, 1933.

³³ George Potra, *Contribuțiuni la istoricul țiganilor din România [Contributions to the History of Gypsies in Romania]*, Bucharest, 1939.

Tartars, and when the Tartars were defeated by the Hungarians and Romanians, a good part of the Gypsies who came with them remained in our lands, maintaining their slave status; 2) a part of the Gypsies probably came from south of the Danube because they are documented earlier in the Balkan Peninsula; 3) a part of the Gypsies who arrived in Moldavia, whether they were brought by the Tartars or not, were part of the branch that went to Crimea, and the rest came from Wallachia. Potra's claims are not supported by documentary evidence but presented only as logical speculation. The only explanation offered would be the military incapacity of the Gypsies in the Middle Ages, and thus they were easily turned into slaves.

In 1941 the engineer Panait N. Panaitescu, author of several studies of economic history, published a study in which he tried to explain the emergence of Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries³⁴. The author cannot answer the question of whether Gypsies were slaves in their areas of origin (generally described as "Asia"), but he assesses them as a group incapable of self-defence or resistance, so that they were permanently under the dependence of the local power. Panaitescu rejects the idea that Gypsies were racially inferior and thus destined to become slaves, as well as the idea that "laziness" was a characteristic of all Gypsies. The idea put forward by Octav Lecca that Gypsy slavery is a phenomenon unique to Romanian countries in the medieval period which cannot be explained is also unacceptable. In order to explain Gypsy slavery, Panaitescu resorts to a reasoning of economic history: in general terms he describes the development of trade routes between the Byzantine Empire and Central Europe and the prosperity they brought to Romanian countries in the period between the Crusades and the Ottoman conquest of the Black Sea basin – a period whose beginning overlaps with the arrival of gypsies in Romanian countries. Panaitescu argues that the Gypsies economically filled the gap between the noble class and the peasant class in this period of trade development, especially in certain trades such as blacksmithing; their transformation into slaves was carried out by the rulers of the Romanian countries to avoid the departure of the Gypsies, in line with their nomadism in the medieval period.

The sociologist Nicolae Gheorghe took up in 1983 the ideas of Panait N. Panaitescu³⁵. Nicolae Gheorghe rejects the theories according to which the enslavement of Gypsies in the medieval period was a consequence of their migration or inferiority. Gypsy slavery was a consequence of the social and power structures of the Romanian Middle Ages, in which Gypsies took the place of artisans and were enslaved in order to prevent their emigration.

In 1986, the historian Alexandru I. Gonța took up and extended the idea of the Tatar origin of Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries³⁶. Gonța makes a long and very

³⁴ Panait N. Panaitescu, "The Gypsies in Wallachia and Moldavia. A Chapter of Economic History", *Journal of Gypsy Lore Society* (3), 15 (1941), pp. 58–72.

³⁵ N. Gheorghe, "Origin of Roma Slavery in the Romanian principalities", in *Roma*, 7 (1983), No. 1, pp. 12–27.

³⁶ Alexandru I. Gonța, *Satul în Moldova medievală. Instituțiile [The Village in Medieval Moldova. Institutions]*, Bucharest, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing, 1986, pp. 314–328.

well documented presentation on the institution of slaves captured in wars in the medieval kingdom of Hungary and in Transylvania, advancing the conclusion that slavery in the Romanian countries of Wallachia and Moldavia would find its origin in this common practice in the region during that period. In support of this thesis, known examples of Tatar slaves in 15th century Moldavia are given, without explaining the difference between Tatar slaves and Gypsy slaves who are often mentioned in the same document. The state of slavery that the Tartars in medieval Moldavia were forced into by the wars is also transferred to the Gypsies. For Wallachia, it should be noted that in the earliest documents the slaves are mentioned as “aṭigani”, a form close to the Greek word athiganous, which was used to designate gypsies in the Byzantine Empire in the 12th–15th centuries. Gonța also notes that in the collection of Byzantine laws Syntagma compiled by Matthew Blastares in the mid–14th century, witchcraft practitioners were condemned to slavery. Despite the closeness of the institution of Gypsy slavery to the Byzantine area, Gonta concludes that Gypsies in Wallachia also became slaves as a result of wars, although there are no documentary sources to support this.

The practice of enslaving prisoners of war in medieval times is also considered as the origin of Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries by the American linguist Ian Hancock in 1986, who also takes up P.N. Panaitescu’s theory about keeping gypsies in bondage to secure the niche of craftsmen in the Middle Ages³⁷. The American anthropologist Sam Beck argues in a 1989 article for the same synthesis of the beginnings of gypsy enslavement following wars and the maintenance of long-term enslavement for economic reasons³⁸.

In 1995 the British historian Angus Fraser pointed out that Wallachia and Moldavia had developed similar methods of enslaving Gypsies and keeping them as a valuable labour force. Fraser recalls that from the earliest mentions of Gypsies in the documents of Romanian countries they were in a state of dependence on the monarch or monasteries, he estimates that this dependence was most likely initially a tributary one, a fiscal matter, whereby the monarch transferred to the monasteries the right to collect certain taxes (in money, products or labour) from the Gypsies, and over time these fiscal obligations were transformed into a property right over the Gypsies themselves. Angus Fraser also echoes P.N. Panaitescu’s argument that Gypsies occupied the niche of craftsmen in the economy of Romanian countries in the medieval period, and that the state of bondage was intended to prevent their migration to other countries³⁹. David Crowe synthesizes the previous hypotheses without providing a reasoning for them: he supports the thesis that the first Gypsy slaves appeared in the Romanian principalities following confrontations with the Tartars, being taken as slaves from them; the subsequent spread and maintenance of

³⁷ Ian Hancock, *The Pariah syndrome. An account of Gypsy slavery and persecution*, Karoma Publishers, 1986, pp. 11–16.

³⁸ Sam Beck, “The origins of Gypsy slavery in Romania”, *Dialectical Anthropology*, 1989, 14, pp. 53–61.

³⁹ Angus Fraser, *The Gypsies*, Blackwell Publishers, 1995, pp. 57–59.

Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries being economically motivated by the need for work force⁴⁰.

Emanuelle Pons also brings together the precedent hypotheses on the origin of the Gypsy slavery in Romania⁴¹. Noting that the origins of Gypsy slavery are obscure, the author mentions the hypothesis that the gypsies were prisoners of war of the Tartars and followed them to the Danube basin during the Mongol invasions of the 13th century. After they were defeated, the Tartars also became slaves, and the status of the Gypsies would not have changed. The hypothesis of the economic causes of the Gypsies' enslavement is repeated: the economic crisis caused by the Ottoman advance towards Constantinople and the decrease in trade with the Middle East would have led to the need for free labour force, and while most European countries were driving the Gypsies beyond their borders, the two Romanian countries, Moldova, and Wallachia, forbade them to leave their territory and enslaved them. Emmanuelle Pons says of the enslavement period that the Gypsies lost their freedom early, shortly after crossing the Danube.

An original proposal supported by documentary sources on the origin of Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries is made by historian Viorel Achim⁴². He distinguishes between the enslavement resulting from wars (which was subject to a different set of legal provisions and practices) and the enslavement of Gypsies. He places the origins of Gypsy slavery in the Byzantine Empire and the medieval southern Danubian states of Bulgaria and Serbia. Slavery was a legally enshrined reality in the Byzantine world, also taken up in the Balkan states, Achim even providing examples of Gypsy slaves of monasteries in Serbia and Bulgaria in the 14th century – situations virtually identical to the first donations of Gypsy slaves by monarchs of Wallachia and Moldavia to monasteries in these countries. The hypothesis advanced is that the Gypsies had already come as slaves north of the Danube, where they were transferred with this social status as a result of the pressure exerted by the Ottomans on the states of the Byzantine commonwealth.

Viorel Achim's hypothesis is rejected by Bulgarian researchers Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov in an article published in 2009⁴³. The authors flatly reject Viorel Achim's theory that Gypsies were enslaved in the Byzantine Empire and the Balkan states and came as slaves to Romanian countries. The authors argue that there are no documents proving the enslavement of Gypsies south of the Danube – although Viorel Achim cites two charters, one from the Serbian Tsar Stefan Dušan in 1348 and another from the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Şişman in 1378,

⁴⁰ David Crowe, *A history of the gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia*, New York, 1996, pp. 107–108.

⁴¹ Emanuelle Pons, *Țigani din România. O minoritate în tranziție* [*Gypsies in Romania. A minority in transition*], Bucharest, Company Publishing, 1999, pp. 11–20.

⁴² Viorel Achim, *Țigani în istoria României* [*Gypsies in the History of Romania*], Encyclopedic Publishing, Bucharest, 1998, pp. 31–34.

⁴³ Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov, "Gypsy Slavery in Wallachia and Moldova", in *Nationalism Today*, Oxford, Peter Lang, 2009, pp. 89–124.

which attest to the existence of Gypsy slaves in the property of the monasteries of Prizren and Rila. Moreover, the existence of slavery in the Byzantine Empire is rejected without argument, despite legislation and a solid bibliography attesting to this fact. No alternative explanation of the origin of Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries is offered.

In a paper published in 2015⁴⁴, Petre Petcuț argues that Gypsies were free people when they came to Romanian countries and were enslaved later, although he admits that there is no documentary evidence to this effect. The influence of the Orthodox Church, which supported the enslavement of Gypsies as long as it benefited from the Gypsy slaves received from the Romanian monarchs, is highlighted, despite the fact that at an ideological level Orthodoxy rejected slavery. Another explanation put forward for the enslavement of the Gypsies is the desire of the monarchs of Wallachia and Moldavia to ensure free work force, while the regions south and east of the Carpathian Mountains had a small population.

The historical debate on Gypsy slavery outlined above only began to include hypotheses about the origin of this social state in the 20th century, after the accumulation of a significant documentary base that allowed for interpretations supported by historical sources. Hypotheses about the origins of Gypsy slavery were initially directed towards a relatively easy explanation: Gypsies would have arrived as slaves in Romanian countries through the Tartars, who would have enslaved them. This hypothesis is used to this day despite two major flaws: first, there are no historical sources to support it, the documents cited refer to Tatar and Gypsy slaves in the property of the Moldavian monarch, but the two categories of slaves are separate. While Tatar slaves disappear from documents after the 16th century, Gypsy slaves remain a constant presence until the 19th century. Another problem with the documentary basis of this hypothesis is that no Tartar slaves appear in documents in Wallachia, only Gypsy slaves – although there were clashes between the Tartars and Wallachia. But beyond the ambiguous documentary basis, the thesis of the Tatar origin of the Gypsy slavery implies a route of Gypsy migration to the Romanian countries north of the Black Sea, or all the linguistic evidence (especially the massive presence of Greek words in the vocabulary of the Gypsy language) points to a southern route of Gypsy migration to the Danube basin via the Byzantine Empire. The enslavement of prisoners of war was a common practice in Eastern Europe in the 12th–15th centuries and even later, but this enslavement was usually limited in time, if the prisoner was unable to ransom himself, he worked for a period of time for the benefit of his captor and was then released. However, Gypsy slavery is different, it is passed down through successive generations and the release of Gypsy slaves is rather an exception, being quite limited in legal terms. A detailed analysis of the prisoners of war slavery system compared to the Gypsy slavery system would

⁴⁴ Petre Petcuț, *Rromii: sclavie și libertate: construirea și emanciparea unei noi categorii etnice și sociale la nord de Dunăre: 1370–1914* [The Roma: slavery and freedom: the construction and emancipation of a new ethnic and social category north of the Danube: 1370–1914], Bucharest, 2015.

show that the two systems cannot overlap and that it is therefore difficult to accept that a slave who has reached this state following capture on the battlefield is included in the social status of permanent slaves. In any case, all the arguments of the Tartar origin of Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries are circumstantial and lacking a documentary basis.

The economic argument put forward in 1941 by Panait N. Panaitescu is interesting and offers an explanation that seems plausible at first sight. Unfortunately, here too the evidence is circumstantial and lacks a solid documentary basis. Collections of documents published in the 20th century and archaeological research contradict the hypothesis that Gypsies were enslaved and kept as slaves in Romanian countries to fill the niche of craftsmen. Written and archaeological sources attest to the fact that the monarchs and nobles of Wallachia and Moldavia used Saxon craftsmen in Transylvanian towns to meet their manufacturing needs. Transylvanian craftsmen are attested in Wallachia and Moldavia for activities such as construction (of fortresses, churches, and monasteries – along with craftsmen from the south of Danube), the manufacture of jewellery or objects of worship, or receiving orders for the manufacture of weapons (swords, spears, arrows, bows, shields, etc.), carts, clothing⁴⁵. The Gypsy blacksmiths attested in Brasov in the 16th century had a rather reduced activity compared to the Saxon blacksmiths as they appear in the city's expense registers, and their products were some that did not require a high level of skill (nails, horseshoes, chains), also the number of Gypsy blacksmiths in Brasov was relatively small, in documents appear only 3-4 Gypsy craftsmen in the first half of the 16th century⁴⁶. Other crafts (weaving, button-making, pottery) were practiced by Romanians in the Middle Ages according to archaeological and documentary sources. The substantial documentary base on the Gypsies of Wallachia in the Middle Ages⁴⁷ (354 documents covering the 14th–16th centuries) does not mention Gypsies as craftsmen – although there were most probably blacksmiths among them, but likely more to the extent and for the activities documented in Brasov in the same period. Mentions of the trades practiced by Gypsies in Romanian countries are relatively late, dating from the 18th–19th centuries, and attest to blacksmithing, collecting gold from rivers, coopering and the manufacture of small wooden household objects (spoons, pots). We believe that a

⁴⁵ See:

1. Nicolae Iorga, *Scrisori de boieri, scrisori de domni [Noblemen letters, monarchs' letters]*, Vălenii de Munte, 1925;

2. Grigore G. Tocilescu, *Documente istorice slavo-române din Țara Românească și Moldova privitoare la legăturile cu Ardealul [Slavo-Romanian historical documents from Wallachia and Moldova concerning the links with Transylvania]*, Bucharest, Romanian Book, 1931.

⁴⁶ George Damian, "Meserii și ocupații ale Țiganilor transilvăneni. Călăii, temnicerii și hingherii orașului Brașov între secolele XVI–XVIII" ["Trades and occupations of the Transylvanian Gypsies. Executioners, jailers, and dog catchers of Brasov between the 16th and 18th centuries"], in *Spectrum. Cercetări sociale despre romi*, Cluj-Napoca, Kriterion, 2011, pp. 41–61.

⁴⁷ Petre Petcuț, *Romii din România: documente [Roma in Romania: documents]*, Cluj-Napoca, 2009.

small number of craftsmen skilled in simple work is not enough to justify the enslavement of a population on economic grounds. This argument has been repeated several times since its launch, but unfortunately it has not been subjected to critical analysis and no new arguments have been put forward to support it.

By far the most interesting hypothesis, and the one that has the greatest potential for explaining the origin of the Gypsy slavery in Romanian countries, is the one put forward by historian Viorel Achim. Slavery was a legal, economic, and social reality in the Byzantine Empire until the disappearance of this empire, a fact that is beyond any doubt⁴⁸. Slavery also existed as a documented institution in the legal and official sources of the southern Balkan states of Serbia⁴⁹ and Bulgaria⁵⁰. From a legal point of view in Wallachia and Moldavia, the use of Matthew Blastares' *Syntagma*⁵¹, a collection of Byzantine laws containing numerous regulations on slavery, is attested since the 15th century – so that at least from a legal point of view the institution of slavery in the Romanian countries during the Middle Ages is of Byzantine origin.

A detailed research of the legal and social situation of the Gypsies south of the Danube in the centuries before their appearance in Romanian countries may be able to elucidate the origins of the slavery. A transfer of the already enslaved Gypsies from the south to the north of the Danube in the context of Ottoman pressure in the 14th century seems to be a logical explanation, which is supported by the documentary sources of the time. The continuity of long-term slavery in the Romanian countries could be explained by the legislative conservatism of Wallachia and Moldavia, which used the Byzantine legislative system (updated several times in the 17th and 18th centuries), which included slavery, until the late 19th century.

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⁴⁸ See:

1. Helga Köpstein, *Zur Sklaverei im ausgehenden Byzanz [On slavery in the late Byzantium]*, Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten, Berlin, 1966;
2. Noel Lenski, "Slavery in the Byzantine Empire", in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, Vol. II, Cambridge University Press, 2021, pp. 453–482.

⁴⁹ Srdan Sarkic, *The Legal Position of Vlach and Otrok in Medieval Serbia*, Proceedings, Faculty of Law, Novi Sad 3/2010.

⁵⁰ See:

1. Vladimir Angelov, "The slaves in everyday life of medieval Bulgaria", in *Bulgaria Mediaevalis*, 11/2020, pp. 333–342;
2. Kremena Markova, "Responsa Nicolai ad consulta bulgarorum and the Information on Slaves and Slavery during the First Bulgarian Empire", in *Bulgaria, the Bulgarians and Europe – Myth, History, Modernity*, 14/2020, pp. 91–109.

⁵¹ Victor Alexandrov, *The Syntagma of Matthew Blastares. The destiny of a Byzantine legal code among the Orthodox Slavs and Romanians 14–17 centuries*, Frankfurt am Main, Löwenklau, 2012.

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