

# **Romanian Journal of Population Studies**

**Vol. III, No. 2  
July – December 2009**

**Published twice yearly by**

**© Centre for Population Studies**

**ISSN: 1843 - 5998**

**Printed in Romania by Cluj University Press**

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**Printed by**

"Babeş-Bolyai" University

Cluj University Press

Str. Hasdeu nr. 45-51

400371 Cluj-Napoca, ROMÂNIA

Tel/Fax: (+40)-264-597.401

<http://www.editura.ubbcluj.ro>



This number is printed with the financial support of  
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#### VI. Events 156

# A Crying Shame? Having a Child with German Father in Finland in the 1940's

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**Abstract:** After the Second World War there were living in rough numbers 250,000–2,000,000 children in several European countries whose father was a German soldier. In most cases the children were illegitimate. This paper focuses on Finnish-German couples with a child in the city of Oulu, one of the major German bases in Finland during the war. In Finland, Germany's ally, the attitudes against women keeping company with foreign soldiers were similar to those in occupied countries. It was dubious to be a mother for a child fathered by a foreign soldier, and as a single mother they had several practical and economic problems to be solved out, too. The question is how the women coped with the situation after the war, when they with their German fathered children were concrete remembrances of the earlier Finnish-German co-operation, the era Finland chose not to remember. The hypothesis was that the more often mothers chose to give the child away, the more socially stressed their position was. Five year after the war the most Finnish-German children in Oulu lived with their unwed mothers.

**Keywords:** World War 1939–1945, home front, children, soldiers, women, fraternize, Germany, Finland

After the Second World War there were approximately one million children in Europe living without at least one parent, in most cases without the father, who has died, was missing or unknown. Children whose father was a foreign soldier were born in several European countries, and there were estimated 250,000–2,000,000 children whose father was a German soldier. In Northern Finland the number of children fathered by German men was around 1000, and in most cases these children were illegitimate, since it was very complicated and difficult – and therefore very rare – for a German soldier to marry a Finnish woman.

In this paper, I have focused on Finnish-German couples with a child in Oulu, the largest city in Northern Finland with about 30,000 inhabitants. For three years (1941–1944) Oulu was also an important port of import of German war material, one of the major German bases in Finland with dozens of military staffs, offices and thousands of German military persons. The Germans had lively contacts to local civilians until September 1944 when the German Army started to withdraw from Northern Finland and the Lapland War between Finland and Germany broke out (Junila, 2000: 84–89, 269–271; Drolshagen 2000: 185). Almost in a night the former brothers-in-arms became enemies, and Finland wanted to forget the three years of common history with the Nazi-Germany. This was a crucial turn women, who had given birth to or were expecting a child whose father was a German soldier. My question is how the women coped with the situation and how they were treated immediately after the war.

### *The loose and foolish girlfriends*

A woman who kept company with a foreign soldier was soon considered as indecent and promiscuous. In occupied countries, people were enraged by these relations which were regarded not only as improper but also as unpatriotic. As a punishment for their behaviour numerous women had their hair cut off during and after the war. In Finland Germans had status of brothers-in-arms (or allies), so the socializing with them could not actually be regarded as inappropriate in the same way as, for example, in Norway, France or Russia. The Finns co-operated with Germans on the front, in the business, on the culture sector and on science. Nevertheless the public attitude to girls going out with Germans' was similar to that in the occupied countries and also in Finland they were called with insulting names branding them as loose (Warring, 2006: 88–95). Obviously, the only group in the Finnish society to whom the collaboration with Germans was not allowed were (young) women at home front.

It is not easy to state afterwards on what purpose a Finnish woman socialized with a German or vice versa, because the intentions certainly varied from case to case. There were relationships, which showed a tendency to some kind of commitment, e.g. the partners were introduced to parents or the couple was engaged. There were couples who corresponded regularly but met more irregularly, and finally there were couples who had just met once or twice or for one night. The stories of Elsa and Ernst and on the other hand of Hilja and Hans in the next chapters represent the different motives and aims the socializing might have.

The local child welfare offices kept records of all illegitimate children. Authorities had to find out, who was liable to provide maintenance, because single mothers often required support payments to themselves and the babies. If it turned out that the father was a German military man, the expenses were covered by the Germans after the case had been studied in the Ministry of Social Affairs in co-operation with Germans.

Far from all children of German fathers are to be found in records. If the woman refused to give the name of the father of her illegitimate child, father's identity and nationality remained unknown. This was not unusual. Self-supporting women or girls from wealthy enough families did not apply for any welfare benefits or maintenance allowances, so these cases are neither to be found in registers.

Nevertheless it was quite obvious – according to the public discussion e.g. in the newspapers in Finland – what made a German soldier to seek and to keep company with Finnish women. It was merely his sexual needs. Women were fancying if they believed the tender words and promises about the future together to be true, because it was just a question about having sex. Apparently the German's girlfriends were not only indecent but also stupid. It was impossible to think that women themselves would have any sexual needs which would make them become interested in pleasant, good looking, young foreigners, because women's sexuality was limited to the marriage. Young girls were supposed first and foremost to take care of their reputation (and virginity), and not to risk it by going around in public with foreign soldiers (Junila, 2000: 160–162, 263; Drolshagen, 2000: 115).

Anyhow, many girls in Oulu were attracted by the German soldiers, their company and the possibilities for having fun they offered. At their parties, you could dance although dancing was prohibited in Finland during the war; there was wine and champagne to drink although alcoholic drinks were strictly put on rations, there were lots of courteous escorts. According to the local newspaper, the girls were too many, they were too attracted and girls' open eagerness to socialize with Germans shamed both the nation and all Finns. It was not only impudent young women having fun with foreign soldiers when the young men were fighting at the home front. The intimate relations caused also threat to the pure Finnish race and blood (Junila, 2000:146–147). Quite paradoxically, the relationships between Finnish women and German men were disapproved for similar grounds the Nazis used in their propaganda.

Actually, the behaviour of young people was in general a great concern in Finland during the war. Very young girls stayed out very late hanging around in the pubs and restaurants, meeting men and having drinks with them – girls

from ordinary families, girls who earlier hardly dare to visit a café. They society seemed to be unable to handle the situation. The German's girlfriends did not differ from other ordinary young girls in Oulu. They did not have a reputation; they had neither been arrested for being late out or being drunk nor mentioned in authorities' records for having venereal disease more often than other girls in town (Junila, 2000: 258).<sup>1</sup>

### *In love, Elsa and Ernst*

“Today I have to leave my beloved girl whom I have known for one and a half year.”<sup>2</sup>

Elsa, a seamstress from Oulu and Ernst, a Waffen-SS-Corporal<sup>3</sup> from Rhinland, both in their twenties, had been lovers. They had planned to marry as soon as Ernst got the permission necessary for a German soldier when marrying a non-German woman. Elsa lived with her parents who knew the fiancée well, and they did not have anything against the marriage. Ernst has been stationed in Oulu until December 1943 when he was ordered to the east front in Finnish Karelia, more than 300 kilometres from Oulu. At the same time, they discovered that Elsa probably was expecting a baby. Now it was even more important to get married to ensure the livelihood for Elsa and the baby.

Ernst had to leave Oulu before he got the permission. Before that they wrote together and signed a letter where they wrote down their shared hopes: that they had promised each other to spend a life together, that Elsa and the baby would move to Germany to Ernst's mother, where the baby should be brought up “a German”, and that in case of him falling at the front all his savings should be used for Elsa and the child.<sup>4</sup>

Elsa stayed at her parents in Oulu and continued to work. Being pregnant and single did not harm her financially, and her parents support helped her also to overlook the unavoidable talk. This was important, because child's father was absent and could encourage her only by letters. Not all parents were as accepting as Elsa's. The Office of Social Services in Oulu was informed of young mothers-to-be who had been thrown out by their fathers in the same

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<sup>1</sup> The Records of the Youth Welfare Office 1940–1945. The Archives of the Board of Social Care in the City of Oulu. The City Archives of Oulu (CA Oulu).

<sup>2</sup> Ernst's letter to Elsa in December 1943. The Record of the Adulterine Children of German Military Persons. The Archive the Ministry of Social Affairs. National Archives of Finland (NA).

<sup>3</sup> In German, 'Unterscharführer'.

<sup>4</sup> Ernst's and Elsa's letter in December 1943. The Record of the Adulterine Children of German Military Persons. The Archive the Ministry of Social Affairs. NA.



situation.<sup>5</sup> In this respect Elsa was lucky; if only the war ended soon, so that Elsa, Ernst and the little one could live together as a family.

***For comfort and closeness, Hilja and Hans***

“We have landed there at Oulu, Our Dreams sank in the sea...”<sup>6</sup>

The German soldiers regarded Northern Finland often as an extreme peripheral region, a place located almost beyond the "borders of the known world". On top of it all, the climate there was very harsh. Even in more favourable circumstances the life at the front soon turned out to be lonely, boring and isolated. To longer man had been at the front to more he appreciated the small creature comforts of civil life like a warm cup of tea in a cosy environment. A table set with a tablecloth and flowers were enough to engender the atmosphere of cosiness (Junila, 2000: 99–100; Drolshagen, 2000:107).

Hans was a 22-year old Waffen-SS-Corporal from Oberdonau in Austria who arrived in Finland in 1942. Hilja was a 30-year old weaver, who was born on the countryside but moved to Oulu already in the 1930's. Hilja and Hans met in Oulu when he was stationed there for a while at the training center of the Waffen-SS. They stayed in contact when he got to the front, even though it was rather difficult because they did not have a common language but needed help from Hilja's friend in their correspondence.<sup>7</sup> From Hans' point of view Hilja, an older Finnish working woman, hardly was the woman he intended to marry some day. But he regarded and enjoyed very much Hilja's care and attention: “How my dear Hilja sets the table for me with coffee, sugar and bakery!”

It is obvious that it was not the (just) the coffee cakes he was thankful for. Actually, the German troops in Finland had better food and meals than the Finnish civilians at the home front did. Hans appreciated the way Hilja took care of him, both emotionally and physically. It included also an intimate relationship, as Hans put it in his letter: “How soft is the bed at Hilja's compared to the one in the dugout.”<sup>8</sup>

Single, lone mothers

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<sup>5</sup> The Journal of the Child Welfare 1944. The Archives of the Board of Social Care in the City of Oulu. The City Archives of Oulu.

<sup>6</sup> Johan Voss (2002) *Black Edelweiss. A Memoir of a Combat and Conscience by a soldier of the Waffen-SS*. Bedford, Pennsylvania: The Aberjona Press, 73.

<sup>7</sup> The Record of the Adulterine Children of German Military Persons. The Archive the Ministry of Social Affairs. NA.

<sup>8</sup> Hans' letter to Hilja in January 1943. The Record of the Adulterine Children of German Military Persons. The Archive the Ministry of Social Affairs. NA.

Around 500 illegitimate children were born during the years 1941-1945 in Oulu. According to the mothers' own announcements 47 of them had a German father. In addition to that the child welfare inspector assumed that there were at least 47 German-Finnish children more although the women were either unwilling or unable to confess this. The inspector does not give any details about how he has been informed of the father's nationality in these cases.<sup>9</sup> Evidently the inspector was correct in some cases, e.g. when the mother and father had been commonly known as a couple. But it is also probable that sometimes the option to get the expenses covered by the Germans could have led to this conclusion.

Regardless of the purpose of the socializing the pregnancy was often a chock, at least for the woman. To be an unwed mother was far from acceptable regardless of the father's background. To have a child whose father was a foreign soldier, and in the end, when the Lapland war between Finland and Germany broke out, an enemy soldier, must have been an even more embarrassing situation. As mentioned before it was very difficult to get married with a German, and in Oulu only one Finnish-German couple was married.

An option was of course to leave with German troops in the autumn of 1944 for to marry later. Dozens of women from Oulu – not just girlfriends but also e.g. women who had worked for Germans – actually went to Germany. However, the circumstances there turned out to be more than chaotic. It was very hard to get along, and the situation turned much more complicated for a woman with a child. Five children were born in Germany to mothers from Oulu, but only one survived. As a rule the girlfriends returned to Finland without ever seeing the child's father again.<sup>10</sup>

Elsa's and Ernst's child was born in September 1944. At that time, all German troops were retiring from the Province of Oulu. Being far away Ernst had no chance to visit Oulu anymore. The child welfare inspector was informed of the birth of an illegitimate child usually by the mother or by the vicar like in Elsa's case. It is not probable that Elsa fail to sign in at the office of Social Services on purpose but more likely because she was not in distress: she had a place to stay, she had parents who could help her in the everyday life with a newborn child and she was not (that) short of money.

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<sup>9</sup> The Record of the Children born out of wedlock 1939–1945. The Archives of the Board of Social Care in the City of Oulu. The City Archives of Oulu;

<sup>10</sup> The certificates of baptism 1942–1946. The Church Archives in Oulu; The examination records. The Archive of the Camp for Returning Finns. VALPO. NA.

After the christening – the child got two typical German given names – Elsa went to the child welfare office and the application for maintenance was sent to the Ministry of Social Affairs. Anyhow the maintenance agreement between Finland and Germany was in the practice annulled due the Lapland war, and Elsa and her child got never any maintenance.<sup>11</sup>

Hilja gave birth to a child in September 1943, and some weeks later she visited the child welfare inspector. Living single and alone she needed financial help at first. The question of maintenance was easy to settle because Hilja had all evidence needed: proofs of her relationship with a German soldier (letters) and acknowledgment of paternity signed by Hans. Hilja and the child got the maintenance even though it took almost a year. Hilja gave her child two given names, one German and one Finnish. Hans was not present at the christening.<sup>12</sup>

Most of the Finnish-German children in Oulu were born in 1944 and 1945. Usually, at that time the parents did not have any possibility to keep contact. Germans had disappeared from Finland as allies as well as boyfriends. Mothers were single and often very alone, too.

### *The child of shame?*

There are not many children in Oulu, who got their father's family name. Instead there are several children whose given name - like Kurt, Fritz or Ilse - indicates directly to the father's nationality.<sup>13</sup> At the moment of Christening these mothers had not felt ashamed for being single mother for a child of a German soldier.

Anyhow, the mothers with their German fathered illegitimate children were concrete remembrances of the earlier Finnish-German co-operation, the era Finland chose not to remember after the war. Now the women risked to be labelled twice, firstly as promiscuous and secondly as politically questionable. It would be understandable if women in these circumstances longed for the same as their country did: to have a fresh new start. Women could try to sweep the shameful past away by moving from Oulu and/or by giving their child away.

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<sup>11</sup> The Record of the Children born out of wedlock 1939–1945. The Archives of the Board of Social Care in the City of Oulu. The City Archives of Oulu; The Journal of the Child Welfare 1944. The Archives of the Board of Social Care in the City of Oulu. The City Archives of Oulu; The certificates of baptism 1944. The Church Archives in Oulu.

<sup>12</sup> The Record of the Children born out of wedlock 1939–1945. The Archives of the Board of Social Care in the City of Oulu. The City Archives of Oulu; The certificates of baptism 1943. The Church Archives in Oulu.

<sup>13</sup> The certificates of baptism 1942–1946. The Church Archives in Oulu.

Getting married was also a solution, but here I have studied only the decisions a woman could make alone. The more women in Oulu chose some sort of escape, the more oppressive the attitudes towards them must have been.

The child welfare inspector visited Elsa and her child – like all single mothers – regularly. Elsa who was living at her parents' home never expressed that she would have in mind to give her child away, even though it was known that the father was a German. When the child was three years old Elsa married a Finnish man, and both her and her child got his surname.<sup>14</sup> Elsa lived all her life in Oulu.

Mother's family members, especially the grandmother, were in key position for the well-being of the mother and child. Their approval and assistance were crucial for the young mother to cope with the situation (Ericsson–Simonson, 2005: 56; Ericsson–Ellingsen, 2005: 97). Like a mother told me: "I have never had problems for being a single mother because my family accepted and loved me and my child anyway."<sup>15</sup>

Hilja could not count on the help of her family but had to manage on her own. She seemed to do it quite well in the beginning, but a few years later her life seemed to turn somewhat unstable and she moved quite often. Hilja felt herself not only physically restless but also "nervous" and asked the child welfare inspector to find a place for her five year child as a band-aid solution. The child had already spent some time in a family at the countryside at the age of three, and now it would be question of a temporary stay e.g. in a children's home. Hilja did not want to give her child for adoption, and she did not move away from Oulu, where she was known as a former girlfriend of a German soldier. The social pressure does not explain, at least not completely, her worries. She never married but lived as single parent with her child in Oulu.<sup>16</sup>

In 1950 most of the Finnish-German children in Oulu lived with their unwed mothers. It is probable, that at least some them got a stepfather afterwards. 1 child out of 94 children lived with her mother and father, and 4 children with her mother and a stepfather. 16 children lived with adoptive parents or at a children's home.

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<sup>14</sup> The Record of the Children born out of wedlock 1939–1945. The Archives of the Board of Social Care in the City of Oulu. The City Archives of Oulu; The Journal of the Child Welfare 1944. The Archives of the Board of Social Care in the City of Oulu. The City Archives of Oulu; The certificates of baptism 1944. The Church Archives in Oulu.

<sup>15</sup> Interview of "Martta", 6.4.1996 Rovaniemi.

<sup>16</sup> The Journal of the Child Welfare 1944–1949. The Archives of the Board of Social Care in the City of Oulu. The City Archives of Oulu; Address Index 1923–1973. The Archive of the City Police Department in Oulu. Provincial Archives of Oulu.

Children were given away for several reasons, and the motives are not always simple to point out. There were cases when mother became seriously ill, and the child, who could not be taken to the hospital, was to be sent to a children's home or a foster home if no relatives were available. Sometimes the working mother had problems with the day care and as a solution and in default of day nursery the child was placed in a family (often in the countryside).<sup>17</sup>

A survey made in Oslo, Norway showed that in the 1950's about 30 per cent of the Norwegian-German children lived with their mother, 30 per cent with their mother and father or stepfather and about as many children with their foster parents (Olsen, 1998: 412–414).

The figures from Oulu differ quite much from that in Oslo in two ways: in Oulu the children stayed more often with their single mother and they were more seldom given away permanently. Most mothers did not have those big economic or social problems that they would have preferred to give their child away. Neither had they felt the pressure of the public opinion so unbearable that they wanted to escape it by adoption. Their situation was far from acceptable but for several reasons fatherless or non-nuclear families were quite common in the post war Finland. There were war orphans and divorce children, but at the same time children who had stayed in Sweden during the war and had a couple of “extra” parents there.

It was not easy to bring up an illegitimate child of a German soldier in the post war Finland. Being an unwed mother was, on the whole, still dubious and in addition, it was a situation where several practical and economic problems had to be solved out, too.

Nevertheless the mothers and the children in Finland never felt into collective contempt or came for fierce criticism like happened in e.g. Norway. The post war Finnish society wanted to forget the sorrows and horrors of the war and enter the new era of rebuilding. The political swing-around and new orientation promised the nation as it's citizens a fresh start to a brighter future. But on the other hand this made the children of German soldiers invisible for years. It was not in the interests of Finland to remember or to be reminded of being a sort of ally to Nazi Germany, which has burned down half of the country and committed horrible war crimes elsewhere in Europe.

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<sup>17</sup> Marriage records 1943–1948. The Church Archives in Oulu; The Record of the Children born out of wedlock 1939–1945. The Archives of the Board of Social Care in the City of Oulu. The City Archives of Oulu.

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# Statistical Observations on the Kurdish Demography and Migration During the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

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**Abstract:** The Kurdish problem is one of the most fascinating research topics for a number of social sciences: history, sociology, political science, international relations. In many ways, it reflects the general problematic of the turbulent and unstable Middle East, certainly a zone of unfinished businesses. In the age of globalization such problems are usually transnational and global in character. Migration and demographical patterns of such a stateless nation as the 'Kurds' cannot be approached on a local or even regional basis. The existence of a powerful Kurdish 'diaspora' in Europe and elsewhere internationalizes the Kurdish problem. Therefore, it is of outmost importance to clarify such issues as the Kurdish demography and migration in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, even though that means just scratching the surface of a much more complicated problematic.

This paper approaches in descriptive and non-exhaustive manner the Kurdish problem during the 20<sup>th</sup> Century from a historical-sociological point of view, emphasizing its main demographical and migration patterns as reflected in the topical literature and in demographical statistics. Its focus is on several historical events that have influenced and determined, to a certain degree, these patterns. Unfortunately, a clear limit of this paper is related to the following fact: it is highly difficult to measure the Kurdish demography and migration due to the scarcity and unreliability of data.

**Keywords:** Kurds, Kurdistan, Anfal campaign, Gulf War, Mustafa Barzani, KDP, Kurdish diaspora

## ***1. Introduction***

According to Zbigniew Brzezinski, the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, areas in South-Eastern Europe, Central Asia and South Asia form "the Balkans of Eurasia" (Brzezinski, 2000, p.139). They are far larger, geographically speaking, than the Balkans of Europe and more heterogeneous in terms of religion and ethnicity. The Kurdish problem is circumscribed to the general problematic of this area and it is often mentioned in the political agenda of the Middle East.

The Kurds, which form, according to various authors, the world's greatest stateless nation<sup>1</sup>, have always been caught between the games played by 'Great Powers' interested in the region. Certainly, one must agree with Martin Van Bruinessen that the Kurds are the biggest nation without a state from the Middle East (Bruinessen, 1999). The importance of the Kurds is reflected also by their language: after the Turkish, Arab, and Persian (Farsi), the Kurdish is the 4<sup>th</sup> language of the Middle East in terms of speakers.

Due to the scarcity of credible statistical data concerning the Kurdish population living in the Middle East, this paper is focused more on the Kurdish diasporas, much more statistically documented. The causes of their emergence are also better defined. At the same time, key events in the demographical history of the Kurds are presented<sup>2</sup>. Two of the most important events of this kind, approached in this paper, were the 'Anfal campaign' and the 1991 Kurdish uprising, during the Gulf War.

## **2. The Kurds in Iran**

The Iranian Kurdistan is bordered by Mount Ararat in the North, the frontiers between Iraq-Iran and Iraq-Turkey in the West, and Lake Urmiah in the East. Administratively speaking, the Iranian Kurdistan used to be divided into three provinces: Sanandaj – the Central area known as 'Kurdistan', the Northern area known as the 'Western Azerbaijan', and the Southern area known as 'Kermanshah' (Ghassemlou, 1993, p.95). It is estimated that there are from 5

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<sup>1</sup> The only attempt to create a Kurdish state relates to the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres from 20 August 1920. Here, the article 62 stipulated that a commission composed of representatives of the Allies "shall draft within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty a scheme of local autonomy for the predominantly Kurdish areas lying east of the Euphrates, south of the southern boundary of Armenia as it may be hereafter determined, and north of the frontier of Turkey with Syria and Mesopotamia". Article 64 specified that "If within one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty the Kurdish peoples within the areas defined in Article 62 shall address themselves to the Council of the League of Nations in such a manner as to show that a majority of the population of these areas desires independence from Turkey, and if the Council then considers that these peoples are capable of such independence and recommends that it should be granted to them, Turkey hereby agrees to execute such a recommendation, and to renounce all rights and title over these areas.... If and when such renunciation takes place, no objection will be raised by the Principal Allied Powers to the voluntary adhesion to such an independent Kurdish State of the Kurds inhabiting that part of Kurdistan which has hitherto been included in the Mosul vilayet." See also McDowall, 1996, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> For example, at the end of the Iran-Iraq war, in 1988, during the Anfal campaign, the Kurds were exterminated by Saddam Hussein's Baath Party with chemical bombs. The aim of this campaign was ethnic cleansing, but Saddam Hussein justified this campaign as a form of punishment against the Iraqi Kurds for their support toward the Iranian authorities in certain moments of the war.



to 6 million Kurds living in Iran, representing 10% of all Iranian population (Hassanpour, 1994)<sup>3</sup>.

During the 1960s, Mustafa Barzani<sup>4</sup> was collaborating with Teheran, which had provided him logistical support in his fight against Baghdad (Bruinessen, 1986, p. 17). In exchange, the Sheikh asked Barzani to balk the plans of KDPI (Kurdish Democratic Party in Iraq) targeted against Iran. This explains a particular event: while KDPI (at that time an illegal organisation) was launching a guerrilla war against the Sheikh's regime in 1967-1968, Barzani handed over those caught on the Iranian Kurdistan territory to SAVAK – the secret police of the Sheikh (McDowall, 1996: 21). Even today, many Kurds believe that his attitude was an act of treason.

While the Sheikh was overthrown in January 1969, the KDPI began to gain ground as it took control over a large area between Mahabad și Sanandaj. The party's leader, Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, emphasized that his organization aimed to bring "democracy for Iraq and autonomy for Kurdistan" (Chaliand, 1993: 211). Soon, there were conflicts with the Shiite revolutionary guards. The relations between the Iranian government and the Kurds had deteriorated, especially after Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini stated that Islam cannot tolerate differences between the Muslims belonging to different ethnic minorities (McDowall, 1996: 271). With the Iranian Islamic revolution on the way Ayatollah Khomeini took over power in Iran and consolidated it using the long drama of American hostages captured in the US embassy and the long war with Iraq (1980-1988) (Kamrava, 2005: 139-140). KDPI was controlling the area surrounding Mahabad, while Komala<sup>5</sup> (a new grouping inspired by the Chinese revolution) controlled the area surrounding Sanandaj (Bruinessen, 1986: 18). These regions were taken back by the Iranian forces in 1984. The KDPI rebels destroyed 200 villages in order to maintain the control of their area (McDowall, 1996: 22). Even so, the number is relatively modest compared to the situation in Turkey and Iraq.

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<sup>3</sup> *CIA World Factbook* estimates that the Kurdish population represent 7% of the total population, which means approximately 4.6 million (*CIA World Factbook*: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ir.html#People>).

<sup>4</sup> The leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party, a party activating in Iraq.

<sup>5</sup> Komalay Shoreshegeri Zahmatkeshani Kurdistan Iran or the Organization of Revolutionary Toilers of Iranian Kurdistan, party founded in 1979, immediately after the revolution. It emerged clandestinely, its members affirming that the party has a Marxist-Leninist orientation. In 1983 it merged with the Iranian Communist Party.

### ***3. The Kurds in Iraq***

The situation of the Iraqi Kurdistan has been significantly different compared to the Kurds living in Iran or Turkey – countries in which they represent only considerable minorities. Only Iraq recognized the Kurdish reality, offering them autonomy in 1974 (Vanly, 1993: 162; Human Rights Watch, 1993)<sup>6</sup>, but excluding the cities of Khaniqin and Kirkuk (surrounded by oil fields). Iran and Turkey have persisted in not acknowledging the rights of their Kurdish minorities. For example, the Kurdish language cannot be taught in schools or be used in the Iranian administration. At the same time, Turkish authorities still prefer to define the Kurds as ‘mountain Turks’ (Dawoody, 2006: 487).

After a short interlude to power in 1963, the Baath Party took over completely the Iraqi political arena in 1968. Its regime proved to be remarkable resilient and stable. The Baath nationalism and welfare policies had reflected the long term values and political aspirations of the Iraqi people. It was a personal regime, embodying the objectives, ambitions and vanity of a single man, Saddam Hussein. He was a genius in capturing all political power in his country, but he was not able in building something that could be transmitted to a possible successor (Humphreys, 1999: 121). While he was overthrown, his political system collapsed into chaos or into a new order.

In 1976, the Iraqi government was beginning to evacuate an area with a width of about 10 to 20 km along the border with Iran (Bruinessen, 1986: 16). Entire villages were demolished, their inhabitants being forced into moving into other settlements near cities. It is a fact that the Kurds living alongside the Iran-Iraq border have been used by the Iranian and Iraqi authorities to advance their national interests.

The Iran-Iraq war created a power vacuum that proved to provide an opportunity for the Kurdish movement. The fights between KDP and PUK for the leadership of the movement have been so intense that literally broke in two the Iraqi Kurdistan from 1979 to 1980: the North and the West (the Badinan region) under the KDP leadership, while the South and the East (the Sooran region) under the PUK leadership. At the beginning of the war the clashes between the two sides were limited by the scarcity of military capabilities. Later, the two organizations have been able to build entire armies of *peshmerga*<sup>7</sup> (Bulloch, Morris, 1992: 8). The areas controlled by the Kurdish

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<sup>6</sup> See the law for the autonomy of Kurdistan from 11 March 1974. The most important obstacles to negotiations were the territorial delimitation of the Kurdish Autonomous Region, the faith of the town Kirkuk and the policy of Arabization. The area comprised the towns Erbil, Sulaimanyiah, and Dohuk, representing ½ from what the Kurds perceived as their historical territory.

<sup>7</sup> This is the name of the PKK guerrilla warriors, in translation “those who confront death”.

guerillas have literally become 'liberated areas' (Karadaghi, in Chaliand, 1993: 220). The Kurds had to face also mercenaries recruited by government among the Kurds (the so-called *jash*).

During the Iran-Iraq war, the Iraqi Kurds had sometimes fought alongside the Iranian troops against the Iraqi ones<sup>8</sup>. An important consequence of this war from their point of view was the so-called 'Anfal operation'<sup>9</sup>. The Iraqi government used two instruments in the Anfal campaign: (1) the 1987 census and (2) the establishment of the so-called 'restricted areas' ("Case Study: The Anfal Campaign (Iraqi Kurdistan)", 1988)<sup>10</sup>.

The first Kurdish mass deportations in the area situated along the Iran-Iraq border between 1975 and 1977<sup>11</sup> had represented the first attempts of the Baath government to 'cleanse' the Kurdish rural areas. These near border areas have become 'restricted areas'.

The 'campaign' itself lasted for six months but the Kurdish deportation took two years. The central figure in this campaign, the decision-maker, was Ali Hassan al-Majid (later nicknamed 'The Chemical Ali') (*Zina*, 25 June 2007), Saddam Hussein's cousin and Secretary-General of the Northern Bureau of the Baath Arab Socialist Party. He received 'special powers' from 29 March 1987 to 23 April 1989, in fact equivalent to those held by the Iraqi President. The Chemical Ali took his role very seriously, stating - during the meetings of the Baath Party - that any animal or human being living in the 'restricted area' should be exterminated. A decree dated 23 June 1987 signed by Chemical Ali ordered the bombing of the Kurdish areas with any type of artillery, including

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<sup>8</sup> For example, the case of the town Hajj Omran, captured in 1983.

<sup>9</sup> Al-Anfal is the 8<sup>th</sup> Sura of the Qur'an. This chapter was written by Prophet Muhammad in the recollection of the Al-Badri victory of the 319 Muslim believers over more than 900 'infidels'. 'Anfal' means "spoils of war". In this Sura, the Muslim believers are urged to fight against the 'infidels' until achieving victory. The final victory meant either the elimination of the enemy or forcing him to adopt the Muslim religion and faith. The Baath regime legitimated its genocidal policy adopting the Islamic name 'Anfal' for this campaign. The Iraqi government attempted to compare the Kurds with the 'infidels' or pagans, trying to justify the campaign from a religious point of view.

<sup>10</sup> It appears that these have been effectively created through a confidential decree of 29 June 1985. The decree urged actions and measures against the rural Kurdish population, imposing severe sanctions upon all the villages. As a consequence, the government interrupted the supply of energy, water, and other necessary goods. The inhabitants of this area lost their judicial rights, the right to buy or sell etc. The regime authorized the use of any weapon against the *peshmerga* warrior from this zone (See also The Center of Halabja against Anfalization and genocide of the Kurds, 2007: 9).

<sup>11</sup> These deportations took place against the fact that for 20 years the government attempted to implement, in the areas considered strategic, a policy of Arabization consisting in bringing Arab farmers in the area.

chemical weapons, with the purpose to kill as many Kurds as possible (Human Rights Watch, 1994). Even though the inhabitants of the area might have surrendered to the Iraqi troops, they should have been condemned to death, based on that infamous document. The Kurdish rebels estimated that during that year 182,000 persons had disappeared and over 4,000 villages had been utterly destroyed<sup>12</sup>.

The 17 October 1987 census proved to be essential for defining which particular groups were to be exterminated. The destruction of the villages in the spring of 1987 had created a buffer-zone between the areas controlled by the government and those controlled by the Kurdish guerrillas. This allowed the Baath Party to give an ultimatum to the inhabitants of the 'restricted areas': either they "return to the national ranks" ("Case Study: The Anfal Campaign (Iraqi Kurdistan)", 1988), specifically by abandoning their households and accept the repartition into a complex, or they would lose the Iraqi citizenship, being considered deserters. By a decree of August 1987 the deserters would have met the death penalty.

Also for defining the groups, the Chemical Ali asked the files of the families living in the areas controlled by the government. As a consequence, a number of persons had been resettled to the rural areas to share the faith of their *peshmerga* relatives.

Yet, the most important case in the Anfal campaign was the bombing of the town Halabja, where it was estimated that 5,000 out of its 80,000 inhabitants died during the first stage of Anfal (23 February 1988 – 19 March 1988) (Lancaster, 2008: 29).

Soon after the beginning of the Gulf War (1991), the Kurds questioned the willingness of the US and their allies to send troops to defend Saudi Arabia and defeat the Iraqis. Therefore, they adopted a neutral position. They condemned the invasion of Kuwait, but did not approve the response of the Allied forces to it. The Kurds realised that if they decided to strike Saddam's regime too early, before this would have turned sufficiently weak, there was the possibility for Baghdad to use once again its chemical weapons, as it did just early before (Bulloch, Morris, 1992, p. 8).

During the Desert Storm, US President George Bush was giving a speech pledging the Kurds to rebel and overthrow Saddam Hussein. His message was broadcasted on all TV and radio stations around the world

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<sup>12</sup> The report *Human Rights Watch* (1993) notes that the number varies between 50,000 and 100,000; many victims were civilian, not only *peshmerga* and the majority were killed after several days in captivity, or in villages marked for destruction. Some were killed during their flight from the attacks of the Iraqi army in the 'restricted area'.

(Romano, 2006: 203-204), including Voice of Free Iraq (backed by CIA) which broadcasted from Jedda (Saudi Arabia).

Having in memory the speech of George Bush and hoping that America would support their cause, especially after Saddam's defeat (February 1991), the Kurds from the North and the Shiites from the South rebelled and soon after managed to capture a number of towns from both areas. Their common hatred towards Saddam Hussein's regime and their belief in the total victory of the Allied forces, ensured that the mobilisation was relatively quick, but barely organised in the North. Meanwhile, the US administration worried about the unexpected and difficult to control consequences of a rebellion in Iraq. What the Kurds and the Shiites did not account for was the unwillingness of Turkey and Iran (the Allies of the US) to accept an Iraq led by Shiites that could have followed Iran's example (Bulloch, Morris, 1992: 12-14).

As soon as Saddam Hussein realised that the external help promised for the rebels would not come, he struck swiftly and unmercifully, mobilising his best troops – the Republican Guards (which had not participated in the defence against the operation Desert Storm). First of all, they crushed the Southern Shi'a. Then, the brutal repression was unleashed against the North, forcing two million refugees to flee toward the borders of Turkey and Iran. Turkey decided not to repeat the 'mistake' of 1988 when it was criticized by the West for the way it handled the Kurdish refugees. Therefore, Turkey closed the border with Iraq just before the moment when the Kurdish refugees intended to cross it (Frelick, in Chaliand, 1993: 235).

The Kurdish refugees still remembered the infamous Anfal campaign of 1988. In fact, the Kurdish and Shi'a rebels profited from an actually inexistent political opportunity: the help promised by Bush was not a promise, while Saddam still held the significant elements of his repressive apparatus.

The protests of the international public community urged the US, the UK, and France to consider all the options, together with their NATO Allies, the Turkish. Turkey, pressured by the refugee wave, came with the idea of a temporary 'safe heaven' (Halliday, 2005, p. 148), protected by the Allies, in the Northern Iraq. It was for the first time in Kurdish history that such an area was to be created and protected by international forces in order to protect the Kurds (Olson, 1992, 1992: 485).

At present day, the Iraqi Kurds represent 23% of Iraq's population, numbering about four million (Hassanpour, 1994). According to *CIA World Factbook*<sup>13</sup>, they represent 15-20% of the total Iraqi population, ranging from

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<sup>13</sup> The online version, updated bi-weekly. Accessed in July 2009.

4.3 to 5.7 million. Their future seems brighter than it used to be during Saddam Hussein's reign, but still hangs in the balance, just as the future of Iraq. Yet, the events we had analysed above still mark the Kurdish culture.

#### **4. The Kurds in Turkey**

Currently, the Turkish Kurdistan is inhabited by a number of Kurds varying between 10 and 12 million, representing around 20% of Turkey's population (the statistics are from *CLA World Factbook*).

The Law of Colonization divided Turkey into three zones: (a) one of Turkish speaking population, with citizens belonging to the Turkish culture and ethnicity; this area could receive immigrants from all over the country and even from abroad; (b) the second zone included peoples of whose Turkisation was to be intensified through colonization policies; (c) the third zone was designated as a closed area for any human settlement due to security reasons (Kirisci, Winrow, 2004, p. 99).

As a consequence of the violent repressions following the Kurdish rebellions of 1924 and 1938, the Turkish Kurdistan had been declared, for 40 years, a military zone with restricted access (1925-1965) (Chaliand, 1993, p. 6.). This pattern actually continues until today to a certain degree, due to the fights between the Turkish authorities and PKK rebels.

The most interesting characteristic of the Kurdish population living in Turkey is the internal migration: due to the fact that the area inhabited by them (the East and South-East of Turkey) is extremely poor, the Turkish Kurds migrate toward the Western Turkey in an attempt to find jobs necessary for keeping their families. In fact, this poor region of Turkey provides the most part of the Kurdish Diaspora.

#### **5. The Kurds in Syria**

There are no official statistics concerning the number of Kurds living in Syria. Even if they were, they would not be exactly credible, since the estimates are made on a regional basis (and are different from region to region). It appears that in 1976 there were about 825,000 Kurds living in Syria, representing 11% of a population of 7.5 million (Nazdar, in Chaliand, 1993: 194)<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> Other authors estimate that the number of Kurds in Syria represented approximately 600,000 in 1977, which means 7% of the whole populace. The same source indicates that in 1988 the Kurds of Syria represented around 9-10% of Syria's population (Vanly, in Kreyenbroek, Sperl, 1992, p. 146). A report issued by Kurdish Human Rights Project estimated the number of Kurds in Syria at 1.5 million (Galie, Yildiz, 2005, p. 21). A 1996 Human Rights Watch report estimated their number at 10%.

The Kurds are dominant in the Jazira and Hasaka provinces, having about 700 villages and five Kurdish towns (Vanly, in Kreyenbroek and Sperl, 1992: 146). Approximately 10% of these Kurds came to Syria following the rebellion led by Sheikh Said in the 1920s<sup>15</sup>.

The political power in Syria was assumed in 1963 by the Baath Party which instated Hafez al-Assad as leader and declared the emergency law<sup>16</sup>. The persecutions against the Kurds have continued, partly due to the Kurdish rebellion against Baghdad and the fear that this rebellion might outspread. The Baath Party launched an absurd publicity campaign resulting in the elimination of certain Kurds, the dispossession of nationality for other Kurds, while the government was refusing the implementation of land reforms that could have improved the lives of the Kurdish population (they were implemented elsewhere in the country). However, since 1967 onward the persecution of Kurds by the Baath Party has begun to relax (McDowall, 1996: 35), one proof being the implementation of land reforms in the Kurdish areas too (in 1971).

The Baath Party decided to acknowledge the Kurds as a nation but stated that the Kurds immigrated to Syria from Turkey, which is only partly true since the majority of the Kurdish population of Syria has been living in this area for a long time, the Kurds being mentioned in the literature of the last centuries.

In order to advance its ideas, the Baath Party organised a census in 1962, depriving 150.000 Kurds of their citizenship (Human Rights Watch, 1996), on the assumption that they had the citizenship of the country from which they emigrated. In 1963 and 1986 the use of Kurdish language was banned, following the ban of 1958 when any publication in Kurdish was forbidden. In 1988 a new law was banning non-Arab songs during the weddings and other parties. Since 1992 the new-born children could not receive Kurdish names anymore. As a result of all these restrictions, the Kurds of Syria have suffered greatly from cultural, economic, or political discriminations.

## ***6. The Kurdish diaspora***

Originally, the concept of ‘diaspora’ was referring to the exile of the Jews from their historical lands in the Middle East. Currently, the concept is widely used to describe certain displaced communities. A definition of ‘diaspora’ may refer to “those members of a nation living outside the territory of the state from which they belong” (Cottam, Dietz-Uhler, Mastors, and Preston, 2004: 193).

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<sup>15</sup> David McDowall maintains that the Kurds from the Jazira area have established themselves in Syria after the dissolution of Ottoman Empire or following the transhumance process. The national consciousness was awakened through the Kurds established here after the revolt of Sheikh Said (McDowall, 1996: 34).

<sup>16</sup> Today, this law is still in force.

The notion is considered appropriate to describe the geographical dislocation or the deterritorialization of identities and cultures in the modern world.

The consciousness of belonging to a diaspora is evident to the Kurdish refugees especially when measuring the political activism from within the Kurdish communities. The Kurdish organizations of refugees and displaced persons are often influenced by political and social divisions and loyalties from Kurdistan. Sometimes, there had been an indirect support for the Kurdish cause or the Kurds' fight among their organizations (Wahlbeck, 1998).

William Safran well illustrated some of the characteristics of the Kurdish diaspora (Safran, 1991: 83-89, quoted also in Wahlbeck, 1998):

- forced dislocation of Kurds;
- collective memory of their homeland;
- alienation and discrimination experienced in Europe;
- desire to return to Kurdistan;
- collective engagement toward restoring the homeland;
- transnational social networks.

The concept of 'diaspora' is usually associated with that of transnationalism. Martin van Bruinessen thinks that the term 'transnational' designates different types of social relations and interactions transcending the national borders (Bruinessen, 2000). The author affirms that the notion could be used to describe the network of complex contacts and activities linking the Kurdish communities of Germany, Great Britain, or France, but not for those linking the Kurdish communities of Turkey, Iran, or Iraq – for them, the author prefers the concept 'cross-state' or 'cross-border'. Van Bruinessen (2000) also notes that there are many situations of diaspora with transnational character, in Kurds' case:

1. Kurds displaced in Kurdistan, but not in the state from which they are citizens (e.g. the Kurds refugees into Syria during the 1920s, in the aftermath of Sheikh's Said rebellion);
2. Kurds that had migrated to Kurdistan from other parts of the state of whose citizens they are (e.g. Kurds migrating from Eastern Turkey to Western Turkey);
3. the most significant diasporas refer to the Kurds alienated from Kurdistan or from the state of whose citizens they are (e.g. during the 1960s there was a migration of labor force from Turkey to Lebanon, Germany, other Western European states, Lybia, USSR, Australia – many of those who departed were Kurds).

The case of the Kurds from Europe is particularly interesting since it highlights three characteristics regarding the political mobilisation of diaspora and the



long distance intervention: (1) it illustrates the complexity of diaspora formation and the fluid borders between the economic immigrants and the political refugees (not all Kurds migrants are political refugees); (2) the Kurds are perceived both as destroyers of peace, but also as peace-makers (due to their heterogeneity, there are numerous Kurdish networks within diaspora, such as the PKK or KOMKAR in the case of the Kurds from Turkey; PUK or KDP in the case of Iraqi Kurds); (3) some Kurdish associations had changed, during the last 20 years, the political purposes and the way in which they intend to fulfill their aims, infirming one of the assumptions found in the topical literature: the groups situated in diaspora cannot make compromises since, on the one hand, the conflict implies a low cost for them, and on the other hand the conflict has turned to be a part of their identity in exile (Vertovec, 2005).

At the beginning, Kurdish diaspora's ethnic consciousness was almost inexistent. In time, especially due to students and political refugees<sup>17</sup>, the Kurds from diaspora have begun to play an important role for Kurdistan. Some papers and books published in Kurdish have appeared meanwhile. The *Nevroz* – the Kurdish New Year was adopted, being celebrating in 21 March, while for the first time, the satellite MED-TV broadcasted, for a certain time, in Kurdish.

Some Kurdish institutes and organizations have also emerged within diaspora: first of all, the Kurdish Institute of Paris (founded in 1983), followed by similar institutes in Brussels, Berlin, Moscow, and Washington, D.C. A Kurdish library was founded in Stockholm. There are also two Kurdish human rights organizations: International Association for Human Rights in Kurdistan (Bonn), Kurdish Human Rights Project (London).

Consequently, one must certainly agree that the Kurdish diaspora has not remained indifferent to what happens in Kurdistan. Quite the contrary, this diaspora has had and still has an important role especially in preserving the Kurdish culture.

Nowadays, the Kurdish diaspora is one of the biggest diasporas without a state in the world. The Kurdish diaspora in Europe alone (without Turkey)

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<sup>17</sup> The Kurdish political refugees from the diaspora originate from several waves: (1) following the Agreement of Alger between Saddam Hussein and the Sheikh of Iran, by which the last one withdrew his support for the Iraqi Kurds, approximately 50 guerrilla warriors fled to Iran and later asked for asylum in European countries – granted to the most educated; (2) following the coup d'état in Turkey (1980) and the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988); (3) the Kurds fleeing from the Iran Islamic revolution; (4) Iraqi Kurds after the Anfal campaign; (5) after the Gulf War, those that felt that the 'safe heaven' was not entirely safe; (6) after the destruction of thousand villages of Turkey with the purpose of destroying any help for the PKK, during the 1990s. See Bruinessen, 2000.

numbers approximately 850,000 Kurds, out of which 85% originate from Turkey (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2006).

### **7. Conclusions**

The situation of the Kurdish stateless nation affects a varied range of issues in the Middle East: political, economic, societal, cultural, as well as securital. Though it presents some common feature with other situations involving nations without states (e.g. the Palestinians), it is mostly unique, even in how it is differentiated from country to country. For example, the situation of the Kurds living in Turkey is significantly different compared to the situation of the similar minorities living in Syria, Iran, or even Iraq. Nevertheless, the solutions to the Kurdish problem may be used, if applied sometimes in future, to a wider set of problems affecting the security and stability of the Middle East, a region in turmoil for millennia.

After analyzing in depth the Middle East agenda, one must agree that the Kurdish problem ranks as one of the most important issues. Robert D. Kaplan anticipated this: “The early 21st may well be dominated by tumultuous change in Turkey, Syria and Iraq, in which the stateless Kurds will play the pivotal role” (Kaplan, 1999). The same author stressed the importance of the Kurds from demographical point of view: “The 25 million Kurds, spread over Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Iran and Armenia, are the world's most numerous stateless people” (ibid.). Kurdish nationalism is certainly one of the most dynamic in the region, as well as Kurdish demography, due to numerous reasons, mostly economical (e.g. poverty), educational, and even cultural.

During the last decades, the Middle East has experienced an important political, economic, and cultural upheaval marked by a corrosion of state control leading many scholars argue about the emergence of ‘failed states’. Ethnic minorities or nations without states such as the Kurds have become much more dynamic actors in the international relations of the area. A ‘perfect’ example is the post-Saddam Hussein Iraq. The future of Iraq as a unified state, a confederate or federate state could determine the future of the Kurds. If their dream of an independent or genuinely autonomous Kurdistan is to become reality in Iraq, this could affect the stability of the entire region. Hopefully, the regional cooperation as well as the international involvement of such actors as the US, EU, Russia, or China will ease the transition to a more stable environment in which all the players will subscribe to the status-quo.

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# Educational Component in the Mărginimea Sibiului Region

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**Abstract:** Education represents a very important component in the complex existential equation of a nation, which reveals in the end the vitality and the existent development possibilities, as well as the materialization of some potential interrelations at continental and national levels. At the level of Romania, the values recorded in the last years, regarding the educational indicators, present a situation generalized for the entire national space, that indicates a consistent decrease in the number of pupils (in all educational cycles) and a precarious qualitative state as regards school infrastructure and teaching staff. The mentioned phenomenon is worse especially in the Romanian rural space, where threats, from this point of view, are extremely serious. This is also the situation of the Mărginimea Sibiului Region and the present study is intended to be a recent, complete radiography of the main educational indicators for the above-mentioned region.

**Keywords:** education, pre-school education, primary education cycle, lower secondary education cycle, upper secondary education cycle, school infrastructures.

## ***1. General issues***

The Mărginimea Sibiului Region is component of the Sibiu County and consists of 15 administrative-territorial entities (4 towns and 11 communes), whose territory stretches mainly in the Sibiu Depression and on the northern mountainside of the Cibin Mountains (Figure 1).

Education in Mărginimea Sibiului is *vertically integrated* (the existent educational cycles are - pre-school education, primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education and post-secondary education) and *horizontally integrated* (it is represented in all the administrative-territorial units in the region, at least by the lower educational cycles).

Such as the national education, the one in the analyzed region is found today in full process of restructuring, reorganization, modernization, etc., facing the requirements of a diverse component of the school population.

In the high-living standard states, natality and natural increase, implicitly, are known to present low values. Romania, unfortunately, has joined a similar trend, which, if continues in the present parameters, will induce problems difficult to surpass.

## ***2. Pre-school education cycle***

The infrastructure afferent to the pre-school cycle presents the following aspects in the administrative-territorial units of the Mărginimea Sibiului Region (table 1): there are 52 functional kindergartens, which totalize 1510 budgeted seats, intended for developing the pre-school educational activity. The number of pre-school children rises to 2480, which indicates a number of 970 pre-school children exceeding the number of budgeted seats. A double qualitative assessment of the situation can be made from this point of view: (1) the analyzed region has a significant number of pre-school children, which represents an extremely important aspect in the equation of young age groups (the situation is reverse in other regions of the country) and (2) the increase in seat number and in the number of public and private kindergartens is necessary in order to accommodate the entire effective of pre-school children. The quality of infrastructure and of didactic material does not raise, however, in all the kindergartens, at the present educational expectancies, situation which must be corrected rapidly. When calculating the general average, a number of 47.7 children/kindergarten/group is obtained, a value unacceptable from the school teachers' point of view (in the European Union, the average is of 7-10 children/group).

Out of the 52 kindergartens, 28 are situated in urban environment, most of them being endowed properly, the assurance of specialized teaching staff being complete. Three of the urban kindergartens are private (2 in Cisnădie and one in Tălmăciu), two of them being intended for early education and one for *step by step* educational module. The low number of private kindergartens is surprising, as they reflect an educational form approved in the European Union precisely for the fact that the work-groups have, unlike public kindergartens, a small effective of children.





Table 1. The state of the pre-school educational cycle in the administrative-territorial units of the “Mărginimea Sibiului” (2008)

No.	Locality	Number of kindergartens	Number of seats	Number of pre-school children	Total population	Rapport (%)	Public kindergartens	Private kindergartens
1	Cisnădie	12	360	587	16534	3.55	10	2
2	Miercurea Sibiului	4	120	201	4204	4.78	4	0
3	Săliște	7	120	276	5795	4.76	7	0
4	Tâlmăciu	5	120	277	7138	3.88	4	1
5	Boița	1	30	38	1720	2.20	1	0
6	Cristian	3	120	103	3536	2.91	3	0
7	Gura Râului	3	120	188	3892	4.83	3	0
8	Jina	4	100	211	4233	4.98	4	0
9	Orlat	1	30	109	3271	3.33	1	0
10	Poiana Sibiului	3	120	153	3556	4.30	3	0
11	Poplaca	1	30	36	1779	2.02	1	0
12	Rășinari	5	150	236	5600	4.21	5	0
13	Râu Sadului	1	30	9	622	1.44	1	0
14	Sadu	1	60	68	2492	2.72	1	0
15	Tilișca	1	30	18	1662	1.08	1	0
16	Total	52	1510	2480	66034	3.39	49	3

Source: (Sibiu County School Inspectorate, 2008)

The fact that the percentage of the pre-school component represents quite a significant share of the total population (3.39% on average) must be also remarked, a situation more favourable being registered in the towns of Miercurea Sibiului (4.78%) and Săliște (4.76%), as well as in the communes of Gura Râului (4.83%) and Jina (4.98%). Low ratios (under 2%) are registered in the communes of Tilișca (1.08%) and Râu Sadului (1.44%).

Starting from this reality, a series of measures are required for the *pre-school cycle* of children’s education, which must reflect the granted attention. The increase in education and in infrastructure quality in the pre-school cycle can represent a stimulus for preserving the demographical behaviour in Mărginimea Sibiului, when young parents will become aware of the fact that they are supported in raising and in educating their children. In this respect, concrete measures must be taken such as: *the maintenance in each commune of a kindergarten at least, as an primary cell for securing a positive social behaviour; the*

*employment of specialized teaching staff for each position; the offer of possibilities for the teaching staff in the pre-school cycle for a continuous professional training; the appropriate endowment with adequate furniture and with diverse didactic material; the education of pre-school children in the spirit of local collectivity, with a view to preserving and amplifying the local spirit, etc.* These actions must represent the result of the cooperation between three educational partners at least: *the pre-school education institution, the local decision factors and the parents*, the last as indirect beneficiaries of the pre-school educational act.

### **3. Primary education cycle**

The quantification of the data referring to the primary education cycle (first to fourth form) and their comparison to the data recorded in the previous years indicate that, at regional level, *the number of primary school pupils has continuously decreased*. However, unlike other regions in Romania, the state is not critical yet, as, in all towns and commune centres, there is a minimum number of primary school pupils for the functioning of the *elementary educational cell* (primary school). However, the negative decrease in number must be inhibited in order to remain at least in the present coordinates. A negative aspect is represented by the fact that in the majority of the villages in the region, primary schools were closed especially due to the lack of the necessary effective of pupils, so that the pupils in the respective villages are transported daily to the schools situated in the commune centre by school microbus, exclusively assigned for this purpose. Such a situation is dramatic, primary school being the *elementary education rampart* which must not miss from any locality (the desideratum is already utopic).

At the level of Mărginimea Sibiului, the structure and the interrelations of the primary education cycle are the following (table 2):

- there is a number of 34 primary education entities (primary schools or sections within some first to eight form schools), in which 3180 pupils benefit by the educational act;
- out of the 34 sections and schools dedicated to the primary education cycle, 16 are present in urban localities, these being the best technically endowed; it must also be mentioned that the entire network of primary school institutions in Mărginimea Sibiului presents a good-quality educational endowment, above the national average;
- the average number of pupils per primary school entity in urban environment is 92.2, higher than in rural environment (78 pupils); the highest school pressure appears, from this point of view, in the

localities of Cisnădie, Gura Râului and Rășinari, while in the localities of Tilișca, Râu Sadului, Poplaca, etc, the number of primary school pupils, related to the number of afferent school institutions, is lower;

- in rural environment, the presence of 3 sections or primary schools can be remarked in the case of the communes with a higher number of inhabitants (Poiana Sibiului and Rășinari); in the other communes, only one or two such institutions are present;
- the employment of teaching staff is relatively correct as there are 181 primary school teachers, all graduates of specialty studies; it is a very important aspect which reflects directly into the quality of the basic educational act;
- the average regional number of pupils per primary school teacher is 17.56; the average is a positive one, in agreement with the educational rigour of the European Union, reflecting, however, a negative situation in the rural area: it is not a pre-established average, but one resulted from the existence of a small contingent of pupils. On the other hand, in the urban area, the situation is positive, reflecting a natural state, imposed by the quality coordinates of the primary education cycle.

*Table 2. The state of the primary education cycle in Mărginimea Sibiului (2008)*

No.	Locality	Number of primary schools/ sections	Number of pupils	Primary school teachers
1	<b>Cisnădie</b>	4	604	23
2	<b>Miercurea Sibiului</b>	3	222	12
3	<b>Săliște</b>	6	376	22
4	<b>Tălmăciu</b>	3	273	16
5	Boița	1	62	3
6	Cristian	2	172	12
7	Gura Râului	1	227	11
8	Jina	2	256	14
9	Orlat	1	129	9
10	Poiana Sibiului	3	231	12
11	Poplaca	1	49	2
12	Rășinari	3	301	16
13	Râu Sadului	1	58	2
14	Sadu	1	142	19
15	Tilișca	2	78	8
<b>16</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>3180</b>	<b>181</b>

*Source:* (Sibiu County School Inspectorate, 2008)

Among the major coordinates that must mark out the vitality and the functionality of the primary education cycle, the following can be remarked: *the preservation of education units in each commune and major village* (despite the decrease in the number of pupils); *the employment of specialized teaching staff only*; *the sanitization and the continuous modernization of the educational spaces* (the majority of the educational institutions in the region's urban area stand out positively, as they have appropriately-endowed modern spaces, as well as some institutions situated in rural environment - Sadu, Tilișca, Rășinari, etc); *the introduction into the curriculum at school decision of some disciplines that aim at training the pupils for the practical skills specific to the area in order to prepare them to subsequently become good professionals*; *the rapid rehabilitation of the inappropriate school buildings* (some function without the sanitary authorities' approval) etc.

#### **4. Lower secondary education cycle**

*The lower secondary education cycle* is characterized by a special dynamics, situation which is in accord with the reality existent at the national level. The dynamics consists in a trend which proposes *the merging of school units* (the majority of rural schools have already been or will be closed, the pupils attending the school situated in the commune centre or in the towns of the region) in order to make them more viable, *the employment of only qualified staff*, *the endowment with up-to-date didactic and applicative material*, *the concentration of financial means*, *the implementation of some school programmes which aim at the regional reality and specificity* (ethnographic subjects, rural tourism, agro-mountainology), etc.

The analysis of the functioning coordinates of lower secondary education in Mărginimea Sibiului emphasizes the following characteristics (table 3):- unlike primary education cycle, the number of lower secondary schools and sections (gymnasiums) is lower, in fact a normal situation due to the more accented merging in the commune centres and in urban localities;

- there is a number of 3091 pupils registered in the lower secondary education, which means an average number of 134.4 pupils for each lower secondary school institution; with this value, the analyzed territory enters the national average range;

- compared to the respective average at regional level, there are a series of differences between rural and urban localities, with a more pronounced favourability for urban environment: the average number of lower secondary school pupils in urban environment is higher than the regional average (141.1 pupils/lower secondary school), while, in rural localities, the average value of lower secondary school pupils/lower secondary school is lower than the regional average (129.3); the situation reflects an indisputable national reality,

that is the decrease in the number of pupils in rural environment, which, in case it continues, it will endanger the existence and the functionality of the lower secondary education institutions in some commune centres (Tilișca, Râu Sadului, Poplaca, Boița);

*Table 3. The state of the lower secondary education cycle in Mărginimea Sibiului (2008)*

No.	Locality	Number of public lower secondary schools/sections	Number of pupils	Teaching staff
1	Cisnădie	3	579	54
2	Miercurea Sibiului	2	218	21
3	Săliște	3	346	37
4	Tălmăciu	3	409	50
5	Boița	1	59	14
6	Cristian	1	159	16
7	Gura Râului	1	179	16
8	Jina	1	213	20
9	Orlat	1	123	25
10	Poiana Sibiului	1	217	29
11	Poplaca	1	46	14
12	Rășinari	2	269	31
13	Râu Sadului	1	53	15
14	Sadu	1	148	19
15	Tilișca	1	73	15
<b>16</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>3091</b>	<b>376</b>

*Source:* (Sibiu County School Inspectorate, 2008)

- there are several commune centres in which the number of pupils in school is enough for an efficient functioning of the respective institution such as: Jina (213 pupils); Poiana Sibiului (217 pupils); Rășinari (269 pupils), together with Sadu, Orlat, Gura Râului and Cristian. An analysis made by the Line Ministry, based on a matrix that aims at the financial part of the school infrastructure, the number of didactic staff, the number of pupils, the staff and the maintenance expenses, etc. reached the conclusion according to which a school institution cannot be viable unless it has at least 50 registered and active pupils. All the school institutions with a lower number must be closed (the process is developing at the moment at national level), the respective pupils having to access the closest functional lower secondary school (in order to support this, there is a programme for endowing rural schools with a sufficient number of

microbuses, exclusively assigned for a good development of the educational activity). Among the lower secondary schools present in the analyzed area, the ones situated in the localities of Tilișca, Râu Sadului, Poplaca, Boița are in danger of closing (though not in the immediate future). The situation is normal if the educational inefficiency due to the low number of pupils is taken into consideration.

- some pupils in the rural area situated in the immediate proximity of the urban centres or of Sibiu prefer accessing the municipal lower secondary schools for the simple reason that the educational offer is more diverse (especially the intensive courses of foreign languages), the school endowment is superior and the teaching staff is entirely qualified;

- the fact that no private lower secondary school functions in the analyzed area is surprising and according to the information supplied by the Sibiu County School Inspectorate there is no request for establishing one; we believe that this is a negative aspect if we take into consideration the European Union which promotes and supports the private educational offer.

If an analysis of the efficiency of *lower secondary education cycle* were made by taking into consideration all the components, two separate entities would have to be established: *the urban component*, of superior quality, and *the rural component*, in which a series of deficiencies are noticed. Within the first one, advantages are given by *the sufficient number of pupils, the quality of the teaching staff*, who is entirely specialized and has an adequate continuous professional training, *the endowment of schools with up-to-date didactic material, the presence of specialized laboratories* in each school, *the facile accessibility, the rich educational offer*, etc. *The rural component* of the lower secondary cycle faces several real threats related to *the decrease in the number of pupils* and, implicitly, to the inefficient functioning, *the employment of also unspecialized staff*, the more difficult access (especially during the cold season), the migration of a part of pupils towards the schools situated in towns, the precarious hygiene, the low endowment in some cases, etc. If rural education is desired to continue its existence, then, there is a simple solution at theoretical level: *to get to the qualitative level (from all aspects) of the urban one*. This is a difficult task, yet not impossible.

### ***5. Education in vocational and apprentice schools***

The *vocational* and the *apprentice* education component, generically entitled “*Schools of Crafts and Trades*”, is relatively well-represented in the analyzed territory, a fact motivated by the pastoral and ethnographic tradition of the region. The economy of Mărginimea Sibiului (with certain ethno-pastoral reverberations) implies the existence of some educational institutions that form

the necessary labour force, adequate to the regional specificity. It is obvious that the specializations existent in the above-mentioned educational institutions are centred on those economic branches, well-represented in the region: *crafts, shepherding, food industry, wood processing, agrotourism, rural and ethnographic tourism* etc.

There is a School of Crafts and Trades (*“I. Pop-Reteganul” School of Crafts and Trades*, in the locality of Orlat) and 4 vocational and apprenticeship sections, present within the school groups situated in the region’s towns: *Light Industry Group School of Cîsnădie*, *“Ilie Măcelariu” Group School of Miercurea Sibiului*, *“J. Lebel” Group School of Tâlmăciu*, *“Ioan Lupăș” Economic Group School of Săliște*. They have about 280 pupils, potential employees in the economic domains of the region. Reality allows us a positive appreciation regarding the importance put on this form of professional training. The pupils’ trade structure emphasizes a concrete adaptation to the labour market of the Sibiu County and to the Mărginimea Sibiului Region. However, the amplification of territorial distribution of specializations, according to the local specificity, is required. The existence of the *School of Crafts and Trades of Orlat*, with its main specializations in the ethnographic, handicraft and agro-pastoral fields, must be appreciated.

### **6. Upper secondary education and post-secondary education cycles**

*The upper secondary education* is relatively well represented in Mărginimea Sibiului (in the four urban localities), where there are upper secondary institutions of national tradition. The entire range of specializations is covered by the educational offer, the teaching staff’s competence being irreproachable in most of cases, aspect proved by the pupils’ results at different school competitions.

A number of five state upper secondary institutions function in Mărginimea Sibiului (three economic school groups, an industrial college, a theoretical high school), which totalize a number of 1248 pupils. In the other localities of the analyzed area, there are no institutions of this type, pupils accessing the educational offer of the above-mentioned upper secondary institutions or of those situated in the Municipality of Sibiu.

The upper secondary educational offer in Mărginimea Sibiului concentrates a diverse range of profiles, from all the educational domains, and is represented by the following institutions:

- *“G. Gundisch” Theoretical High School of Cîsnădie;*
- *Light Industry School Group of Cîsnădie;*
- *“Ilie Măcelariu” School Group of Miercurea Sibiului;*
- *“J. Lebel” Economic School Group of Tâlmăciu;*
- *“Ioan Lupăș” Economic School Group of Săliște.*

The number of upper secondary education institutions in Mărginimea Sibiului, as well as their types, take into account the territorial reality, reflecting the educational necessities of the Sibiu County and of the region lying south of Transylvania.

- for the school training aiming at gaining a solid general culture and some solid linguistic competences, there is a theoretical high school which satisfies a part of the pupils' necessities in this respect; complementary, there is a much superior offer in the Municipality of Sibiu;

- the economic development (industrial and agro-pastoral) of the region and the diversity of the economic branches have imposed the existence of 4 upper secondary institutions of profile (industrial, economic and administrative school groups);

- the employment of teaching staff respects the qualitative principle in all the upper secondary institutions in Mărginimea Sibiului (there are no teachers without a specialized training);

- among the threats the regional upper secondary education confronts with, the following can be mentioned: *the poor class attendance; the low number of contracts with entities in the economic field, likely to become potential employers; the poor endowment of the school workshops designed for the profile of specialty*, etc.

- the orientation of the upper secondary institutions in the region should aim at fortifying certain domains of specializations, highly requested on the regional labour market: *economic specializations; information technology; agro-pastoral and their related specializations (agricultural mechanics, mountainology, veterinary field, horticulture, etc.), constructions, tourism*, etc.

Besides the above-mentioned upper secondary institutions, a number of educational institutions centred on *special educational needs*, such as *school centres for hearing-impaired pupils, sports clubs, schools for special educational needs*, etc., should also be opened in the region, under the authority of Sibiu County School Inspectorate. Their special statute (if they are implemented), will consist in the existence of some *different modules of school training*, as well as in their *joint management* (Sibiu County School Inspectorate, on the one hand, and authorities in the sport and religion fields, local public authorities, etc., on the other hand).

*Post-secondary education* in Mărginimea Sibiului is closely related to the upper secondary one, being proportionally correlated with the number of inhabitants, the resources and the economic specializations of the area. Post-secondary education specializations are present within the above-mentioned school groups, being correctly oriented as far as the offer of specializations is concerned.



Analyzing the offer of specializations within these post-high school sections, the importance of Mărginimea Sibiului in the educational field can be easily inferred. Practically, the post-high school specializations represent a direct link between several domains of major social impact in the region.

### **7. Teaching staff**

The analysis of the teaching staff's territorial distribution and quality of professional training in the analyzed area emphasizes a series of major attributes, some of them positive, others that must be surpassed in the shortest time possible. In the pre-university education in Mărginimea Sibiului, there are a significant number of teachers whose professional training is doubtless, their knowledge and didactic skill being reflected in the quality of the pupils' professional training. It must be mentioned the fact that the Line Ministry, through its territorial representatives (Sibiu County School Inspectorate, Teaching Staff House, "Lucian Blaga" University of Sibiu, etc.), offers the teaching staff the possibility of a continuous professional training. The programmes for rural education can also be added. The negative aspect consists in the fact that non-specialized teaching staff is still working in educational institutions.

- at regional level, a number of about 1000 persons work in the pre-university education, which form the contingent of the teaching staff;

- the qualitative assessment of the teaching staff indicates that 74.8% of the teaching staff is qualified, the other 15.2% being unqualified, a negative aspect that must be quickly surpassed;

- the towns of the region are included into the most favoured category from this point of view as their educational institutions have no unqualified teaching staff, a fact that deserves to be highly appreciated;

- when assessing the teaching staff according to the educational training degree, it results that a great proportion of teachers hold the first degree teacher training certificate; this situation has also a dangerous reverse – it indicates the idea that a certain part of the teaching staff is not included into the young-age category;

- however, the teachers that hold the second degree teacher training certificate, the tenure certificate, as well as the beginning teachers, of substantial majority, can be included into the young teaching staff category;

- the strengths of the component that offers information in the educational act consist in *the high average ratio of the qualified teaching staff, the presence of only specialized teaching staff in certain school institutions, the desire for a continuous and higher training* (7 of the pre-university teachers in Mărginimea Sibiului have

earned their doctoral degree); *the pupils' positive results in different school competitions; the notoriety they brought to some pre-university institutions in the region*, etc.

- the weaknesses that exist at the level of this component are not so many, but they must be quickly surpassed: *the employment of qualified teaching staff in all the schools in the region; the enrollment of more representatives of the pre-university education in continuous training courses and in master and doctoral studies*, etc.

### **8. School infrastructures**

Another aspect, of great relevance to the vitality and the efficiency of the educational phenomenon, is given by the *classroom occupancy rate*, which reflects a relatively correct situation which does not induce special issues.

The analyzed phenomenon, quantified by the data inserted into the above table, emphasizes several important aspects:

- at the level of the entire analyzed area, the number of pupils corresponding to a classroom is an equilibrated one, of about 25 pupils per classroom;

- the value of this rate is given mainly by the repartition of the number of pupils/classroom in the urban area of the region; the value is a positive one, corresponding to the desiderata of the Line Ministry; moreover, it harmonizes with the directives and the reality present in the European Union;

- at the level of the rural area, in many localities, the situation is different, a fact that indicates the existence of some immediate threats, the number of pupils/classroom being lower;

- the localities in which there is a low number of pupils/classroom, therefore a low number of pupils in the respective education institutions, do not integrate into a positive trend of efficiency, the respective institutions being in danger of closing.

The analysis of the information regarding *school infrastructure* in the analyzed area emphasizes the presence of some modern, adequately endowed education institutions, situation peculiar especially for the urban centres. Generally, the buildings of the education institutions answer the requirements for developing the educational activity in optimal conditions. However, investments in school infrastructure have been minimal lately, which is a very negative aspect. Major overhaul works have been carried on in a single school, consolidation works in a single school either, while three schools have benefited by funds and modernization works. No new school building has been constructed so far. Works must be carried out for all the school buildings in need.

The situation of *sports halls* indicates that a number of 16 entities are functional. The endowment with *modern sports halls* of all the schools in each commune centre, as well as of those situated in urban environment is highly required.

### **8. Conclusions. SWOT Analysis**

A *SWOT analysis* of the educational component in Mărginimea Sibiului should include the following major vectors:

- *Strengths:*

- the existence of the main educational forms (from pre-school to post-high school cycle);
- the existence of a relatively well-educated/trained labour force;
- the gross ratio of inclusion into primary, lower secondary, as well as into upper secondary education is increasing;
- the school abandon ratio is decreasing (at least in the latest year);
- the positive pupils' assessment of the quality of education in the locality of residence;
- diverse network of specializations in educational institutions;
- the pre-university education in Mărginimea Sibiului answers the basic standards existent in the European Union;
- the existence of some relations of cooperation with educational centres in the Euro-Atlantic space.

- *Weaknesses:*

- the decrease of school inclusion ratio, especially in upper secondary education;
- the decrease in school-age population (especially in rural environment);
- partial correlation of the types of state post-high school education with the requirements of the labour market;
- the existence of the educational system abandonment phenomenon from economic reasons (the teaching staff in the pre-university education, especially in rural environment);
- the presence of non-specialized teaching staff in rural education;
- low wages for the teaching staff, the auxiliary teaching staff and the non-teaching staff.

- *Opportunities:*

- the diversification of qualifications/specializations in all educational levels;

- the employment, in the future, of only qualified staff for each school subject (primordial measure);
  - modernization and appropriate endowment of all educational institutions, deficient from this point of view;
  - the preoccupation of the authorized institutions for the polyvalence of professional training (the assurance of graduates' flexibility on the labour market);
  - the involvement of organizations/institutions into the encouragement of career information and counseling;
  - the implementation of a modern concept of pre-university management;
  - the development of multiculturalism and intercultural dialogue in educational institutions;
  - a new approach to the relation with civil society – as supplier of the contingent potential for the educational act;
  - the elaboration of some authentic and original education development strategies;
- *Threats:*
    - the sub-use of human potential (the use beneath qualification);
    - the graduates' de-professionalization;
    - the limitation of access to studies because of the need for financial support.

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# Demographic Observations of the Nordic Travellers Through the Romanian Area

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**Abstract:** Travelling journals are an important historical source as they contain vivid depictions of the visited communities at some moment of the past. Moreover, their value is often increased by the fact that the foreign travellers pertain to a different culture and thus make noteworthy observations of some aspects that would otherwise be neglected by the locals.

This is the case of the Nordic travellers' observations regarding the demographic realities of the Romanian area in the 17<sup>th</sup> -19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and Finnish voyagers' notes are thus a valuable means of completing our present knowledge regarding some demography related aspects.

It is important to mention that the travellers were subjected to different kinds of influences, like those linked to some common sense errors, to the Romantic tendency to exaggerate perils and to convey picturesque descriptions or to an imbalanced proportion between subjectivity and objectivity. Nevertheless, this article demonstrates that the Nordic voyagers were able to give accurate depictions of the Romanian principalities' population, of their ethnic, confessional and professional structure and of their institutions, in spite of the linguistic or cultural barriers.

**Keywords:** Nordic travellers, demographic notes, Romanian population, 17<sup>th</sup> -19<sup>th</sup> Centuries

## ***1. Introduction***

In spite of what we might believe, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and Finnish travellers have passed through the Romanian area quite often in the 17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries, usually visiting Wallachia and Moldavia. Their presence in the Romanian principalities was commonly related to the Russian-Turkish wars, but also to some diplomatic missions, taking place especially in the context of the Swedish-Turkish relations.

As a result of their passage through the Romanian countries, the Nordic travellers left a series of notes that contain important demographic information. Using voyage journals or other related types of travelling writings as a historical source does not represent a new approach. Moreover, in the last decades researchers have successfully used voyage journals and other travelling material to recover the past.

Foreign travellers' notes regarding their passage through the Romanian area have constituted the subject of a number of studies and anthologies, like the ones written or coordinated by Simona Vărzaru, Paul Cernovodeanu, Maria Holban or Mihaela Grancea (Vărzaru, 1984; Cernovodeanu & Bușă, 2005; Holban et al., 1973, 1983; Grancea, 2002). However, I can mention only one book dedicated exclusively to the Nordic travellers in this geographical region, the one written by George Cristea (Cristea, 2007). So, the present study covers an area mainly neglected by the Romanian historiography.

But before discussing the travellers' remarks about the Romanian people, some of the voyagers' general typology and mentalities need to be established. The analysis of the foreign travellers' notes must take into consideration the ways in which the human cognitive system functions and organizes information. Otherwise we might easily disregard and minimize the importance of the categories with which the voyagers operate, such as stereotypes, clichés, images and information assumed without critical thinking or even fears and projections of some phantasms not approved in their society. In addition, when confronted with a new context or situation, all of us, especially travellers of the 17th-19th centuries, tend to compare things with what we already know. Therefore, no matter how objective the voyager would like to be, there remains an important peril of crossing the border between comparison and a judgmental attitude.

The ways in which the travellers perceive the inhabitants and the customs of the areas through which they pass may distort the testimonies they leave for posterity. That is why the historian needs to be aware of and try to counteract such distortions.

A first set of distortions customary encountered could be called common sense errors (Ciobanu, 2002: 46-51). These involuntary misperceptions are quite frequent and refer to subjectivity, tunnel vision, overgeneralization, noticing only apparent relations between variables and factors, lack of precision, clichés and stereotypes, fake consensus effect, reference framework effect, mental simulation mechanisms, fake chance difference and related suspicion<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> For details regarding each of these errors, see the above mentioned article.

But these are not the only distortions that might limit the capacity of extracting quality information from the travellers' notes. The concepts and images with which the voyagers operate, their knowledge of the world, their environment, the socially promoted values, etc. influence their perceptions and cause particular types of reflections and descriptions. For example, certain religious values (or differences between the travellers' beliefs and the ones of the visited community) might have such an influence. Insufficient knowledge about a geographical area can also cause some perception distortions. And the influence of the historical period is crucial for the modern times, Renaissance, Enlightenment or Romanticism deeply impacting the travellers' mentality.

For instance, the geographical discoveries of the Renaissance and the travellers of the Enlightenment partially eliminated "the fabulous of ignorance"<sup>2</sup> (Papu, 1967: 14 *sqq*), as the voyagers usually had a direct contact with the realities they described (Munteanu, 1971: 190). Moreover, in this period, journeys became more frequent, this fact also contributing to the above mentioned realism.

Romanticism is characterised by a more intense European intellectual communication, achieved through books, papers, travels, letters or other types of scholarly contacts (Duțu, 1985: 160). Yet another way in which this epoch is different from the previous ones is the tendency of considering attitudes, emotions and feelings as being more important than the actual events referred to by the narrator. Therefore picturesque descriptions and vivid narration of perils encountered on the way tend to prevail in the Romantic travellers' notes (Petrovici, 1934: 125-129). Other specific elements of travelling in this period are the motive of the sudden departure, the misterious motivation of the voyage, changing one's identity or the taste for the unknown and for a provisional state (Popa, 1972: 21).

But not only the travellers of the 19th Century include their affective reactions in the voyage notes they leave for posterity. Because of the role of written material in ensuring that a certain image, the one desired by the author, will be received by the readers, each traveller has the tendency of including such "glimpses of self" besides the narrative descriptions of the places he or she visited. Therefore, the subjectivity resulted from such an approach has a twofold effect on the writing: it grants an enlarged artistic value, while diminishing the scientific importance of the text, especially from the historical point of view (travellers almost always present themselves in a favourable light).

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<sup>2</sup> „Fantasticul ignoranței”.



This generous presentation functions not only for the voyager, but also for the people to which they belong for it is almost a cliché to say that the 1800s can be confounded with the "nations Century". Compared to the Enlightenment's cosmopolitanism and universalism, Romanticism first discovered foreign countries and peoples, and then homeland, which became the reference for every travel note (Popa, 1972: 78-93). And this mechanism which partly functioned implicitly was associated with an older way of facing foreign realities, namely reading what was available about the not yet visited area. Receiving certain information from diaries, travel books, travel guides or, less often, especially for the 18<sup>th</sup> - 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries, from oral accounts of previous voyages in that particular geographical area contributed to the emergence of clichés and stereotypes. For example, travelling in the Orient is almost inevitably related to Turkish guides, poverty, bandits, natural disasters, plague or an ineffective administration.

Each and every one of these factors can be related to a certain type of adventure encountered by the voyager, especially because travelling really was a dangerous enterprise in the 17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Moreover, adventures are usually related to picturesque and less well known areas, thus contributing to the traveller's tendency to contemplate and to meditate on the human condition.

But what has all this got to do with the demographic observations of the Nordic travellers through the Romanian area? Well, all of the above mentioned factors, tendencies and mechanisms affect the way in which these voyagers perceive the Romanian people and culture. That is why it was necessary to include them in the Introduction of the present article, as a means of helping the reader become aware of the fact that travellers' notes are subjected to multiple determinations. Common sense errors, the proportion between subjectivity and objectivity, the voyage's purpose and motivation, travellers' characteristics or the historical period to which they belong deeply influence the content and the value of the voyage journals. The subsequent presentation of the demographic data extracted from Nordic testimonies about Romanian realities of the 17<sup>th</sup> - 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries will further demonstrate the ways in which these observations relate to the actual sources.

## ***2. Travellers' observations***

### **2.1. Observations regarding the number of inhabitants**

Unfortunately, travelling notes containing exact data on the number of inhabitants of the Romanian countries are somewhat infrequent (for details about the Nordic voyagers who have been taken into consideration for this

article see the Appendix). We can mention the commentaries of the Danish diplomat Clausewitz, who visited Grigore Ghica-Vodă's court on his way to Constantinople in 1824 (Karadja, 1928, p. 361-364; Cernovodeanu & Bușă, 2005: 95-97). He estimated that Wallachia's population was comprised of about 1,200,000 inhabitants (including 100,000 Gipsies).

Another testimony regarding the number of inhabitants at the beginning of the 19th Century is provided by the Swedish doctor Johan Hedenborg, who considered that Wallachia had approximately 1,000,000 residents and Moldavia about 500,000 inhabitants (Caragea, 1920: 49-52).

Most of the times, the Nordic travellers only grant indirect information which allows us to draw some inferences regarding the population of the Romanian countries. Remarks on the number of inhabitants in certain settlements or observations about the available man power in case of war pertain to this category of data. Such estimates are made by the already mentioned doctor, who considers that Bucharest had approximately 100,000 inhabitants in the fourth decade of the 19th Century (Caragea, 1920: 51). Clausewitz and the Finnish officer Frederik Nyberg (Cernovodeanu & Bușă, 2005: 359-361) are less optimistic, both of them judging that the city cannot have more than 80,000 residents, although the Danish ambassador admits that the community used to consist of 90,000 people. This same emissary considers that in 1824 in Bucharest lived about 6,000 Jews and 4,000 Germans (Karadja, 1928, p. 363). Another Finnish traveller, Berndt Johan Rosenström, who passes through the capital of Wallachia after the plague of 1828, claims that the town has only "50,000 inhabitants pertaining to all possible races" (Cernovodeanu / Bușă, 2005: 383).

Nordic voyagers also estimated the population of Jassy. Gustav Adolf Ramsay states that the city had approximately 40,000 inhabitants at 1829-1830, thus being "a pretty big town" (Cernovodeanu & Bușă, 2005, p. 388). About the same city, the Swedish Erasm Henric Schneider de Weismantel alleges in 1713 that "it is untidy, with its fifty holly places and 6.000 houses, with just two-three real streets in the centre" (Iorga, 1930: 1-11).

Iohann Mayer, queen's Cristina of Sweden ambassador to the Tartar Khan in 1651, describes Olănești as "a big and populated village", but does not offer any other details (Holban et al., 1973: 446). Mayer is more precise when discussing about the village Floci, where he records around 15,000 people (Holban et al., 1973: 449), this exact number of inhabitants being also noted by Clausewitz, in relation to the city of Sibiu in 1824 (Karadja, 1928: 361). We also have details about Bazargic, provided by Gustav Adolf Ramsay for the year 1830 and the effects of the war on the city were highly visible at that time:

”from 1,500 houses there are only 400 left, neither inhabitants, nor troupes, just one guard composed of 22 people” (Cernovodeanu & Bușă, 2005: 397).

Regarding the military force, the Swedish diplomat Cloes (Clas Brorsson) Rålamb notes that in 1657 the ruler of Wallachia, Constantin Șerban, had ”a garrison of 2,000 at «Pise» (Piua Pietrei?), 2,600 people at Brăila and 4,000 people at Odivoia for his protection” (Karadja, 1929: 346-348). Data about a part of the army is also available for Moldavia, thanks to the above mentioned Swedish traveller Weismantel. In 1713 he observes that 150 mounted soldiers compose the guard, and, besides them, another 6,000 pedestrian mercenaries and the ”horsemen of the suite” are also available<sup>3</sup>. The same author offers yet another piece of information about the Moldavian man power, which included „20,000 paid soldiers, 40,000 [members of the] militia, 40,000 archers”. Obviously, the numbers are inflated, either because the traveller overrated the troops or because he was misinformed. Moreover, when he approached Târgoviște the voyager was welcomed by ”a carriage with six marvellous Turkish horses, accompanied by 200 mounted noblemen, all proudly dressed and about 30 horsemen companies, somewhat resembling an army” (Iorga, 1930: 1-11 *passim*).

Iohann Mayer also offers some useful information about the Moldavian troops when he mentions that ”the head of Cernăuți and the village chief together with two flags of mounted soldiers, which numbered three hundred people, accompanied me to the Polish border” (Holban et al., 1973: 454)<sup>4</sup>.

It is important to mention that most of the times the foreign travellers (here including the ones coming from the Nordic countries) erroneously estimated the number of inhabitants of the visited settlements. This was due partly to the fact that they described these communities while they were devastated and abandoned as a direct result of the near by fights or Tartar raids. So it is not surprising that many of the voyagers note that ”the inhabitants can only be found in the mountains”, that ”one does not encounter a village for days. However, every two miles there is a small pub” (Karadja, 1929: 347), that ”there are 30,000 devastated villages” in 1713 in Moldavia (Iorga, 1930: 10), that ”the people have fled into the woods because they were afraid of the Tartars and live there”, that travelling to ”a number of Romanian villages [...] I have not found neither people nor cattle” (Holban et al., 1973: 448) or that Moldavia was ”an uninhabited country” in 1711 (Holban et al.,

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<sup>3</sup> The Romanian equivalents of the here mentioned types of troops are: „călări”, „seimeni” and „călărașii suitei”.

<sup>4</sup> The traveller refers to „starostele de Cernăuți”, „domnul vornic” and „două steaguri de călărași”.

1983: 443-447). All these comments are certainly exaggerated, but they convey the fact that the Romanian area was greatly affected by military conflicts in the 17<sup>th</sup> - 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries. And this was extremely visible for travellers not used to see empty and devastated villages.

## 2.2. Observations regarding the structure of the Romanian population

### 2.2.1. *Ethnic structure*

The Nordic travellers' observations are very useful also in providing information regarding the ethnic groups they encountered. For example, Iohann Mayer interacted with Greeks, Tartars, Cossacks, Turks, Polish people, "young Circassian girls" and Moldavian peasants when he passed through Cetatea Albă in May 1651. Rålamb notices the presence of "a few companies of German infantry" stationed at Târgoviște in 1657, and the Swedish pastor and professor Michael Eneman speaks about the presence of Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Tartars at Bender in 1709 (Holban et al., 1973: 445, 611; 1983: 287).

Passing through Moldavia, Weismantel states that at Răchiteni, Săbăoani and "Steckany" he found only Hungarians "who have been here for several hundred years". The traveller also mentions the presence of some Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Jews and Gipsies in Moldavia (Iorga, 1930: 5-11) and the Swedish secretary Hyltéén notes that the chief of Brașov's post office in 1714 was "a Greek of noble descent"<sup>5</sup> (Holban et al., 1983, p. 611).

Hedenborg was able to distinguish between Vlachs, Gipsies and Greeks at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century (Caragea, 1920: 49-52), and Clausewitz also came across Gipsies, Greeks, Jews and Germans in 1824 (Karadja, 1928: 361-364).

The officer Nyberg informs us that in 1828 „Moldavia is inhabited by Moldavians, who are divided into peasants and boyards; the latter are usually Greeks settled here. Besides the small Moldavian «despots» there are also the big Turkish «despots»". He also tells us that on Silistra's streets Russians, Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, Turks, Romanians, Greeks and Jews meet each other (Cernovodeanu & Bușă, 2005: 360).

Rosenström also notices that in Bucharest "an enormous crowd, picturing different nationalities, filled in the houses and the streets" and that in the city there are "50,000 inhabitants pertaining to all possible races" (Cernovodeanu & Bușă, 2005: 383). Similarly, in his travelling journal, Ramsay notes that in 1829 in Moldavia there were Jews, Greeks, Turks, Russians and Gipsies, but he also draws the attention to the fact that "you are not allowed to

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<sup>5</sup> Un „grec de neam”.

call the Moldavian a «Moldavian», but you must call him «Romanian brother»”<sup>6</sup> (Cernovodeanu & Bușă, 2005: 387-399).

It is important to point out that the observations regarding the multitude of nationalities living in the Romanian area made by the Nordic travellers for the 17<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries remain true today, although the differences between the members of these ethnic groups are not so striking as they were a few centuries ago.

### 2.2.2. *Confessional structure*

The information about the ethnical structure of the population is also relevant from a religious point of view, although the travellers rarely explicitly mention this kind of data. For instance, Rosentröm notes that in Bucharest “the inhabitants are all Orthodox” and that in his way to Silistra he has not encountered “neither enemies nor Christian inhabitants” (Cernovodeanu & Bușă, 2005: 381, 384). Ramsay notices the large number of Orthodox churches in Jassy and the fact that the church pertaining to the same confession he saw in the village Mănăstirești is very beautiful (Cernovodeanu & Bușă, 2005: 389, 399). He also remarks the large number of Jews living in the Romanian area in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

But Weismantel had also made some observations regarding the Romanians’ religion more than one Century before Rosenström and Ramsay (in 1713, compared to 1828 and 1829, respectively), noticing that they were “unfaithful” and that for them “religion is only for the sake of the appearance”, because people cross themselves at ikons and go to church only when they consider they have sinned. To further sustain his statement, the traveller cites the proverb “Polish bridge, German fasting and Moldavian divine service, only a stupidity”<sup>7</sup>. Moreover, Weismantel mentions that in the case of Armenians the eucharist is given even to 2-3 olds (Iorga, 1930: 1-11 *passim*).

Religion seems to have had an even greater importance in 1651, when Mayer notes that Leonteva was “a big Turkish village, but in that village lived only Greek Christians”<sup>8</sup>, but especially when he conveys what his landlord told him in Moldavian when he found out that the mission of the Swedish diplomat was to negotiate with the Tartar Khan: “Oh, Christians, what have you done, why have you humiliated yourselves in such a manner in front of a pagan? And

<sup>6</sup> „Frate român”.

<sup>7</sup> In Romanian, the saying goes as follows: „Pod leșesc, post nemțesc și slujbă moldovenească la biserică, numai o prostie”.

<sup>8</sup> The phrase „creștini greci” refers to the members of the Eastern Christian Church, i.e. Orthodox Church.

by this you make him so proud, and so arrogant” (Holban et alii., 1973: 446-447).

Michael Eneman also makes an indirect remark on the confession shared by most of the inhabitants in the Romanian area, when he notes in 1709 that Babadag ”is a flourishing land because of the Christian blood that bathed this land in 1444”. And he goes on to mention king Vladislav of Hungary, which confirms his mistake in confounding this region with Varna (Holban et al., 1973: 290).

Probably because he was a pastor, but also because he had repeatedly visited the Romanian area (Holban et alii., 1973: 540-606)<sup>9</sup>, thus having time for detailed observations, Conrad Jacob Hildebrandt notes many of the religious practices specific for the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century (1656-1658). He proves to be quite intolerant with regard to the religious sects, which he nevertheless describes with interest. This is the case of the Anabaptists he encounters in Hungary and Transylvania, but also of the Arian sect. When he reaches Oradea, the traveller cannot help being preoccupied by the inhabitants’ religious fate, his main complaint being that the episcopal church which was built inside the medieval fortress had been demolished and the old churches and monasteries had been destroyed in wars. Therefore, townspeople are obliged to use a large covered square as a church.

Once again, the traveller’s occupation comes to light through the observations he makes. The pastor thus notes that some of the Hungarian notabilities are Catholic and have their own church in Alba Iulia. However, part of them have adhered to a series of heresies to such an extent that in Transylvania one could speak about a true religious mosaic: ”such a large religious mixture that nearly every day you saw how foreign divinities were being honoured”<sup>10</sup>.

In Cluj the situation seems even more catastrophic, as the Arians have a printing house, a church and a gymnasium, nearly half the town’s inhabitants pertaining to this heresy. Moreover, their preacher converts more and more Lutheran journeymen, with the use of the Hungarian language. Calvinists are also numerous and have their own church and their gymnasium. Thus Lutherans are not particularly influent in this town. Nevertheless, the Swedish pastor appreciates the high level of the religious tolerance he encountered here,

<sup>9</sup> Hildebrandt accompanied a Swedish diplomat whose mission was to obtain the best possible terms regarding the alliances with the Transylvanian prince, with the Cossack khan and with the sultan. Therefore he passed through Transylvania on four different occasions and two times each through Moldavia, Wallachia and Dobrudja.

<sup>10</sup> „Un așa mare amestec de religii, încât aproape în fiecare zi vedeai cum se cinstesc divinități străine”.

every man being able to choose the confession he wishes to practice. Alba Iulia depicts the same tolerance, as Calvinists, Catholics, members of the Orthodox church (called Greeks by the traveller) and Jews each had their own churches in this town. But he also mentions that Jesuits were excluded from this unwritten indulgence rule.

For Hildebrandt theological studies in Transylvania can be classified as being either Calvinistic and thus Hungarian or Lutheranian and attended by Transylvanian Saxons. Of course, the pastor considers the Lutheranian doctrine as "the true one".

Braşov is praised especially because it helps this "true" dogma flourish, like the other towns inhabited mainly by Transylvanian Saxons. And the pieces of information provided about the Szecklers soon turn into a "religious map" as the pastor notes the areas where he encountered Protestants or Calvinists, Catholics or Arians. In Moldavia and Wallachia he found almost only Orthodox Christians, who refuse to adopt the Gregorian calendar.

### *2.2.3. The urban or rural origin of the inhabitants*

There are almost no clear references to the type of communities people live in. The Nordic travellers mention many names, but they seldom note if they are speaking about a village or about a town. Moreover, even if they record their passage through a village or a town, they do not make other observations regarding that community. But going through the travellers' notes we can also notice a few exceptions. For instance, the Finnish officer Gustav Adolf Ramsay, who visited the Romanian area during the 1829-1830 war, writes about Babadag that it is a small town, "very irregular, with narrow streets and houses built very close to the others, but with a pretty lively commercial life" (Cernovodeanu & Buşă, 2005: 387-399). He also mentions that "the fortress of Constanţa" is "situated on an extremely steep shore of the Black Sea. The view is delightful, you look at the sea which is wide as an ocean. You see no islands here, nor cliffs, just the sky and the water. The shore, as I have already said, is very sloping and 20-30 feet high, being beautiful, [and made] of a type of earth as hard as stone. The fortress, although small, seems to be well built. I have seen a lot of platforms for land batteries, made of stone, for defending the entrance in the port. Frankly speaking, it is not a port, but a harbour."

Ramsay also depicts Galaţi, as "before my departure, I took a walk through Galaţi, for realizing the town's situation. For the first time I could look at the proud Danube, which flows near the town, in the most Southern corner of Moldavia. Galaţi is not a small town and I have seen many nicely built houses, a lot of animation on the streets and an extremely lively

commerce... Around the town there is a plateau, and the banks of the Danube [are] pretty high here.”

The Swedish pastor Michael Eneman visited Bender (Tighina) in 1709, which he describes as a ”Turkish margin town and fortress in the Tartar land, on the river Nistru, to the East of Moldavia. It is a town with a pretty good position, with a quite important fortress.” (Holban et alli., 1973: 286-290). It is actually ”a small Turkish town, situated on the Nistru and surrounded by walls and double trenches, except a small area in the North-East, where the landscape<sup>11</sup> and the river constitute its best defense.” Eneman also gives some information about Căușani, ”a small town full of Jews, but under Turkish domination”.

Iohann Mayer, the Swedish emissary who passed through the Romanian area in 1651, notes that Botoșani is a ”small devastated town” (Holban et alli., 1973: 439-454) and that Olănești is ”a big and [densely] populated village”. He gives more details about Cotnari, a small town in which you can find ”only wooden houses, but part of them are, in their own way, spacious and quite beautifully made; it is situated amongst vineyards which spread around on a half a mile distance. The vine was then very beautiful, of a man’s height and even taller. The occupation and life of the inhabitants of Cotnari rely only upon wine.”

Another small town, Moghilev, is described by the Danish admiral Just Juel at 1711 (Holban et alli., 1983: 443-447). The town ”is situated on this side of the river Nistru right on the bank of the river, it is completely uninhabited, but there are still various houses. It was once a big and strong town with double walls<sup>12</sup> all around, more than this, it is surrounded by a big water moat, so that it cannot be attacked, but now everything is deserted and ruined, only the foundation can still be seen beyond the old walls and towers. This [town] was built by a WALLACHIAN<sup>13</sup> ruler Moghila.”

A last example of details regarding some of the communities the Nordic travellers visited is given by the Finnish lieutenant Berndt Johan Rosenström, who, at 1828, records that in Slobozia ”the townspeople received me with an unusual cordiality. Many spoke Russian” (Cernovodeanu & Bușă, 2005: 380-386). But the war’s consequences are also visible when he returns here, as the town ”was a pile of ruins”.

Another issue to consider when discussing the Nordic travellers’ notes is the inaccuracy with which they record demographic data. Also, the travellers

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<sup>11</sup> „Natura locului”.

<sup>12</sup> „Valuri duble”.

<sup>13</sup> Author’s emphasis.



seem to neglect the professions of the persons they encounter, even if they sometimes specify that they have interacted with "peasants" or with "boyards". Weismantel offers some details when he makes observations regarding the rural communities and the boyards (Iorga, 1930: 9-11). He notes that the Romanian language "is pleasant to hear for the one that understands Latin and Italian, and it is easy to learn", but in the villages "it is not so graceful and pure anymore". Big and small boyards, "mixed with Greeks", are "false and cunning", "the biggest liars and deceitful", "changeable and inconstant", unreliable, envious and wasteful at banquets.

Peasants' houses are made from wood and clay. The roads are generally good and strewn with fountains. Moreover, "the peasant is a gentleman, he can place his plough with five-six horses wherever he wants and with a single ploughing he receives food for twelve to fifteen mouths; he does not care about any other things, out of laziness. [...] The peasants do not have any furniture[,] nor tools [and] they sleep on top of the oven, on boards, on straw mattresses". Religion is practiced only for the sake of the appearance and it is expressed mainly by crossing oneself in front of an ikon and although the fasts are strictly kept, the voyager encountered one peasant who told him that "he does not go to church, not having any sins, as he has not stolen [anything] and he has not killed anyone".

Peasant women are beautiful to the degree that "not a few of the peasant girls can, by looks and beauty, from head to toes, shame the most select noble ones" (Iorga, 1930: 11)<sup>14</sup>. And it seems that amongst the Romanian peasant's qualities we can also include longevity: Weismantel heard of a peasant who was 130 years old, with a son who was 100 years old and an octogenarian nephew.

#### 2.2.4. *Professional structure*

The Nordic travellers have not made clear observations regarding the professional structure of the population inhabiting the Romanian principalities. And even if the voyagers mention some occupations, the descriptions are biased by their own professions. Thus many of the specified "jobs" are related to the military service, as quite a few of the voyagers were officers in the armies involved in the Russian-Turkish wars of the 17<sup>th</sup> -19<sup>th</sup> Centuries.

In this way, travellers speak about Romanian marshals, generals, higher and lower rank officers (sometimes noting the Turkish equivalent words, like "iuzbaşă" for lieutenant, "mare serdar" for the commander-in-chief or "polcovnic" for colonel), soldiers, horsemen ("călărași"), pedestrian

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<sup>14</sup> „Nu puține fete țărance sunt în stare, ca aspect și frumusețe, din cap până în picioare, să rușineze pe cele mai alese din nobilime”.

mercenaries ("seimeni"), (Albanian) hiremen ("arnăuți") and janissaries ("ieniceri"). But the voyagers also mention other types of professions, such as minister for internal affairs ("vornic"), secretaries of the prince, high officials ("dregători"), market (place) commanders ("comandanți ai pieței"), chiefs of the country's post offices, merchants, innkeepers, translators, coachmen ("vizitii" or "surugii"), carters ("cărăuși"), fiddlers ("lăutari"), bathhouse attendants ("băiași"), waiters, shepherds ("ciobani" or "păstori"), boatmen ("luntrași") or blacksmiths<sup>15</sup>.

Unfortunately, almost all of these occupations are usually just noted without further details. One of the reasons for such a practice might be the Nordic travellers' and their potential readership's familiarity with the tasks related to each of the above mentioned professions. Another possible explanation is the voyagers' interest in other aspects encountered in the Romanian area and often enough people themselves proved to be more interesting than the "jobs" they had.

But an important observation regarding the professional structure is that we almost might establish a connection between some of the professions noted and the ethnicity of their holders. Thus, most of the times, voyagers encounter Gipsi coachmen and fiddlers, Greek hiremen and chiefs of the post offices, Turk bathhouse attendants and Greek or Armenian merchants.

### 2.3. Institutions described by the Nordic travellers

From a demographic point of view, the relevant institutions (according to their importance) about which we can find some details in the voyagers notes are the state, the army and the church. The state is usually distant and does not greatly affect the travellers (with the exception of diplomats, who need to get in touch with the local officials and to be aware of the customary laws). As for the army, the way the Nordic travellers describe its structure and way of functioning was partly covered by previously noting the names of some military ranks. For the 17<sup>th</sup> -19<sup>th</sup> Centuries, especially the church is involved in all that concerns births and baptisms, marriages, deaths and burials.

Nordic voyagers notice some aspects of the above mentioned institutions, especially the rituals involved by a part of the religious ceremonies or by the prince's investiture, which took place at Constantinople. But the travellers record details that are not particularly explicit relative to their

<sup>15</sup> These occupations were mentioned by the Finnish lieutenant Berndt Johan Rosenström, by officer Gustav Adolf Ramsay, by Rålamb, by Weismantel, by the Swedish emissary Iohann Mayer, by Clausewitz, by secretary Hyltéén and by the Danish writer Hans Christian Andersen (for his notes, see *Bazarul unui poet. Memorii de călătorie în Grecia, Orient și Țările Dunărene*, București, Editura Univers, 2000).

demographic impact. We might cite a single exception, namely the notes of the Swedish traveller who uses "Topchi" as a pseudonym and who claims that in Bucharest's high society divorces were extremely frequent at 1888 (Stino, 1943: 8-12).

### ***3. Other demography related observations***

There are other types of relevant information that appear in the Nordic travellers' notes and that might be used to complete the image of the Romanian area's demographic situation in the 17<sup>th</sup> -19<sup>th</sup> Centuries. This is true especially if we consider the impact of the coercitive and elective factors on the demographic growth. But unfortunately, these remarks are usually accidental and extremely short, thus burdening the process of extracting some valid demographic conclusions.

Examples of such observations relate to the gender and age structure of the population, the natural resources (including the wild animals that might be hunted for food), the average revenue, the food and beverages usually consumed, housing conditions (some of the travellers are terrified by the thought of spending the night in an earth house), some of the local customs (for instance, sheltering the animals indoors during the winter, as the peasants' "roommates"; this habit illustrates low revenues, but also how important animals are for the inhabitants; unfortunately the custom also increases the chances of contracting some diseases), the illnesses that affected the locals (here plague outruns by far the other diseases mentioned by the Nordic voyagers), the natural catastrophes that have fallen upon this area (for instance, locust invasions), other ecological detrimental factors, wars, uprisings and Tartar invasions, together with their effects, beliefs, religious holidays and the festivities they involve or even the fact that a segment of the Christian women population was bought by Turks.

Each and every one of the above mentioned factors impacts the demographic evolution and affects the passage to the New Demographic Regime which characterises contemporary times. Describing these factors and their impact in detail would surpass the purposes of the present article and therefore I limit myself to just mentioning them.

### ***4. Concluding remarks***

As the reader has already seen throughout this article, the Nordic travellers' observations capture a series of elements important for the Romanian area from a demographic point of view, especially in what concerns the number of inhabitants (although sometimes it may only be estimated and not stated as a

certainty) and the ethnic and confessional structure of the population. The voyagers' remarks regarding the differences amongst the urban and rural origin of the inhabitants are less conclusive and most of the times the travellers only mention some occupations, without giving enough details as to draw some clear conclusions regarding the professional structure of the population. The other demography related observations are also scarce and inconclusive. Nevertheless, Nordic travellers' notes are an important source for determining the Romanian population's evolutive path in the 17<sup>th</sup> - 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries, as I will further explain.

There is no doubt that the way in which two communities perceive each other is affected by a series of factors that have extremely diverse influences. Therefore, for extracting some valid conclusions about the relations amongst identity and alterity, we need to be fully aware of the existence of such distortions and to try to limit their impact as much as possible.

The fields of collective mentalities and imagology delineate the factors that impact the interactions between members of different groups, especially by pointing out the characteristics of relating to a generic Other. Stereotypes, clichés, thickening particular traits and overlooking others or overgeneralizations from individual to community represent such mental mechanisms that limit individuals' capacity of appreciating and valuating alterity's most relevant features accurately.

As a way of getting to know the Other, travelling writings concomitently aid and hinder the historian's attempt to recreate a realistic image of a certain community at a particular moment in the past. The reason for this apparent contradiction is the fact that, besides all of the already mentioned issues, voyage journals are subjected to other types of variables that can cause different errors, variables that are related both to the general functioning of the human cognitive system and to the travellers' peculiarities.

Therefore, it is not necessary to point out the truism that postulates that the way in which we perceive particular people or events is greatly determined by our personality traits, and by our culture and education for realizing that the images the voyagers depict are never objective.

Still, filtering life experiences through subjectivity does not have only negative effects on the travellers' writings. Sometimes it is just this importance given to impressions combined with a certain shading of the real events that offers some otherwise inaccessible qualities to the elaborated material. Artistic creativity certainly confirms this statement, but the voyagers' capacity of perceiving deeper relations amongst objects or events and coherently

presenting them is also affected by the continuous inner battle between presenting feelings and emotions or just raw, objective facts.

Nevertheless, from the researchers' point of view, subjectivity can sometimes have devastating results, as it usually generates errors and voluntary or unintentional distortions that almost prevent them from retracing the historical "truth". Mentalities of travellers from particular periods can be very harmful to this daring approach, the best example being Romanticism's tendency of pointing out the presence of picturesque landscapes and of carefully choosing every single written word as to ensure the expression and generation of certain emotions.

The desire of presenting something new, unknown until the time of their voyage is another of the travellers' constant temptations. And it may also have both positive and negative effects on the quality of the provided data, depending on the voyagers' motivation for constructing a particular image for themselves. Thus, describing the unknown can stimulate discoveries and innovation, but it may also lead to exaggerations and even to fabrication of events (which are then presented as facts).

Being an introvert or an extrovert, having a particular profession or travelling purpose are other elements that must be considered by a historian trying to get the most out of some voyage journals, as they determine the type of notes made, even if the voyagers have the most honourable intentions regarding objectivity.

The relations between identity and alterity prove to be complex, elaborated and with major implications on the contacts between travellers and the locals, especially if direct communication is hindered by linguistic or cultural barriers.

Every one of these characteristics of the interaction with a different community can be encountered in the ways the Romanians were perceived by the Nordic travellers. Besides, the number of contacts between these two cultural distinct areas was small, especially until the 19<sup>th</sup> Century (Lozovan, 1965: 291-301). Amongst the factors that have caused this situation we might mention the geographical distance, the political situation of the continent and the lack of important mutual international interests, especially after Sweden failed to remain one of the great European powers.

Interesting however is the fact that, in spite of the consistent differences and of the low frequency of the interactions, the relations between the Nordic travellers and the locals are usually amicable and quite good. And this is one of the aspects that helped the voyagers make such coherent and accurate demographic observations on the Romanian area. Besides, there is no reason

for considering that the travellers were tempted to record untruthful data, either because they were mistreated or because they were highly impressed by the inhabitants' attitude towards them. Therefore, the Nordic voyagers' notes seem to be fairly balanced and objective, which contributes to an accurate depiction of the Romanian people.

This being said, I hope that the present article was, at the same time, both a useful reading, considering the quality and the quantity of information provided, but also a pleasant one, suitable for someone who just wants to enrich their general knowledge, without necessarily pursuing an academic purpose.

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## Appendix: Nordic travellers in the Romanian area (17<sup>th</sup> - 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries)

**Table 1: Swedish travellers**

Voyager's name	Period of time	Route	Title of the travelling notes
Iohann Mayer	1651	He travelled through Moldavia (from Cetatea Albă towards Cernăuți) and passed through Iași, Cotnari, Botoșani and Dorohoi	<i>This is what happened during my journey to Bagceserai and while I stayed there (Acestea sunt cele întâmplare și petrecute în cursul călătoriei mele la Bagceserai și a timpului cât am stat acolo)</i>
Conrad Iacob Hildebrandt	1656-1658	He entered the Romanian area through the Northern part of Transylvania, went to Cluj-Napoca, then crossed Moldavia by using two different routes, from Oituz to Soroca and from Botoșani to Suceava, Baia and Piatra; a year later he traversed Wallachia și Dobrudja	<i>The threefold Swedish deputation to Transylvania, Ukraine and Constantinople. The journey through Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia (Întreita solie suedeză în Transilvania, Ucraina și la Constantinopol. Călătoria prin Transilvania, Moldova și Țara Românească)</i>



Cloes Rålamb (Clas Brorsson Ralamb)	1657	He passed through Transylvania (from Oradea to Braşov) and through Wallachia on his way to Constantinople and described in detail the way he was welcomed by the ruler in Târgovişte	<i>A short description of what happened during my journey to Constantinople, of the way the negotiations were carried in His Majesty's behalf, and also of the situation in which the Turkish state was in that period, for informing the almighty king and master Gustav (Xth) king of Sweeden, of the country of Goths and Venzî, etc., by his most faithful and humble servant, extraordinary ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, Clas Ralamb, year 1656 (Scurtă descriere despre cele petrecute în cursul călătoriei la Constantinopol, felul cum au fost conduse negocierile Majestății Sale, precum și starea în care se găsea Statul turcesc într-aceea vreme, pentru informarea prea-puternicului rege și stăpân Gustav (X) rege al Suediei, al țării Goților și Venzîlor etc., de către prea-credinciosul și plecatul său servitor ambasador extraordinar la Poarta Otomană, Clas Ralamb, anul 1656</i>
Michael Eneman	1709	The pastor travelled through Bessarabia from Bender (Tighina) to Chilia, then through Dobrudja (Tulcea, Babadag, Carasu, Cobadin) towards Bulgaria	<i>Michael Eneman's journey from Bender to Constantinople in 1709 / The journey to Turkey from Bender to Constantinople (Călătoria lui Michael Eneman de la Bender la Constantinopol în 1709 / Călătoria în Turcia de la Bender la Constantinopol)</i>
Cornelius Loos / Swedish anonymous author	1710	He crossed Bessarabia and Dobrudja on his way to Bulgaria, from Tighina (Bender) through Tulcea and Carasu to Cozlugea	A short presentation of the journey's context and the voyager's notes can be found in Constantin I. Karadja, <i>A travelling journal through Bessarabia and Dobrudja in 1710 (Un</i>

			<i>jurnal de călătorie prin Basarabia și Dobrogea în 1710)</i>
Erasm(us) Heinrich Schneider von Weis(s)mantel(l)	1710- 1714	He passed through Maramureș (Muncaciu, Hust, Peri, Apșa) and Moldavia (Suceava, Botoșani, Pățești, Jassy, Târgul Frumos, Răchiteni, Săbăoani, Bacău, Focșani, Grozești); after a period in which he travelled through Bessarabia and Bucovina, Weismantel also visited Brașov	<i>E. H. Weismantel's journal 1709-1714 (Jurnalul lui E. H. Weismantel 1709-1714)</i>
Swedish secretary Hyltén	1713	His letters were sent from Jassy, Bucharest, Târgoviște and from an unmentioned Transylvanian town	Correspondence
Johan Hedenborg	Before 1839	The author gives general information about Wallachia and Moldavia, but we do not know if he visited them or his route, if such a journey took place	<i>The morals, customs and costumes of the Turkish people (Moravurile, obiceiurile și costumele poporului turcesc); Some fragments were published by C. J. Caragea, A Swede's opinions about our country at the beginning of the 19th Century (Părerile unui suedez despre țara noastră, pe la începutul secolului al XIX-lea)</i>
„Topchi”	Before 1888	Bucharest	<i>Through the Orient and the Occident (Prin Orient și Occident); a summary of the notes was published by Aurel George Stino, A Swedish traveller about those times' Romania (Un călător suedez despre România vremurilor)</i>

**Table 2: Danish travellers**

Voyager's name	Period of time	Route	Title of the travelling notes
Just Juel	1711	He describes the Russian campaign at Prut during the Great Northern War; there is no data about a certain route he followed, if he passed through Moldavia	<i>A journey to Russia during the reign of tsar Peter (O călătorie în Rusia în timpul țarului Petru)</i>
Clausewitz	1824	On his way to Constantinople, Clausewitz passed through Sibiu, Căineni, Turnu-Roșu, Sărătluț, Curtea de Argeș, Mănicești, Pitești, Cărcinov, Bucharest and Obilești	His travelling journal was summarized by Constantin I. Karadja, <i>A Danish diplomat at Grigore Ghica's court (1824) (Un diplomat danez la curtea lui Grigore Ghica-Vodă (1824))</i>
Hans Christian Andersen	1840-1841	He voyaged on the Black Sea, he crossed Dobrudja, he took a walk in Constanța and in Cernavodă, then he got back on board for travelling further on the Danube; he saw Giurgiu and Zimnicea from the deck and waited on shore until the steam vessel sailed across Porțile de Fier, he was quarantined in Orșova, then he moved on, he ate at Țișovița, he spoke in German with a Wallachian child at Drencova and afterwards continued his journey	<i>A poet's bazaar. Travelling memoirs in Greece, the Orient and the Danubian countries (Bazarul unui poet. Memorii de călătorie în Grecia, Orient și Țările Dunărene)</i>

**Table 3: The Norwegian traveller**

<b>Voyager's name</b>	<b>Period of time</b>	<b>Route</b>	<b>Title of the travelling notes</b>
Gunar Sölfest Flood	1876-1878	In his first journey (the winter of 1876-1877), he passed through Roman, Galați, Bucharest, Brăila, Buzău, Giurgiu; in his second visit, which took place in 1877-1878, Flood passed through Bucharest, Frătești, Șistov, Zimnicea and then through Bulgaria towards Plevna; he returned on the Romanian territory by crossing the Danube at Turnu Măgurele and went to Golești, Bucharest, Craiova, Galicea Mare, Ciuperceni, Calafat and once again to Bucharest	His journal notes were published by general R. Rosetti, <i>The notes of a Norwegian before and during the independence war 1876-1878 (Notele unui ofițer norvegian înaintea și în timpul războiului de neatărmare 1876-1878)</i>

**Table 4: Finnish travellers**

<b>Voyager's name</b>	<b>Period of time</b>	<b>Route</b>	<b>Title of the travelling notes</b>
Fred(e)rik Nyberg	1827-1830	From his letters we find out that he visited the following towns in Bessarabia, Moldavia and Wallachia: Chișinău, Hotin, Atachi, Brăila, Bucharest, Bârlad, Focșani, Neamț and Jassy In his journal he mentions Bucharest, Brăila, Focșani, Neamț and Jassy	Correspondence; <i>My travelling journal through Wallachia and Moldavia (Jurnalul călătoriei prin Țara Românească și Moldova)</i>

<p>Berndt Johan Rosenström</p>	<p>1828- 1831</p>	<p>He passed through Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia and Dobrudja: Vadul lui Isac, Măxineni, Hagi Căpitan, Bucharest, Brăila, Slobozia, Fălciu, Leova, Chişinău, Olşana, Dubăşari, Sculeni, Vaslui, Bârlad, Tecuci, Focşani, Râmnic, Buzău, Ploieşti, Târgovişte, Hârşova, Babadag, Mangalia, Constanţa, Cernavodă, Adjud, Bacău, Roman, Rogna, Jassy, Găeşti, Țigăneşti (in Bulgaria he saw Silistra, Turtucaia, Eskizmill and Cavarna)</p>	<p><i>Aspects of the 1828 war (Aspecte din Războiul din 1828)</i></p>
<p>Gustav Adolf Ramsay</p>	<p>1829- 1830</p>	<p>From Bessarabia towards Moldavia and Dobrudja (Sculeni, Jassy, Bordei, Scânteia, Unceşti, Vaslui, Pereschiv, Bereasa, Tecuci, Cerna, Pechia, Ceşmele, Galaţi, Brăila, Măcin, Greci, Arbunar, Artikioi, Babadag, Beidaut, Taşaul, Caramurat, Constanţa, Tuzla, Carlichioi, Tatligeac, Mangalia) and then in Bulgaria in 1829; from Bulgaria to Mangalia, Tuzla, Constanţa, Taşaul, Beidaut, Babadag, Frecăţei, Mănăstireşti, Isaccea, Satul Nou, Goreşti, Brăila and then to Bessarabia in 1830</p>	<p><i>A journal began on the 3rd of March 1829, concurrently with my departure towards the great operational army which now runs a campaign against the Turks (Jurnal început la 3 martie 1829, odată cu plecarea la marea armată de operaţiuni aflată acum în campanie contra turcilor)</i></p>

# **Birth Dynamics and Structure in the Romanian Village in North-Western Transylvania (former half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century – beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century)**

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**Abstract:** Birth will be approached from both regional analysis and family perspectives. In the latter case, a complex survey reconstructing family in two sample villages in the survey will show specific aspects of birth. The aims and objectives of our analysis are to establish besides birth rate the possible connections between collective mentality and the act of birth and conception, birth degree, mother's age, number of children in a family, etc. On the other hand, birth will be explained and highlighted by making reference to documents and statistics on births in the region in parallel.

**Keywords:** birth, family, marriage, collective mentality, child death, traditional village, Bihor, Satu Mare

Human population can be perceived as a complex dynamic system. Entering the system was conditioned by the intensity of birth rate phenomenon. The complexity of this system was provided by the major influence of marriage, divorce and mortality of people on birth rate. Due to these reasons, we will often make reference to these correlated phenomena all through the research.

Birth rate will be approached both from the perspectives of regional and family analysis. In the latter case, a complex survey to reconstruct families from two sample localities will show aspects specific to birth rate. The aims and objectives of our research are to establish not only birth rate, but also the possible connections between collective mentality and the act of birth, conception, birth range, mother's age, number of children in a family, interval between births, etc. On the other hand, the phenomenon of birth rate [characterising the number of living newborns within a human community as delimited by time and space (Sora et al., 1983: 155)] will be explained and highlighted by making reference in parallel to documents and statistics on births

in the region – mainly counties of Bihor and Satmar – information coming from official sources of the Hungarian state.

### ***1. Birth rate in the counties of Bihor and Satmar***

In 1818, *Bihor* was divided into five circles just like in 1849. It was made up of 455 villages and 57 *puste* (Adam and Pușcaș, 1987: 30). Between 1850 and 1861, the county was abolished and replaced with two administrative districts. Restored in 1861, Bihor was finally separated from Debrecen in 1876 (Adam and Pușcaș, 1987: 30), with no special alterations on a territorial level.

In 1842 (Adam and Pușcaș, 1987: 71), the number of the Oradea Roman-Catholic Bishopric inhabitants raised to 417,962. Out of them, 32,474 were Roman-Catholics (RC), 113,996 were Greek-Catholics (GC), 129,624 were Orthodox (O), 834 were Evangelic (EV), 135,791 were Calvinists (CH), and 5,173 were Israelites (Iz). On the whole, on the level of the bishopric, there was a Romanian ethnic majority<sup>1</sup>, which represented 58.2%.

In 1880, in the localities currently making up the Bihor County there were 314,607 people according to the official census. Out of them, 167,034 were Romanians, 125,996 Hungarians, 3,665 Germans, 4,805 Slovaks, 396 Ruthenians, 53 Croats and Serbians, 567 foreigners, 1,728 other nationalities, while 10,363 people had unknown mother tongue, according to the official census of the Hungarian state (Rotariu, 1997: 361). The same year, from a confessional perspective, Bihor had the following structure (Rotariu, 1997: 360): 145,013 were Orthodox, 33,875 Greek-Catholics, 31,701 Roman-Catholics, 86,231 Protestants (Calvinists), 1,111 Evangelicals, 98 Unitarians, 16,457 Israelites, and 121 other religions. In 1900, when a census was made, the localities of current Bihor had 418,816 inhabitants. Out of them, 217,025 had Romanian as their mother tongue, 188,601 Hungarian, 3,341 German, 7,809 Slovak, 82 Ruthenian, 134 Croatian, 28 Serbian, and 1,796 other languages (Rotariu, 1999: 614-615). From a confessional point of view, 183,401 were Orthodox, 45,976 Greek-Catholics, 49,378 Roman-Catholics, 113,611 Calvinists, 1,753 Evangelicals, 120 Unitarians, 23,626 Israelites, and 951 had other religions (Rotariu, 1999: 616).

From a political-administrative point of view, before the union with Romania in 1918, Bihor was organised as a county. The county underwent several territorial changes during the epoch we focus on. Considering the reorganisations (entailing demographic mutations as well), the population in the Bihor County (Ilieș, 1998: 24) was the following:

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<sup>1</sup> This is possible if we admit that Orthodox and Greek-Catholic parishioners were Romanians (yet we do not exclude certain exceptions).

COUNTY	1880	1890	1900
Bihor	446,777	516,704	468,575

In 1890, the number of Romanians was 219,940 in the county. By 1900, their number raised to 238,455 (Șirianu, 1904: 163).

During that decade, the number of Romanian inhabitants increased by 18,515 people. It may be a natural growth (as we consider), or we may deal with immigration of Romanians (it is less significant than the increasing number of Romanian population; however, the documents show there was a certain immigration). In 1900, only 14.8% lived in the two cities of the county (Oradea and Salonta).

Lying in the north of Crisana on the Somes River, the *County of Satmar* had 242 villages, 17 towns and two cities with a population of 224,800 inhabitants in 1877. As compared to the previous period, the same county had 225 localities in 1780, 207 in 1834, and 262 in 1847. The 1880 census made by the Hungarian state recorded 293,092 inhabitants; the 1890 census recorded 323,768 inhabitants.

At the time of the 1900 census, 225 localities were analysed in the Satmar County, out of which four cities (Satu Mare, Baia Mare, Carei and Baia Sprie). Without including the territory west from the current border with Hungary, 224,294 people lived in the county.

In order to determine the *gross birth rate* [ratio between the number of living newborns and the average population in one year (Pressat, 1974: 186)] and birth rate in general, we will use information found in official statistics of the Austro-Hungarian state (we include here first statistic yearbooks and censuses), as well as information from parish registers of births (baptism records) written down by priests.

When analysing the total number of births, in 1866-1870 (at the beginning of the period studied by us), in the Bihor County, we can notice that there was no steady evolution Adam and Pușcaș, 1987: 236). In 1866, 9,625 boys and 9,061 girls were born, on the whole 18,686 children. The year 1867 marked a decrease in the number of living newborns; thus their total number reached 17,587 children (9,202 boys and 8,385 girls). The following two years brought a significant growth in the number of births. In 1868, there were 19,011 births, out of which 9,946 were boys and 9,065 were girls. The following year, the number of living newborns reached 19,283 children (9,751 boys and 9,532 girls). The year 1870 brought a decrease in the number of newborns to 18,916 (9,618 boys and 9,298 girls). Though unsteady, we can say



that we deal with a slight growth of births. If we analyse these figures, we can see that the number of girls is lower than that of boys, sometimes even significantly.

At the same time, in the Satmar County, the number of births grew from 11,559 (1866) to 12,205 in 1870. The increasing number of births was not steady either. If in 1867, the total number of births reached 11,917, the following year it decreased to 11,092 to increase to 11,507 in 1869 Adam and Puşcaş, 1987: 237).

Table 1. Evolution of births in the counties by sex<sup>2</sup>

Year	County	Newborn		
		Total	Boys	Girls
1877	Bihor	17.806	9.116	8.690
	Satmar	11.412	5.934	5.488
1879	Bihor	20.546	10.675	9.871
	Satmar	12.379	6.380	5.999
1881	Bihor	19.230	9.932	9.298
	Satmar	11.124	5.755	5.369
1885	Bihor	22.194	11.518	10.676
	Satmar	12.824	6.598	6.226
1887	Bihor	23.285	12.052	11.233
	Satmar	14.239	7.302	6.937
1889	Bihor	24.127	12.336	11.791
	Satmar	15.213	7.763	7.450

In order to analyse the information as shown in the tables, we have to point out that as far as the years 1901, 1905 and 1910 were concerned, only births in the localities on the current Romanian territory were introduced, without including all the territory of the counties<sup>3</sup>. We think that such an approach is only a quantitative and not qualitative shortcoming, as the evolution of birth rate as a demographic phenomenon can be noticed with no inconvenient (we remind that we calculate the gross birth rate index to 1,000 inhabitants).

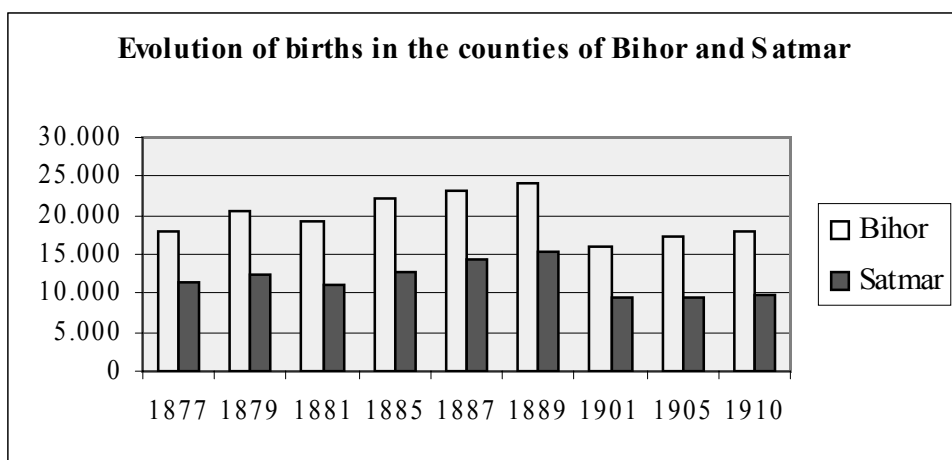
<sup>2</sup> The sources of information were the yearbooks *Magyar Statistikai Évkönyv. Szerkeszti és kiadja. Az országos Magyar Kir. Statistikai. Hivatal* (hereinafter „*Magyar Statistikai Évkönyv*”), I Füzet (1877 – Budapest: 1878; 1879 – Budapest: 1881; 1881 – Budapest: 1883; 1885 – Budapest: 1887; 1887 – Budapest: 1889; 1889 – Budapest: 1891).

<sup>3</sup> For the period after 1900, information has been provided by Adam and Puşcaş, 1987: 652-655. Reference has been made to Rotariu, 1997: 50-51, 274-275; Rotariu, 1999: 110-113, 474-477.

If we look at the table above, we can see, as expected, a much higher birth rate for males. Out of the total number of newborns in our database, 51.54% were boys and 48.45% were girls.

From a quantitative point of view, as seen in the chart below, during the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was a steady growth of births on the level of the whole county. The ascendant trend is insignificantly influenced by the stop and slight downfall in 1880-1881. The same (numerical) ascendant trend can be noticed for 1900-1910, when only localities belonging to the current Romanian state have been considered. If we make a comparison, we can see that the two counties had an almost identical evolution in point of births, except for the fact that there was a much greater number in Bihor than in Satmar due to the fact that the area was much larger.

Figure 1: Evolution of birth in the counties of Bihor and Sătmar



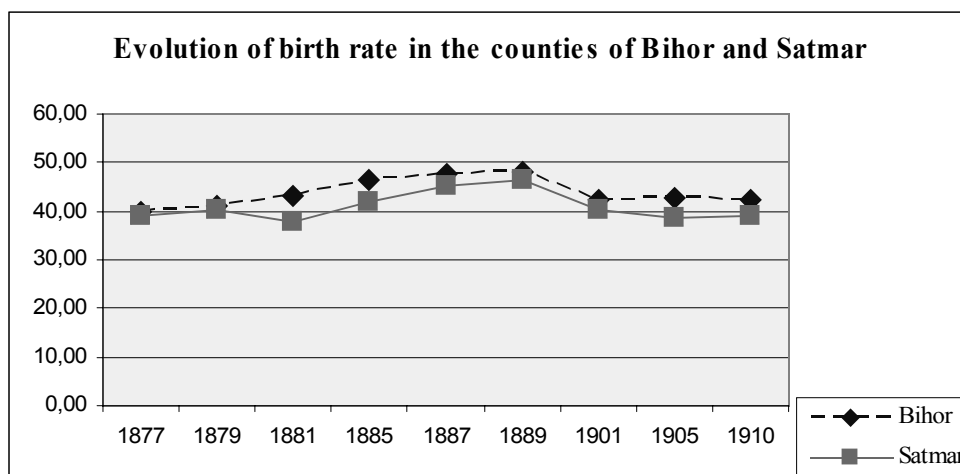
\* For the years 1901, 1905 and 1910, only births on the current territory of Romania have been considered

From the point of view of birth rate evolution, this was a time for great changes. The very high birth rate as we will see in the following charts was doubled by a very high death rate. The influence on natural mobility of population was even higher as we deal with an extremely high infantile mortality. There were also the deep economic crises together with epidemics (we particularly envisage the cholera epidemics in 1872-1873 and its

prolongation<sup>4</sup>) with an unimaginable demographic pressure. People reacted. As Fernand Braudel pointed out concerning “biological system”, on a short term, “the active and the passive go hand in hand: if one of the adversaries goes ahead, the other one reacts” (apud Bolovan, 2000: 117; Braudel, 1984: 14). According to this theory, Ioan Bolovan gives the example of the reaction of people in Transylvania after the cholera epidemics in 1872-1873, when the excessively high mortality rate was followed by a significant growth of birth rate. In Transylvania (that is, the territory of the former Principality), from 76,705 births recorded in 1873, they reached 83,721 the following year; their number grew to 87,984 in 1875 and to 91,542 in 1876 (apud Bolovan, 2000: 117; Braudel, 1984: 14). A dead child had to be replaced. Birth rate significantly grew all these years until 1890.

Despite all these deep changes, the demographic phenomenon of birth rate preserved its specific features all through the 19<sup>th</sup> century not only in this region, but in much larger areas on a European level.

Figure 1: Evolution of birth rate in the counties of Bihor and Sătmar



If we make a comparative analysis of birth rate evolution with the numerical evolution of births, we can see a slight change brought about by the alteration of birth rate evolution after 1890: after a steady growth in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The effects of cholera epidemics in 1872-1873 were catastrophic: in the Bihor County, 30,447 persons were ill, out of which 10,980 died (1,096 in Oradea), which represents 2.28% out of the total population of the county; in Satmar 17,330 persons were ill, out of which 5,268 died, that is, 2.13% out of the total population of the county. Adam and Pușcaș, 243-244.

decades, in the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century we can identify a period of decreasing birth rate. The gross birth rate index in Bihor decreased from 47.9‰ (1889) to 42.48‰ (1901). There was the same descendent trend in Satmar from 46.56‰ to 40.18‰.

The decrease of gross birth rate is obvious against the background of a trend of normalisation in the region. An economic and socio-cultural positive evolution is able to lead the “natural reaction” of decreasing number of births. We have to see if mortality significantly decreased too, otherwise the hypothesis has no consistence.

*Table 2. Evolution of birth rate in the counties of Bihor and Satmar (‰)*

	<b>Bihor</b>	<b>Satmar</b>
<b>1877</b>	39,85	38,94
<b>1879</b>	41,14	40,08
<b>1881</b>	43,04	37,95
<b>1885</b>	46,64	41,80
<b>1887</b>	47,56	45,05
<b>1889</b>	47,97	46,56
<b>1901</b>	42,48	40,18
<b>1905</b>	42,70	38,53
<b>1910</b>	42,46	38,93

Sources: „*Magyar Statistikai Évkönyv*”; Adam and Puşcaş, 652-655.

We can see the same phenomenon by analysing the two important cities in the counties. The number of births steadily grew all through the period covered by our analysis; yet, during the first years of the period, there was a slight decrease. We could consider that it had to do with the reaction of the population against cholera epidemics (mentioned above) in the years following 1873. The effects of this perturbation diminished by 1880, when the number of births slightly decreased.

## ***2. Dynamics and structure of births in the Romanian traditional village***

We will use this opportunity to lay stress on family, on its re-composition based on archives documents preserved due to church records. Our attempt to approach the issue of birth rate from this perspective faced a small obstacle because of the fact that births had to be correlated with other demographic events, mainly marriage and decease. As the period we focus on in the case of marriages is 1860-1910, the natural question is: what is the exact starting point of our survey on birth dynamics and structure in families established at the

time? It is the moment of marriage and hence that of the formation of new families, or all births recorded in 1860-1910. It is easy to understand that, after 1860, children were born in families settled before that year and that, after 1910, children were born in families settled before that year. We consider it natural (although we pointed out the impediment, even shortcoming, we encountered, which could be minor if we make a distributive analysis of the phenomenon) to choose the option of analysing births in families we managed to reconstruct (in 1860-1910). Considering the situation, we have to point out that we will follow births in families established during the span we covered, although it assumes the insertion in the database of children born after 1910 (which is a random benchmark). As we know the reality found after researching marriage, we also have to point out that we do not exclude the idea that some marriages only became “official” at the time, although they might have existed before and had other children (as we will see in our survey). Thus, we have to introduce in our survey certain aspects depending on the specific and mentality of the community approached.

These aspects can be considered shortcomings of our research. On the other hand, they will show even more clearly the connection with the act of marriage. If we know the total number of marriages and the number of children (total and by families), we have the opportunity to see the dimension of the demographic process on the level of the locality as well as on the particular level of each family.

From another perspective, if we analyse the official census made by the Austro-Hungarian state at the time as well as statistics provided by officials, we will try to see demographic aspects as they developed. This would remove the shortcomings mentioned above to a great extent; it will also make it possible to place in the general demographic context all the population belonging to the counties of Bihor and Satmar<sup>5</sup>.

We think that, if we study aspects concerning people’s reproduction, we have to follow the evolution of social, political or legal situation of the state (on the matter)<sup>6</sup>. We cannot ignore the living conditions of people in the region, the economic progress or rebound, epidemics, and hard labour of men, women and children. The hard living conditions led to early death of many people; many children did not reach adulthood. Infantile mortality and the

<sup>5</sup> The information referring to these administrative units were recorded in censuses published under the coordination of Traian Rotariu, and in the paper entitled Adam and Pușcaș, I., *Izvoare de demografie istorică*, vol. II, *Secolul al XIX-lea – 1914. Transilvania*. Also, due to the National Archives – Bihor County Directorate (hereinafter A.N-D.J. BH), we had the statistic yearbooks „*Magyar Statistikai Évkönyv*”.

<sup>6</sup> We refer to the chapter on lay and church law referring to family.

numerous diseases killing children were a challenge to parents. They often had many children, so that “reproduction was assured” (Trebici, 1979: 275)<sup>7</sup>.

The Romanian society we envisage is traditional (we call it Romanian society despite the fact that the region used to belong to Austro-Hungary and we focused not only on Romanian ethnic communities, but also Hungarians, Germans, Jews, Slovaks, Gipsies – Romanians lived peacefully with these communities often in families beyond “accidents” and strong emotions of some inhabitants in the region irrespective of their ethnicity, language or religion); it does not belong to general existence laws of such a society. The new is hard to impose. Children were born; they grew up and got married in the village (in most cases). They seldom left the locality. In this case, one of family’s roles was to provide children socialisation, which was essential for their social integration. Obviously, it was not their focus. The peasant had no objectives; he did not make a philosophy out of words; he did things as his ancestors used to. At an early age, children had to see things just like adults did (Mihăilescu, 2000: 208). This reality caused decease at an early age. In many cases, children’s frail body could not accept the situation; many had physical and mental disabilities. Natural selection had a word to say when medicine was basic and almost exclusively popular; the healthy survived, the others did not.

Another issue we envisage is illegitimate children (relatively low number in these parishes although their number was much higher, as we could see in the previous analysis). We only approach the case of families or people with children that finally got married (it is easy to understand that it was not always the case). Although the community sanctioned such “misbehaviour”, we have to see another aspect of the situation. Community accepted “marriage” although it was not always official. This was due to the fact that many youth could not pay for the derogation required in special cases by ecclesiastic authorities (S.P. Bolovan, 1999: 86-88). Also, many people intending to remarry had no money for divorce. They separated and remarried but not officially. So, many young people accepted to live together, in which case their children were illegitimate. A shortcoming of our paper is mainly due to this fact: as mentioned above, we lose the information of children born in such conditions. Once we lose this information, it is practically almost impossible to trace the demographic phenomenon. Yet we express our conviction that the analysis on the first sample parish correlated with statistic information from lay sources has been edifying and encompassing to see and understand these aspects of daily life.

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<sup>7</sup> The well-known demographer considered that population through family “provides reproduction when at least two children reach maturity”.

As we said in the previous subchapter, the attempt to reconstruct families is carried out through an analysis on localities as samples (Ghenetea – Greek-Catholic parish, and Șuncuiuș de Beiuș – Greek-Catholic parish). We think that the choice of these localities lying in different areas not only geographically can respond to our intent and requests to outline the image of the phenomenon not only in these localities, but in the region.

### ***A. Birth rate in Greek-Catholic families in Șuncuiuș de Beiuș. Case study***

We could become less flexible if we analyse birth rate through statistic information. We should not exclude any event from the context. Certainly, we cannot analyse each and every case; yet we can highlight special cases and the ones characteristic of most families. It is not easy to reconstruct family. However, we consider it necessary in order to get a definite image on birth rate. We will never be aware of certain particularities if we keep listing figures on living newborns.

We would like to point out right from the beginning that we will be concerned with all children born in families married in 1860-1910 in the Șuncuiuș Greek-Catholic parish. We consider only children whose families were officially joined by priests and who were members of the parish. As mentioned before, we will not consider children who, although born at the time, did not belong to these families; they could belong to families married before 1860 or families living in concubinage, or whose parents were not Greek-Catholic parishioners. It is precisely for this reason that at the beginning of the period the number of children was pretty low and decreased after 1910.

In 1860-1910, the Greek-Catholic vicar celebrated 185 marriages (CRSC, file 1197: 25-33; file 1200: 1-14). 679 children were born in these families (CRSC, file 1197: 11-2; file 1198: 1-99; file 1199: 1-46). Out of them, 331 were boys and 348 were girls. It is interesting that, although normally the number of boys at birth was higher, the situation was different, as there was a higher number of girls. There was an average of 3.67 children/family. It was not a very high average for the period. One single family out of the 185 had no children. The family was formed on March 30<sup>th</sup>, 1908 by joining Lingurar Georgiu and Lingurar Armanca, both aged 60 at the time they married. As opposed to them, there was a family having 9 children. Catharina Dumitras married Ioanu Puje in 1875 and had 9 children (5 boys and 4 girls) between 1880 and 1901 (CRSC, file 1198: 1-99). Six other families had 8 children each.

Table 3. Numerical and percentage distribution of children per family

Number of children	Number of families	Total children	Percentage of total number of children (%)	Percentage of total number of families (%)
0	1	0	0	0,54
1	1	1	0,15	0,54
2	14	28	4,12	7,57
3	92	276	40,65	49,73
4	45	180	26,51	24,32
5	14	70	10,31	7,57
6	10	60	8,84	5,41
7	1	7	1,03	0,54
8	6	48	7,07	3,24
9	1	9	1,33	0,54
<b>Total</b>	<b>185</b>	<b>679</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: CRSC, file 1197: 11-24; file 1198: 1-99; file 1199: 1-46.

Almost half of the families in the parish had 3 children (92 families representing 49.73% of the total number of families and making up 40.65% of the total number of children). They were followed by families with 4 children (45 cases, that is, 26.51% of the total number of children). Due to the high percentage of families with 2 to 5 children (89.19%), we can say that the locality was steadily developing to the modern family (nuclear family with small number of children) with no major mutations. The change, visible throughout the period is undoubtedly due to the fact that they were close to Beius and the main access road connecting Beius Depression to Oradea. The village inhabitants, mainly young people and men, were involved in a process of mental change mainly due to direct contact with the “outside” world through territorial mobility.

Though we have not complete information, it is important to point out the fact that we deal with a quite high *infantile death rate* in the community. At least 46 children (as recorded by the priest<sup>8</sup>) died before turning 1 (that is, 6.77% out of the total number of children born in these families<sup>9</sup>). Many newborns died at an early age; most of them never reached adulthood. There

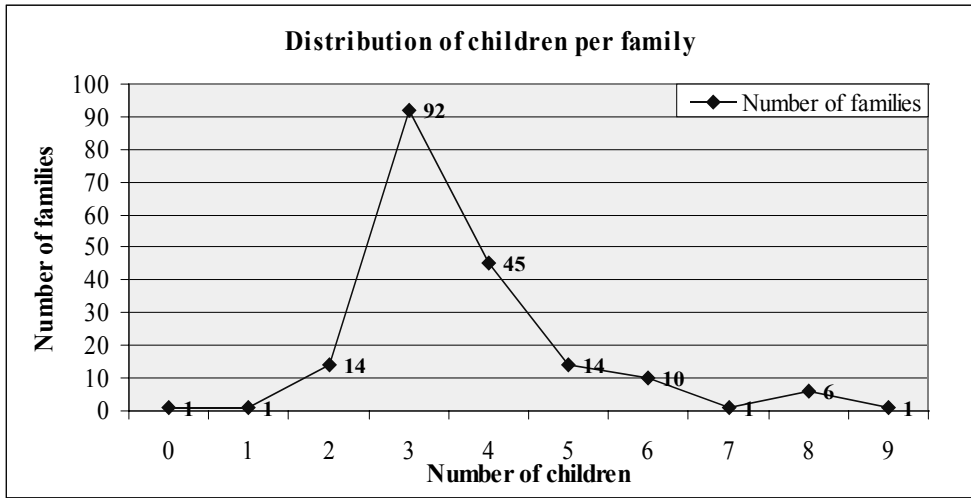
<sup>8</sup> The column referring to children deceases in these families was not always filled in. Consequently, we cannot accurately say how many children aged less than 1 died. Out of them, 46 were recorded. We will analyse the topic when approaching infantile mortality.

<sup>9</sup> Infantile mortality rate reached 67.7‰ (CRSC, file 1197: 40-52; file 1201: 1-72).



were five families (when priests recorded the data) having at least two children dying before turning 1.

Figure 3: Distribution of children per family



We will attempt to show the cases of these families in a chronological order by the date they married. The first family joined Timra Moise and Lingurar Ana on June 30, 1861 whose first two children (born 7 and 9 years after they got married) died before being 2 months old. Budo Catarina and Puje Iosif married on the 16<sup>th</sup> of February 1868 (aged 20 and 26 respectively) and had eight children, out of which three died before turning 1. Two children aged less than 1 died in the family joined on November 16, 1902 made up of Georgiu Bodo and Eva Flore. Two other children died in the family of Lingurar Zaharia and Ileana (married October 5, 1908). The last case with at least two children dead before turning 1 was the case of Lingurar Iosif and Floare (married October 5, 1908) (CRSC, file 1197: 25-33; file 1200: 1-14 (Marriage register); file 1197: 11-24; file 1198: 1-99; file 1199: 1-46 (Baptism register); and for Death register - file 1197: 40-52; file 1201: 1-72).

In order to have a general image on the quantitative aspect of the phenomenon, we will try to show an *annual birth rate*.

Table 4: Annual birth rate (1860-1924)\*

Year	No. children	Year	No. children	Year	No. children	Year	No. children
1860	-	1877	10	1894	8	1911	9
1861	1	1878	16	1895	15	1912	14
1862	5	1879	9	1896	7	1913	4
1863	6	1880	16	1897	16	1914	3
1864	5	1881	18	1898	7	1915	9
1865	8	1882	21	1899	9	1916	4
1866	8	1883	16	1900	14	1917	1
1867	9	1884	15	1901	12	1918	3
1868	16	1885	20	1902	19	1919	4
1869	13	1886	15	1903	15	1920	1
1870	12	1887	15	1904	7	1921	-
1871	14	1888	10	1905	15	1922	1
1872	13	1889	16	1906	7	1923	-
1873	9	1890	12	1907	15	1924	2
1874	14	1891	10	1908	20		
1875	9	1892	13	1909	13		
1876	19	1893	13	1910	19	Total	679

\*Children born in families married in 1860-1910

Source: CRSC, file 1197: 11-24; file 1198: 1-99; file 1199: 1-46.

Although irrelevant at the beginning and end of the period (reasons have been expressed above and concern families married before 1860 and children born after 1910), the information in the table highlights the average of children born in a year.

It goes without saying that the average of living newborns in the Greek-Catholic population in Șuncuiuș de Beiuș was of about 14-15 children per year (the information referring to 1880-1910 with an average of 14.21 births/year is relevant from this point of view). There are no absolute figures for the period precisely for the reasons mentioned above. There were years with high averages, such as: 1882 (22 births), 1885 (20), 1908 (20), or low averages, such as: 1896, 1898, 1904 and 1906, when only seven children were born (CRSC, file 1198: 1-99).

We will now attempt to focus on another aspect, that is, *monthly number* of birth and conception of the 696 children born at that time. This analysis may show some constraints and determinisms originating in collective mentalities and the socio-economic particularities of the locality.

Although there were months with a high number of births (July, March, October, December, February) and others with a low number of births (May, September, August), we can still notice a relatively balanced distribution of births.

*Table 5: Monthly number of newborn (1860-1924)\**

Month of birth	Month of conception	No. of newborns	Month of birth	Month of conception	No. of newborns
January	April	56	July	October	71
February	May	65	August	November	41
March	June	67	September	December	41
April	July	56	October	January	68
May	August	41	November	February	52
June	September	55	December	March	66

\* Children born in families married in 1860-1910

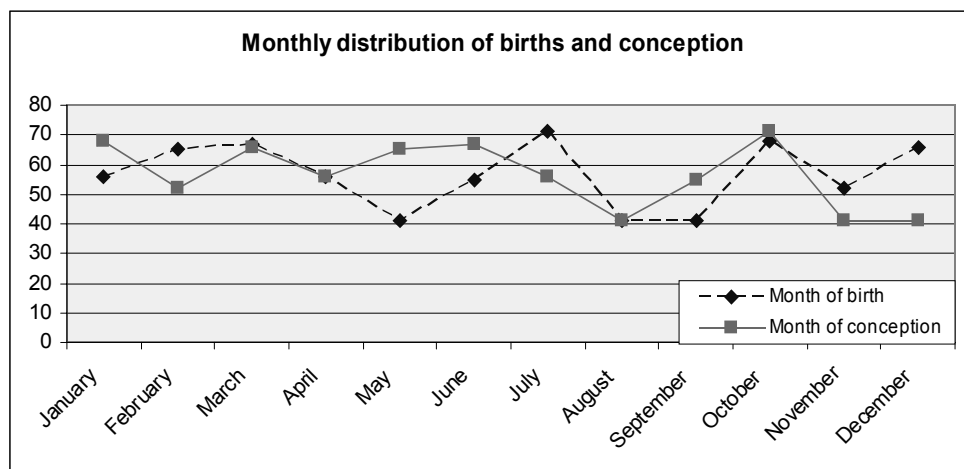
Source: CRSC, file 1197: 11-24; file 1198: 1-99; file 1199: 1-46.

This division per months also shows the months when children were conceived (if we accept that there is an interval of nine months between conception and birth). During hard field labour time (August, September), there was a decreasing number of conceptions, as well as in November and December (a time we can associate with Christmas fast). Abstinence during Easter fastening period is debatable (March-April), when there was a high number of conceptions (66 in March and 56 in April). It is for this reason that we cannot generalise the idea that during fastening periods (at least) part of the people refrained from sexual relations. They could not be controlled by Church, unlike marriages. However, it is certain that hard exhausting labour during the year influenced conception. Yet, this did not determine important differences in point of months of conception.

The *age of mother at birth* is another aspect we have envisaged. If we analyse all births, the age of mother at birth, as well as the age of mother at marriage, all correlated with the span from marriage to births, the first or the last born, we can have a more accurate picture on birth rate and family in general.

If we analyse all 185 marriages in 1860-1910, we can see that women's age at marriage was quite young (if we consider only marriage between people marrying for the first time). The number of women who remarried was quite high. Most of the times, they were widows; there were few cases when the remarried woman was a divorcee.

Figure 4: Monthly distribution of births and conception



By correlating the age of mother at birth with the span until first birth<sup>10</sup> and the age of the woman at marriage, we can have some information on family life realities. We consider it necessary to show all details concerning mothers' age at first and last birth, as well as all births (by groups of age, as shown in the table below).

Table 6: Age of mother at birth (1860-1924)\*

Age (in years)	Total newborn	Firstborn	Last born
≤ 20	82	63	1
21-25	201	56	23
26-30	204	29	63
31-35	96	8	42
36-40	46	3	22
41-45	22	4	15
46-50	11	3	7
≥51	6	1	4
Average age	28,3	23,01	31,6
Minimum age	17	17	19
Maximum age	58	55	58

\* Children born in families married in 1860-1910

Source: CRSC, file 1197, f. 11-24; file 1198, f. 1-99; file 1199, f. 1-46.

<sup>10</sup> We will show details on span of time from children's birth in these families.

If we make a comparative analysis between women's age at marriage in the parish and the information in the table above, the number of first born, when the mother is 20 years old at the most, we see that it is equal (63 cases) with the number of women marrying at an age between 15-19 years old<sup>11</sup>. Moreover, besides the 63 firstborns, the total number of children born by women aged 20 at the most is 82. It is hard to accept that all these women (married at 15-19) had immediately after at least one child (there were 6 women having two children before turning 21 (*CRSC*, file 1197: 11-24; file 1198: 1-99; file 1199: 1-46)). Besides, as we can see, the one year span we have considered [as far as marriages are concerned, the groups are one year younger; for instance, the group of 20-24 years old at marriage corresponds to the group of 21-25 years old at birth – thus, we introduce the pregnancy period in the equation) cannot fully solve the problem. The error margin is of three months (the span from 9 months to one year needed from the conception of a child to its birth). Thus, if a women turning 20 two months before marriage (framed in the second age group) had a child nine months after marriage (when she was 20 and 11 months), then the child belonged to the mother's first age group (under 21). Therefore, we cannot tell for sure that the first children belonging to mothers under 21 were born by the 63 women that married in the interval including those aged 19. As we could see in parish records, some of them were born by women of the same age with widower partners (thus, they no longer belonged to the 63 women involved in marriages between partners at their first marriage).

As far as the total number of children born within a certain age interval was concerned, we can see that most of them belonged to the interval between 21 and 30 years old (405 out of 679). A quite high number of children belonged to the 31 – 35 years age group (96). As it is natural, as the mother's age is higher, the number of children is lower. There were six cases of children born when their mothers were over 51 years old. An isolated case was that of Raveica Popa (born in 1844) who, as a widow, lived with Petru Budo (born in 1842), who was a widower too. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of December 1899, when she was 55, the woman had a boy named Savu. The following year, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of October 1900 (she was 56), she had a girl (Ana). As a consequence of these events, the two concubines made their relationship official by getting married at the church (November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1901). After getting married, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of May 1902, the 58 year old woman had another child, Miron, who died a month later (*CRSC*, file 1197: 11-24; file 1198: 1-99; file 1199: 1-46). Besides that case, there was another similar situation: a 56 year old woman, Maria Groza (married

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<sup>11</sup> See analysis on marital strategies for this parish.

to Ioan Budo on the 27<sup>th</sup> of August 1875), had a child on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of February 1910; then, Groza Zamfira (married to Flore Florian on the 11<sup>th</sup> of November 1894) and Maria Kraszta (married to Iuan Kavdar on the 8<sup>th</sup> of May 1897) had babies when they were 51 (CRSC, file 1197: 11-24; file 1198: 1-99; file 1199: 1-46). Mother's age when she had the last child is less relevant, as a woman could have one or two children when she was still quite young. Another woman could have several children, so she had a certain age when she had the last child.

It is worth mentioning mother's average age at birth (28.3 years old), at first child (23.01 years old) and last child (31.6 years old). For correlations and a better understanding of these aspects, we should refer to the analysis of marriages in the parish. In this context, it is worth mentioning that woman's average age at first marriage was 20.4 years old (in the case of man, the average age was 26.2 years old). The minimal age of woman at first child was 17 years old, and for the last child it was 19 (in this case, it was a family who had only one child). As far as mother's maximum age at birth is concerned, we remind the case of the woman who had her first child when she was 55 and the last when she was 58. We do not intend to end the debate without pointing out that in the case of 11 families, the mother's age was not recorded, so their children could not be considered.

As a conclusion, we can say that the number of Greek-Catholic community members in the parish increased at the time. It is easy to understand if we consider that at the time, the average number of children per family was 3.67. If in 1900, for instance, the Greek-Catholic population in Suncuius was of 388 people, in 1910 their number increased to 437. This growth concerned not only Greek-Catholic families; it held true for the whole community<sup>12</sup>. The population increased from 789 to 893 inhabitants. However, we cannot say that the increasing number of Greek-Catholic parishioners was due only to a high birth rate and a high natural growth. This might be due to conversion to this confession of some people or, as shown before, to mixed marriages. Several people of Greek-Catholic confession settled there at the time (some precisely to get married).

If generally most families had several children, it does not necessarily imply that there was a high natural growth. Mortality was quite high. The lack of appropriate food, of medicine and physicians, as well other aspects involved a high death rate amongst children.

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<sup>12</sup> Data from Traian Rotariu's papers on censuses in 1900 and 1910, papers quoted before.

***B. Birth rate in Greek-Catholic families in Ghenetea. Case study***

A suburban settlement of Marghita, Ghenetea lies in the north of the Bihor County, 2 km far from Marghita. Lying in a hilly area, the settlement had a quite low number of inhabitants. The mostly Romanian population counted 315 inhabitants in 1880 (only 45 people did not state Romanian was their mother tongue – 30 chose Hungarian) (Rotariu, 1997: 50-51). On the 1900 census, there were 103 houses in the village with 523 people (466 of Romanian language, 54 of Hungarian and 3 of “other languages” – we notice that there were 12 Jews identified not by language, but by their religion (Rotariu, 1999: 110-111). The following decade, until 1910, when a new census was organised, the number of inhabitants raised to 68 people. From a confessional point of view, the Greek-Catholics were dominant [89.8% in 1880 (Rotariu, 1997: 50); 86.8% in 1900 (Rotariu, 1999: 111)].

In 1860-1910, the Greek-Catholic vicar celebrated 82 marriages (from a numerical point of view, there was a clear-cut difference as compared to the parish in Șuncuiuș de Beiuș where there were 185 marriages at the time – but the Greek-Catholic community was at least twice as much) (CRSC, file 461: 32-50, 64-75; file 462: 4-101; file 463: 1-21). 416 children were born in these families. Out of them, 208 were boys and as many girls. So, we deal with an average of 5.07 children/family (CRSC, file 461: 32-50, 64-75; file 462: 4-101; file 463: 1-21). It is a much higher average than in Șuncuiuș de Beiuș, where the average was 3.67 children/family. From this point of view, we can consider that it preserved traditional rural society features. However, there is a slight change that we will analyse below.

At least one child was born in all 82 families. As we can notice in the table above, families with two children were more often seen (15 cases, that is, 18.29%). They were followed by families with one child (11 cases, that is, 13.41%). There were also 11 cases of families with 8 children. If we analyse this situation in correlation with the information in the chart below, we can see a very interesting fact in the parish: there seems to be a break of modernity trends (when nuclear families had few children) from the old behaviour of traditional rural world (when families had several children).

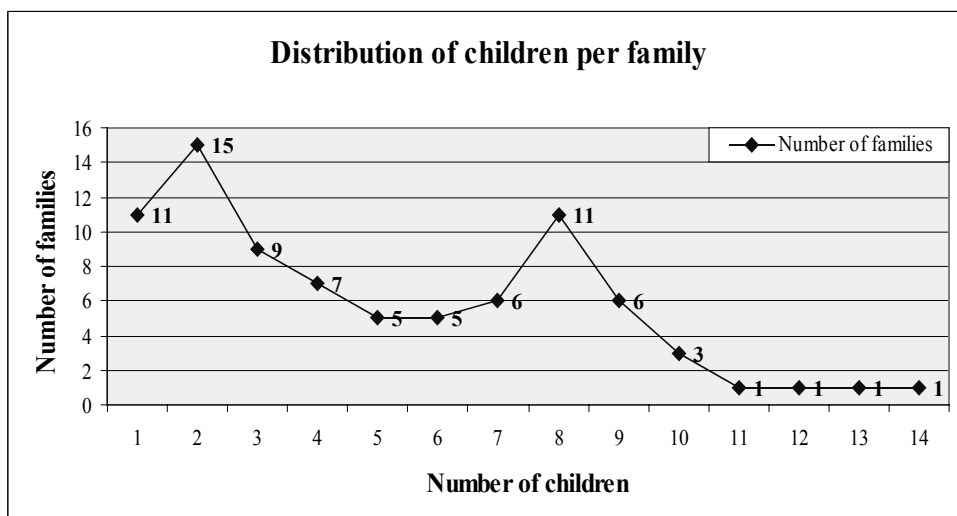
As we can see in point of number of children, there were two groups of numerous families with: 1-4 children (representing 51.2% of total number of families and 23.07% of total number of children) and 7-9 children respectively (representing 28.05% of total number of families and 44.23% of total number of children). Between the two categories of families (that seem to be different “worlds”), there was a low number of families with four or five children (5 cases each).

Table 7: Number and percentage of children per family

Number of children	Number of families	Total children	Percentage of total number of children (%)	Percentage of total number of families (%)
1	11	11	2,64	13,41
2	15	30	7,21	18,29
3	9	27	6,49	10,98
4	7	28	6,73	8,54
5	5	25	6,01	6,1
6	5	30	7,21	6,1
7	6	42	10,10	7,32
8	11	88	21,15	13,41
9	6	54	12,98	7,32
10	3	30	7,21	3,66
11	1	11	2,64	1,22
12	1	12	2,88	1,22
13	1	13	3,13	1,22
14	1	14	3,37	1,22
<b>Total</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>416</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: CRSC, file 461, f. 32-50, 64-75; file 462, f. 4-101; file 463, f. 1-21.

Figure 5: Distribution of children per family





Despite the above mentioned trends obvious due to the great number of families with 1-2 children and families with 7-9 children, most children born in the parish were in families with several children. Although the number of families with 1-2 children was greater towards the end of the period, the percentage of these children is low mainly due to the fact that most children were in families with several children, although the number of such families was decreasing.

Even for a society preserving obvious traditional features, such as the one in this village, there was a consistent number of mothers giving birth to more than 10 children. No less than 7 women in the village had at least 10 children, out of which one had even 14 children. The number of births does not necessarily lead to a numerous family: out of the 14 children born by Magyar Ileana (married to Korb Ioan on the 26<sup>th</sup> of November 1901), only 7 managed to survive the first two years (CRSC, file 462: 4-101; file 463: 1-21; file 464: 1-90). A similar situation was that of Szarka Augustin family (married on the 10<sup>th</sup> of November 1910) whose wife had 13 children; yet they had to accept the death of 5 children before turning 1 (CRSC, file 462: 4-101; file 463: 1-21; file 464: 1-90). In a family with 12 children (Cutus Vasile married Reccsan Marie on the 11<sup>th</sup> of January 1894), only 8 children survived to reach 1 year old; only five of them reached 20 (CRSC, file 462: 4-101; file 463: 1-21; file 464: 1-90).

*Infantile mortality* in those families was quite high: 63 children died before turning 1 (15.14% of the total number of living newborns), thus reaching an infantile mortality rate of 151.4‰. This is one more reason to consider the village as not having enough resources and means to overcome economic crises and epidemics in the region in 1870-1880.

This is a world where many were born and many died. Some would say they were born to suffer; some others, that they died to be happy. It was community mental influencing (thus relieving pain) parents, who chose to have another child when one died. Maybe God will have mercy on this one.

The relatively low level of births in the village was mainly due to the low number of families at the time can be seen in the *annual birth distribution*. As mentioned in the case of Șuncuiuș de Beiuș, the information referring to annual distribution of births for the first period is not relevant for a general and exhaustive picture on birth as a phenomenon in the parish. The explanation is that we have only considered children born in families settled after 1860 without those born after 1860 in families settled before 1860. After 1910, the phenomenon repeated, as children born in families settled after that

year have not been included in our survey. Yet, these shortcomings have been assumed right from the beginning of our survey on family reconstruction.

*Table 8: Annual distribution of births (1860-1933)\**

Year	No. of children	Year	No. of children	Year	No. of children	Year	No. of children
1860	-	1879	6	1898	7	1917	2
1861	1	1880	5	1899	7	1918	3
1862	1	1881	9	1900	6	1919	7
1863	1	1882	9	1901	9	1920	3
1864	2	1883	4	1902	10	1921	3
1865	1	1884	15	1903	8	1922	1
1866	4	1885	8	1904	6	1923	4
1867	8	1886	4	1905	6	1924	1
1868	6	1887	10	1906	6	1925	4
1869	9	1888	9	1907	6	1926	2
1870	10	1889	4	1908	7	1927	1
1871	11	1890	12	1909	7	1928	2
1872	7	1891	5	1910	4	1929	1
1873	3	1892	10	1911	9	1930	1
1874	8	1893	13	1912	5	1931	
1875	5	1894	11	1913	3	1932	1
1876	9	1895	9	1914	6	1933	1
1877	4	1896	7	1915	6		
1878	9	1897	10	1916	2	Total	416

\*The children were born in families established in 1860-1910

*Source:* CRSC, file 461, f. 32-50, 64-75; file 462, f. 4-101; file 463, f. 1-21.

From the point of view of annual distribution, there is an annual average of 7.84 newborns in the period we have analysed (1880-1910). Fluctuations, considered rather cyclic and accidental, are less significant to consider external factors to have influenced birth either positively or negatively. Economic crises, social pressure and turmoil could have influenced mortality (immediate and visible effects were mainly mortality amongst children who were more vulnerable in front of ubiquitous death).

*Table 9: Monthly distribution of newborns (1860-1933)\**

Month of birth	Month of conception	No. of newborns	Month of birth	Month of conception	No. of newborns
January	April	32	July	October	36
February	May	33	August	November	27
March	June	53	September	December	41
April	July	38	October	January	34
May	August	31	November	February	34
June	September	42	December	March	15

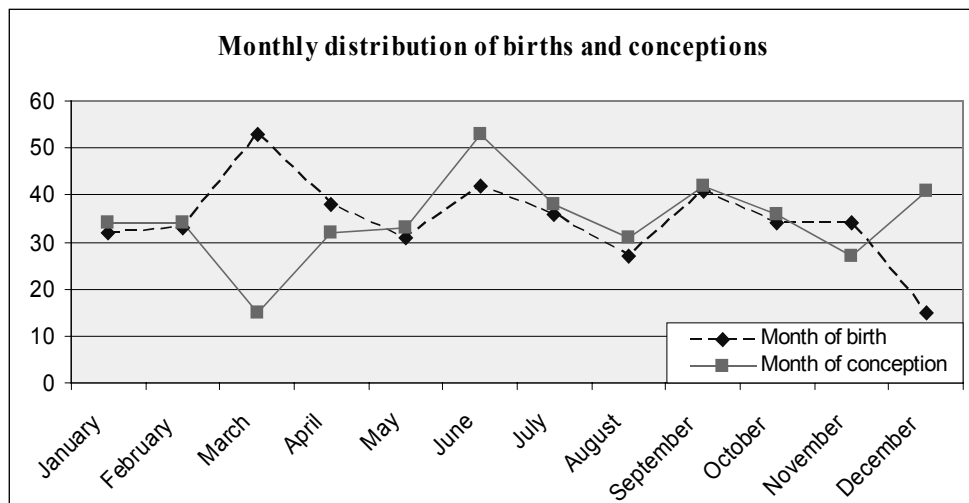
\* The children were born in families established in 1860-1910

Source: CRSC, file 461, f. 32-50, 64-75; file 462, f. 4-101; file 463, f. 1-21.

*The monthly distribution of newborns* shows slight trends of maximum and minimum points during the year. Community, family and particularly Church control were mainly focused on the act of marriage and less on births. Obviously, the moment of birth should not be considered as a benchmark in identifying possible causes of births concentrated in certain months of the year. Birth was not usually programmed. Control or community influence, if they existed, were expressed in the sense of limiting and restraining the time of conception. Individuals' sex life could not be defended or controlled. Yet, traditional society regulated some behaviours originating in morality imposed by the Church most of the times. Sexual abstinence during fastening periods was more or less respected. From this point of view, we could say that at least 15 births in December (corresponding to conception in March) could have originated in deep religious feelings. The expected minimum for Easter fast is no longer obvious, so there is no solid support for our hypothesis.

We think that sex life and conception were mostly influenced by agriculture and specific of season works. The months with agricultural activities were months with a low rate of conception (March, April and May – corresponding to spring agricultural activities; July and August – summer season; October and part of November – autumn agricultural season). Between the three important agricultural periods there were significant periods of conception. An example in point is the month of June, a month with little agricultural work, when 53 conceptions are recorded (more than the triple of March).

Figure 6: Monthly distribution of births and conceptions



The *age of mother at birth* is another important element in our survey. As expected, most mothers gave birth (see below the table on span of time between marriage and birth) during the first years after marriage. Mother's age at birth, mainly first child, largely depended on average age at marriage. As the average age at marriage in the parish was 21-22 years old, the following years in women's life were rich in births (over half of mothers had a child within 2 years after marriage – 51 children were born during that interval). Returning to mother's age at birth, we can notice, after links with age group from marriage to births, that most births belonged to the mother group age of 21-25 years old (105 cases) and 26-30 years old (108 cases) making up 51.2% out of the total number of living newborns. A number of 36 children were born by mothers aged less than 20 (30 of them being firstborns). Out of the 36 children, 2 were the last born (both being single child to their mothers – one aged 17, the other aged 19). We can also see that 5 children (all second range children, none being last child to their family) were born by women who were not at their first birth. Papp Ilusca (18) had a boy in June 1868, only 4 months after marriage; he died a month later. Only one year later, she gave birth to a girl (CRSC, file 461: 34-42).

Table 10: Mother age at birth (1860-1933)\*

Age (in years)	Total newborns	Firstborn	Last born
≤ 20	36	30	2
21-25	104	29	14
26-30	108	13	11
31-35	86	7	13
36-40	64	1	225
41-45	18	2	17
46-50			
≥51			
Average age	29,08	23,6	33,98
Minimum age	17	17	17
Maximum age	45	45	45

\* The children were born in families established in 1860-1910

Source: CRSC, file 461, f. 32-50, 64-75; file 462, f. 4-101; file 463, f. 1-21.

Mothers' average age at first birth was tightly related to women's age at marriage. If the average age at marriage was 21-22, the first child was born at an average age of 23.54 years, a figure showing once again that the first child was usually born within two years after the parents married. Mother's average age at last birth shows a behaviour specific to traditional rural world. On the one hand, woman gave birth to children until it was possible from a biological point of view without attempting to limit births. This reality found in Ghenetea is proved by the very high number of children born by mothers belonging to the 36-40 age group (26 cases representing 31.7% were last born children) and the 41-45 age group (16 cases representing 19.5% out of the total number of last born children). The fact that over half of the last born children in the parish were born when their mothers were not that young anymore, when births were accidental from a biological point of view, completes the idea. On the other hand, late births were but a "completion" of families after a whole series of deaths amongst children. Last but not least, there was a trend of parents to conceive other children for fear of being alone considering that first children either got married or were old enough for marriage. Mother's average age at last birth was 33.91 years old. Considering all births, mother's average age was 29.08 years old, a higher level than other localities. The lowest age of a mother having a child was 17 years old (Papp Ilușca born in 1855 and married on the 14<sup>th</sup> of February 1870 to Papp Ștefan, when he was only 15). The birth proved to be much too difficult for the body of the young woman, as she

could bear no more children afterwards (CRSC, file 461: 32-50, 64-75; file 462: 4-101; file 463: 1-21). At the age of 44, Ileana (married to Magyar Georgiu in 1877) had a child dying the same year (1901) (CRSC, file 461: 32-50). There are two interesting cases when women gave birth to the only child in the family at an old age. In 1868, Kis Maria, a 40 year old widow from Ghenetea, married Toth Vasiliu, a 27 year old young man from Patlusa, a widower himself. Two years later, in 1870, when she was 42, she had a girl named Irina (CRSC, file 461: 32-50)<sup>13</sup>. In the second family made up of Lazar Ioan (42) and Pustav Ilusca (23) on the 19<sup>th</sup> of November 1860, the first and only child was born 22 years after their marriage, in 1882, when the woman was 40 (CRSC, file 461: 32-50, 64-75; file 462: 4-101).

After the analysis carried out through family reconstruction on birth in the two villages, there have been enough arguments favouring the hypothesis of personal and family emancipation. Women had less and less children, age at birth changed and so did the intervals between births. Even child mortality (we will approach the topic when debating mortality) altered, that is, it diminished as family changed. Children were more appreciated in families with few children. These trends were slightly visible in Șuncuius de Beiuș and more obvious in Ghenetea, mentioning that several families were still traditional through their behaviour.

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<sup>13</sup> The girl, Irina, survived the conditions living up to 77 years old in 1947.

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# **Drama, Suffering and Sorrow. The Problems of the Eightieth Decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century in the Former County of Alba de Jos. Demographic Impact<sup>1</sup>**

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**Abstract:** This article describes the problems of the eightieth decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century in the former county of Alba de Jos. Epidemics, crisis of the means of subsistence and natural calamities consistently influenced the demographic regime determining, among other things, a significant increase in the number of the deceases.

The year of 1873 constituted the apex in the mortality dynamic as the area was decimated by epidemics, that of cholera being the most aggressive plague. After a short respite, the mortality level increased again between 1877 and 1878 as the result of the population experiencing floods, scarcity, poverty and other difficulties.

The general drama, sufferings and sorrows of the population from the former county of Alba de Jos were also reflected on the lives of the families. The collected files indicate that nearly every family has lost at least one of his members in the eightieth decade.

**Keywords:** mortality, natural calamities, cholera, the county of Alba de Jos.

## ***1. Introduction***

There is no doubt that main explanation for the mortality crisis affecting the populations of the past resides in the grasping and understanding the multifaceted relation between individuals and infectious diseases (Rotariu, 2003: 115), between individuals and food resources, between man and his environment. Consequently, high level rates of mortality and severe recurrent crisis characterized the dynamic of the old demographic regime.

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<sup>1</sup>\*The work is part of a research project entitled *Cholera Epidemics from Transylvania in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, Demographic and Mental Impact*, code ID\_2093, financed by CNCIS – Romania



Such a “critical” moment for Transylvania was the eightieth decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. This period represented an authentic “calamity” or “catastrophe” in the Transylvanian demographic evolution (Bolovan, 2000: 140).

The situation in the county of Alba de Jos was identical to that of the region. Therefore, the article describes those “accidents” (epidemics, crisis of the means of subsistence etc.) that contributed to the increasing number of the deaths in the county of Alba de Jos during the eightieth decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

## **2. Sources and Data**

The demographic investigation concerning the former county of Alba de Jos, located in the southern part Transylvania, endorses not only a quantitative perspective on the mortality, but also a qualitative one based on the data contained in the parochial registers.

The general figures on population and evolution of the deceases on the county level have been excerpted from the collections published at that time *Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv* and *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények*. A substantial part of the data was extracted from the parochial registers housed by the archives from Alba Iulia in *Colecția registre de stare civilă de la instituțiile de cult*.

Considering these data, I have drawn up a sample of seven communities (the Orthodox parish of Cheile Râmeșului, the Greek-Catholic parish of Găbud, the Greek-Catholic parish of Gârbovița, the Greek-Catholic parish of Ighiu, the Greek-Catholic parish of Bârlești, the Reformat parish of Noșlac, the Greek-Catholic parish of Tiur) in order to describe the evolution of mortality at the micro level. The Greek-Catholic community of the Ighiu village was also reconstructed nominally in order to assess the impact of the mortality factor on the individual families.

Not in the last place, the archival documents and newspapers of that time (such as *Economulu. Organu periodicu pentru ramii de economia, industria si comerciu*, Blaj and *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Brașov) described behavioral patterns of the people towards epidemics and calamities.

## **3. Epidemics, Calamities, Deceases**

Between 1871 and 1875, the number of deaths reached its highest level of 9,033 demises in the former county of Alba de Jos. In comparison in the same area 6,789 deaths were registered during 1866-1870, 5,910 deaths were recorded in 1886-1890, and 5,848 cases between 1906 and 1910. Even though the average number of the population between 1871 and 1875 was higher as the county territory had been expanded, nevertheless during 1906-1910 when

the average number of population was roughly equal to that of period 1871-1875, the number of deceases recorded a lower level (*Table 1*). Similarly, in the case of the above mentioned seven communities the highest number of deaths was recorded during 1871-1875 (*Table 2*).

In Transylvania, the highest number of deaths, namely 95,106, was recorded during 1871-1875 in comparison to 69,102 deceases in 1866-1870 and 73,035 during 1906-1910 (Bolovan, 2000: 139).

*Table 1. The Five-Year Evolution of the Average Number of Population and Deceases at the County Level*

	1871-1875	1876-1880	1881-1885	1886-1890	1891-1895	1896-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910
<i>Average Number of Population</i>	222,627	186,109	182,677	192,699	197,924	206,907	214,019	218,550
<i>Average Number of Deceases</i>	9,033	5,922	6,203	5,910	5,988	6,213	5,781	5,848

*Sources:* Magyar Statistikai Évkönyv, 1872-1891; Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények, 1894-1901; Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények, 1913-1918.

*Table 2. The Five-Year Evolution of the Average Number of Deceases at the Sample Level*

<i>Average Number of Deceases at the Sample Level</i>	1871-1875	1876-1880	1881-1885	1886-1890	1891-1895	1896-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910
	142	108	84	102	101	103	107	92

*Sources:* Arhivele Naționale Direcția Județeană Alba, *Colecția registre de stare civilă de la instituțiile de cult*, Parohia ortodoxă Cheile Râmețului, Parohia greco-catolică Găbud, Parohia greco-catolică Gârbovița, Parohia greco-catolică Ighiu, Parohia greco-catolică Mogoș-Bârlești, Parohia reformată Noșlac, Parohia greco-catolică Tiur.

The beginning of the decade was marked by a crisis in the agricultural realm that lasted until 1875. It is well known that in the past the relative alimentary well-being of the populations depended greatly on the grain crops (Livi-Bacci, 2003: 60) and when because of the weather conditions harvests were poor, the grain prices rose accordingly. Therefore, limited alimentary resources were usually followed by a weakness of the human immunity system that favored

infections and outbursts of epidemics. In most cases, the sudden rise in prices was accompanied by an increasing mortality rate (Livi-Bacci, 2003: 64).

Similar conclusions can be also drawn when analyzing the situation of the county of Alba de Jos. During 1870-1873 the constant augmentation of the price levels corroborated with an outburst of diseases resulted in an increasing number of deaths (*Table 3*). The diet and the demographic structure are interdependent variables. Mortality crisis triggered by endemic shortages and usually associated with the short-term recurrences of the infectious diseases decisively influenced the demographic evolution, as it happened in the eightieth decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

*Table 3. The Price Evolution on the Market of Aiud between 1867 and 1878, fl/ hf*

Year	Wheat	Mixed Wheat	Rye	Oat	Potatoes
1867	3,95	3,39	2,70	1,52	2,63
1868	3,81	2,99	2,31	1,34	1,73
1869	3,80	3,13	2,46	1,5	0,73
1870	5,06	4,24	3,22	2,41	1,30
1871	6	4,76	3,65	2,36	2,09
1872	6,16	5,12	4,18	1,80	2,19
1873	6,20	5,36	4,40	1,44	2,17
1874	5,08	4,30	3,66	1,54	2,08
1875	3,34	2,70	2,16	1,57	1,26
1876	8,90	7,50	6	1,70	2,60
1877	8,85	7,13	6,23	3,46	2,91
1878	7,1	6,24	4,75	2,51	-

Sources: ANDJAB, *Fond Primăria oraşului Aiud*, Registrul preţurilor de pe piaţă 1869-1878: 7-67; *Economul*, 1877: 6-192; *Economul*, 1878: 8-190.

In the county of Alba de Jos and also in the entire Transylvanian territory, the epidemics were included among the most fatal diseases. Consequently, the outburst of some of these epidemics in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and especially during the eightieth decade of the same Century triggered one of the highest rates of morality of the time (Rotar, 2005: 142-143).

As for the county level and the seven communities chosen to serve as research sample, the highest rate of mortality was recorded in 1873 when infectious diseases affected the population of this area (*Table 4*).

<sup>2</sup> The Gulden or forint (German: *Österreichisch-ungarische Gulden* or Hungarian: *oszátrák-magyar forint*) was the currency of the Austro-Hungarian Empire between 1754 and 1892 when it was replaced by the Krone/korona.

Table 4. The Annual Evolution of the deceases (1871-1910)

<b>Year</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1872</b>	<b>1873</b>	<b>1874</b>	<b>1875</b>	<b>1876</b>	<b>1877</b>	<b>1878</b>	<b>1879</b>	<b>1880</b>
County	8,906	9,196	10,580	9,026	7,459	5,034	6,136	6,814	5,808	5,820
Sample	129	163	165	122	129	133	106	108	101	94
<b>Year</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1882</b>	<b>1883</b>	<b>1884</b>	<b>1885</b>	<b>1886</b>	<b>1887</b>	<b>1888</b>	<b>1889</b>	<b>1890</b>
County	5,307	7,370	5,742	6,218	6,378	5,990	6,294	5,399	5,443	6,426
Sample	87	87	85	74	88	114	108	83	81	122
<b>Year</b>	<b>1891</b>	<b>1892</b>	<b>1893</b>	<b>1894</b>	<b>1895</b>	<b>1896</b>	<b>1897</b>	<b>1898</b>	<b>1899</b>	<b>1900</b>
County	5,984	6,701	5,540	5,890	5,826	7,400	6,269	6,361	5,268	5,769
Sample	112	137	91	82	85	135	116	83	89	92
<b>Year</b>	<b>1901</b>	<b>1902</b>	<b>1903</b>	<b>1904</b>	<b>1905</b>	<b>1906</b>	<b>1907</b>	<b>1908</b>	<b>1909</b>	<b>1910</b>
County	5,743	6,443	5,729	5,441	5,549	5,533	6,098	5,896	6,083	5,634
Sample	91	128	72	72	101	83	87	106	82	101

Sources: *Magyar Statistikai Évkönyv*, 1872-1891; *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények*, 1894-1901; *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények*, 1913-1918; ANDJAB, *Colecția registre de stare civilă de la instituțiile de cult*, Parohia ortodoxă Cheile Râmețului, Parohia greco-catolică Găbud, Parohia greco-catolică Gârbovița, Parohia greco-catolică Ighiu, Parohia greco-catolică Mogoș-Bârlești, Parohia reformată Noșlac, Parohia greco-catolică Tiur

The epidemic of cholera in 1873 affected 2,829 persons, 1,270 of which losing their lives because of it (Table 5).

The maximum intensity of the disease was recorded in July-August. 2,463 cases (980 men, 1040 women and 443 children) were registered between 4 July and 28 August. Among the recorded cases, 1323 persons were cured (536 men, 613 women and 174 children), 1087 died (420 men, 706 women and 261 children) and 53 were still ill (24 men, 21 women and 8 children).

Table 5. Epidemic of cholera in 1873 in the county of Alba de Jos

The Total Number of the Population	The Population in Areas Affected by Cholera	During the (time of) epidemics			
		Patients	Patients cured	Deceases	People still ill
227,254	100,811	2,829	1,559	1,270	-

Source: *Magyar Statistikai Évkönyv*, 1874: 90-91.

At the county level, cholera caused 1,270 deceases: 1,087 persons died between 4 July and 28 August, the rest of 183 individuals lost their lives during the interval of 30 August-21 November. The highest rate of mortality was

recorded between 18 July and 20 August when 75.6% of the persons affected by cholera died in 1873.

According to the regular statistics of the local authorities, 9 settlements were affected by cholera during 4-10 July and 15 persons died. Between 10 July and 18 July, the epidemic extended to 27 communities and the number of deaths was 87. During 18-26 July, the pandemic was recorded in 43 localities and its number of victims reached 190. Between 26 July and 3 August, cholera affected 53 settlements and 287 deaths were recorded. Local statistics mentioned 241 deceases from 57 communities during 3-11 August, 167 deceases from 61 settlements during 11-20 August and 67 localities and a number of 100 deaths between 20 and 28 August (ANDJAB, *Fond Prefectura județului Alba*, dosar 1/1873: 9-25).

The epidemic of cholera affected the city of Aiud, the residence of the county between 8 August and 14 September. Consequently, statistics recorded 204 cases of illness (77 men, 91 women and 36 children) of which 121 persons recovered (44 men, 64 women and 13 children) and the rest of 83 individuals lost their lives (33 men, 27 women and 23 children). The first deaths because of the cholera appeared on 16 July and the last decease on 28 August. The evolution of the demises in the city of Aiud during this interval of time was the following: on 16 July-2 deaths, on 17 July-1 decease, on 18 July-1 death, on 22 July-1 decease, on 23 July-1 death, on 26 July-5 deceases, on 28 July-2 deaths, on 30 July-6 deceases, on 1 August-2 deaths, on 3 August-10 deceases, on 4 August-4 deaths, on 5 August-5 deceases, on 6 August-8 deaths, on 7 August-2 deceases, on 8 August-8 deaths, on 9 August -2 deaths, on 10 August-1 death, on 11 August-3 deceases, on 13 August-6 deaths, on 14 August-5 deceases, on 17 August-4 deaths, 18 August-3 deceases, and on 28 August-1 death (ANDJAB, *Fond Prefectura județului Alba*, dosar 1/1873: 26).

The beginning of the epidemic of cholera was dated on 4 July 1973. The first communities affected were Micoșlaca, Ciumbud and Gâmbaș (ANDJAB, *Fond Prefectura județului Alba*, dosar 1/1873: 13) located in the Northern part of the county. Probably, the pandemic came from Cluj area where the first case was recorded in June (Crăciun, 2005: 37). The dispersion of the epidemic was favored by people traveling on the road between Cluj and Sibiu or on the railroad Oradea-Cluj-Brașov (the section Cluj-Râzboieni of this railroad and another part to Brașov was finished in 1873).

The epidemic spread very quickly. First cases were recorded in Teiuș and Aiud on 7 July and 8 July. Several days later, on 11 July, cholera was notified in Drâmbar, a settlement located 7 km from Alba Iulia. After 8 days from the first recorded cases of cholera, the pandemic reached the Southern part of the

county, precisely Vințu de Jos (on 12 July) and also the Western part of the region (Câmpeni and Baia de Arieș) on 19 July (Arhivele Naționale Direcția Județeană Alba, *Fond Prefectura județului Alba*, dosar 1/1873: 13, 17).

The epidemic of cholera manifested itself virulently in the settlements located around Teiuș, Aiud and Alba Iulia. A correspondence published by a regional newspaper mentioned that cholera spread rapidly around Teiuș, Aiud and Alba Iulia and that the increasing number of victims (over 10 cases in some communes) provoked panic and concern among the population living in this area (*Gazeta Transilvaniei*, nr. 58, 1873: 2).

During the epidemic of cholera, the city of Alba Iulia recorded 40 deaths (*Magyar Statistikai Évkönyv*, 1874: 90-95), Aiud, as I have already mentioned above, another 83 deceases (Arhivele Naționale Direcția Județeană Alba, *Fond Prefectura județului Alba*, dosar 1/1873: 26) and 34 people died in Teiuș (ANDJAB, *Fond Prefectura județului Alba*, dosar 1/1873: 31).

The Eastern part of the county was less affected by cholera. In Blaj, first cases of cholera were notified on 16 August when the pandemic had already lost from its initial intensity and virulence. Moreover, between 16 August and 1 September cholera made only 7 victims in this city and 4 of them died and the rest of 3 were cured (ANDJAB, *Fond Prefectura județului Alba*, dosar 1/1873: 65).

Between 28 August and 21 November, the number of the settlements affected by cholera was reduced to 21 (ANDJAB, *Fond Prefectura județului Alba*, dosar 1/1873: 27-69). While the epidemic became increasingly isolated, its negative consequences were accordingly lower (183 deceases). The epidemic focus was extinct on 21 November, the last cases of cholera being notified in Țelna (ANDJAB, *Fond Prefectura județului Alba*, dosar 1/1873: 68), a settlement located 15 km from Alba Iulia.

Besides cholera, the county of Alba de Jos experienced other epidemics in 1873. For example, the diphtheria angina was extremely virulent in the Greek-Catholic parish of Tiur in 1873 where it made 23 victims out of 92 persons (ANDJAB, *Colecția registre de stare civilă de la instituțiile de cult*, Parohia greco-catolică Tiur).

In contrast to the central region of the former county of Alba de Jos that was mostly affected by cholera, its Eastern counterpart was in a lesser degree affected by this epidemic, but instead it experienced a pandemic of diphtheria. The disease and its imminent risks caused important changes in the lives and activities of the ordinary people. For example, in Blaj, at the proposal of the archdiocesan doctor the beginning of the classes was postponed in order to prevent the extension of the epidemics. On 22 September 1873, the doctor Nicolae Stoica mentioned about the virulent outburst of cholera and diphtheria

in his commune and in its surrounding territories adding that these pandemics made numerous victims (ANDJAB, *Fond Mitropolia Română Unită Blaj-Acte înregistrate*, document 2691/1873: 1).

At his proposal, the Consistorial meeting of 23 September 1873 issued a circular letter that postponed the beginning of the classes for an indefinite time (ANDJAB, *Fond Mitropolia Română Unită Blaj-Acte înregistrate*, document 2691/1873: 6). The situation returned to normal only at the beginning of October. The opening of the classes was scheduled on 24 October but only after the medical report presented an optimistic evaluation on the situation: there were no recordings of new cases of cholera around Blaj and for the previous 8 days diphtheria did not make further victims (ANDJAB, *Fond Mitropolia Română Unită Blaj-Acte înregistrate*, document 2691/1873: 1).

In 1874, the number of deaths was also very high (9,026). This situation was due, among other things, to outbreak of diphtheria. Official statistics shown that diphtheria affected 2,045 people, 110 of them fell ill, 15 were cured, 84 persons died and other 11 remained under medical surveillance (*Magyar Statistikai Évkönyv*, 1877: 151).

After a short respite in the middle of the decade, mortality rate increased again in 1877-1878 without equaling the negative values recorded at the beginning of the decade. During these two years, population had to experience again the burdens of poor harvest and of grain prices established accordingly (See *Table 3*).

The year of 1877 was a difficult period for agriculture when heavy rains in the beginning of the year (*Economul*, 1877: 87) were followed by drought (*Economul*, 1877: 95). The area around Blaj experienced great damages because of the overflowing of Târnava Rivers. One local newspaper described the apocalyptic picture of the flood: rests of houses, doors, windows, two-handled tubs, sieves, pillows, blankets carried by waters, land slides destroying human settlements and cultures, the communication lines and postal service disrupted for a week, and also a gloomy perspective on the prospective autumn harvests (*Economul*, 1877: 79-80).

A similar disastrous situation of the year of 1877 was also described by the priests in the parochial registers. The registration of deaths in the Greek-Catholic parish of Gârbovița mentioned that the river destroyed fences, sheds, stables, hen coops and pigsties, mills and that one young man lost his life when trying to draw out his cart from the shed he was surprised by the flood (ANDJAB, *Colecția registre de stare civilă de la instituțiile de cult*, Parohia greco-catolică Gârbovița).

The year of 1878 was also a difficult period for the people from Alba region because of the scarcities, poverty and other difficulties. Therefore, the parochial registers recorded deaths because of famine and extreme poverty. The Orthodox community of Ighiu notified in 1878 that a man of 60 years old died of starvation and other two persons, one of 68 years old and a woman of 49 years old, lost their lives because of extreme poverty (Arhivele Naționale Direcția Județeană Alba, *Colecția registre de stare civilă de la instituțiile de cult, Parohia ortodoxă Ighiu*).

An insignificant increasing in the number of deaths can also be documented in 1880 especially among the inhabitants located in the West part of the county confronted with floods because of the overflow of Arieș River in December 1879 (Gazeta Transilvaniei, 1880, no.54, 55, 57, 59, 96: 3, 3-4, 3, 2, 3, 3).

The general drama, sufferings and sorrows of the population from the former county of Alba de Jos were also reflected on the lives of the families. In the Greek-Catholic community of Ighiu nearly every family has lost at least one of his members during the eightieth decade. For example, family of Petru Danciu and Paraschiva Cetean buried three of the six born children between 1874 and 1878 (*Family Record 1*), the family of Nicolae Costea and Ana Mihaiu lost both their daughters (*Family Record 2*) and the two children of Nicolae Cricăuan and Oana Istrate also died (*Family Record 3*). In the family of Ilie I. Adam Popa, two of the three children and the wife of 35 years old lost their lives too (*Family Record 4*). Ioan Dumitru had been married with Oana Curta for 5 years before she died on 8 November 1878 leaving behind two small children (*Family Record 5*). One woman, Sofia Păcurariu, lost her first husband in 1873 during the epidemics of cholera and her second husband in 1879. She got married again in 1880 and lived with this husband until her death in 1890 (*Family Records 6 and 7*).

After 1880, the population of Alba region experienced small mortality rates as the negative developments had only a short term consequences in people's lives (Bolovan, 2000: 143-144).

In conclusion, for the people living on the edge between pre-modernity and modernity in the former county of Alba de Jos, crises, endemic shortages, extreme poverty and epidemics explain the increased number of deceases. The low standard of development could not cope with the contemporary critical evolutions and natural calamities and therefore, "...in time of overflow...in time of drought ...it was a time of great trouble" (ANDJAB, *Colecția manuscrise, Monografia satului Drîmbar. Județul Alba*: 144).



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## Annexes

*Family Record 1*

	<b>Bridegroom</b>	<b>Bride</b>
Surname and name	Petru Danciu	Paraschiva Ceteanu
Parents		
Religion	Greek-Catholic	Orthodox
Place of birth	Ighiu	Ighiu
Marital status	Unmarried	Unmarried
Age of marriage	27 years	19 years
Age of death	70 years	57 years
Remarriages		

Date of marriage	End of marriage	Marriage duration	Widowhood duration
17.02.1867	11.01.1905	38 years	

**Children**

First name	Date of birth	Date of death	Date of marriage	Age at marriage	Age at death
Ioanu	10.10.1869	16.10.1869			6 days
Georgiu	3.10.1873	13.01.1874			3 months
Vasile	12.04.1875				
Raveca	12.04.1875	17.10.1878			3 years
Rosalia	2.06.1878	23.10.1878			4 months
Maria	5.11.1882	21.03.1896			14 years

*Family Record 2*

	<b>Bridegroom</b>	<b>Bride</b>
Surname and name	Nicolae Costea a Savei	Ana Mihaiu
Parents		
Religion	Greek-Catholic	Orthodox
Place of birth	Ighiu	Ighiu
Marital status	Unmarried	Unmarried
Age of marriage	25 years	21 years
Age of death		
Remarriages		

Date of marriage	End of marriage	Marriage duration	Widowhood duration
9.02.1868			

### Children

First name	Date of birth	Date of death	Date of marriage	Age at marriage	Age at death
Marina	8.02.1872	2.08.1872			5 months
Sofia	31.12.1872	12.03.1875			2 years

### *Family Record 3*

	<b>Bridegroom</b>	<b>Bride</b>
Surname and name	Nicolae Cricauan	Oana Istrate
Parents		
Religion	Greek-Catholic	Greek-Catholic
Place of birth	Ighiu	Ighiu
Marital status	Widowed	Widow
Age of marriage	49 years	33 years
Age of death	60 years	
Remarriages		

Date of marriage	End of marriage	Marriage duration	Widowhood duration
9.09.1872	21.12.1883	11 years	

### Children

First name	Date of birth	Date of death	Date of marriage	Age at marriage	Age at death
Marina	1.12.1874	5.02.1875			2 months
Georgiu	18.04.1876	12.10.1903			27 years

*Family Record 4*

	<b>Bridegroom</b>	<b>Bride</b>
Surname and name	Ilie I. Adam Popa	Raveca Anghel
Parents		
Religion	Greek-Catholic	Greek-Catholic
Place of birth	Șard	Ighiu
Marital status	Widowed	Unmarried
Age of marriage	40 years	20 years
Age of death		27 years
Remarriages		

Date of marriage	End of marriage	Marriage duration	Widowhood duration
19.11.1871	26.03.1878	7 years	

**Children**

First name	Date of birth	Date of death	Date of marriage	Age at marriage	Age at death
Lucretia	9.06.1873				
Valeriu	5.03.1876	21.03.1877			1 year
Florentina	6.02.1878	6.02.1878			1day

*Family Record 5*

	<b>Bridegroom</b>	<b>Bride</b>
Surname and name	Ioan Dumitru	Oana Curta
Parents		
Religion	Greek-Catholic	Greek-Catholic
Place of birth	Ighiu	Ighiu
Marital status	Unmarried	Unmarried
Age of marriage	24 years	23 years
Age of death		28 years
Remarriages	16.02.1879, Dobo Saveta	

Date of marriage	End of marriage	Marriage duration	Widowhood duration
17.11.1872	8.11.1878	5 years	3 months

### Children

First name	Date of birth	Date of death	Date of marriage	Age at marriage	Age at death
Lucretia	13.10.1873				
Parteniu	4.02.1876		22.03.1902	26 years	

### *Family Record 6*

	<b>Bridegroom</b>	<b>Bride</b>
Surname and name	Rusanu Cantoru	Sofia Pacurariu
Parents		
Religion	Greek-Catholic	Greek-Catholic
Place of birth	Şard	Ighiu
Marital status	Widowed	Unmarried
Age of marriage	56 years	16 years
Age of death	71 years (cholera)	50 years
Remarriages		8.02.1874, Nicolae Baicu

Date of marriage	End of marriage	Marriage duration	Widowhood duration
13.04.1858	8.03.1873	15 years	11 months

### Children

First name	Date of birth	Date of death	Date of marriage	Age at marriage	Age at death
Nicolae	26.01.1868	6.02.1868			12 days
Maria	31.03.1869				

*Family Record 7*

	<b>Bridegroom</b>	<b>Bride</b>
Surname and name	Baicu Nicolae	Sofia (Cantoru) Pacurariu
Parents		
Religion	Greek-Catholic	Greek-Catholic
Place of birth	Şard	Ighiu
Marital status	Unmarried	Widow
Age of marriage	33 years	31 years
Age of death	38 years	50 years
Remarriages		27.06.1880, Ioan Barabantianu

Date of marriage	End of marriage	Marriage duration	Widowhood duration
8.02.1874	21.12.1879	5 years	6 months

# Alcoholism and Ethnic Stereotypes in Modern Age Transylvania

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**Abstract:** In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century we were taking part in the process of emphasising the danger represented by excessive alcohol consumption and the causes that triggered this phenomenon in the Romanian society, even though a series of signals had been identified since previous times. The public opinion was the one that rang the alarm bell on the problem represented by alcoholism in a modernizing society. The part of the media became essential in the attempt to create an anti-alcoholic public view, through numerous news regarding the consumption of beverages and the proportions of alcoholism as a social phenomenon. In this fight against the excessive use of alcohol there was a gathering of the modern state’s factors of power: the state authorities, the clergy and the press. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the new tendency of the public society was to promote healthier alcohols, such as wine, to the detriment of stronger drinks, obtained through distillation. Analyzing the Transylvanian press one can see some stereotypes related to the topic of alcohol: de methods of obtaining alcohol, its components, the fatal effects of alcohol abuse on the human body.

**Keywords:** Romanian society, the public opinion, alcoholism, stronger drinks, social phenomenon, anti-alcoholism measures

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup>, the alcoholism represented a phenomenon that determined the reaction of the authorities and of the Romanian society. Among the other issues that characterize this period and the process of modernization of the rural world, a new phenomenon springs and develops – alcoholism. Seen as a cause of “degeneration” for the human race, with an impressive quantity of consequences: poverty, prostitution, ignorance, crime etc., the alcohol becomes the cause of all evils that had struck the Romanian people.

Fernand Braudel claimed that any civilization needed alimentary luxuries, a certain amount of stimulants, of doping, in order to exist: so, the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries saw the madness of spices and pepper, the 16<sup>th</sup> Century brings, as novelties, the alcohol, then the tea, the coffee and the tobacco. The 19<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> centuries know their own drugs, healthy or detestable. As a consequence, for maintenance and because of serious alimentary difficulties, human kind always needed compensations, following a constant rule of life (Braudel, 1984: 220).

In Europe, the big innovation is the apparition of brandy (*vinars* in Romanian popular dialect) and of the grain alcohol. The 16<sup>th</sup> Century creates it, the 17<sup>th</sup>, promotes it and the 18<sup>th</sup> Century popularizes it (Ariès & Duby, 1997: 220). For a long time, the brandy was used as a cure, especially against gouty, hoarseness and sometimes even against the plague. Europe engulfed quickly into the revolution of the alcohol. The continent found one of its daily exciting cheap calories, an easy luxury, with brutal consequences. And very soon, the State, on the watch, finds a profit in this for itself.

The model borrowed from thermodynamics encourages researchers to compare the human body with a steam engine, then with a motor, that needs to be fueled – and so the belief in the virtues of the alcohol increases. The very precise consumption rhythm of the Parisian mason, of the porter of Rouen or of the puddler of Valencia is regulated by the illusion of whipping (Ariès & Duby, 1997: 220).

During the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the alcohol is present in the every-day life of the population, in the Romanian provinces as well as in Europe. Drunkenness aggravates domestic fights, exaggerates the jealousy of the cheated husband, stimulates the violence that emerges from the faintest doubt, arouses the reproaches of the wife and the brutality of the husband. Domestic violence caused by alcohol are as usual as the *delirium tremens*, tragic figure that proves that the dangers of degeneration are real (Braudel, 1984: 223).

The spreading of alcohol in all its forms, as daily beverage or as medicine, in special cases, is a result of the society that promoted it. The result, in the Romanian space just as in the rest of Europe, was the same: the alcoholism as a phenomenon that heated peoples' spirits and that generated the fight against the excess of alcoholic beverages. A liquid that supposedly prolonged life, that maintains youth, vitality and bodily vigor, proved to be the exact opposite for a naive world, where measures are taken too late.

The theme of an exaggerated alcohol use comes to the full attention of Romanian society as a major problem only in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup>



Century, though a series of signals can also be identified in the anterior period<sup>1</sup>. So we deal, for the first time, with the theme of the alcoholism and its effects described and debated seriously. The dangers of the excessive use of alcohol and its consequences are fully realized, as well as the phenomena's causes. We cannot precisely tell why the Romanian press and society begin a so-called anti-alcoholic campaign in the 1870s. The public opinion was the one that rang the alarm bell on the problem represented by alcoholism in a modernizing society. In this fight against the excessive use of alcohol we have a gathering of the modern state's factors of power: the state authorities, the clergy and the press.

The role of the public society becomes overwhelming, as the written media, due to its means, gets the message and manages to bring into full light a social reality, a phenomenon. The part of the media becomes essential in the attempt to create an anti-alcoholic public view, through numerous news regarding the consumption of beverages and the proportions of alcoholism as a social phenomenon. Generally speaking, we can state that this attitude becomes common in the Romanian newspapers, regardless the political orientation or the circulation, detail that demonstrates the importance given to this matter.

The Transylvanian church manages, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup>, to guide the actions against the alcohol abuse. Certainly, the discourse of the church concerning the problems of alcoholism comes only as natural, as the moralizing stratum of this type of oration is only natural. As well, the support for the anti-alcoholic actions of the church (concerning temperance or abstinence) can be extracted from the Bible itself<sup>2</sup>, under the circumstances that, for example, the distilled alcohol did not

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<sup>1</sup> "In Transylvania, even since 1843 there were men that were convinced about the damage that brandy is for the folk and for their bodies. Among the villagers, there were the teacher. Nagy Ferencz, doctor Syilagyi Nicolae and even the baron Nic. Vesselenyi, who, in ten of his villages, forbade the inhabitants to drink brandy. Among the Romanians, in 1847, a few men led by the honored archpriest and by the president of an association from Braşov, Ioan Petricu, founded an association whose members pledged themselves not to drink brandy anymore. The senator Ştefanu Russu, the tradesmen Perşioiu, Boboianu, myself and many others were members of this association." (Bartolomeu Băiulescu, „Disertaţiune despre stricarea vinarsului, ținută în 16 iuliu în Adunarea Generală a despărțământului de cultură la Braşiovu, de parochelu..." (*Transilvania*, 1872: 261).

<sup>2</sup> "Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink; that continue until night, till wine inflame them! And the harp, and the viol, the tabret, and pipe, and wine, are in their feasts: but they regard not the work of the Lord, neither consider the operation of his hands. Therefore hell hath enlarged herself, and opened her mouth without measure: and their glory, and their multitude, and their pomp, and he that rejoiceth, shall descend into it. And the mean man shall be brought down, and the mighty man shall be humbled, and the eyes of the lofty shall be humbled. Woe unto them that are mighty to drink

exist during biblical times (Rotar, 2006: 174). With such perspectives, there comes no surprise in front of the church taking stand against the excessive use of alcohol, even before the State/corresponding Power took any kind of action.

The production of strong alcohols knew a development “such as has never been seen in any of the previous centuries”. The growth of the population’s activity, on one side, the easy access, the small price, the belief of the people that the alcohol is beneficial, on the other side, all are causes of an excessive production and consumption. Made out of wine or grain, the alcohol is one and the same. The Romanian peasant was interested in the price of the beverage, not its quality. The peasant is the main consumer for the distilled drinks, no matter what they were actually made of or if they were natural or industrial alcohols.

The beverages made of distilled alcohol were the most dangerous, containing a mixture of superior alcohols in large quantities, while the fermented alcohols only contain ethyl alcohol. An important role in chronic intoxications is played by the impurities from the alcoholic drinks, because they raise the total degree of toxicity, as well as because they confer specific features to the intoxication (*Antialcoolul*, 1900: 79).

By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the new tendency of the public society was promoting the healthier alcohols, such as wine, to the detriment of the strong drinks, obtained through distillation. Wine is considered to be the least dangerous alcoholic drink and so it begins to be promoted among villagers, who were hardly drinking it. In wine, the alcohol is combined with relatively nourishing substances. Good quality wine, naturally obtained and consumed moderately and always during eating is not harmful; being a slight stimulant of the secretions, it is useful, especially for the elder, that need stimulants for the secretion of the gastric juices. The wine contains, almost exclusively, ethyl alcohol and the proportions vary upon the region and the quality of the vineyard. The merchant were accused that, out of financial interest, add large quantities of additives. Among these, corn, saccharine, salicylic acid – used to sweeten the wine – that can lead, in many cases, to intoxications (*Antialcoolul*, 1901: 52).

It was noticed that the peasants prefer not the wine, but certain strong drinks (*rachiu* and *țuică*), often distilled from various products, not entirely healthy. A constant coordinate is that, at the village inn, one could rarely find

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wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink (...). Woe unto them that stumble with wine and lose the way for they are drunk. The priest and the judge stumble, are conquered by wine, maddened by spirits, have false sights, fumble into decisions. All tables are covered in vome, there is no clean place no more. And though I say: *whom does he want to teach?*, (Isaia. 5, 11-22).

good quality wine that could have been considered fortifying and nourishing for the ill (“weakened by disease, fever, pellagra, anemia”). The civil society tried to promote the drinking of wine, as well as to obtain an encouragement from the state authorities for the commercialization of this beverage, often considered healthy. This initiative was caused by the fact that few inns sold wines. A frequent consumption of natural and unpolluted wine could have determined an improvement of the excessive drinking of strong spirits.<sup>3</sup>

An alternative for the wine is the beer, but this alcoholic drink was especially popular in countries such as Austria and Germany (*Antialcoolul*, 1907: 89-90). Doubtlessly, the beer is a hygienic drink, if it is not consumed abusively. The quantity of alcohol from beer varied upon the technique of fabrication.

But on the Romanian territory, the most popular alcoholic drink was the brandy (*rachiu/ vinars/ țuică*). The proportions of the alcohol use in the rural environment were due to this brandy, used for all types of occasions and circumstances. It also is the beverage produced in the Romanian peasant’s own household, from various fermented fruits and it is the drink that is usually counterfeited by the innkeepers. The quantities of alcohol produced on the Romanian territory and in Transylvania reached impressive figures. The available reports on the quantities of spirits produced and consumed will be used as sources, though their veracity can be doubted, because there was no exact track of the alcohol production. Such a report<sup>4</sup> is the one of Professor Felix (the president of the Sanitary Services), dating from 1895: he registers that 50 small factories produced, during the year 1894-1895, 34 827 453 l of alcohol, from which 26 773 037 l were consumed inside the country. In 1893, 247 000 hectoliters of 100% natural alcohol and 2 476 thousands of hectoliters of industrial alcohol of the same concentration of alcohol were produced in France. During 1893-1894, in Romania, 12 114 960 l of alcohol (obtained from plums, wine, yeast and mark of grapes) were consumed; on the other side - 26 041 182 l of industrial sprits.

We witness an increase of the alcohol flow, that was considered a result of the increase of the number of inns. So, there are many historiographic sources that blame for the spreading of alcohol in the Romanian territories no

<sup>3</sup> Strong alcohols that are frequently labeled as the most poisonous ones, that render the peasants sick and make them lose their mind.

<sup>4</sup> Alcohol is consumed under the following forms: industrial spirits, wine spirits, yearn alcohol, marc of grapes, alcohol obtained from cherries or plums, appetizers (bitter and bitter-like beverages), vermouth, absinth, liquors. Brandy is usually named the alcoholic drink that has a concentration of no more than 38%-61% and that can be consumed as it is; strong spirits are the ones that contain more than 61% of alcohol (*Antialcoolul*, 1900: 7-8).

others than the ones that counterfeit the alcoholic drinks – the innkeepers. The inn is the place where solidarities break and fights occur, but, even more customary, a place of sociability. Under these circumstances, the equilibrium of the village fundamentally depends upon the good functioning of the self-regulation mechanisms, consisting in the various collective rituals (Ștefănescu, 2002: 56 ).

The innkeeper and the inn were seen in different ways by the ones that drank alcohols and the ones that didn't. The first category saw the inn as a place of enjoyment and of meeting other people and the innkeeper as a confident to trust with their misfortunes. For the other category, the inn was the place of the devil, of perdition and the innkeeper was guilty for distracting the man with words, selling him drinks and letting him with no money and drunk (Chițu, 2005: 143). Going to the inn, this true “counter-church” or “church of the devil”, especially during the religious feast days, leads into mistakes not only the common people, but the ones supposed to guard over public morality as well.

If the innkeeper was guilty for the spreading of alcoholism, the Jew was even guiltier, as he introduced and developed the strong wheat-based spirits. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, begins to stand out the so-called myth of the innkeeper Jew, guilty for all the misfortunes of the Transylvanian Romanian (*Antialcoolul*, 1903: 167). After receiving the right of property in Transylvania, Partium and Maramureș, the Jew population augment so much from year to year, that they occupy whole villages”. All inns, mills, customs are theirs, so that some call them “the honorable holders, because they know very well to use the poverty and the decadence of the Romanian and Ruthenian folks” (*Gazeta Transilvaniei*, 1865: 27).

Beginning with the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century the Jew's image is associated with innkeepers and moneylenders. An anti-Semitic attitude grows in the whole Transylvanian press, Jews being accused of giving rise to all the Romanian people's “bad habits”. Because of them the peasants drink alarmingly large quantities of spirits, lose their homes following the onerous contracts they've been forced to sign in order to cover the unpaid alcohol consumption and the marriage problems caused by alcoholism are also associated with the Jews. They are also nominated as the guilty ones for the “alcoholism diffusion”, being perceived as the true culprits for the rural population's pauper state, because they were the only ones to sell alcohol on debt. Finding himself in such a situation the peasant was forced to sign a contract with the innkeeper through which, most of the times, the impossibility of repaying offered the alcohol seller the propriety of some piece of land

belonging to the debtor, or of his stored wheat. Also, if the debt was too large the family's lifetime patrimony was at stake. There were cases when the debt's high value forced the peasants to contract the next year's fruits (prunes), and having a weak harvest they were not able to repay the money and the interest. Such case appeared in the village of Ferede, where a man put in pawn his corn for the inn debt. The peasants accused that when the innkeepers were Romanians or Hungarians, people weren't drinking that much because those didn't agree to sell on wheat and it was the Jews who initiated this method of alcohol selling (*Gazeta Transilvaniei*, 1865: 27).

One said about the Jewish made spirits that it were so harmful because they were mixing vitriol in them along with other "dangerous things that do harm to the stomach and bring the man closer to his grave". There was this attitude in the Transylvanian press, in *Gazeta Transilvaniei* and *Telegraful Român* newspapers, which pointed negatively to those who were drinking alcohol in the Jewish inns.

In Transylvania the amplitude of the alcohol consumption was related to the Jews and a reaction from the state authorities, which should have felt threatened, was expected. It was believed that the state should take firm measures to successfully fight this phenomenon. Lacking sufficient food, people were throwing themselves blindly in the arms of alcoholism, of those spirits that demolished "the forces of the body and soul, changing them from human beings in beasts uninspired by any great ideas".

Analyzing the Transylvanian press one can see some stereotypes related to the topic of alcohol: de methods of obtaining alcohol, its components, the fatal effects of alcohol abuse on the human body<sup>5</sup> (*a drunkard is physically and morally sick, meaning that his body and his soul are both affected*), not to mention that such behavior also affects his family (frequent divorce, epileptic or mentally ill children<sup>6</sup> - results of the father's alcoholism).

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<sup>5</sup> Its unfortunate effects also emerged from an article in *Tribuna*, presenting the case of Ioan Vostinar from Șicula, which returned home after a night at the village's inn, thought he had seen a dog in the garden, fired his rifle and shot his mother, being convicted to 10 years of prison. "A împușcat-o pe mama sa" (Stepan, 82).

<sup>6</sup> "Breeding functions fall victim, most of the times, to the poisoning power of alcoholism. Highly regarded authors sustain that the child conceived when drunk will be born with epilepsy, or dumb, or insane, or at least with propensity to go insane. His nervous organs (the brain, the spinal cord, all his nerves), these organs suffer profound injuries because of the alcohol, also do the stomach and liver. The brain and spinal cord, and all the nerves highly debase. There is no other way of explaining the anomalies seen in the functions of the brain, the spinal cord, the nerves, the senses etc. of a drunkard: delirium, angriness, hallucinations, the drunkard's delusions sadden the eye of the viewer" (*Apărătorul sănătății*, 1891:144-145).

The articles from *Gazeta Transilvaniei* abound in suicidal cases or crimes caused by alcoholics<sup>7</sup>. This kind of news can frequently be exaggerated because of the writer's intention to create an image of the severe consequences of alcohol presence in everyday life and the fatal outcome of alcohol abuse<sup>8</sup>. "In the day of October the 8<sup>th</sup> 1891, Gheorghe Călianu, from the small village of Nicopoleu, Fundeanu commune, returning from the Târgul Drăgușeni commune, Covurlui district, being drunk, met some dogs playing along the road. The said Călianu quickly took a dog in his arms, which bit his face, and because of this he remained inside his home until October 24, when unseen by his wife he went out and jump into a well, dying instantly (*Gazeta Transilvaniei*, 1891: 5).

Another case sounds like this: "In the day of October the 31<sup>st</sup>, while she was returning from Roman, the woman Marghilla Gricori Meletoiu, from the Brătești commune, Roman district, in a wagon pulled by two oxen, having her son along her, when passing over a bridge at Brăteasca stream, the thirsty oxen wanted to drink water, the wagon was overthrown and the woman being drunk fall down and drowned in the stream".

The message sent by the press becomes a sententious one, because the newspapers, despite their political or confessional orientation, focus on the issue of alcoholism. The topics vary from the serious health problems caused by this addiction to family tragedies or social education. The presentation of the continental situation in this matter was not left out: how the European society battles this vice, measures taken in order to diminish the amplitude that this phenomenon seemed to have taken all over the Old World<sup>9</sup>. But if we mention the amplitude of the alcoholism in Europe, we must also mention the prohibitive measures: laws, official actions, moderation associations – well

<sup>7</sup> A sententious story depicts the terror in which a young wife with her child were waiting every evening the husband's return. The young woman lacked the courage to eat dinner before his return. Because he was very late she ate the cold food and went to sleep, being awoken later in the night by the rowdiness of her drunk husband which beat her to death; afterwards, because the child was crying he hit him too. In the morning when he woke up he saw the fearful consequences of the night at the inn: his wife and child laid dead because of him. It's an extreme example, probably quite rare, but the author exaggerates because he wants to reveal a social problem: the effects of alcoholism.

<sup>8</sup> An example is the case of Ms. Fould, the widow of the ex-imperial minister, who lived in Paris, on Bergere st. and had an old servant, who worked there for the past 25 years and despite his well known drinking habits was treated as part of the family. The man threatened many times that he will set the house on fire and during one night the other servants were awoken by gun shots and by the smoke which was already covering half the building. It seems that the man shot himself three times in the chest right after he set his chamber on fire (*Gazeta Transilvaniei*, 1886: 5).

<sup>9</sup> This is the European situation as it is pictured in the Romanian press.

developed in the European states. If alcoholism knows a “boom” in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, it seems that the whole Western Europe took firm and drastic measures in order to diminish it, or even eradicate it.

The reason for which the Romanian press and other edit sources from the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century speak about the amplitude of this phenomenon in the lands inhabited by Romanians was the lack of an official reaction from the authorities in this particular matter<sup>10</sup>.

Among several other objectives the reaction of the State authorities always included laws capable of regulating the manufacturing and selling of alcoholic beverages. The situation varied on the Romanian territories. In Transylvania there was a monopoly of the nobleman nine months a year, while during the other three (September, October, November) the serfs had the right to sell alcohol. That was until 1854, afterwards the serfdom being abolished. The majority of the innkeepers in Transylvania were Jews. In the Old Kingdom (Moldavia and Wallachia) functioned a state monopoly on alcohol commerce. Because of this the anti-alcoholism measures came in with some delay, the authorities trying to preserve the tax incomes which were consistent. Pressures were made by the society, asking for a much determined speech in this matter. The Royal Government was forced to elaborate laws to regulate the activity of the innkeepers and diminish alcoholism by forbidding the selling “on debt” for an amount of more than 3 fl., the inns were going to be closed Sunday and in other religious feast days (*Telegraful Român* 1867: 317). Nevertheless, a serious problem remained the implementation of the newly approved laws.

The case of Transylvania in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century is relevant, being a classic example of the development of an anti-alcoholism guidance, well maneuvered through the press and the abstinence literature which constantly grew during this period. One can witness the first anti-alcoholism movements in *Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură* (edited by George Bariț și Pavel Vasici in 1838-1839), then the first clear anti-alcoholism speech, belonging to Ioan Petricu și George Munteanu, in 1854. In this way Transylvania rallied to the anti-alcoholic stream already flowing in Europe and North America. A very relevant moment was the year 1885, when the first Anti-Alcoholism Congress took place in the Belgian town of Antwerp. This kind of events intended to influence not only the Western world, but Hungary and Transylvania also (Rotar, 2007: 298).

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<sup>10</sup> The press and other sources speak about laws and ways of diminishing alcoholism in Europe. Also, some statistics are offered on this matter in hope of pursuing and even copying the European model.

In 1882 was forwarded to the Parliament the law project regarding the issue of alcoholism on the territory of the Hunedoara County, which stipulated that alcohol selling was prohibited to those already known as having a problem with drinking. The law also prohibited the innkeeper to sell food in the same premises with alcohol. In villages with less than 500 inhabitants there was to be opened only one inn, and in towns with 1.000 inhabitants the number of legally accepted inns was two. Sundays before noon the inns were to be closed. If breaking the law, the innkeeper could have been imprisoned for a time between one month and one year, had to pay a fine and could lose the right to sell alcohol for a while (*Gazeta Transilvaniei*, 1894: 5). There were also measures to be taken against the drunkards: if one should get caught drunk three times a year he would be jailed between three days and a month and if he relapsed the penalty could reach one year. Measures had been taken against the innkeepers who abused their position. Hungarian writings presented the fact as a true blessing if the law would apply to the Romanians. A big problem, assumed in the end, was represented by the Jews, which were also “a threat for the Hungarians”, and measures were requested against them, including the interdiction of innkeeping (*Arhiva Someșană*, 1936-1937: 154).

In 1887, the Hungarian Diet received, for discussions and approbation, a law project concerning the spreading of strong spirits amid the people. Now it I decided that in the communes with less than 500 inhabitants only one inn would have permission to function. In the larger communes, that had not much more than 500 inhabitants, only one single inn would receive a permit of functioning as well. In this way, the number of inns from the rural environment was considerably decreased. It was ordered that all inns would be closed on Sundays (from 5 p.m. on Saturday until 5 a.m. on Monday) and on the religious feast days (from 5 p.m. on the day before until 5 a.m. the day after the feast). The law project stipulated arrest and a fine for all those who would get drunk, at an inn or in other public places. Also lockup and fine was mentioned for all the innkeepers, holders and their fill ups which would sell alcohol to drunkards or underage persons. To the one already punished for being a drunkard, the law could forbid the access to the inn, under the penalty of jail or fine (*Gazeta Transilvaniei*, 1887: 5)

The law “Stopping the commerce and the production of artificial wines on the territory of Transylvania” was promulgated on the 4<sup>th</sup> of July 1893 and came into effect six months later, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of January 1894. This law forbade the production and the distribution of any type of artificial wine. It was forbidden to distribute “on the territory of the Crown of St. Stephen” beverages that could be used for making artificial wines, with this purpose and



under this title. A wine was considered to be artificial if it wasn't exclusively obtained from grapes or if it was mixed with water or with any other liquid, apart from brandy and cognac. By the contrary, the wines prepared according to sensible principles, in cellars, weren't considered to be artificial. The Ministry of Commerce, along with the one for Agriculture, established through an ordinance which were the sensible principles for the treatment of wines in cellars. The ordinance was promulgated and the modifications were voted to the Hungarian Diet (*Gazeta Transilvaniei*, 1893: 3).

The Hungarian Ministry of Cults and Public Education issued the circular no. 1125 from the 24<sup>th</sup> of April 1903, so recommending to the schoolmasters and teachers from all schools to fight against alcoholism by demonstrating to the students its negative effects. It also suggested that gatherings of moderation should take place. The circular from the 28<sup>th</sup> of April 1903, coming from the same Ministry, as well pleaded for the fight against alcohol through schools (the anti-alcoholic booklets annexed to the school-books of reading, anatomy, pedagogy, geography, biology or the annexes on the theme are not considered valid). Founding youth associations where alcohol was forbidden, the ordinances of the same Ministry from 1911 and 1912 which stated that in every school, once a week, there should be lectures on the negative consequences of drinking, lectures that had a model – on the date of 30<sup>th</sup> October 1912, in the parish of Bărbant, from the Alba Inferior county, instead of the usual classes, the teachers held lectures on alcoholism –, recommending to librarians and teachers to acquire anti-alcoholic papers and books, the involvement of the royal inspectors in the anti-alcoholic manifestation that took place in schools: through all these measures, *Establishing the anti-alcoholic education* can be safely considered to be a movement coordinated by the State and developed under its protection (Rotar, 2006 : 172).

The anti-alcoholic actions that took place in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Transylvania shouldn't be considered solely on the small scale, as the fight against the addictive alcoholic drinks is part of an ampler attitude of the State/Power. In this age, the matter of public health is differently regarded, compared to the previous periods and it leads to a vast effort made for the increase of hygiene in the rural world. The phenomenon of the fight against alcoholism can be regarded as part of this effort. Talking about a fight against the vice, we must underline that the Romania territories aren't unique examples in the given period. The 19<sup>th</sup> Century – especially its second half – witnesses the first and maybe the most significant taking stand with regard to the alcoholism problem, attitude materialized in various manners of action.

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## Reflections on Intercultural Education in a Multiethnic Province

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**Abstract:** After the fall of the communist regime in Romania and of the ideology that affected in different degrees research and history teaching, historians have lately become more and more interested in focussing more on local and regional history than on the national one; this is mainly to rediscover the past of certain neglected regions and persons and to adequately value the local historical heritage, as suggested by some approaches of the international specialised literature. As far as the curriculum is concerned, the Ministry of Education and Research has started to encourage, even under the legislative framework, the elaboration of materials and manuals that value the local historical evolutions of an area or the past of the minorities in Romania. The present paper focuses on Transylvania, as it is the region of Romania with the biggest number of ethnic and confessional minorities and, probably, with the biggest need of intercultural education; however, the elaborated models can also be applied outside the Carpathians, taking into account the peculiarity of the historical evolution.

**Keywords:** Romania, Transylvania’ s population, intercultural education, tolerance and respect

Transylvania is one of the major provinces of today’s Romania and, starting with the dawn of the Middle Ages a thousand years ago, the Romanians were joined here by several other peoples which would later influence to varying degrees the history of this land. Among the peoples in question we find the Hungarians, the Germans, the Jews, the Armenians, the Serbs, the Slovaks etc.

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\* The work is part of a research project entitled *Oportunities of valuing the Transylvanian cultural heritage in history and religion teaching in pre-university education in a European Romania*, code ID\_2353, financed by CNCSIS – Romania

Of course, their presence among the Romanians was not uniform either from a chronological point of view (as they arrived here in different periods), or from a demographic one, as some came in larger numbers than others. Since the Middle Ages, Transylvania has had a population structure dominated by three main nations (Romanians, Hungarians, and Germans) and six major denominations (Orthodox, Roman-Catholic, Greek-Catholic, Calvinist or Evangelical Reformed, Lutheran or Evangelical and Unitarian), accompanied by other nations and denominations which, taken together, never accounted for more than 2 or 3% of the population.

Specialists normally reserve the name Transylvania for the area surrounded by the Carpathians, but most people use the name for that part of Romania consisting of several regions that had a more or less similar destiny across the centuries: historical Transylvania Banat, Crișana, and Maramureș. These territories grouped under the umbrella name of Transylvania were gradually conquered by the Kingdom of Hungary starting with the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, partially came under Turkish control after 1541, and ended up under Austrian rule after 1699. Until the First World War, Transylvania's central and regional authorities remained almost exclusively in Hungarian, Saxon, and Szekler hands. This because, beginning with the 14<sup>th</sup> Century, the Romanian majority was gradually denied any participation in the political, economic, or cultural life of their native province.

Until the 1918 union between Transylvania and Romania, the Hungarian kings, the Habsburg emperors, and the various governments in Budapest tried to alter its dominantly Orthodox and Romanian character. They partially succeeded, as in the Middle Ages a sizable part of the Romanian noble elites embraced first the Roman-Catholic and then the Reformed Calvinist faiths; after 1700, when some of the Romanian Orthodox united with the Church of Rome, the denominational composition of Transylvania became even more complex. The settlement of colonists, from the Middle Ages to the Modern Era, failed to eliminate the Romanian ethnic majority, but managed to decrease the percentage of Romanians in the province—never, however, under 53%. Indeed, what occurred on 1 December 1918 in Alba Iulia, namely, the democratic implementation of the right to national self-determination by the majority population in Transylvania, rendered this union stable and legitimate. The decision of the Paris Peace Conference to officially and internationally recognize the union between Transylvania and the Romanian state involved first and foremost the acceptance of a geopolitical reality based on the clear demographic majority of the Romanians in the territories that had decided their fate by way of a plebiscite (Bolovan & Bolovan, 2009: 79).

In what concerns the interethnic relations in Transylvania after 1918, their tortuous fate was also affected by the presence in the previous Century of authoritarian and totalitarian regimes and by the Second World War, which meant a step backwards in terms of the Romanian-Hungarian relations. The violence and the destruction of those years negatively affected the collective memory, and it took decades and a return to democracy before the two nations recovered their mutual trust and went back to peacefully living together. Today, things are moving in a positive direction, as indicated by the gradual increase in the number of mixed marriages in Transylvania (Horváth 2005: 285 sqq.). The information in Table 1 provides us with a synthetic overview of the ethnic composition of Romania and of Transylvania (the data is taken from the last official census, carried out in the spring of 2002). While in the country as a whole the Romanians are the absolute majority, in Transylvania as well the Romanian population is clearly dominant, accounting for nearly three quarters of the total population (74.7%), followed by Hungarians (approx. 20%), Roma (or Gypsies, as they appeared in documents and statistics for centuries on end), who represented 3.4%, Ukrainians 0.7%, Serbs 0.3%, Slovaks 0.2%, etc.

Over more than a thousand years of living together, this ethnic and denominational diversity most likely shaped certain types of demographic behavior typical for these peoples and denominations and led to mutual contacts and influences. Along the centuries, relations between the native Romanians and the other peoples that inhabited the Transylvanian space were neither pure or immaculate, nor horrible and disastrous. And this was most certainly the case in other European countries, where the majority population lived alongside significant ethnic or religious minorities. Despite the occasional conflicts, the local Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, and others also shared moments of cooperation and mutual struggle, of kinship and of unity of purpose. If we look in retrospect at the previous centuries in the history of Europe (including Romania and, implicitly, Transylvania), we might ask a seemingly exaggerated question: was there a single state or nation that was not affected by violence, that did not experience the drama of an interethnic or religious war, of an ethno-confessional conflict? It would seem that the correct answer is a negative one. More serious, even, is the fact that these wars were not confined to trenches and battlefields, engulfing instead homes, streets, markets, shops, churches or synagogues, and even cultural institutions.

**Table 1.** *The population of Romania by nationality, according to the 2002 census*

Unit	Total population	Romanians	Hungarians	Roma	Germans	Ukrainians	Serbs	Slovaks
<b>ROMANIA</b>	21,680,974	19,399,597 89.5%	1,431,807 6.6%	535,140 2.5%	59,764 0.3%	61,098 0.3%	22,561 0.1%	17,226 0.08%
<b>TRANSYLVANIA</b>	7,221,733	5,393,552 74.7%	1,415,718 19.6%	244,475 3.4%	53,077 0.7%	49,229 0.7%	20,816 0.3%	17,070 0.2%
Unit	Total population	Bulgarians	Czechs	Croats	Jews	Greeks	Other (Poles, Turks, Tartars, Chinese, etc.)	
<b>ROMANIA</b>	21,680,974	8,025 0,04%	3,941 0,02%	6,807 0,03%	5,785 0,03%	6,472 0,03%	122,751 0,5%	
<b>TRANSYLVANIA</b>	7,221,733	6,607 0,09%	3,041 0,05	6,691 0,09%	1,804 0,02%	733 0,01%	8,920 0,1%	

Source: [www.inssse.ro](http://www.inssse.ro)

Furthermore, their victims were not only soldiers and combatants, but also common people, women, children, and elderly people.

No one disputes today the fact that, for centuries, the diversity of traditions and cultures has been one of the major assets of both Europe and Romania, and that during the past decades the principle of tolerance has become the guarantee of a European open society aware of the importance of its cultural diversity. In this 21<sup>st</sup> Century, in Romania and elsewhere, we need to shift the focus of tolerance from the social and political realm towards the field of human relations, because in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century the concept of tolerance seems to be insufficient and limited. First and foremost, this requires a knowledge of the past, and only then concrete practical and pragmatic actions. Of course, under these circumstances the education of both young people and adults plays a crucial role, as the majority must truly understand the problems of the minorities and accept and support the manifestation of their ethnic identity, by protecting their culture, religion, education, and languages. Therefore, both the authorities and the civil society must become involved in fighting discrimination and in the elimination of any form of extremism, chauvinism, anti-Semitism or territorial separatism, in supporting cultural diversity and in encouraging interethnic dialogue, in the development of civic multiculturalism as a part of the European identity. It is obvious that we have to emphasize on intercultural education during history lessons, insisting on the idea that intercultural education is not a new discipline taught in school, but an instrument through which the teacher uses the knowledge of his discipline in order to make the student sensitive to diversity and human solidarity.

Approaching history from the perspective of intercultural education does not mean supplementary acquisitions, but emphasizing and resizing the permanent knowledge accumulation of a good professional. At the same time, the comparative study of history through an intercultural perspective leads to a better understanding by the students of the relation between the universal and the particular.

Tolerance is one of the debated and even controversial concept. Historically, this concept has had various definitions and applications in different locations and times. Transylvania became known in Europe at the end of the sixteenth Century as “the land of religious tolerance”. Four religious denominations were officially recognized here: Roman-Catholicism, Calvinism, Lutheranism, and Unitarianism. In a time when the religious wars between the Catholics and the Protestants tore up most of Europe, the religious tolerance model in Transylvania seemed ideal. However, the Romanians, the majority of the population of the province, who were Orthodox, were kept outside the

system of four official religions. Or another example: the Edict of Tolerance issued by Emperor Joseph II of Austria in 1781 maintained the primacy of the Roman-Catholic religion in the Habsburg Empire, but also allowed free worship. The edict lifted religious restrictions when one applied for a position, in towns, guilds, or when buying property. It opened the way to all of these for the Romanians as well. From a religious point of view the Romanians were Orthodox or Greek-Catholic (after 1700, a segment of the Romanian Orthodox population from Transylvania accepted the religious Union with Rome and they became Greek-Catholics). The Edict met resistance in Transylvania. The Emperor was forced to give further explanations that tolerance did not affect, at all, the dominant position of Roman-Catholicism, i.e. it only meant lifting the restrictions imposed until then on people who were not Catholic and it did not mean the liberty to change one's religion. (This meaning particularly targeted the Romanian Greek-Catholics who re-converted to Orthodox). Furthermore, between the eighteenth and the nineteenth Century, the notion of "tolerated nationality", as it was used when referring to the Romanians in Transylvania, was not synonymous with the freedoms and liberties of other ethnic groups in the Habsburg Empire. In the twentieth Century, the significance of the notion of tolerance shifted from the social and the political to interpersonal relationships. However, for the twenty-first Century, this notion proves to be insufficient and narrow and there is need to shift from tolerant coexistence to active collaboration; the expression "I tolerate" should be replaced with the expression "I respect" (Kornhauser, 2000, p. 190). In this regard, *interculturality* is a challenge for education. Intercultural education is not a new subject matter in school, but an extension of the curriculum. It should not require learning, burdening the students with new knowledge and new information. Intercultural education should be a tool, a strategy, through which the teacher, using the knowledge of his/her subject matter, will highlight the respect for diversity, tolerance, and human solidarity and will make students resonant to these values.

The main objective of intercultural education is teaching young people to perceive, accept, respect, and experiment alterity in order to facilitate the meeting with *the other*. Intercultural education supports the reorientation of perception, thought, sense, and action so that one should be more tolerant, and also accept and respect the other, who is different. We should definitely keep in mind that intercultural education is not a new subject matter. Nor is it an extension of the "teaching cultures" curriculum. The teacher will mostly use the content of his/her own subject to reach new objectives which are part of European civic education, human rights, the preparation and the



participation in social life, as well as the education for democratic citizenship. From the intercultural point of view, most of the times when the foreigner enters the community, it is not the students who find it hard to accept him/her. It is the educational institution, the community, the school, and the teachers who have difficulties adapting to cultural diversity. In order to avoid stereotypes and prejudice, the tendencies to marginalization, isolation, and forced assimilation, what counts is the attitude projected by the teacher through his/her behavior (Dasen, Perregaux, Rey, 1999: 38sq).

The education and the competence of a history teacher are, undoubtedly, necessary for the education of young people in order to accept diversity. History is a never ending and extremely generous source for intercultural education. It starts from the mere knowledge of civilizations in time and extends to the interpretation of the consequences of intolerance, xenophobia, racism, irredentism, revisionism etc. The past offers the present a historic perspective, a perspective of the future, sometimes even solutions for the future. History helps students not only to know civilizations, it also to offer them competence to analyze and interpret relationships connecting events in time, identify causes and reflect on effects. Students need to be taught to make connections between the present, the past, and the future, placing the present in a historical perspective. The students will be advised to look at societies and see how future life standards rely on yesterday's and today's problems and on the way in which they are solved. In addition, the comparative study of history from an intercultural perspective makes students understand better the relation between the general and the specific, the advantages of ethnic decentralization and the new perspective obtained through the projection of "the other".

In Recommendation 15 (2001) on teaching history in Europe in the twenty-first Century, a document adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the European Council, a new notion is used: the "European dimension in teaching history". This calls for changing the attitude towards history as a subject in school. It diversifies the scope of teaching and learning history. According to the European document, teaching history in a democratic Europe "should be a main concern in the education of responsible citizens actively involved in political life and in cultivating respect for the differences between peoples, while relying on national identity and the principle of tolerance" (Annex to the Recommendation no. 15/2001). Therefore, it becomes more important to answer the questions HOW? and WHY? we teach and learn history, and not to insist on the questions WHAT? and HOW MUCH? we teach, learn, and assess history. Even though these syntagms have turned into clichés: the twentieth Century as the Century of speed, the twenty-

first Century and the Century of information, they refer to a reality that we cannot ignore. The content becomes harder and harder to teach and it is important that the student learns more what to do and less and less theory. “The well stuffed head”, the objective to the transitive-normative model, leaves room for the “well formed head”. “To know to be”, “to know to become”, “to know to live” take over as complementary educational objectives besides and sometimes instead of the categorical “to know everything” (Cosmovici, Iacob, 1999: 288).

Museum history, event history, history like a glorious and triumphal march, all these are no longer adequate in this millennium and Century. The challenges with which is confronted this school subject force us to reach out for the educational role of history, for the development, mostly, of competences which can be transformed into operational objective forms in all school cycles and not only in high school. The new curricula for teaching-learning history do take into account the new recommendations of the European Council, the new tendencies in historical research, and the new principle of learning history: the many-sided perspective. Even more, curricula offer teachers of history more flexibility in choosing the content with a view to their students, school, and community where pupils, parents, and teacher belong. Nowadays, when learning history, students can acquire and develop competences and abilities in communication, analysis of information resources, critical thinking etc. because in any profession one needs to know techniques for communication, research, information, and negotiation. Even more, one needs to accept diversity and differences within an ethnic, a social, and a political group. Furthermore, relying on the new perspective on history, the history teacher can develop and exercise his/her creativity, can free himself/herself from the canons of teaching and learning history traditionally, in a positivistic way, with too much information. Each history lesson has to become a challenge for a teacher, a creative act fully efficient in acquiring attitudes and values according to the European recommendations.

Forming an intercultural competence is a concern to everyone, should he/she belong to the majority or the minority. Such a competence is built steadily overcoming ethnocentricity and prejudice. Interculturalism does not mean the exclusion of patriotism, nor does it mean losing one's own culture while interacting with others (Nedelcu, 2008: 26sq). Intercultural education means accepting differences and not denying them, “equal does not mean the same”. Not making any differences may mean not having discriminatory behavior and this is correct, but ignoring and denying the other's identity, makes him/her invisible and this is not fair (Nedelcu, 2008: 26sq).

The history teacher has at his/her disposal numerous possibilities to develop the formative and educative character of history as a subject in school. Each history lesson can be a good occasion for intercultural education, ecological education, civic education, democratic education, education for peace etc. One of the main qualities of history is exactly the generosity of its content and the never ending sources for education and training. The history teacher has the obligation and the duty to contribute to the youngsters' development so that they should integrate into European democracy and accept the concept of unique citizenship. To be a European citizen does not mean losing one's own identity or one's national identity, nor does it mean giving up one's traditions or religious convictions etc. It is just as true, however, that the members of the minority groups must be willing to accept and strengthen multicultural diversity, respect the majority population alongside which they live, and be loyal to the state whose citizens they are. History is an endless and extremely generous source of intercultural education which starts from the mere knowledge of the people's civilizations over the time and expands towards interpreting the consequences of intolerance, racism, xenophobia etc.

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# Migration and society in contemporary Romania. Recent perspectives<sup>1</sup>

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Starting with the history of the term migration, which defines people's travel, their geographic relocating, permanent or temporary, this present book insinuates the fact that the mobility seems to be one of the most influent social process that determines millions of people to hook on the process of migration for determined or undetermined periods of time. One of the encouraging factors of migration is globalization, which has led to the development of technology, of the means of transportation, of the economic growth so that the cost of production went down to let the quantity of goods grow, the change of the life style, and in some cases even pressures for a government as democratic as possible. So, distance is no longer an impediment in what concerns migration, precisely because we have means of transportation, of proper telecommunication that facilitate the immigrants' circulation on very long distances. The decisive factors that contribute to this process of migration differ from one country to another. Generally, the economical factors are determinant, plus the insecurity generated by the socio-politic environment.

By being a complex process, the population's migration raises a series of questions, and some of them come into notice in a special way: why do people change their permanent residence, what are the factors that influence the intensity of the migratory flows, what are the main effects of migration? The book *Sociologia Migrației, Teorii și studii de caz românești*, coordinated by Remus Gabriel Anghel and István Horváth, articulate the answers to these questions, having Romania as a subject. The present work condensates the work of different specialists: researchers, historians, sociologists, anthropologists, post-graduates etc. which has materialized into a series of studies that led to the publication of this book, supported by The Institute for Studying the Problems of the National Minorities (ISPMN). The four parts of the book contain in a

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<sup>1</sup>Remus Gabriel Anghel and István Horváth. (2009). *Sociologia migrației. Teorii și studii de caz românești*. Iași: Polirom Publishing. 302 pp.

very well set order, theories, models and effects of Romanian migration, from the immediate time of the communist regime fall and up to the present day.

From the international migration's point of view Romania's population, up to the fall of the Iron Curtain, was an inexperienced one. Once this impediment was gone after the 1989's, the Romanians were given the possibility to experience what international migration meant. Therefore, Romanian migration became one of the main migrations from the east to the west of the continent, Romania slowly changing into a country of the origin of migration and not so much a destination country. The social and political changes from Romania favoured the development of some migration tendencies. If until 1994 the briefcase trade was fashionable, a perfect time for the emergence of capitalism and the throwaway society, when Romanians' access into the West Europe was no longer restricted, the following period from 1994-2000 represented the moment when Romania slipped into an economic crisis that stimulated labour migration, political asylum and Romanians' illegality up to the moment when Romania, being invited to the negotiations for its adherence to The European Community, after 2002 benefited from removing the visas, this way bringing to normal the Romanians' migration process. It is worthy of note that once Romania becomes a member of the European Union, the migration movement from between our country and the West widens. The new acquired statute makes Romania conclude agreements with many European countries, which may allow Romanians seasonal labour in those states.

The ethnical classification of the migrants from Romania and their ethnical assertion got little attention up to this moment from those that had approached the migration phenomenon. As a consequence of this, the second part of this book amplifies in a creative way the studies made by Brubaker, Michalon and Fox, concerning the statute of ethnical categories in Romania. The Germans, the Hungarians, the Russians, the Hebrews form the minority of our country, which the researchers rather call ethno-migrants. Their statute is different from those that migrate for a working place or from those that are considered to be economic refugees. Of course, there is a factor that pushed their migration to foreign lands. There is the temptation of saying that these ethno-migrants are victims of the fear towards violence or of the worries about personal welfare or of their family in the future. Fear is not the rejection factor in their case but the reconfiguration of the political space along the national lines. Nationalisation (in the sense of the national states' configuration) that took place in East and Central Europe after The First World War and that was produced in an irregular way for that matter, generated a difficult situation, the

Germans and the Hungarians were isolated as national minorities inside the successor states from the region. Therefore, the mother-countries gave up on their men, a hard decision at that time. To remediate this situation, there were cases like the one of Hungary which elaborated a large series of quasi-civic rights for the Hungarians from Transylvania and from over the border, on the grounds of the supposed common ethnicity.

The Germans, unlike the Hungarians from Transylvania have a relatively favoured place, the Hungarians being considered irredentists. The statute of the Hungarian ethnics is ambiguous. Those that have immigrated in Hungary to get a job had to confront the delicate situation of being unwanted and considered to be Romanians, under the circumstances that in Romania they are considered Hungarians. Although Hungary elaborated a series of quasi-civil rights for the Hungarians from everywhere, on the grounds of the supposed common ethnicity with the intention of “reclaiming” the Hungarians that remained in Transylvania, Slovakia and in other parts that were released by Hungary at the end of the First World War, that was accomplished more symbolically than properly. Hungary never encouraged the returning of the Hungarians from over border, they benefited from the quasi-civil rights for as long as they remained inside the country where they had their stable residence. Unfortunately, the Hungarian ethnics are not assimilated to the Hungarians in Hungary when they emigrate, unlike the German ethnics or the Jew Russian that are considered “different” in a quasi-ethnic way.

The trans-national migration, voluntary in most of the cases, the ethno-migrants’ one but also the Romanians’, has become an economic alternative. The purpose of most of those that migrate is that of working so that they improve the personal or the family’s financial situation and not the permanent settlement in the countries where they migrate. The Saxons’ of Transylvania case is eloquent, they do not explore the possibilities of permanent settlement in Germany, despite the fact that those close to them, that are settled there do not encourage their coming back to Romania. Even if Romania’s economic situation has improved in time, in comparison to the 90’s when Romania was in an economic collapse, and the number of the illegal migrant was very big, still the emigration continued in the following millennium. In pursuance of a study, the number of those that emigrated until 2006 was estimated to 2.5 millions. One thing that draws the attention in a particular way is the fact that if in the beginning those that were migrating were people with a diploma, highly qualified or specialists from the urban areas, now most of the migrants are poorly or insufficiently qualified, do not own any diploma and come from the rural areas. The second category mentioned here above, is made up of a

majority of young people that have simply ignored the local labour market, preferring to emigrate in order to support their household.

Trans-national migration has its advantages and disadvantages. In what concerns the first category, there would be the economical advantages of migration for labour which are significant for Romania. Thanks to the euro-commuters' trans-national upheaval of wide scope, Romania has avoided a major economic and social crisis which would have had affected the adherence to the European Union. The money sent by those left to work abroad represented a form of income for those left in the country, improving the life standard and determining an explosion in what concerns the building of establishments, the sale of equipments and goods meant to endow them, the number of automobiles, stimulating a great deal the consumption but mostly the making of working places in the country. Also it has been observed that the Romanian migrants, by living in countries with a high degree of civilisation, have learnt the civic mentality of those around them, therefore they are more confident in what concerns social trust, respect the law, the order, their civil involvement and tolerance towards the minorities. All these habits or qualities Romanians had acquired are important benefits for Romania. The trans-national migration led to the emancipation of the Romanian population and that thanks to the access to a better life, and the most important because of the fact that Romanians have become European citizens, along with this statute also receiving a series of rights.

The negative side of the trans-national migration is mirrored in the areas affected by the migration of young people, specially the rural areas incline to be populated only by old people. Obviously, those that have migrated to Italy, Spain and other countries will have children there, those that choose Romania being very few of them. The birth rate will be very low, and therefore the demographic effects must be doubled. The Maramureş area is an eloquent example of this negative effect of migration, though it also has a positive side which is called tourism. The investments from this area are very big, the majority of those abroad send money to those left at home to invest in renovating and modernising the establishments they offer to tourists. It is true that too many tourists make this destination be crowded, maybe even unpleasant for the new-comers that are left with bitterness after they discover life in the country, the numerous pensions and shops of hand-made are far from looking like the old houses, this way destroying the authenticity of the area. Places that a few years ago were less travelled, "wild", become today more and more cosmopolite, and those that come as tourists in such places do not seek for luxury but the authenticity, the customs, the traditions of that place.

Of course, the unavoidable has happened in agro-tourism too, the owners finding it harder and harder to maintain a balance of the tourists' flow and to keep the place interesting for them.

Approximately the same thing, the lost of a certain balance, happens in the case of brains' exodus, brains' migration. Romania loses through migration people with advanced studies or with high level of efficiency, exactly because there are much better living conditions abroad, the living stage is way more superior to the one in Romania and the employments are satisfying. This brains' exodus takes place when the local conditions do not succeed in satisfying the highly qualified labour force or do not assure professional development and personal fulfilment, factors present in Romania's case, circumstance described by the majority of the population as being one less favourable, without good employments, specific for a post-communist country. Probably many would ask what is the key solution for this brains' exodus. The most efficient solution is the fight against corruption.

This experience of people with advanced studies or highly qualified migrating has both positive and negative aspects. Of course that for those that migrate the positive side of it stays in the experience of travelling, of a new environment where they carry on with their professional activity, it also has to do with the cultural and intercultural aspects. The negative side has to do with the fact that Romania loses professionally valuable people and makes them to isolate from the family and community.

The statistics confess that Romanian migration, together with the Polish one, had a great amount of migrants towards the European West, being into a continuous change. For most of the trans-migrants the European West meant the key access to a better life, especially for the young people from the villages that see it as an opportunity to invest into the building of a house or local investments and the financial support of their family, the changing of consumption behaviours, but the minus consisted in the demographical decline with little chances of recovery.

The sociologists Remus Gabriel Anghel and István Horváth, the coordinators of this book, members of The Institute for the Study of National Minorities' Problems, have in view these effects of Romanian migration, bringing a series of studies on this theme. They tried as much as possible to draw the meticulous path of Romanian migration and the effects that were generated. The directions in which the book was structured are: ethnical migration, where it talks about the Germans' migration and that of the Hungarians from Romania, brains' migration, the migration of the young people from the rural areas, to whom the migratory process had reorganised



their life by making them give up on agriculture, and the relationship between migration and tourism in Maramureş. The migration, next to fertility and mortality is a component of the population's movement and it had long deserved a deepened study, especially because it influences a great deal the actual Romanian society, the effects of migration being devastating enough for the family and the reproductive behavior in contemporary Romania.

What is mentally relevant for the migration phenomenon is also the fact that the specialists' speech (influenced by the political circumstances and the ideologies of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century) has evolved during the time from the cliché that saw the emigrant as a lost person for the country, and the immigrant as the one that denied his country, to a more adequate understanding of the phenomenon and its statute. Of course, we would have probably expected to find answers to other questions derived from the study of migration in the book, such as: "Was the emigrant an outsider in the society? Or was he seen as a radical, and, by opposition, those that remained were therefore conservatory?" In conclusion, we have before us a first systematic research over the external mobility of Romania's population that will most certainly stimulate future approaches.

## BOOK REVIEWS AND PRESENTATIONS

**Fabrice Boudjaaba.** (2008). *Des paysans attachés à la terre? Familles, marchés et patrimoines dans la région de Vernon (1750–1830)*. Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 524 pages

This book reflects the economic dimension in Vernon area before and after the French Revolution. Its very well structured contents is an analysis of the relationship between individuals and their assets, of the relationship between kinship and the land market, of the assets circulation mechanism. The author makes a detailed and comprehensive enquiry which is really an example to follow in the field of data combined global processing.

Fabrice Boudjaaba turns to be an expert of the relationships between family and land ownership. He is an Associate Researcher (*chargé de recherches*) in Modern and Contemporary History with *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (University of Rennes II). He presented his Ph D thesis in History<sup>1</sup> at the University of Sorbonne in Paris (Paris IV). It was published later on and it is now the topic of this essay.

The author was a laureate of AIS (L'allocation d'installation scientifique) Rennes Métropole in 2007; he is a member of the project of the National Research Agency (A.N.R.) called *Mobilités, Populations et Familles dans la France du Nord de la fin du XVIIe siècle à la fin du XIXe siècle* (2007–2010). In his works, the author initiates new investigations in the world of the French rural world.

His work was published by the famous printing house of the University of Sorbonne in Paris, in Roland Mousnier collection coordinated by Jean-Pierre Poussou and Jean-Pierre Bardet.

The preface of the book is signed by the coordinator of his Ph D thesis, Jean-Pierre Bardet, who is a famous worldwide known personality in the field of historical demography.

In its introduction, the author states a dual goal: 1) to trace the history of the fixed assets in a traditional rural society subject to significant political, economical and legal changes, and 2) to understand the relationships between

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<sup>1</sup>*La Circulation des biens-fonds dans la région de Vernon (1750-1830). Le patrimoine des familles entre logiques du marché et contraintes du cycle de vie*, presented in November 2005.

peasants who were small-scale owners and their properties and assets (page 16). The research methodology chosen and the goals are consistent. The approach is mainly quantitative. His working method has been the econometrical analysis of individual behaviours. The econometrical models presented in the book were established with STATA software.

Fabrice Boudjaaba exploited large categories of primary sources; he assembled and combined economical sources (heritage tables and statements, tables including sellers and buyers, assets partition documents, heritage anticipation documents, donations), notary public documents (wills, inventories of deceased's assets, marriage contracts), administrative documents (civic lists), historical documents (the digitalized demographic files tracing back the files of the families in Vernon).

The author chose Vernon because of its location, on the border between Normandy and Île de France. From the beginning (chapter I, *Vernon and the area: landscapes, economy and soils*), the reader gets familiarized with the economical specifics of the area. It is an agricultural area, mainly. Vernon is the gateway to Normandy. It has micro-land plots, as a result of an egalitarian system and practices to transmit assets.

The research covers 80 years; it has been conducted in an analytical and synthetic manner. The book has 4 parts, logically delimited. The first part of the book, entitled *Assets and market* (134 pages) reflects the way in which assets were circulating. All the chapters in this section deal with the land market (chapter II. *Land owners and their land assets before and after the Revolution*; chapter III. *Increased role of the land market*; chapter IV. *People and the market*).

The reader can enjoy the extremely rich Vernon database including the files of over 200.000 people who were born, got married and died in this area between 1690 and 1830. This undertaking is also one of the comprehensive historical enquiries on the population.

In the second part, *Assets, family and heritages* (104 pages), Fabrice Boudjaaba dismantles a theory that used to be deeply settled in historiography, namely the „family strategies”. Thanks to a detailed analysis, we understand that the Vernonese were individualist and had little attachment to their land. The rhetorical question embedded in the title emphasizes this idea. Consequently, the family strategies theory is not confirmed for this area and for the time-span analyzed (pp. 206, 240).

The book raises interesting issues regarding the transmission of the assets within families and the circulation of the fixed assets (chapter V), the transmission of the assets within families and social reproduction (chapter VI), the partition ways: standards and deviations (chapter VII). Each chapter ends

with a series of conclusions. The author's deductions and solutions are very original. The innovative dimension of his research and the scientific quality of the contents cannot be questioned.

A strong point is the use of the new econometrical analysis techniques. The author understood the importance of this research tool, in this case applied to social history and historical demography. Roland Mousnier Centre developed digitalized research tools (CASOAR programme) and original methods for demographic analysis. The prosographic approach initiated by Jean-Pierre Bardet and refined by Jacques Renard, an engineer, enriches research and provides new analysis possibilities. Fabrice Boudjaaba's book fits into the programme of this research group. By applying the statistical descriptive analyses and by proposing explanatory models for the behaviours of the Vernonese, Fabrice Boudjaaba turns to be an excellent product of the French school of historical demography and an extremely valuable professional.

The third part, *Assets, kinship and in-laws through heritage transmission* (108 pages), answers the question: if kinship has any effect upon the market. Chapters VIII, IX and X (*Assets and marriage in the Civil Code; Kinship and in-laws: within the asset market?; Business within families: asset strategies?*) come to the general conclusion that in Vernon, the transaction within families are not motivated by family strategies. On the market, the behaviours of the individuals are explained mainly through economic interests. The case study for Saint-Marcel village, based on UCINET 6 software, confirms, through structural analysis, that the role played by kinship on the land market is not significant (page 343).

The fourth part, *Dwellings, assets and emergent markets* (124 pages) analyses the requirements governing the purchase and the use of the assets and traces back some individual stories. Chapter XI (*Real estate assets, money markets and rental markets*) and chapter XII (*Assets stories: ownerships and their durations*) emphasize the vitality of the Vernonse land market and of the real state market and the assets stories are reflected in a qualitative approach.

The clarity of the text is to be noted. The historical information and data are analyzed and interpreted accurately, with academic standards and professional responsibility. The style has clarity and efficacy. At the end, the bibliographical sources are put in a thematic order, and well presented; they are valuable and updated. The 72 tables, 9 images and 28 charts support the coherent demonstration of the author.

The book invites to knowledge and analysis. It is an essential and convincing contribution to the exploration of the relationships between lands and families. Once Vernon area completed, new opportunities for future

comparative analyses open. We strongly believe that the future research of the author will provide valuable findings for the French historiography and not only.

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**Franco Pittau, Antonio Ricci, Alessandro Silj** (eds). (2008). *Romania. Immigrazioni e lavoro in Italia. Statistiche, problemi e prospettive*. Caritas Italiana, Edizioni IDOS. Roma: Arti Grafiche, 336 pp.

Coordinated by Franco Pittau, Antonio Ricci ( representatives of Dossier Statistico Immigrazione Caritas/Migrantes), Alessandro Silj (representative of Consiglio italiano per le Scienze Sociali/Etnobarometro ), under the auspices of Caritas Italiana organization (2008), the volume *Romania. Immigrazioni e lavoro in Italia. Statistiche, problemi e prospettive* is dedicated to the romanian community in Italy.

After 1989, in East Europe, the emigration increased considerable. Romania was not an exeption and draw atention through its particularity, through the rapid growht of the citizens who crossed the border. The volume underlines the characteristics of the romanian and italian migratory flux, phenomena customary marked by difficulties and negative aspects. Throughout the present studies, the editors entertain hopes that by the end of the lecture we will be more concious of what means to live in a society in which we respect each other, no matter how we percive each other or how different we may be.

The volume is sign by over fifty authors and a significant part is represented by romanians, some of them emigrated, others who live in Romania. Among those who contributed to the volume we might find representatives of different institutions as: the *Italian Embassy in Spain*, *Caritas Italiana*, *Consiglio italiano per le Scienze Sociali/Etnobarometro*, *Migrantes Foundation*, *London School of Economics*, *La Sapienza University*, Roma, “*Babeş-Bolyai*” University, Cluj Napoca, as well as other institutes, associations which deal with the complex phenomena of migration.

Offering a variety of themes, gathered in more than 300 pages, the volume is divided in four major themes: first which deals with Romania as part of the international migratory flux (*La Romania nel panorama delle migrazioni internazionali*); the second presents the characteristics of the romanian community in Italy (*L’immigrazione romena in Italia*); the following theme deals

with studies related with the way in which the romanian community is seen by the italians (*Indagini sui romeni in Italia*); the last deals with the romanians established in regions as Torino, Toscana, Campania, etc, (*Il Panorama territoriale*).

Undoubtely, the romanians represent one of the first communities of immigrants in Italy, around 15% of the foreign presence in Italy. If in 2002 the romanian immigrants were second after the albanians, once Romania became part of the European Union, the number of the romanians and bulgarians in countries as Italy and Spain increased. By the end of 2006 and the begining of 2007 the favorite destination of the romanians was the north of Italy followed by the center and the south. Most of the articoles underline the difficulty with which Romania confronted herself after the fall of the communism and the resons for which many romanians emigrated: the stabilization of the democratic regime, of the market economy, problems in the agriculture area, the lack of good payed jobs. The motivation for the migration is mostly economic. Many authors outline the fact that the romanians established in Italy work in areas as constructions, agriculture, domestic work or sanitary area. But not all immigrants work in legal conditions. One of the problems which characterize the migration phenomena is the illegal work. The studies sign by Caterina Monticome, Meri Salati, Francesco Di Maggio, Angela Fucilitti, show this aspect but also problems as international traffic of human beings.

The volume is interesting also for the reflection over the women status. The number of the romanian women who emmigrated increased after 1995 and they are better skilled than the men they learn less. Most of them work in the domestic area. The education level of the people who left Romania is mostly medium-high. Conform with the statistics recovered in the articol sign by Mariei Carolina Brandi, 77% of the romanians had graduated an upper level education, 9% an university, and the rest had graduated the high school.

More over, some of the articoles are dedicated to the stereotypes which characterize the romanian community in Italy. Their immagine is related mostly with sexual violance, murders, theft. Very little is done by the official authorities to infirm these negative cliché. Studies as those signed by: Giorgio Alessandrini, Antonello Biagini, Nadia Laura Neagu, Antonio Ricci, underline the idea of a society in which we should ignore the exagerated idea that the romanians are “brute people,” low class population, many times seen through the eyes of the association *romanian/ rrom*. The integration means mutual respect, good cohabitation, non-discrimination, the respect of the human rights, equal treatment. The image of the romanians is outlined by the mass media, that most of the times generalise starting with a single case over the whole community. There are analized varied themes and opinions about the

romanians in Italy reflected in the journals: *Corriere della Serra*, *La Repubblica*, *Il Giornale*, *Il Manifesto*.

The volume also underlines the intercultural dialogue, as part of the integration process. The editorial of Bruno Mioli shows the inter-religious dialogue between the Catholic church and the Orthodox or Greek-Catholic church. The ecumenic fraternity is insured by over fifty pastoral centers opened for the romanian orthodoxs, by the seminars were are discussed themes of mutual interest or by the so caled “Settimana di preghiere per l’unità dei cristiani”.

Paola Berbeglia, Francesco Di Maggio, Angela Fucilitti, Luca di Sciullo, Marco de Giorgi, Rando Devole, Giordano Altarozzi detail in their papers the importance of some projects and institutions which make the integration process easier. *Lalera* (Language Learning By Radio) is a project that helps learnig the italian language throughout the radio. Annually, *Istituto nazionale delle Previdenza Sociale* provides a repport about the foreigners who work in Italy. *L’Organismo Nazionale di Coordinamento delle Politiche di integrazione sociale degli stranieri* deals with the integration level of those who emigrate. *Ufficio Nazionale Antidiscriminazioni Razziali* has an influence over the non discrimination process. In the view of the cultural exchange there where established *Institutul Italo-Român* in Cluj Napoca or the romanian italian associations as *Romania-Futuro Insieme*, *Vocea României* etc.

Returning home remains an objectiv in every migratory flux, says Valeiano Ruiz. This objective might be distant because of the fluctuant economic situation in Romania, because of the fact that the romanians consider themselves integrated (the language is more accessible), or a closer objective if the ones who left the country do not find a place to work. The statistics made in 2006 and 2007 show that even though many romanians had the intention to return home the majority consider that they earn better so they want to establish in Italy.

The effects of the romanian emigration? If we take into consideration the fact that in 2005 throughout the banking system 3,6 billions euros arrived in Romania, that the romanians who retuned in the country gained experience, the effects are undoubtely positive. There are still negative aspects related with the gaps in the romanian work market, the decrease of the young population, broken up families, etc.

At the end of a fascinating volume in which we find our fellow countrymen spread all over Italy (Lombardia, Veneto, Toscana, Campania etc) the paper leads us towards some reflections. Maybe we sould have the courage to redescover our own values or maybe as Maria Immacolata Macioti specifies,

we should learn that *I* and *you we* and *you* shape a society comparable with a variated soup with different condiments and tastes, nevertheless we should assume these differences and mutually accept them.

For *Caritas Italiana* a priority is encouraging the research which deal with the migratory phenomena for a better understanding of its multiple facets. One year after Romania had become part of the European Union, the organization offers through the volume *Romania. Immigrazioni e lavoro in Italia. Statistiche, problemi e prospettive*, juridical, social, political studies based on rigorous statistics and upon a vast bibliography which complete the panorama of the most numerous foreign presence in Italy. The migration might redefine some interests, indifferent of their nature. A productive politic concerning the immigration and transfrontalier cooperation are necessary in the respect of a thorough mutual acquaintance.

Oana Habor & Raluca Ilioni

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**Michel Godet, Evelyne Sullerot.** (2007). *La famille: affaire privée et publique (Family: a private and a public affair)*. Paris: La Documentation Française,. 342 pp.

Recently brought out by of the most appreciated publishing house in the France of last years – La Documentation Française – which is equally a rapid and prompt distributor of public information or which their authors want to make public, the volume suggestively entitled: *Family: a Private and a Public Affair* deals with the important stages went through by family, in the course of time, getting from the private domain to the public domain. The two authors, renowned personalities in the fields of prospecting, public strategies and sociology propose an analysis based on official discourses on family, namely: the Discourse of the President Jacques Chirac when granting family medal on June 15<sup>th</sup> 2004 (pp. 25 – 26), the interview with Gerhard Schroter: “Family, Progress, Welfare” published in the Newspaper *Le Monde* of March 14<sup>th</sup> 2001 (pp. 28 – 29), an excerpt from the public report of the French Court of Audit concerning public policies as compared to immigration realities released in November 2004 (p. 40); the most recent definitions of families proposed by INSEE in its activity report for years 2004-2005 (p. 43).

Michel Godet, a well-renowned professor at CNAM became famous for his relevant prospecting and consulting provided to some large French



companies, but also for his active participation in the public thought about the future of present-day family more and more threatened by an increasing number of dangers.

Evelyne Sullerot, who is known and appreciated as sociologist but also as co-founder of the French Movement for Family Planning (1956) presented at the end of 2005 together with Godet before the Council for Economic Analysis presided by the French prime Minister, a report on the crisis through which contemporary family is going.

The introduction to that respective report belongs to Christian de Boissieu – the President of the Council of Economic Analysis; he appreciates the fact that the reporters have mainly outlined the economic feature in their analysis of family and family policies but also the fact that they integrated this specific topic in a broader perspective by relating it to the situation in other European countries even though these shall not be regarded as models to follow.

According to these authors, the general development of the whole society is put in danger due to the fact that birth-rate has significantly diminished, and, on the other hand, life expectancy has considerably increased and therefore the young can no longer cover the expenses of retired persons. Family policies which are different from social policies which are currently in force in France should be extended to other European states as well. If social policy “corrects financial inequities through common taxes and capital transfers, family policy is in charge with “money redistribution” (p. 313) for all families. Though it was harshly criticized for many years, family policy promoted by the French state has become nowadays a model to follow by other European countries. The specificity of this policy resides in the fact that it is universal and applies to all individuals, regardless of the social class from which they come.

Family must be supported by all means as it has proved to be a proper place for individual development. The renewal of generation is highly important in this context to ensure the survival under the best possible conditions of families and of its members. Yet, the level necessary for the replacement of generation is below the lower limit in many European countries (see Germany, for instance). In France, fecundity index recorded variations between 1.8 and 1.9 / woman in the period 1980-1990, and after 2005 it increased and reached the value of 2 children / woman in 2006 and even 2,02 according to the latest information made public at the beginning of 2009 placing France among the most fertile countries in the present Europe. We must underline an important factor, namely that the current family policy of France took into account the changes through which society has gone. The

emancipation of woman has brought about in the last 10 years, the postponement of birth of the first child. Recent analyses of 2006 (p. 13) show that French women are expecting the age of 30 to become a mother, or even the age of 32 in the case of those women who attended full higher education courses. A permanent stimulation and support is required to increase the number of births, even if birth at a late age as this is the only way in which we can ensure the generations exchange in the following decades (p. 11). The inquiries in this special field demonstrated that one woman out of two wants to have one more child at the least as compared to the number of children she already has got, but she gives up this idea out of economic reasons (p. 56). The more children they have the more a family has to cope with harder difficulties. Some of the European states turned family into a “national cause” (p. 7) as in the case of England where the concerns for family welfare have significantly increased as family group is more and more regarded as a “public affair” on which depends the long-term social cohesion and development.

In the opinion of the authors it is important to distinguish between the private and the public domain of family. If public side is in charge with helping family groups so that they should overcome successfully any difficulties as well as with stimulating the renewal of generations or the care granted to children who all have a double filiation even when there's a separation between partners (see the principle of co-parenthood - pages 14 – 15), the emotional and the sexual life of the partners in the couple remains in the private domain. The creation or the breaking up of a stable couple should concern only those directly involved in it! In this respect, family policy is unable to intervene in marital conflicts but it can help to prevent the risks of such a breaking up by supporting financially all the families. .

The proposals (pages 315-316) put forward by the two researchers for public action seemed extremely interesting and topical but at the same time necessary and urgent with the main purpose to reinvigorate family life. There were 12 proposals, grouped into 4 categories: tax policy; policy of reconciliation between family life and the professional life, age and time management; integration policy which also favours the socially disadvantaged children; information policy. Listing and summarizing them within the report presented in front of the Prime-Minister based on the new principles of action have mainly aimed at favouring the investments in the human capital and to encourage the generations exchange through procreation free from any inhibitions (financial constraints, social impediments, priority of professional accomplishment etc.). These conclusions set forth at the end of the report were based on the principle that family is “the foundation of society” (p. 98). It is

family where identities develop the best and it is also the cradle of the strongest solidarity.

As a result of the report well documented and argued by Godet and Sullerot, on the current state of family and on the measures imposed for its revival, there's still the question: is family a private or a public affair? Each of us may find pros and cons for either of the two situations proposed. What is sure is that family descendants as well as the various situations in which family group is involved bring about inevitable public actions.

Reviewed by Dana Maria Rus

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**Corneliu Pădurean** (ed.), *Confession and Marriage in Romanian Area. The 17<sup>th</sup> – 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. Studies of historical Demography*, Ed. Universităţii „A. Vlaicu”, Arad, 2006, 254 pages

The volume comprises the studies of several demographers concerning mixed marriages in Transylvania and only during the 17<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> centuries and it is, in a way, a sort of supplementation of another volume tackling the same issue in 2005 namely: *Mixed Marriages in Transylvania. The 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup>*, the coordinator of which was the same C. Pădurean, together with I. Bolovan. Marriage, in modern era, represented a great event in the daily life of a community and it would represent, to a great extent, a reason of joy and feasting // party // celebration. The entire community would get involved in all wedding preparations to the smallest details. The elements which are crucial to understand how a family is built (motivation of marriage, age of spouses, duration of marriage, number of children) are minutely described in various studies in this volume as the moment of marriage is extremely important in traditional society.

Mixed marriages would mean unions between two young people of different denominations or of different cultures // belonging to different ethnic groups. Both secular and religious authorities as well as Transylvanian population reacted against this type of marriage. The share // the percentage of mixed marriages in the total number of marriages registered during a certain time segment, the reactions and attitudes of common people to mixed marriages are the topics which are predominantly by the authors whose studies were comprised in this volume. One question to which the book is intended to give answers is whether mixed marriages played or not an important role in

the change of ethnical and denominational behavior of both the town and the rural population, the latter being more anchored in prejudices.

Besides the analysis of mixed marriages in Transylvanian area, researches have been also extended over some other “areas lived” by Romanians: Banate, the Republic of Moldavia or the Carpathian – Nistru River Area, focusing on the way in which the population in these territories related to the laws, customs and habits of the time as well as the mentality of common people. Tudor Ciobanu gives us information on the impact of mixed marriages in the area between the Carpathians and the Nistru River at the dawn of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century; in his material he tries to identify the laws at the basis of building Moldavian families; as there were no such specific rules, marriage was left in the care of the Orthodox Church. The question to which the author of the study tries to find an answer is to what extent “Russian legislation” influenced the conclusion of mixed marriages within the territory subject to the study. Alina Felea, at her turn, makes an analysis of mixed marriages in the Republic of Moldavia in the period very close to our days, that is: 1999-2005. The author shows in several statistical tables the ratio of marriages of the nationalities cohabitating in her country and comes to the conclusion that most of mixed marriages „were contracted between a Romanian husband and his wife of a different nationality” (p. 252) or vice versa, due to the fact that Romanians are most numerous as compared to other nationalities. Adrian Bucur, in his study, intends to make a comparison between the number of mixed marriages registered for Orthodox population and for the Greek-Catholic population in Banate in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup>, emphasizing, at the same time, the share held by this type of marriages on the total number of contracted unions. The Region of Transylvania has also been examined from the point of view of mixed marriages both in the period of Middle Age, by the study of Șarolta Solcan as well as for the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century by Valeria Soroștineanu, who lays her attention on the Orthodox denomination. The martial behaviour of the population in the Rural District of Beiuș represents the subject of research for the studies of Mircea Brie and Adelina Stoenescu. These two make an analysis of mixed marriages among Greek-Catholic population in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and come to the conclusion that those were strongly anchored in the traditionalism of the time. Nevertheless, mixed family from the ethnical and / or denominational point of view has been “a symbol of modernity” (p. 131). Iuliana Șranko tries to make an analysis of the union between „two individuals belonging to several denominations” (p. 142) in her material referring to mixed marriages in the place of Lipova the history of which she presents from the very beginning.

The author outlines the existence of this phenomenon during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Aspects of the marriage of the population in the town of Arad at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century as well as the religion in which the children born of mixed families were baptized are outlined in the two studies published by the coordinator of the book, Corneliu Pădurean. The author starts his scientific approach by analyzing this time, the civil register records, of the Town Hall of Arad trying to make a hierarchy of the prevailing denominations „by the conversion of one of the spouses to other spouse’s denomination” (p. 217) as well as the date when conversion occurred (before the contraction of marriage, during the development of marriage // during the contraction of marriage or at the end of the life as a couple). One thing emphasized by the author is that from the analysis made it clearly comes out that women were more opened to change their religion. Religion in which the children born of mixed families were to be baptized is an interest subject, little studied to the present moment; „the norms established by church have not always been put into practice” (p. 180); it is many times accepted the „sexual alternative” according to which girls and children born outside matrimonial bonds should follow the religion of mother, while children, the religion of the father. The subject is worth being treated in detail for all the region of Transylvania!

The volume comprises also the reconstruction of family files for „Pérko generations” as the author of the study herself, Felicia-Aneta Oarcea calls the respective mixed family. The study is based on new documents but also on collections of family photos and documents kept to the present day and is intended to emphasize „the mixed wedding behaviour” (p. 198) of this family at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and during the 20<sup>th</sup>.

The analysis of mixed marriages is just one of the multiple aspects generated by family, the incontestable reality of all times. The book determines us to extend and pursue the investigations in this way because this is the only way we will succeed to depict a history as complex and complete as possible of our country.

Reviewed by Dana Maria Rus

**C. Căpiță, A. Ciupală, A. L. Chițu, C. Gudin, O. L. Neferu, A. L. Vasile.** (2008). *Woman’s History in Romania, in documents 1866 – 1918*. București: Editura Universității București, 600 pages.

The present volume is a special working tool for those interested in this subject, especially because the subject is approached either from the historical and social point of view or demographical. By issuing this volume, the

publishers wanted to bring in the limelight unedited and almost unknown documents, so far accessible only to a limited number of specialists, to be known by those interested and to contribute to the enriching of the researches regarding the woman's history.

Those 208 documents included in the present volume generally come from memoirs (statutes of different associations, societies and women pensions, wills, fragments of women's memoirs), but also from primary sources, the majority of these documents being found in the Historical National Archives. The publishers have carefully selected the documents included in this volume, to accentuate the diversity of the historical sources that show how either the women's associations or the Romanian society perceived the woman's role in an epoch under economical, social and cultural transformations. The combination of the above-mentioned sources offers an exhaustive picture of the phenomenon, the woman's history being a subject that continues to incite the specialists' interest, manifested through the scientific and didactic works realised by the members of the University of Bucharest - History Faculty.

In the pertinent foreword, the coordinator of this volume, Alin Ciupală, presents the main pillars that constituted the foundation of this new editorial issuance. Either the *Introduction* or the *Note upon the edition* is written also in English, in order to make the basic information of the volume accessible to everybody and not only to the Romanian readers or researchers.

The volume is structured in four parts, and the inserted documents are arranged, in each part, in chronological order. The publishers endeavoured, as much as possible, to keep the authenticity of the texts and language, to best present the epoch atmosphere.

Because the central idea of this precious volume is the social life of the Romanian women in the *Old Kingdom*, those four parts of the *Woman's History in Romania, in documents 1866 – 1918* point out, naturally through the originality of those 208 chosen documents, the relevance of this phenomenon, the expanse of the women's access to education, the possibility to work and live by their work - by taking into account the new work offers, the exercise of the associative right, the possibility of free expression in the Romanian press, and not only. Evidently, the women's access to education has been much extended at the end of the nineteenth century, de basic education in the state schools being free of charge. Despite the fact that the state engaged for the education access of everybody, the unlettered women's number was much higher than the men's. The purpose of the organisations founded by the Romanian societies' ladies, besides helping the poor and war injured people, was to

encourage and support the young women and the indigent orphans. The financing forms of these organisations were the donations, contributions and parties specially organised for this purpose.

One should observe that the schools weren't mixed, there were schools for boys and schools for girls. The latter were organised so that the graduates to practise one of the following professions: governess, midwife or nurse. The registering and admission in these state schools or private schools were realised according to well-established rules, each school having a personalised regulation, i.e. some midwives schools pretended to the future candidates to totally involve in the midwife or nurse profession, the social life and marriage being excluded; in the same time, an extra condition was imposed: the young girls should be Romanian. But these conditions were especially available in the countryside, the schools located in towns allowed a higher liberty of the young girls.

Although it's observable the existence of an emancipation of the Romanian woman in the society of the *Old Kingdom*, due to the education access, women movements that started to stand out by founding certain organisations and associations and even the possibility to publish in different newspapers and epoch magazines, the women situation was still complicated because, in some extent, the men determined the women's emancipation. In most cases, this thing was seen as an inversion of the traditional rapport man-woman, the public space being a long time reserved to the masculine side, the women entering on the political scene only through writing, publishing in newspapers and magazines. But mostly publications being addressed to the ladies, the balance was expected to tilt towards the feminine side. According to the Romanian Constitution of 1866, the Romanian citizens had equal civil and political rights. Unfortunately, this affirmation was valid only for the masculine segment, because the women were excluded from the political life.

The studies regarding the woman's history in Romania worth to be encouraged, because the sources offer many materials to compile an historical speech that can mostly focus on the women's community. The woman's history is a very comprehensive subject and deserves a special attention, especially because it's a subject that has a marginal place in the Romanian historiography. The publishers of the volume *Woman's history in Romania, in documents 1866 – 1919* made the first step towards leaving this status behind, specifying the fact that the woman's place and status in the Romanian modern society constitutes the continuation of the scientific and educational preoccupations of the members of the University of Bucharest - History Faculty and not only.

**Ioan Bolovan, Diana Covaci, Daniela Deteșan, Marius Eppel, Crinela Elena Holom** (eds.). (2009). *The Ecclesiastical and secular legislation concerning transylvanian romanian families in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*. Romanian Academy: Centre for Transylvanian Studies, 914 pp.

In Europe, relations between religion and State go back a long way, changing with every major historical period from an extremely close connection to the utter separation between the two realms. In a first and longest phase, relations between Church and State were marked by a strict interdependence and even by symbiosis. The very creation of European states very often took place in parallel with the transition from paganism to Christianity, conversion usually meaning accession to a superior civilization.

The secularization process—which, under various forms, significantly affected many European societies in the aftermath of the Reformation and of the European revolutions—led to a decline in religious practices and weakened the ecclesiastical control over political institutions, bringing about a separation between Church and State, increased autonomy in the field of culture, and the independence of philosophical and scientific thought from theological thinking.

This secularization also diminished the influence of the Church in another highly important field, namely, marriage and family, as the State gradually assumed the majority of attributions in the field of domestic legislation. This process exerted considerable influence over the institution of the family, from the moment of its creation to its dissolution. In fact, in the 19th century—and especially in its second half—in many European countries the secular authorities issued a number of acts and laws seeking to regulate marriage and family life.

The present volume, part of a research program financed by the CNCISIS, seeks to present the norms, regulations, and customs enshrined in the legislation concerning Romanian families in the modern era. Without hoping to cover all related aspects, the editors of the volume tried to include in a single book the main laws issued by the Austrian authorities and, after 1867, by the Hungarian ones, as well as the ecclesiastical norms that governed marital affairs with Transylvanian Romanians in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

It must be said that many of the legal texts included in the present volume were published and disseminated at the time of their adoption. Others, which saw only limited circulation at the time, were nevertheless well-known to the lay or ecclesiastical authorities with attributions in the field of marital affairs. Some of their provisions were notified by the Church to priests or



believers by way of circular letters, one of the most widely used means for the dissemination of this type of information. Other normative texts, chiefly civil laws and ordinances, were published in annual collections, such as the *Bulletin of the Provincial Government of the Great Principality of Transylvania*, issued between 1851 and 1859, or the *Collection of Laws*, published by the Royal Hungarian Justice Ministry after the dualist pact of 1867.

Another means used in the dissemination of information pertaining to marital affairs were the information/popularization brochures and the theology courses, used by the future priests in order to acquire information on the comprehensive field of marital affairs.

At the middle of the 19th century, both Romanian Churches in Transylvania (Greek-Catholic and Orthodox) adopted a number of norms and practices that eventually defined their respective identities. Of course, marital issues could not be overlooked, as the indissoluble character of marriage had been the object of constant debate. Each Church expressed its position in regard to this complex matter. While in the eastern Churches the indissoluble nature of marriage was a matter of discipline, the Latin Church saw it as one of the pillars of the Catholic dogma, and the Greek-Catholic Church was eventually forced to adopt the Vatican's position on the issue.

In the Romanian space, the norms governing family life had been defined by the writings of the holy fathers, by the canons issued by the local and the ecumenical synods, but also by local traditions and practices. Many of these sources were taken into account when a code of laws, *Pravila* or *Îndreptarea legii* (Legal guidance), was drawn up in the second half of the 17th century. The *Pravila* and the *Pidalion* were the main sources used by Orthodox and Greek-Catholic theologians and canons in drawing up the new norms, and we find them both with Andrei Șaguna and with Iosif Papp Szilágyi and Ioan Rațiu, as well as in the decrees passed by the provincial council of the archdiocese and of the metropolitan see of Alba-Iulia and Făgăraș.

In the second half of the 19th century, one of the first Orthodox normative texts was—if we are to believe its author—the brochure written by Bishop Andrei Șaguna and titled *Cunoștințe folositoare despre trebile căsătoriilor* (Useful information on marital matters). The brochure was intended for the Orthodox priests and the archpriests, who were directly dealing with such matters and needed guidance when it came to the complex issues surrounding the establishment or the dissolution of a family. Similarly, the *Compendiu de drept canonic* (Compendium of canon law) drawn up by Șaguna—metropolitan bishop of the Orthodox Romanians in Transylvania—was meant to present the Church rules to his clergymen and also to his flock.

Much more complex was the situation of the marital regulations passed by the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church, which had to reconcile its own Eastern tradition with the Vatican dogma and the demands of the secular authorities. The normative process took place during the second half of the 19th century, culminating with the publication of the decrees passed by the provincial synods of the Greek-Catholic metropolitan province of Alba-Iulia și Făgăraș, convened in 1872 and in 1882. Until they actually came into force, in all matters pertaining to marital affairs the Romanian Uniate clergy followed tradition and the dispositions issued by the Romanian Uniate Bishopric, without disregarding the practical guidelines drawn up by theologians like Iosif Papp Szilágyi, Ioan Rațiu, or Tit Bud.

The other source of regulatory norms was the Austrian state and, after 1867, the Hungarian one. The present volume includes the laws and ordinances passed by the Austrian authorities during the neo-absolutist and the liberal periods (1851–1866), as well as the Hungarian laws and ministerial ordinances issued during the dualist period. Thus, the neo-absolutist period of 1851–1860 seems to have been an extremely fertile one from a legislative point of view, as during the post-revolutionary reorganization of the Austrian state, the authorities in Vienna sought to cover all aspects likely to ensure the good functioning of the state. Among the elements that supported the policy of legislative harmonization we could mention the implementation of the Austrian civil code in Transylvania and in Hungary, in the year 1853.

Nevertheless, many aspects were deemed of secondary importance and were not regulated until the end of the 19th century, when the new legislation concerning civil marriages was seen by a significant part of the population as a form of Hungarian *Kulturkampf*.

The civil laws adopted at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century marked the beginning of a new stage in the regulatory process concerning marital affairs. They consecrated the complete involvement of the secular authorities in a field that had previously been the exclusive province of the Church. Still, an analysis of the legal texts included in the present volume indicates that the secular authorities did not disregard this particular aspect. Evidence of this is, first and foremost, the Austrian civil code, but also a long series of laws concerning various family-related aspects: the marriage of active and reserve military personnel, the regulations concerning guardianship, but also the civil aspects related to marriage, such as ownership rights within a couple, inheritance, the upkeep of the wife and of children born in the framework of a marital bond, as well as the criteria for children legitimacy.

The legislation of 1894–1895 transferred all aspects related to the establishment and the dissolution of a marriage under the authority of the State. From a judicial point of view, they were important in the sense that a single set of laws came to regulate all matters pertaining to the otherwise complex marital field, from the creation to the dissolution of a family, whether the latter was natural or dictated by a competent civil court. Laws XXXI, XXXII and XXXIII of 1894 were a significant step forward from the earlier attempts at regulating the field, such as the Austrian civil code of Law LIII/1868. Just like in the productive days of 1868, when Hungarian lawmakers regulated the exception (mixed marriages), in 1894 the deputies and the magnates present in the Budapest parliament agreed to implement a general regulation concerning marriage, one that did not take into account denominational differences.

Despite the widespread protests stirred by the adoption of the aforementioned laws, their actual impact, in demographic terms and in what concerns mentalities, is rather difficult to assess. The civil legislation represented a significant step towards the secularization and the modernization of society, especially considering its general and uniform approach. Instead of a multitude of canon and procedural regulations, sometimes lacking unity even in the framework of the same denomination (see the case of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church), the State managed to impose the order and uniformity of a secular legislation.

Diana Covaci & Elena Crinela Holom

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## EVENTS

The Centre for Population Studies of Babeş-Bolyai University and the Cluj-Napoca Center for Transylvanian Studies of the Romanian Academy, with the support of the United Nations Population Fund/UNFPA and the International Commission for Historical Demography/ICHD organized between 8 and 11 October 2009 the International Conference *Families in Europe between the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries. From the Traditional Model to Contemporary PACS*. Is a scientific conference about the near past, the present and the future of the family in the European space still current? Why held such a debate precisely in Romania? Which are the perspectives and the solutions that can be foreseen about the future of this more than millenary institution?

It has been often said that, in traditional pre-industrial societies, marriage was something that had to do first and foremost with the family and with its interests and not so much with the individuals concerned. People were mostly defined by their membership to a family, a family which usually also decided their future. Marriages (and remarriages) would be arranged by parents and relatives as part of what were sometimes complex matrimonial strategies, as demanded mainly by the dominantly economic function of the family. But what did these strategies involve? What were the eligibility criteria? Were there any differences between social groups in terms of arranging such marriages? Who was most likely to employ such methods? It is said today that marriages are increasingly based upon a free, personal, individual choice. Under these circumstances, one first aspect of interest concerns the causes that led to such changes. How significant were these changes? Are there any clear signs of a decrease in homogamy? Is the choice of spouses really that “free”? What about nowadays? Can we speak about a totally free selection of the life partner, are there not other constraints, more subtle and more difficult to perceive, which might narrow the selection area, the matrimonial market? Obviously, the family models to be found in Europe between the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> century, from a compared east – west perspective, starting from the borderline proposed by John Hajnal and refined by other specialists in the latest decades, remain generally valid.

The case studies presented bring for sure new information from different European cultural areas (Albania, Austria, Croatia, France, Great Britain, Hungary, Latvia, Romania, Serbia etc) referring to: marital age, rules for the establishment of a family in (pre)industrial societies (including

remarriage, divorce/separation and family recomposition or reconstitution, the system of inheritance and the transfer of assets to the young generation, changes in family size and structure in the course of time, the geographic distribution of family models, the relationship between the establishment of a family and economic opportunities or the political-institutional context, gender differences etc.

Maybe the fact that this conference took place in Romania is not fortuitous, since the communist regime period in Romania was an extremely interesting one also from the point of view of the major role played by the state through its highly active demographic policy, its unfortunate consequences being visible even nowadays. The communist state always interfered in the adjustment of the fertile behavior of the population through laws, some of which might have seemed modern at their time but which were backed by coercive measures aiming to a satisfactory demographic growth. Similar to the case of other totalitarian states, the communist Romanian government acted on three directions in order to enforce its demographic policy. First, it acted through *repression*, introducing complicated laws against abortion and divorce; then the regime in Bucharest promoted *stimulating pro-birth measures*, according money allowances and other advantages to women and families with many children; last, but not least, it acted through *persuasion*, modifying and orienting the public opinion in the direction of a reproductive behavior of maximal fecundity. This way, over approximately five decades, the main accent was put on the policy concerning fertility, family and women, all in a wider cultural, economic and social scenario.

Beyond its default scientific importance, the Conference in Cluj – Napoca was extremely useful also from the point of view of the meeting and dialogue between several generations. Besides internationally renowned specialists in the field of historical demography, young researchers were present, most of them currently attending master and PhD classes, finding themselves at the beginning of their specialization in this scientific discipline.

Beyond any doubt, both the conference and the resulting volume showed that the progress of the researches in this field can certainly benefit from a periodical comeback on themes like the present one, about the family. The editors gratefully want to thank the boards of the “Babeş – Bolyai” University, of the Romanian Academy and of UNFPA, which encouraged and logistically supported the conference.

Antoinette Fauve – Chamoux & Ioan Bolovan

Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux / Emiko Ochiai (eds)

## **The Stem Family in Eurasian Perspective**

Revisiting House Societies, 17th-20th centuries

Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Oxford, Wien, 2009.

XIV, 558 pp., 10 ill., num. tables and graphs

Population, Family, and Society. Vol. 10

Edited by Michel Oris

ISBN 978-3-03911-739-0 pb.

sFr. 107.- / €\* 73.80 / €\*\* 75.90 / € 69.- / £ 69.- / US-\$ 106.95

\* includes VAT – valid for Germany \*\* includes VAT – valid for Austria

Is the Asian stem family different from its European counterpart? This question is a central issue in this collection of essays assembled by two historians of the family in Eurasian perspective. The stem family is characterized by the residential rule that only one married child remains with the parents. This rule has a direct effect upon household structure. In short, the stem family is a domestic unit of production and reproduction that persists over generations, handing down the patrimony through non-egalitarian inheritance. In spite of its ambiguous status in current family typology as something lurking in the valley between the nuclear family and the joint family, the stem family was an important family form in pre-industrial Western Europe and has been a focus of the European family history since Frédéric Le Play and more recently Peter Laslett. However, the encounter with Asian family history has revealed that many areas in Asia also had and still have a considerable proportion of households with a stem-family structure. The stem family debate has entered a new stage. In this book, some studies that benefited from recently created large databases present micro-level analyses of dynamic aspects of family systems, while others discuss more broadly the rise and fall of family systems, past and present. A main concern of this book is whether the family type in a society is ethno-culturally determined and resistant to changes or created by socio-economic conditions. Such a comparison that includes Asian countries activates a new phase of the discussion on the stem family and family systems in a global perspective.



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Margarida Durães / Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux / Llorenç Ferrer / Jan Kok (eds)

## The Transmission of Well-Being

Gendered Marriage Strategies and Inheritance Systems in Europe (17th-20th Centuries)

Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Oxford, Wien, 2009. XII, 525 pp.

ISBN 978-3-0343-0056-8 pb.

sFr. 78.– / €\* 53.40 / €\*\* 54.90 / € 49.90 / £ 49.90 / US-\$ 77.95

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What does *well-being* mean when we talk about men and women in the past? Their sheer chances of survival, their protection from want, their social status, their individual agency and their self-esteem were all strongly mediated by the family, the predominant social institution. Family laws and customs of family formation created differences between insiders and outsiders in terms of well-being. Within families, there were strong differences in autonomy, status and freedom between the genders and generations. This book offers an exploration of gender differences in well-being in many regions of historic Europe, with some comparative perspectives. It explores how historic family systems differed with respect to choosing a marriage partner, transmitting property, living and care conditions of widows and widowers and the position of children born out of wedlock.

This publication is supported by COST.

Contents: Margarida Durães/Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux/Llorenç Ferrer Alòs/Jan Kok: Introduction: Historicizing Well-Being from a Gender Perspective – Marie-Pierre Arrizabalaga: Marriage Strategies and Well-Being among 19th Century Basque Property Owners – Emilia Lagido: Consanguineous Marriages as a Strategy of Well-Being. An Example from 19th Century Alto Minho – Isabel dos Guimarães Sá: Cousin Marriage and Well-Being among the Portuguese Royal Family during the 15th and 16th Centuries – Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu: Marriage Strategies, Women's Dowries and Conflicts between Relatives in Romanian Society (18th Century) – Norberta Amorim/Carlota Santos: Marriage Strategies in Azorean Communities of Pico Island (19th Century). Differentiated Female Behaviour in Choosing a Lifelong Partner – Béatrice Craig: When Generation Trumped Sex. Widow's Well-Being and the Transmission of Family Business in 19th Century Northern France – Margarida Durães: Providing Well-Being to Women through Inheritance and Succession. Portugal in the 18th and 19th Centuries – Beatrice Moring: Men, Women and Property in Finland and Sweden in the 18th and 19th Centuries – Llorenç Ferrer Alòs: Achieving Well-Being in Spain through the Single Heir System (18th-19th Centuries) – Richard Paping: Gender and the Intergenerational Transfer of Property and Social Position in the 18th and early 19th Century Northern Dutch Countryside – Kari Telste: Children Born out of Wedlock. Legal Rights and Social Reforms in Norway from the 17th Century to the Present – Helena Cristina F. Machado: Illegitimate Children and Court Procedures for the Determination of Paternity in Portugal (1893-1966). Gendered and Social Differences on Acceding to Inheritance – Paulo Lopes Matos: Female Life Courses and Property Transmission in the Azorean Periphery (Portugal). The Case of the Island of São Jorge in the 19th Century – Ofelia Rey Castela: Well-Being or Survival? Women's Future and Family Transmission Strategies in North-Western Rural Spain, 18th-19th Centuries – Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux: To Remarry or Not: Well-Being, Female Property and Widowhood in Early-Modern France – Mikolaj Szoltysek: Female Headship, Household Position, and Gendered Well-Being in Peasant Societies. Evidence from the Territories of the Historical Kingdom of Poland (18th Century) – Sølvi Sogner: Gender, Well-Being, and Old Age for Persons without a Life-Companion. A Rural Case Study around the Turn of the Century 1900. Rendalen, Norway – Mary Louise Nagata: Provisions for Care and Neighborhood Funds in Early Modern Kyoto.



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**Romanian Journal of Population Studies** is published twice yearly by the Centre for Population Studies.

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