

## The Transylvanian Jewry Between 1870 and 1930

IOAN BOLOVAN **A Demographic Investigation**

---

*The changes seen in the regional distribution of Jews per type of habitat led to multiple transformations not only within the Jewish community, but also in terms of inter-ethnic relations, influencing the development and the local manifestations of modern anti-Semitism.*

---

### **Ioan Bolovan**

Senior lecturer at the Babeş-Bolyai University, head researcher of the Center for Transylvanian Studies, specializing in modern Transylvanian history and in historical demography. Author, among others, of **Transilvania între Revoluția de la 1848 și Unirea din 1918** (Transylvania between the 1848 Revolution and the 1918 Union) (2000). Co-author, among others, of **The Revolution of 1848–1849 in Transylvania** (2004).

**M**arcel Reinhard, one of the greatest demographers of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, once said that demography is a dimension of history that manifests itself both qualitatively and quantitatively. The gradual changes affecting the numbers and the structure of a population lead to the emergence of new phenomena and institutions, with multiple societal consequences. The considerations of the reputed demographer perfectly apply to the present-day territory of Romania. Starting with the Early Middle Ages, other ethnic groups set-

Paper presented at the international conference “The Jews from Romania and Italy Between Emancipation and Holocaust,” Gorizia, 22–23 September 2004, organized by ICM, ARCIR, ISIG, Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica Venezia and the Center for Transylvanian Studies. Issue no. 4/2004 of the *Transylvanian Review* includes two other papers presented at the same conference by Professors Marco Grusovin and Orietta Altieri. We would like to thank Dr. Lauro Grassi and Dr. Marco Grusovin for making it possible for us to attend this conference.

tled here to live alongside the Romanians, influencing to varying degrees the history of the native majority. Among the peoples who settled here in the past millennium we find the Hungarians, the Germans, the Jews, the Armenians, and others. Of course, their presence here varied both chronologically (they arrived in different periods) and demographically, with some groups being larger than others. The Jews were one of the most important groups that came to settle on the Romanian territory, bringing their significant contribution to the material and cultural progress of this region. In the present study we shall try to highlight a few demographic aspects strictly concerning the Jewish population in Transylvania in the period between their emancipation and the Holocaust.

For some specialists, the name of Transylvania usually applies only to the region surrounded by the Carpathian mountains. Quite often, however, we tend to use it for a number of distinct regions that shared a common history: Transylvania proper (known until 1867 as the former autonomous principality of Transylvania), Banat, Crișana, and Maramureș. Between the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> century these territories were conquered by the Hungarian Kingdom, after 1541 they fell partially into Turkish hands, and in 1699 they were completely taken over by the Austrians. Until the end of World War I, both the central and the local administration of Transylvania was controlled almost exclusively by Hungarians, Saxons, and Szeklers, while the native Romanian majority enjoyed no political, economic, or cultural rights. Existing documents place the Jews in Transylvania beginning with the Early Middle Ages,<sup>1</sup> but it is only in the modern era that we find here the first sizable Jewish community. This fact is confirmed by the statistical sources whose number increased considerably towards the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Most specialists consider that the statistical period began in Transylvania only in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when censuses were taken periodically and institutions specializing in population statistics were created. The chronological interval examined in the present study is marked by two censuses: the census of 1870, the first one organized by the Hungarian authorities after the civil emancipation of the Hungarian Jewry occurred in 1867, and the census of 1930, the last census taken by the Romanian authorities before the outbreak of the Second World War. Unfortunately, little has been written on this topic both in Romania and abroad. Still, there are some relevant demographic studies partially dealing with our subject matter.<sup>2</sup>

We must begin by saying that in all of the censuses organized by the Hungarian authorities of Budapest in 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, and 1910, the Jews do not appear as a separate ethnic group. During the dualist Austro-Hungarian regime, the censuses held on the territory of Hungary (which also included

Transylvania) no longer recorded the nationality of the inhabitants, but only their mother tongue, defined as “the language best mastered and favored by the respondent.”<sup>3</sup> This criterion allowed the authorities to deliberately distort statistical data and artificially increase the number of Hungarians, or rather of those who had Hungarian as their “mother tongue.” Consequently, the Jews, the Armenians, most of the Ruthenians, Slovaks, Gypsies, etc. were included among the Hungarians, thus increasing the percentage of Hungarians in Hungary from 41.2% in 1880 to 48.1% in 1910, while the percentage of non-Hungarians decreased from 58.8% to 51.9%.<sup>4</sup> Under these circumstances, we used the Hungarian censuses of 1870–1910 to identify the Jews on the basis of their religion, given the relative denominational homogeneity of this ethnic group. Therefore, in the tables featured in the present study, the number of Jews is actually the number of people who claimed to belong to the “Israelite” religion, for this is how the Jews were recorded in the documents of that time. Even if at the 1930 census the Romanian authorities included several criteria for ethnic differentiation (nationality, mother tongue), we continued to use the method employed for the previous period and estimated the number of Jews in keeping with the reported “Mosaic” religion, as indicated in the published records.

Available statistical data indicate that between 1870 and 1930, the Transylvanian Jewry grew in number much faster than the rest of the population (see Table no. 1). Thus, while during these six decades the total population increased by 31.3%, the number of Jews increased by 83.6%, 2.7 times more than the other Transylvanian nations. Such a development runs somewhat contrary to the situation prior to the emancipation, for in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the percentage of Transylvanian Jews decreased as a consequence of official policies (expulsion, interdiction of settlement, etc.).<sup>5</sup> Of course, the considerable increase recorded between 1870 and 1930 was not exclusively related to a higher Jewish birthrate, as noticed as early as the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by pertinent analysts of demographic phenomena.<sup>6</sup> This rather spectacular increase was also made possible by the immigration into Transylvania (at least until World War I) of many Jews from Galicia, Bukovina, and the Tsarist Empire, where anti-Jewish pogroms and persecutions triggered an almost continuous wave of emigration which peaked towards the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup>

As we can see in Table no. 1, the spectacular increase in the number of Transylvanian Jews was accompanied by an increase in the percentage of Jews, from 2.48% in 1870 to 3.47% in 1930. During the investigated period, the most sizable change in the percentage of Transylvanian Jews occurred in the 1880s, even if somewhat less significant “spikes” continued to appear for the period between 1890 and 1910. Somewhat surprising is the demographic situation recorded in

TABLE NO. 1. THE JEWISH POPULATION OF TRANSYLVANIA (1870–1930)

	1870 <sup>a</sup>	1880 <sup>b</sup>	1890 <sup>c</sup>	1900 <sup>b</sup>	1910 <sup>b</sup>	1930 <sup>d</sup>
Total population	4,225,000	4,039,100	4,430,000	4,884,470	5,274,205	5,548,363
No. of Jews	105,000	106,513	145,000	160,352	184,508	192,833
Percentage of Jews	2.48%	2.63%	3.27%	3.28%	3.49%	3.47%

- a. *A Magyar Korona Országáiban az 1870. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei* (Pest, 1871) (total population and the number of Transylvanian Jews were obtained by rounding down the figures for the counties located on the current border separating Romania from Ukraine, Hungary, and Serbia-Montenegro, for some of the towns and villages there are no longer part of Transylvania).
- b. *Recensământul din 1880. Transilvania, Recensământul din 1900. Transilvania, and Recensământul din 1910. Transilvania*, ed. Traian Rotariu (Bucharest, 1997–1999).
- c. *A Magyar Korona Országáiban az 1891. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei*, pt. 1 (Budapest, 1893) (total population and the number of Transylvanian Jews were obtained by rounding down the figures for the counties located on the current border separating Romania from Ukraine, Hungary, and Serbia-Montenegro, for some of the towns and villages there are no longer part of Transylvania).
- d. *Recensământul general al populației României din 29 decembrie 1930, 2* (Bucharest, 1938).

Transylvania in the 1870s. Even if the total population of the province decreased as a consequence of various epidemics (a major cholera outbreak in 1872–1873, but also smallpox, diphtheria, etc.) and of the economic and financial crisis, the number and the percentage of Jews continued to increase. We believe that this growth of the Jewish population, running contrary to the general trend in the province, is the result of massive Jewish immigration into Transylvania and Hungary after the civil emancipation act of 1867. Once the legislative and administrative restrictions which, for centuries on end, had obstructed Jewish settlement in this area were lifted, this ethnic group could thrive.

Another feature of the investigated period is the slight decrease in the percentage of Transylvanian Jews between 1910 and 1930, even if their actual number increased by approximately 10,000 individuals. This trend can be explained if we consider certain demographic phenomena manifest in Romania following the First World War. As the majority of the Transylvanian population exercised its right to national self-determination and effected the 1918 Union between Transylvania and Romania (by then Romanians amounted to 56% of the Transylvanian population,<sup>8</sup> in spite of the de-nationalization policies implemented for decades by the Budapest authorities), in the years that followed approximately 200,000 Hungarians left the province.<sup>9</sup> Until 1918 they had held positions in the administration and in the army; as the Austro-Hun-

garian Empire fell apart in the autumn of 1918, most of them returned to their native places. However, among those 200,000 Hungarians there was certainly a number of Jews, for it is known that by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century most Transylvanian Jews had adopted Hungarian as their language. At the same time, the limited increase in the number of Transylvanian Jews between 1910 and 1930 was also caused by the policy of the Bucharest authorities. A disposition issued on 28 September 1920 by the Police and Homeland Security Directorate granted all Jews in the country (the Transylvanian ones included) the same emigration incentives as the ones offered to the Hungarians. Thus, in the years immediately following the war, 59,193 people left Romania for the United States. 38,030 of them (64.2%) were Jews.<sup>10</sup>

A matter of relevance for the present investigation has to do with the regional distribution of the Jewish population in Transylvania. As seen in Tables no. 2 and 3, there are considerable differences between the regions included in what we generically call *Transylvania*, with contrasting figures for Transylvania proper, Banat, and Crișana-Maramureș. We notice first and foremost that for the period between 1807 and 1930, in all of the three regions, the percentage of Jews in the total population increased, reflecting a general growth in the number and the percentage of Jews at the level of the entire province: in Transylvania proper from 1.52% to 2.35%, in Banat from 1.42% to 1.49%, and in Crișana-Maramureș from 5.59% to 6.40%. The growth rate of the Jewish population was superior to that of the general population in all these regions, with the highest value being recorded in Transylvania (105.52%), three times the general growth rate in this area. In the case of Banat, where overall growth remained modest during these five decades, the increase in the Jewish population (30.80%) was inferior to the values recorded in Transylvania proper or in Crișana-Maramureș.

This demographic situation is partially accounted for by certain historical phenomena occurred prior to the emancipation. In Banat, a Habsburg Crown Estate throughout most of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the settlement of Jews had always been obstructed by administrative and legislative measures. Then, the presence in the area of the military border (until the 1870s) and of complex mining exploitations further prevented the Jews from settling in Banat (it is not by accident that in 1787, the counties of Caraș, Timiș, and Torontal only had 612 Jews, of which more than half—386—lived in the city of Timișoara).<sup>11</sup> In Transylvania, a largely autonomous province subjected directly to Vienna until the Austro-Hungarian dualism of 1867, the Jewish presence in the period preceding the modern era was restricted both by local authorities and by those in Vienna. For instance, the Jews were not allowed to settle in the area of the Transylvanian military border. In 1830, no Jews lived on the territory of the Năsăud

TABLE NO. 2. REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE TRANSYLVANIAN POPULATION<sup>a</sup>

Region	1880		1910		1930		Growth between 1880 and 1910	
	Total population	Jews	Total population	Jews	Total population	Jews	Total population	Jews
Transylvania proper	2,161,796	32,964 (1.52%)	2,792,564	68,498 (2.45%)	2,874,641	67,749 (2.35%)	32.97%	105.52%
Banat	753,700	10,734 (1.42%)	917,176	13,935 (1.51%)	939,958	14,043 (1.49%)	24.71%	30.80%
Crişana- Maramureş	1,123,604	62,815 (5.59%)	1,564,465	102,075 (6.52%)	1,733,764	111,041 (6.40%)	54.30%	76.87%
Total Transylvania	4,039,100	106,513 (2.63%)	5,274,205	184,508 (3.49%)	5,548,363	192,833 (3.47%)	37.36%	81.04%

a. Estimates based on the sources indicated for Table no. 1.

border regiment, while in 1838 the Banat military border was already home to 158 Jews.<sup>12</sup> In the counties of Crișana-Maramureș, which belonged to Hungary and where the tolerance tax introduced in 1749 by Maria Theresa was still levied, the Jewish immigration from Bohemia, Poland, etc. was more significant. Local authorities would often allow Jews to settle here, and even went as far as concealing the fact from Vienna,<sup>13</sup> seeking to be the sole beneficiaries of Jewish money.

TABLE NO. 3. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF THE JEWISH POPULATION IN TRANSILVANIA, BY REGION<sup>a</sup>

Region	1880	1910	1930
Transylvania proper	32,964 (30.94%)	68,498 (37.12%)	67,749 (35.13%)
Banat	10,734 (10.07%)	13,935 (7.55%)	14,043 (7.28%)
Crișana-Maramureș	62,815 (58.97%)	102,075 (55.32%)	111,041 (57.58%)
Total no. of Jews	106,513 (100%)	184,508 (100%)	192,833 (100%)

a. Estimates based on the sources indicated for Table no. 1.

Throughout this entire period, Crișana-Maramureș was home to more than 55% of the Transylvanian Jewry, followed by Transylvania proper and then by Banat. The fact that most Jews were concentrated in this area, and especially in its northern and north-western counties (Maramureș, Satu Mare, and Bihor) confirms the hypothesis of an immigration from Poland, Bohemia, Bukovina, and Galicia. Quite interesting is the regional dynamics of the Jewish population after the civil emancipation of 1867. Thus, especially until the First World War, we see a slightly decreasing Jewish presence in Crișana-Maramureș and Banat, accompanied by an increase in the number of the Jewish population of Transylvania proper. This is quite a natural development, if we think how difficult it had been prior to 1867 for Jews to settle on the territory of the former autonomous principality.<sup>14</sup> In fact, Table no. 5 clearly shows the demographic “boom” of the Jews in most Transylvanian counties, while the figures for Banat and Crișana-Maramureș show either a slight decrease or very modest growth rates (with the exception of Maramureș county, which received most of the immigrants coming from Galicia, Bukovina, and Russia).

After the emancipation of 1867, the counties of central and southern Transylvania (Bistrița-Năsăud, Cluj, Harghita, Mureș, Hunedoara etc.), economically better developed than Maramureș, attracted both Jews from the northern and north-western regions of Transylvania, and most of the immigrants coming from outside Hungary. In county Hunedoara, for instance, the mines and the expanding steel industry led to a population increase superior to that recorded in other counties. The colonists brought in by the authorities, the advantages given to immigrants, and last but not least the high birth rate led to a spectacular growth of both the total population and of the Jewish minority.<sup>15</sup> The following four examples from the Jiu Valley are quite relevant in this respect:

TABEL NO. 4. THE JEWISH PRESENCE IN A FEW JIU VALLEY TOWNS

Town	1880		1910	
	Inhabitants	Jews	Inhabitants	Jews
Petroșani	2,906	138	12,193	818
Lupeni	1,244	0	8,034	302
Petrila	3,226	16	9,271	540
Vulcan	1,097	4	7,184	434

a. Estimates based on the sources indicated for Table no. 1.

The territory of the former Szekler and Saxon *seats* that had existed prior to the administrative reorganization of the mid-1870s, or the militarized regions (Năsăud, Orlat, eastern Transylvania) saw a spectacular increase in the number of Jewish inhabitants in the decades leading up to the First World War: 685% in Ciuc, 720% in Trei Scaune, 764% in Sibiu, 450% in Năsăud and Bistrița, etc.<sup>16</sup> It must be said that the Jewish demographic “boom” recorded in these regions usually meant a concentration of this population in the main urban areas (see Table no. 6).

Table no. 5 and the map indicate that the highest percentage of Jews in 1880 and 1910 was recorded in the counties that today are part of north-western Romania. Of course, first comes county Maramureș, with a considerable increase between 1880 and 1910, the only county where the Jews represented more than 10% of the population both in 1880 and in 1910 (13.7%). Then come counties Satu Mare (7.49% in 1880 and 7.87% in 1910) and Bihor (5.23% and 5.67%), which show little growth for 1880–1910 in spite of having more Jews



TABLE NO. 5. THE JEWISH PRESENCE IN TRANSYLVANIAN COUNTIES<sup>a</sup>

	1880 %	1910 %		1880 %	1910 %
Alba	1.15	1.27	Harghita	0.39	1.51
Arad	2.31	2.20	Hunedoara	0.83	1.72
Bihor	5.23	5.67	Maramureş	10.2	13.7
Bistriţa- Năsăud	3.4	5.2	Mureş	1.69	2.69
Braşov	0.72	1.09	Satu Mare	7.49	7.87
Caraş- Severin	0.44	0.59	Sălaj	3.6	4.1
Cluj	2.62	4.41	Sibiu	0.55	0.90
Covasna	0.37	0.81	Timiş	2.04	2.06

a. Estimates based on the sources indicated for Table no. 1, the counties being the administrative units of today.

than other Transylvanian counties. We have previously alluded to another significant aspect, namely, the steady growth in the percentage of Jews in the counties of northern and north-western Transylvania located on the “second row” that is, separated by the border only by counties Maramureş, Satu Mare, and Bihor. Thus, in counties like Bistriţa-Năsăud, Sălaj, Cluj, Harghita, and Mureş, the percentage of Jews between 1880 and 1910 increased to varying degrees, ranging between 1 and 1.8%. This evolution, manifest until the outbreak of the First World War, comes to confirm “as a source and direction of the immigration, the northern and north-western regions, from where the Jewish population gradually spread” towards central and southern Transylvania.<sup>17</sup> The situation is strikingly similar to that in the Old Kingdom, where we see a great concentration of Jewish population in the counties of northern Moldavia and a decrease in the percentage of Jews in the southern regions of that province and in Wallachia, Oltenia and Dobruja, where it sometimes represented even less than 1% of the population.<sup>18</sup>

According to the observation of a specialist, fully corroborated by the data in Tables no. 6 and 7, after the emancipation of 1867 we see a concentration of Jews in the urban environment and in the larger villages from the rural area.<sup>19</sup> Relevant in this respect is the fact that between 1880 and 1930 the percentage of Jews living in towns with more than 10,000 inhabitants doubled from 27.2% to 56.12% of the entire Jewish population. In the Old Kingdom, and especially in Moldavia, the Jewish population had begun to concentrate in the urban areas starting with the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>20</sup> Of course, this tendency fluctuated

TABLE NO. 6. THE REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE TRANSYLVANIAN JEWRY, PER TYPE OF HABITAT<sup>a</sup>

Region	1880					
	0-500 inhabitans	501-1,000	1,001-2,000	2,001-5,000	5,001-10,000	over 10,000
Transylvania proper	4,584	9,468	7,528	3,952	3,954	3,478
%	(13.9)	(28.7)	(22.8)	(11.9)	(11.9)	(10.5)
Banat	199	1,051	1,352	2,598	1,515	4,019
%	(1.85)	(9.79)	(12.6)	(24.2)	(14.1%)	(37.4)
Crișana- Maramureș	3,364	7,748	15,760	10,196	4,259	21,488
%	(5.35)	(12.3)	(25.1)	(16.2)	(6.78)	(34.2)
Total Transylvania	8,147	18,267	24,640	16,746	9,728	28,985
%	(7.64)	(17.1)	(23.1)	(15.7)	(9.13)	(27.2)
Region	1930					
	0-500	501-1,000	1,001-2,000	2,001-5,000	5,001-10,000	over 10,000
Transylvania proper	987	4,465	8,091	9,785	8,729	35,692
%	(1.4)	(6.59)	(11.9)	(14.4)	(12.8)	(52.68)
Banat	24	236	287	737	1,521	11,238
%	(0.17)	(1.68)	(2.04)	(5.24)	(10.8)	(80.02)
Crișana- Maramureș	785	5,289	10,753	22,889	10,031	61,294
%	(0.70)	(4.76)	(9.68)	(20.6)	(9.03)	(55.19)
Total Transylvania	1,796	9,990	19,131	33,411	20,281	108,224
%	(0.93)	(5.18)	(9.92)	(17.3)	(10.51)	(56.12)

a. Estimates based on the sources indicated for Table no. 1.

tuated in the three sub-divisions of Transylvania, given the previous historical developments, the regional development of Transylvania during the period in question, etc. First of all, we notice that in 1880 Transylvania had the lowest urban concentration of Jews (10.5%), as a result of the restrictions in force prior to the emancipation. Theoretically speaking, until all bans were lifted in 1867, the Jews had only been allowed to settle in the city of Alba Iulia. Towards the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the idea was to gather all Jews from the province in this one city.<sup>21</sup> Thus, the situation recorded in 1880 reflects the previous policies of the Transylvanian authorities (namely, of the former principality of Transylvania) meant to discourage Jewish settlement in the urban areas, policies

which had driven them towards the rural environment. It was not by chance that in 1880 approximately 65% of the Transylvanian Jews lives in small and very small villages (of up to 2,000 inhabitants), a percentage far superior to that recorded in Banat and even in Crișana-Maramureș. The fact that in 1930 only 16% of Jews lived in small and very small villages (of up to 2,000 inhabitants) and 76% lived in the urban environment (towns with more than 5,000 inhabitants) not only influenced the professional structure of this ethnic group, but also had a complex impact upon the economic, social, and political developments occurred during the interwar period.

Table no. 7 allows us to highlight the dynamics of Jewish population in 25 Transylvanian cities between 1880 and 1930, revealing numerous fluctuations from one decade to another. In spite of these fluctuations, however, we see that the entire period experienced a steadily rising trend for most of the cities in question. Only a few (Alba Iulia, Arad, Timișoara, Carei, Lugoj) saw a decrease in the percentage of their Jewish population. In sheer numbers, however, the situation was quite different, with the Jewish population experiencing a considerable growth (for instance, in Timișoara, from 3,982 Jews in 1870—12.4% of the population—we have 9,368 in 1930, even if the actual ratio decreased to 10.2%). Four of the five aforementioned cities were located in Banat and Crișana-Maramureș, only Alba Iulia belonging to Transylvania proper. This confirms the fact that the Jews were concentrating in the cities of Transylvania, somehow as a reaction to the situation prior to 1867. The same table indicates a spectacular increase in the Jewish population of the cities that, until the Hungarian administrative reform of 1875–1876, had belonged to the Saxon and Szekler seats (in the Szekler cities, the ratio of Jews increased between 1850 and 1900 from 1.1% to 5.06%).<sup>22</sup> Mostly for economic reasons, the authorities and even the local inhabitants from these areas had been firmly opposed to Jewish immigration. Thus, in Gheorgheni, from 8 Jews in 1880 (0.1%) we have 619 (6%) in 1930, in Târgu-Mureș from 773 (6.1%) in 1870 we have 5,193 (13.5%), in Bistrița from 229 (3.1%) in 1870 we have 2,198 (15.5%) in 1930, etc.

In conclusion, the investigation of the demographic dynamics of the Transylvanian Jewry between the emancipation and the Shoah reveals some very clear tendencies. First comes the constant increase, in numbers and as a percentage, of the Jewish population in all three subdivisions of Transylvania, with the most significant rate recorded on the territory of the former principality. The high density of this population in the northern and north-western counties confirms the presence of external immigration, but also the fact that some local administrative units (Maramureș, Satu Mare, etc.) were the starting point of a Jewish migration towards the counties of central and southern Transylva-

TABLE NO. 7. THE JEWISH POPULATION IN SEVERAL TRANSYLVANIAN CITIES

City	1870		1880		1910		1930	
	Population	Jews	Population	Jews	Population	Jews	Population	Jews
Alba Iulia	7,955	1,221	7,388	1,112	11,616	1,586	12,282	1,558
%		(15.3)		(15.1)		(13.6)		(12.6)
Arad	32,745	3,710	35,556	4,415	63,166	6,295	77,181	7,801
%		(11.3)		(12.4)		(9.9)		(10.1)
Baia Mare	9,082	222	8,632	399	12,877	1,402	13,904	2,030
%		(2.4)		(4.6)		(10.8)		(14.6)
Bistrița	7,212	229	8,063	378	13,236	1,441	14,128	2,198
%		(3.1)		(4.6)		(10.8)		(15.5)
Borșa	-	-	5,528	1,144	9,343	2,260	11,230	2,486
%				(20.6)		(24.1)		(22.1)
Brașov	27,766	217	29,584	610	41,056	1,417	59,232	2,594
%		(0.8)		(2.1)		(3.4)		(4.4)
Carei	-	-	12,523	2,112	16,078	2,491	16,042	2,394
%				(16.8)		(15.5)		(14.9)
Cluj	26,382	3,008	29,923	1,601	60,808	7,046	100,844	13,504
%		(11.4)		(5.3)		(11.6)		(13.4)
Dej	5,832	351	6,191	560	11,452	2,166	15,110	3,360
%		(6.1)		(9.1)		(18.9)		(22.2)
Deva	-	-	3,935	187	8,654	791	10,509	914
%				(4.7)		(9.1)		(8.7)
Gheorgheni	-	-	5,503	8	8,905	321	10,335	619
%				(0.1)		(3.6)		(6)
Gherla	5,188	90	5,317	183	6,857	775	6,608	1,037
%		(1.7)		(3.4)		(11.3)		(15.7)
Lugoj	-	-	11,297	1,253	19,818	1,878	23,593	1,418
%				(11.1)		(9.5)		(6)
Mediaș	6,712	127	6,489	197	8,626	354	15,505	718
%		(1.9)		(3.1)		(4.1)		(4.6)
Reșița	-	-	9,365	72	17,384	457	19,868	348
%				(0.8)		(2.6)		(1.8)
Salonta	-	-	10,403	298	15,493	843	15,297	740
%				(2.8)		(5.3)		(4.8)
Satu Mare	18,353	1,357	19,708	2,855	34,892	7,194	51,495	11,533
%		(7.4)		(14.5)		(20.6)		(22.4)
Sibiu	18,998	168	19,446	420	33,489	1,307	49,345	1,441
%		(0.9)		(2.1)		(3.9)		(2.9)
Sighetu Marmației	-	-	10,852	3,380	21,370	7,981	27,270	10,609
%				(31.1)		(37.3)		(38.9)
Sighișoara	8,204	24	8,788	70	11,587	217	13,033	161
%		(0.3)		(0.8)		(1.9)		(1.2)
Sfântu Gheorghe	4,366	100	5,268	134	8,665	383	10,818	378
%		(2.3)		(2.5)		(4.4)		(3.5)
Târgu- Mureș	12,678	773	12,883	847	25,517	2,755	38,517	5,193
%		(6.1)		(6.6)		(10.8)		(13.5)
Timișoara	32,113	3,982	33,694	4,019	72,555	6,728	91,580	9,368
%		(12.4)		(11.9)		(9.3)		(10.2)
Turda	8,803	164	9,434	117	15,167	505	20,023	852
%		(1.9)		(1.2)		(3.3)		(4.3)
Vișeu de Sus	-	-	5,325	1,717	9,249	3,201	11,079	3,734
%				(32.2)		(34.6)		(33.7)

nia. Furthermore, the demographic “boom” experienced by certain cities of the province, associated with the industrialization and the modernization of Transylvanian society, also meant a “boom” for the local Jewish population, which grew at a spectacular rate. The changes seen in the regional distribution of Jews per type of habitat led to multiple transformations not only within the Jewish community, but also in terms of inter-ethnic relations, influencing the development and the local manifestations of modern anti-Semitism. Starting from these demographic observations, we are confident that future investigations will highlight new connections (the number, the percentage, and the professional structure of the Jewry, the degree of literacy and the level of education of the majority, the election results obtained by the right-wing and extremist parties, etc.), considerably improving our knowledge of the period in question. □

## Notes

1. See Ladislau Gyémánt, *Evreii din Transilvania. Destin istoric* (Cluj-Napoca, 2004); Moshe Carmilly-Weinberger, *Istoria evreilor din Transilvania (1623–1944)* (Bucharest, 1994).
2. Sabin Manuilă, “Evoluția demografică a orașelor și minoritățile etnice din Transilvania,” *Arhiva pentru știința și reforma socială* 8, no. 1–3, 1929; Anton Golopenția, “Populația evreiască a țării în lumina recensământului din 1930,” *Porunca vremii*, 10, 22 March 1941, republished in Anton Golopenția, *Opere complete. Vol. II. Statistică, demografie și geopolitică*, ed. Sanda Golopenția (Bucharest, 1999); Ernő László, “Hungarian Jewry: Settlement and Demography from 1735–38 to 1910,” *Hungarian-Jewish Studies* 1, 1966; Eugen Glück, “Populația evreiască a orașelor și satelor din Transilvania (1688–1920),” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj-Napoca* 31, 1992.
3. Sorina Paula Bolovan and Ioan Bolovan, *Transylvania in the Modern Era: Demographic Aspects* (Cluj-Napoca, 2003), 173.
4. László Katus, “Multinational Hungary in the Light of Statistics,” in *Ethnicity and Society in Hungary*, ed. Ferenc Glatz (Budapest, 1990), 120.
5. Ladislau Gyémánt, *Evreii din Transilvania în epoca emancipării/The Jews of Transylvania in the Age of Emancipation 1790–1867* (Bucharest, 2000), 14.
6. Ludwig Reissenberger, “Zur Kenntniss der Volksbewegung in Siebenbürgen. Ein Beitrag zur Statistik dieses Landes,” in *Izvoare de demografie istorică. Vol. II, sec. al XIX-lea – 1914. Transilvania*, eds. Iosif I. Adam and Ioan Pușcaș (Bucharest, 1987), 207.
7. Ralph Melville, “Permanent Emigration and Temporary Transnational Migration: Jewish, Polish and Russian Emigration from Tsarist Russia 1861–1914,” in *Overseas Migration from East Central and South-Eastern Europe, 1880–1940*, ed. Julianna Puskas (Budapest, 1990), 135; Gyémánt, *Evreii din Transilvania în epoca emancipării*, 16.
8. S. P. Bolovan and I. Bolovan, 176.

9. Dumitru Șandru, *Populația rurală a României între cele două războaie mondiale* (Jassy, 1980), 75; Elemér Illyés, *National Minorities in Romania: Change in Transylvania* (New York, 1982, 23).
10. Șandru, 77 sq.
11. Carmilly-Weinberger, 36 sq.; Gyémánt, *Evreii din Transilvania. Destin istoric*; Aurel Răduțiu and Ladislau Gyémánt, *Repertoriul izvoarelor statistice privind Transilvania, 1690–1847* (Bucharest, n.d.), 703.
12. Răduțiu and Gyémánt, 700; Ioan Bolovan, “Demographic Aspects of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Romanian Frontier Guard Regiment (19<sup>th</sup> century),” in *The Austrian Military Border: Its Political and Cultural Impact*, eds. Liviu Maior, Nicolae Bocșan and Ioan Bolovan (Jassy, 1994), 51.
13. Carmilly-Weinberger, 80.
14. Gyémánt, *Evreii din Transilvania în epoca emancipării*, 17.
15. Ioan Bolovan, *Transilvania între Revoluția de la 1848 și Unirea din 1918. Contribuții demografice* (Cluj-Napoca, 2000), 64.
16. Gyémánt, *Evreii din Transilvania. Destin istoric*; Bolovan, “Demographic Aspects,” 51; Gustav Zikeli, *Bistriz zwischen 1880 und 1950. Erinnerungen eines Buchdruckers* (Munich, 1989), 84.
17. Gyémánt, *Evreii din Transilvania în epoca emancipării*, 19.
18. Leonida Colescu, *La Population de religion mosaïque en Roumanie. Étude statistique* (Bucharest, 1915), 6 sqq.
19. Glück, 160.
20. Leonida Colescu, *Analiza rezultatelor recensământului general al populației României din 1899*, foreword by Sabin Manuilă (Bucharest, 1944), 86 sq.
21. Gyémánt, *Evreii din Transilvania în epoca emancipării*, 19; Carmilly-Weinberger, 28 sqq.
22. Pál Judit, *Procesul de urbanizare în scaunele secuiești în secolul al XIX-lea* (Cluj-Napoca, 1999), 109.