

Romanian Journal of Population Studies

**Vol. VIII, No. 1
January - June 2014**

Published twice yearly by

© Centre for Population Studies

ISSN: 1843 - 5998

Printed in Romania by Presa Universitară Clujeană

Editor

Traian Rotariu - Babeş-Bolyai University, Romania

Deputy Editor:

Mihaela Hărăguş, Centre for Population Studies

Advisory Board:

Faragó Tamás - Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary

Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux - L'École des Hautes Études en Sciences
Sociales, France

Vasile Gheţău - "Vladimir Trebici" Centre for Demographic Research,
Romanian Academy

Harriet Presser - University of Maryland, USA

Gianpiero dalla Zuanna - University of Padua, Italy

Editorial Board

Jozsef Benedek - Babeş-Bolyai University, Romania

Ioan Bolovan - Babeş-Bolyai University, Romania

Anuţa Buiga - Babeş-Bolyai University, Romania

Luminita Dumănescu - Centre for Population Studies

Cornelia Mureşan - Babeş-Bolyai University, Romania

Editorial Assistant

Elena Crinela Holom

© Logo and cover design:

Metz Judith

Printed by

"Babeş-Bolyai" University

Presa Universitară Clujeană

Str. Hasdeu nr. 45-51

400371 Cluj-Napoca, ROMÂNIA

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

presa_universitara@easynet.ro

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

Contents

I. Articles

Population in History

Paulo Teodoro de Matos, Maria João Guardado Moreia, Rui Leandro Maia	Exploring illegitimacy in Portugal during the 19th Century	5
Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux	Gender, Property, Economic Subsistence and Changes in Legislation in France: from Customs to <i>Code Civil</i> (1804)	39
Nicoleta Roman	Caught between Two Worlds: the Children from Gypsy and Romanian-Gypsy Families in Wallachia (1800–1860)	63
Elena Crinela Holom	Characteristics of the Romanian household in Transylvania between the second half of the 19th Century and the first quarter of the 20th Century. A case study	87

Contemporary Population

Viorela Ducu	Transnational Mothers from Romania	117
--------------	------------------------------------	-----

II. Book Review 143

Cornelia Mureșan. (2014). *Education and Childbearing. Effects of Educational Attainment on First and Second Births in Romania.* LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing.

III. Project presentation 147

Historical Population Database of Transylvania project

Exploring illegitimacy in Portugal during the 19th Century

Paulo Teodoro de Matos*, Maria João Guardado Moreia**,
Rui Leandro Maia***

*CHAM, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Universidade dos Açores , plmatos@fcsb.unl.pt

**Escola Superior de Educação do IPCB / CEPESE mjgmoreira@ipcb.pt

***Faculdade de Ciências Humanas e Sociais da Universidade Fernando Pessoa, rlmaia@ufp.edu.pt

Abstract: Historically, Portugal accounts high levels of illegitimacy both on the European context, as well in the Iberian panorama. On the one hand, the abandonment of children, institutionalized by the foundling wheels, seems to have largely boosted the phenomenon. On the other hand, marital restrictions, such as the high age at marriage, permanent celibacy, male migration and property transmission systems, led to a significant impact on this variable. The purpose of this exploratory article is to offer an overview of the complex phenomenon of birth outside of marriage in Portugal during the 19th Century. The authors highlight the difficulties in the study of illegitimacy starting by discussing the various available sources, literature and methodological questions involved in this analysis. In a second phase a first overview will be presented—still fragmentary and exploratory—about the evolution of the ratio in a national and regional level, and its possible relationship with other demographic variables.

Keywords: illegitimacy, Portugal, 19th Century, abandoned children, foundling wheels, marriage restrictions

1. Introduction¹

Illegitimacy seems to be one of the most difficult demographic variables to study. The influence of nuptial intensity and the number of permanent celibates figure as critical conditions for its understanding. Moreover, factors related with inheritance systems, emigration, endogamy and consanguinity, the normative discourse of the Church and the social acceptance of illegitimate

¹ This research was undertaken within the framework of the project “Urban environments: demographic and social dynamics (XVII-XX centuries)” (PTDC/HIS-HIS/099228/2008), co-financed by the program COMPETE and FEDER, and by the Portuguese Agency for Science and Technology (Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia). The authors wish also to express their deepest gratitude to Prof. Maria João Guerreiro that carried out the maps construction.

offspring seem to play a fundamental role in the development of this behaviour.

Excluding some anthropological, sociological and even economical monographs, illegitimacy as a demographic variable has been overlooked by Portuguese historical demography. There still exists a strong lack of studies measuring the intensity of the percentage of illegitimates and relating these to other demographic and sociological conditions. If this persists at a local level, naturally there is a profound lack of understanding about the national tendencies during the 19th Century. This panorama is aggravated by the absence of macro data that would allow a deeper portrait of the Portuguese reality.

The study of non-marital fertility raises in Portugal several conceptual and methodological questions. The first problem is related with the abandonment of children on the foundling wheels, which cannot be quantified as being legitimate or illegitimate ones. Consequently it will be very difficult to put forward any reliable estimation until the 1880's when the foundling wheels disappear in Portugal. On the other hand, in the area of social history, it is also important to discuss the concept of illegitimacy itself. Recent studies have shown that in some regions late access to inheritance triggered births out of wedlock. However parent's marriage with prior offspring led, in some cases, to the subsequent children's legalization.

The insufficient empirical data, as well as complex conceptual questions related with illegitimacy, does not invalidate, however, a first attempt to discuss this phenomenon in Portugal. The main core of this exploratory paper is to promote an initial debate towards the sources and methods to study illegitimacy in Portugal and to present some preliminary results, yet based on scattered data. In this paper we use a very simple indicator – the percentage of illegitimates – to allow a glimpse of the panorama dimension both in a chronological and geographical perspective. The analysis will not neglect the interaction with other variables, such as the average age at marriage, permanent celibacy and sex ratio on a regional scale. The authors insist on the exploratory character of this paper, as they are very aware that these results are still indicative and demand a large debate among scholars.

The text is structured on two fundamental parts. Firstly the main primary sources available will be discussed: the parish records and the vital statistics (births, deaths and marriages). At this stage the main bibliographical productions on the theme will also be focused in the state-of-the art in order to outline the principal methodological reflections and the most consistent research hypothesis.

Gathering exhaustive data collection produced at a national level it is intended, in a second stage, to advance for a national profile. This part will deal with the official national statistics to measure the illegitimacy fluctuations and its evolution throughout the 19th Century. This will also put in perspective eventual regional differences and the relationship of illegitimacy with other demographic variables, without losing the sight of an international comparison whenever possible.

Finally, we will pay close attention to a specific and deep-study on illegitimacy available for the island of São Jorge (the Azores archipelago) during the 19th Century. Since the island recorded a very high number of single mothers the outcomes of this research, where the families were reconstructed, will shed light on the complex evaluation of illegitimacy in Portugal, and its relation with other demography indicators.

2. The sources and the state-of-the-art

The factors behind illegitimacy levels of past societies is open to various interpretations, although accounting for it may be extremely difficult, since its identification in the different sources is not always clear. These circumstances may explain the low number of scientific papers on the subject, especially when compared with the study of abandoned children. Incidentally, what is frequent is that both themes are dealt in conjunction, mostly for periods prior to the development of population vital statistics. However, a different presentation of data does not always allow appropriate comparability. There are, therefore, a number of constraints placed to the researcher when he intends to go ahead with illegitimacy's analysis in Portugal during the 19th Century.

Scholars dealing with non-marital fertility in Portugal have at their disposal a set of diverse sources to measure the intensity of the phenomena in the 19th Century. Nevertheless, on a general perspective, data is not homogenously presented. Their nature is too diverse on the grounds of the different purposes they fulfilled for the producers, essentially the Church and the State. This struggle makes an in-depth analysis of births out of wedlock in Portugal almost impossible, especially during the first half of the 19th Century.

From the microanalysis perspective the most comprehensive documentary *corpus* are the baptism parish records, housed in the Portuguese district archives and available for the majority of the Portuguese parishes since the 17th Century. According to the *Constitutions* of the numerous Portuguese dioceses, the mention of the “legitimate” or “illegitimate” parentage of the child was compulsory. On the registers it was also noted down the “exposed”

or “abandoned” on the parish perimeter, generally near the church or at the neighbours’ doorstep.

The first – and eventually unsurpassable – methodological question resides exactly on the impossibility of knowing the type of parentage of the abandoned children. The majority of the literature accepts that the greater part of the children was illegitimate, but it becomes effectively difficult to measure their representativeness. This vision is also confirmed from the discourse of the Portuguese public administration itself, where the exposed child was frequently considered as illegitimate. Taking into consideration examples of population statistical tables of the end of the 1840’s, there is a specific field for “illegitimates or exposed”, where it is supposed that authorities considered the origin of the abandoned children as illegitimate². This presumption is also present in the reports of several civil governors³.

Literature review suggests that a significant number of the exposed children were from illegitimate origin. Amaro das Neves, in an important study dedicated to non-marital offspring in Guimarães (North region), has noted the rapid decrease of illegitimacy with the development of the foundlings, which absorbed the births out of wedlock. As such, “it has become impossible to analyse with accuracy the extent of illegitimacy, since we are unable to determine how many of the abandoned children are illegitimate” (Amaro 2001: 164). For this reason the author came to the conclusion that “ following the end of the 18th Century, and while the phenomena of abandoning children persisted, it becomes very difficult to study the different demographic variables, namely those which cover levels of births, be these legitimate or not” (Amaro 2001: 164-165).

Despite the fact that there is an abundance of parish records for the 19th Century, there are still a limited number of demographic monographs for this period based on primary sources. Although the existence of Northern territory coverage may identify some preliminary tendencies in this area of Portugal there are not sufficient elements to put forward any reliable survey based on these sources.

In relation to the macro-demographic data – essentially the statistical population tables – it is important to remember that the administrative districts

² Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Regional de Angra do Heroísmo (Public Library and Archive of Angra do Heroísmo, Azores), *Governo Civil*, Mapas da população do distrito de Angra (1839-1851).

³ In the 1866 report of Viana do Castelo the governor states that “out of the 5560 births of this year, 488 are illegitimate coming from the wheels”. See *Relatório do Governo Civil de Viana do Castelo no anno de 1866*, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT - National Archive), *Ministério do Reino*, bundle 3144.

were created in 1835. After this date the State started to demand from the district governors vital statistics through the *Ministério do Reino* (Ministry for Internal Affairs) (Silveira 2001, vol. I: 64; Matos 2007: 28-29)⁴. Even though a great deal of this information is available (but yet to study), rarely did the civil governors discriminate between legitimate and illegitimate births, which makes hard to treat this variable in a systematic way⁵.

During the 1830s the influence of both French and English models for compiling demographic information was remarkable in Portugal. In 1859 the *Conselho Geral de Estatística* (General Bureau for Statistics) was created, with very close assignments of the *General Registrar's Office* (1837) from England and the *Statistique Générale* from France (1840). However, the number of illegitimates did not seem to be very relevant for the central administration until the end of the 1880s, when publications began in a regular basis. Consequently it is difficult to present a comparative vision of the phenomena with other European countries such as Spain, France or England, for which systematic information exists since the mid-19th Century⁶.

In 1885 another publication began, o *Movimento da população – estado civil e emigração* (Vital statistics – marital status state and emigration), being published the volumes for 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891-93, 1894-96, 1901 and 1901-1910, matching the period under this study. Up until 1890, the level of organization of the *vital statistics* is per council, including information on legitimate and illegitimate births, per month and sex. In 1891-93 the format changes and only the average per district is given, a system that will continue in 1894-96. For 1901-1910 births, marriages and deaths are arranged per district, making comparison with previous data difficult.

In summary, despite the abundance of primary sources – the parish records - and the various regular statistical series after 1884, there is still an unclear knowledge of the percentage of illegitimate children in Portugal up

⁴ *Diário de Governo*, nº 248 (21.10.1835), pp. 1019-1020. The circular of 20.10.1835 made compulsory to civil governors to send annually a monthly table of the vital statistics, namely legitimate and illegitimate births, marriages and deaths, amongst other demographic details.

⁵ An analysis of the population's statistical tables mostly housed at the National Archives in Lisbon shows that the details on illegitimates tended to occur more frequently in the districts of Angra do Heroísmo (Azores), Funchal (Madeira) and Lisbon after 1850.

⁶ In the case of Spain, see the exemple of *Memoria sobre el movimiento de la población de España en los años de 1858, 1859, 1860 y 1861*, Junta General de Estadística del Reino, Madrid, 1863. For the United Kingdom researchers rely on systematic series through the *Annual report of the Registrar-General for England and Wales* since 1841. As an example, see "Illegitimacy in England and Wales, 1879", *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, vol. 44, nº 2, 1881 and (Lumley 1862: 219-264). For France the *Annales de l'Economie Politique, et de la Statistique* can be consulted, with information available since 1842 (Lumley 1862: 219-264).

until the 1880s. There is a need to wait for the progression of regional monographs based on parish records to guarantee that there is a less rudimentary interpretation of the national panorama. Focusing now on the studies based on family reconstruction there is a significant number of monographs, even if in the majority of them illegitimacy does not occupy a central part of the research, but being rather associated to the fertility analysis⁷.

Amaro das Neves, studied Guimarães council during the 18th Century, through parish records and other sources such as ecclesiastic, notary and fiscal ones. Supported by more than 3000 families the objective was to study the question of illegitimacy “as a manifestation of non-conjugal sexuality, in a rural community of the interior Minho” (Neves 2001: 15). The author came to the conclusion that Baixo Minho presented a regime that was characterised by its originality when compared with European patterns of behaviour of the Old Regime. The illegitimacy baptisms were very high in relation to the figures from European demographic studies so, “while the rule is situated below 10 illegitimacy by every thousand children born, the average found for the North Guimarães area during the period situated between the last decades of the 16th Century and the end of the 18th Century is over 150 illegitimacy for every thousand children baptised” (Neves 2001: 204). These results reveal that in Minho there were relationships outside marriage, despite the normal pressures of the Church, as well as illegitimacy being higher in rural settlements than in the agglomerated urban areas (Neves 2001: 14)⁸.

Also following the same methodology is the study carried out by Paulo Teodoro de Matos (2007a, 2009) analyzing specifically the question of births out of wedlock in the municipality of Ribeira Seca (São Jorge island, Azores), between 1800 and 1910. A universe of around 3200 families and more than 900 single mothers, allowed him to verify the existence of high numbers of illegitimacy in a rural and Catholic village, with an average of illegitimacy of 20% during the 19th Century. This incidence was also detected for some islands of this archipelago. As previously mentioned we will further discuss some of Teodoro de Matos’ research conclusions.

For some authors, from the late 18th Century, it is ever less evident the equivalence of exposed children and illegitimacy, that is, the number of abandoned children that are from legitimate offspring is higher, in many cases, to those which are illegitimate. This fact could be related to the economic cycle that increases the financial difficulties of the lower social groups (Sá 1996: 39-

⁷ An example of this is the study of Maria Glória Solé (2001) and Teodoro da Fonte (2004). We should highlight the study of Norberta Amorim (1987) and the overview by this author in (1997, 1999, 2004).

⁸ See also the overview on illegitimacy in Minho by the same author (Neves 1998).

43). The relationship between abandonment and illegitimacy is therefore a line of work demanding further attention. According to Teresa Rodrigues (2004: 117) the numbers in the Lisbon district are quite influenced by the fact that the city is an important area for dropping exposed children from further away areas.

Illegitimacy's problematic has been in the origin of studies, mainly from local communities, that raised the existence of specific patterns which characterize some Portuguese regions, especially when compared with other European realities of the same period. In truth, the existence of high illegitimate births cannot only been seen as a breakdown in moral values, or as a lack of family cohesion. The socio-economic context, namely the type of land structure and inheritance and the levels of emigration are factors that have impact on the average age of marriage and permanent celibacy, but also on the percentage of illegitimate births registered in a specific community or region (Shorter 1971; Livi Bacci 1968). Moreover illegitimacy could be a reversible condition, whenever the child was legitimated through their parent's marriage⁹.

If it is true that, in general, Europe had high levels of illegitimacy between the late 18th Century and late 19th Century, it is also true that this was not the case in many of its regions. Between the mid-18th Century and the mid 19th Century in Europe different regional situations can be found in what concern to the levels of illegitimacy. For instance the values indicated by Livi-Bacci for Spain (Table 4) reveals important difference among the regions. Blayo (1975) distinguishes the French countryside from the urban centres (between 1790 and 1829, the figures can vary between 1,5% and 5,1% in the case of rural areas, and 5.8% to 14.7% for the urban centres, excluding the capital), and Paris in 1810-19 reached 36.8%. In Germany, between 1780-1820, Flinn (1981: 119) states that the weight of illegitimate births varies between 4.3% in Allendorf and 17.8% in Kreuth. An explanation for this reality can be found on the possible connection between demographic and social behaviours. Thus, a combined use of both macro and micro statistical data is demanded.

Brian O'Neil (1984, 1985) found, for the northern region of Trás-os-Montes, a pattern of illegitimacy related with the property transmission and with the existence of late marriage. Births out of the wedlock were typical in groups of small farmers and labourers (1985: 187). Later on, other case studies emphasised the expression of reproduction out of wedlock as a result of matrimonial restrictions. Fátima Brandão highlighted the distribution of inheritance as an influential factor. According to the author the Portuguese

⁹ According to the official statistics of 1862 there were 844 illegitimates, *c.* 7,6% of the total number of children registered in that year (Serrão 1974: 174-180).

system of inheritance could create the establishment of a privileged heir through the *terça* (*third*)¹⁰. This *available share* of the testators allowed them a certain margin of manoeuvre that increases in the direct proportion of the number of children. So, “the decisions made [in the household] demonstrate a pattern of restrictive succession and inheritance practices, reinforced by celibacy and emigration, as to ensure that the favoured child could gain control of the family wealth” (Brandão 1994: 315).

Karin Wall also came to reinforce this idea through an important study of a community from Baixo Minho. Apart from highlighting the fact that women “inherited on equal terms as men and were frequently benefited with the *third*” other factors, such as high levels of male emigration and social tolerance towards bastard children have to be taken into account (Brettell 1991: 272-276). Brettell also puts in perspective the influence of the social control mechanisms, like the Church and the public opinion makers. More recently, in 2007, Paulo Teodoro de Matos stressed the high numbers of illegitimates in a rural parish of the Azores archipelago mainly due to strong nuptial restrictions related to high levels of male emigration to the United States of America. Furthermore a system of unequal property transmission and *post-mortem* placed daughters strictly dependent of their parents, very often delaying marriage until their death (Matos 2009).

3. Data discussion

Based on information available at the moment and recalling what was previously said in “sources and the state-of-the-art”, it is only possible to mention with some degree of accuracy the number of illegitimate births in Portugal between 1860-62 and later since 1886. Hence, since the late 19th Century there is reliable data that covers the whole territory. Up until then official information was extremely fragmented and above all, unreliable, as there was no clear distinction between the illegitimates and the abandoned children.

To interpret data available for the 19th Century we should pay particular attention to statistics which covered regional and national areas, namely the 1815–1819 statistical maps, and later those from 1860-62. This analysis will later have a broader frame for analysis due to the *Demographic Statistics*, available since 1886. The discussion of data will essentially focus on the percentage of illegitimate children but will seek, whenever possible, to

¹⁰ As per the Portuguese legislation, *terça* is the “available share” that the testators can dispose freely to benefit a legal successor or any other person. For an important synthesis of the Portuguese inheritance system see (Durães 2009: 201-228).

provide evidence of its relationship with other variables, such as permanent celibacy, average age of women at marriage and migration rates. On the other hand this vision will be complemented by an in-depth study of illegitimacy in a Portuguese village for this period. This will allow us to assess non-marital fertility in a broader context, namely the interaction between demographic indicators and the impact of illegitimacy on the household composition.

For the first half of the 19th Century only national data for 1815-1819 exists, due to Miguel Franzini and Adrien Balbi important demographic works based on the parish (Franzini 1826; Balbi 1822). Franzini calculates the total of “illegitimate births” in Portugal between 1815 and 1819 (Table 1). However, on comments to this field, the author refers these births as abandoned in the foundlings. Similarly, Adrian Balbi on analyzing 24 Portuguese *comarcas*¹¹ between 1815 and 1819, presents the “enfants trouvés”, although in the comments referring to this data he indicates these as being illegitimate births¹².

Table 1. Percentage of “illegimates” in Portugal and in Lisbon and Oporto (1815-1819)

Portugal	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819
Legitimate births	104250	104490	103880	99520	98045
Illegitimate Births	10835	11490	11260	10790	11005
TOTAL	115085	115980	115140	110310	109050
% Illegitimacy	9.4	9.9	9.8	9.8	10.1
City of Lisbon					
Legitimate births	5738	5373	5545	5230	5310
Illegitimate births	2095	2022	2024	2095	2050
TOTAL	7833	7395	7569	7325	7360
% Illegitimacy	26.7	27.3	26.7	28.6	27,9
City of Oporto					
Legitimate births	1626	1679	1707	1715	1756
Illegitimate births	1863	1801	1863	1633	1847
TOTAL	3489	3480	3570	3348	3603
% Illegitimacy	53.4	51.8	52.2	48.8	51,3

Source: Franzini 1826: 9-10.

¹¹ Comarca is a territorial unit for judicial purposes.

¹² As can be inferred from the paragraph “Rapport des naissances légitimes aux naissances illégitimes”, where the author analysis the data (Balbi 1822: 215).

Table 2. Percentage of “illegitimacy” in 24 Portuguese districts (*comarcas*), 1815-1819

Districts	Births	“Illegitimate”	Total	% Illegitimacy
Alcobaça	3294	33	3327	1.0
Alenquer	7921	374	8295	4.5
Aveiro	14848	299	15147	2.0
Avis	5198	287	5485	5.2
Barcelos	19993	1614	21607	7.5
Beja	11312	814	12126	6.7
Braga	7856	1249	9105	13.7
Bragança	13884	1039	14923	7.0
Castelo Branco	12548	544	13092	4.2
Crato	5679	157	5836	2.7
Faro	8462	818	9280	8.8
Feira	12716	995	13711	7.3
Guimarães	20599	2174	22773	9.5
Lagos	5940	491	6431	7.6
Lamego	16865	2186	19051	11.5
Lisboa, city	26835	10388	37223	27.9
Lisboa, city surroundings	8634	41	8675	0.5
Ourém	3454	52	3506	1.5
Ourique	9658	504	10162	5.0
Portalegre	6429	560	6989	8.0
Ribatejo	2700	125	2825	4.4
Santarém	14361	540	14901	3.6
Tavira	7484	707	8191	8.6
Torres Vedras	8875	302	9177	3.3
Vila-Real	15600	2597	18197	14.3
24 districts (<i>comarcas</i>)	271145	28890	300035	9.6

Source: Balbi 1822: 208-210.

This apparent misunderstanding between exposed and illegitimate was frequent in the 19th Century, having the author’s classified exposed children as the illegitimate births. Even though it was known that some of the abandoned children left in the foundlings were legitimate, we are not in position to put forward an estimate¹³. Nevertheless, with the lack of better information, the

¹³ Authors who have studied the issue of child abandonment noted that some of them were from legitimate provenience, possibly related with subsistence crises. Quite often couples with

percentages of exposed children may provide an indirect view of the evolution of illegitimacy and its differences on a national scale.

According to Franzini the average percentage of “illegitimacy”, stands at around 9.8% between 1815 and 1819. However, this number is certainly higher since it does not account for the total number of illegitimate children. Regardless of the data quality it is important to highlight the significant difference between the two main cities, Lisbon and Oporto. In the first “illegitimacy” amounted to 27%, but in Oporto it represented over half of the total births (51%). According to the rapporteur the great disproportion between the cities “was due to the influx of exposed from the Minho province, which was highly populate, and the children were sent to the respective capital” (Franzini 1826: 11). These results demonstrate that the significant numbers in illegitimacy are greatly determined by the concentration of exposed in foundling wheels, which absorb some births taking place on the outskirts of the cities. For the same period (1815-1819) and based on the same data Adrien Balbi was able to obtain information broken down by 24 districts (*comarcas*) in Portugal.

What this sample of around 52% of births in Portugal tells us is that tends to exist a higher percentage of illegitimate” births in the North with particularly high levels in Braga, Lamego, Vila Real and, certainly in Oporto. Meanwhile in the South, especially in the Algarve, the figures for the *comarcas* of Tavira and Faro need to be highlighted, but also Portalegre in the interior of Alentejo. Outside these values are the cities of Lisbon and Oporto with levels that are clearly dissonant to the national average.

In a more detailed perspective of some cities, we can take the example of Angra do Heroísmo (Azores islands) at the beginning of the 19th Century. With a total population of around 10 thousand between 1820 and 1830, the city was made up of 4 urban parishes. The decomposition of births shows that

serious economic needs left children in these institutions as it is inferred *a posteriori* when they come to claim the possession of a child to the institution. A complex system of signs and body marks placed in the children on the delivery act could facilitate their later identification (see for example Sá 1994 and 1996). In this sense some foundling-wheels regulations specifically mentioned that abandoned children would be compulsory returned to their legitimate parents, whenever it was found that abandonment didn't go against the “family's honor” (Matos 2007b). A statistical table of the abandoned children for Portugal in 1850 reveals that in that year 3827 children “were delivered to ‘parents or other persons’”. This corresponds to 13% of the total children under the foundling-wheels supervision in that year. Cf. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), *Ministério do Reino*, “Statística da existencia e movimento dos Expostos nas rodas dos districtos do continente do Reino e Ilhas adjacentes Ano de 1850-1851”, bundle 3380.

74% are legitimate, 3% illegitimates and 22 % from abandoned children¹⁴. However taking only the parish of Sé where the foundling wheel was situated, the births had the following origin: 37% legitimate, 1.9% illegitimate and 60.8% exposed children. What remains to be seen is, of course, the breakdown of the exposed (between legitimate and illegitimate) and, of these children, how many of them came exclusively from the urban areas.

On a national scenario stands out the city of Lisbon that, in the latter part of the century, concentrated a population of around 170 thousand inhabitants (Rodrigues 1995: 124). According to the data gathered the percentage of illegitimacy remained stable in the first half of the 19th Century, with levels situated between 26-35% at the end of the century (Rodrigues 1995: 120-121). But, as the author noted, this data includes exposed children reaching from various areas of the Kingdom. So, only taking into account the data of the illegitimate registration from the city parishes, it is to be concluded that the illegitimates account for around one fifth of the total number of registered baptisms within the capital (Rodrigues 1995: 121). As such, using as a reference the population statistics for the Lisbon district in 1850, from the 3986 baptisms performed in that year, 11% were illegitimate¹⁵. Therefore, on average, the number of exposed registered in the capital could greatly exceed the total number of illegitimate baptisms.

The figures related to the exposed children in Portugal are quite fragmented to put forward an approximation, even if rough, of the level of the phenomena. Though there is a large amount of printed information, such as the *Relatórios dos Governadores Cíveis*¹⁶, it is still difficult to chronologically quantify and analyse the number of abandoned children. However we do know that in 1850 for the districts of the mainland (excluding Coimbra) and the Atlantic archipelagos, around 14 thousand children entered into the foundling wheels, which is around 12% of the births in 1850¹⁷.

If it is not possible to say that all the abandoned children were illegitimate, nevertheless one can presume that a significant number of the 14 thousand children born in 1850 would be the product of a birth outside the marriage. To this number should be added the figure of illegitimate births registered in the parishes, which will certainly increase the percentage of

¹⁴ ANTT, *Ministério do Reino*, bundle 260, “Mappa das quatro freguezias desta Cidade de Angra”.

¹⁵ ANTT, *Ministério do Reino*, bundle 3373, “Mappa demonstrativo do movimento da população em o anno de 1850...”.

¹⁶ “Civil governors’ reports”, that should be produced in an annual basis for each district of the Kingdom.

¹⁷ ANTT, *Ministério do Reino*, “Statistica [...]1850-1851”, bundle 3380

illegitimates to levels probably close to 17%. This means that even in the absence of illegitimate birth data as such, it can be assumed that this percentage would have increased between 1815 and 1850. So, if in 1815-1819 the exposed ascended 10%, in 1850 the number sat at 12%.

Table 3. Percentage of illegitimates in Portugal

Districts	1886-1888	1889-1891	1892-1894	1895-1897	1898-1900
Aveiro	10,4	9,8	11,0	10,6	9,9
Beja	10,1	9,4	10,2	10,5	10,8
Braga	11,8	11,9	13,0	10,3	7,6
Bragança	19,6	20,4	18,9	20,8	15,9
Castelo Branco	5,2	4,8	4,2	4,0	3,5
Coimbra	9,6	9,1	8,9	8,9	8,4
Évora	12,9	11,7	13,5	11,2	11,2
Faro	7,7	7,7	8,1	8,8	8,8
Guarda	14,0	8,9	7,2	7,0	7,3
Leiria	6,2	5,9	5,5	5,8	6,9
Lisboa	15,8	18,9	19,8	22,5	22,3
Portalegre	8,8	8,6	6,6	7,3	7,2
Porto	15,0	13,9	15,2	14,6	13,9
Santarém	7,1	6,7	6,3	6,6	6,5
Viana do Castelo	15,7	15,6	14,7	15,7	15,3
Vila Real	20,5	21,9	26,8	27,1	24,8
Viseu	18,1	17,2	16,6	17,0	14,9
Angra do Heroísmo	10,8	10,3	9,1	8,2	7,1
Horta	10,8	9,8	9,0	8,7	7,8
Ponta Delgada	3,8	3,0	3,0	3,1	2,1
Funchal	5,1	4,1	3,9	3,5	2,7
Total Portugal	13,4	12,0	12,3	12,5	11,7

Source: Anuário Estatístico do Reino de Portugal (1885, 1886 (Statistical Yearbook of the Kingdom of Portugal); Movimento da população – estado civil e emigração, INE (Vital Statistics – marital status and emigration).

Since the second half of the 1800s the perception of the levels of illegitimates takes on a different relevance with the publication in 1875 of the *Anuário Estatístico do Reino de Portugal*¹⁸ and, in 1885, with the publication of *Movimento da população – estado civil e emigração*¹⁹. Both contained information on legitimate and illegitimate births, broken down to the municipality level. For the second half of the 19th Century there is still available the *Mapas estatísticos dos baptismos, casamentos e óbitos que houve no Reino de Portugal e Ilhas Adjacentes durante o ano de 1862*²⁰ published in Lisbon in 1869 by the Ministry of Ecclesiastic Affairs and Justice (Serrão 1973: 189). Although this table is simply based on a district level, it now indicates the number of *legitimate and natural births*.

Thus, apart from the data for 1862, the information available in the *Annual Bolletins* and the *Vital Statistics*, allows us to obtain a continuous series, from 1886, of the number of illegitimate births per municipality and district and, in so doing, to trace the general national and regional trends for the second half of the 19th Century.

Illegitimacy, in the second half of the 19th Century took on expressively high numbers be it on a national or regional level with figures above 10%, with the exception of 1862 with 8%.

As much on a European context (Flinn 1981: 82; Shorter *et al.* 1971: 386-388), as on a peninsular one (Table 4), these numbers can be seen, of course, higher. In Spain the national and regional data presented by Livi-Bacci (Table 4) shows levels that do not reach half of those which can be observed for Portugal as a whole. Even in regions where it is possible to observe higher levels of illegitimacy, the Canaries and Galiza, are recorded percentages not indifferent to those that can be found in Portugal (Livi-Bacci 1968b; Perez Moreda 2005). Nevertheless, descending to a more inferior level, that of the districts, the difference is very significant, having some Portuguese regions above 16%. In France the levels of illegitimacy, even being slightly higher, are closer to Spain. Between 1800 and 1829, the values oscillated between 3.6%-4.8% (Blayo 1975: 67) and, from 1848 to 1858, between 7.1% and 7.8% (Lumley 1862: 266). For the second half of the century are recorded 7.4% in 1851-1860, and 8.1% in 1881-1890. The figures practically remain unchanged until the end of the 1800s (Fine 1988: 437). In England the illegitimate births also accounted low percentages between 6.7% (1846-50) and 4.7% (1876-79) (*Journal of Statistical Society of London* 1881: 394).

¹⁸ “Statistical Yearbook of the Portuguese Kingdom”.

¹⁹ “Vital statistics - marital status and emigration”.

²⁰ “Statistical maps of the baptisms, marriages and deaths in the Kingdom of Portugal and its contiguous Islands in the year of 1862”.

Table 4. Illegitimate births in Spain, 1856-1860 and 1900-1903 (%)

Regions	1856-1860	1900-1903
Andaluzia	6,3	4,7
Aragón	3,0	2,2
Asturias	5,7	3,9
Baleares	2,8	1,9
Canárias	16,9	7,4
Castilla la Nueva	9,8	7,4
Castilla la Vieja	2,9	3,0
Cataluña	2,8	2,9
Extremadura	3,2	2,8
Galicia	14,3	8,2
Leon	4,6	4,3
Murcia	4,7	5,1
Valencia	2,6	1,6
Vascongadas y Navarra NNNnNavarra	2,0	3,5
Espanha	5,6	4,4

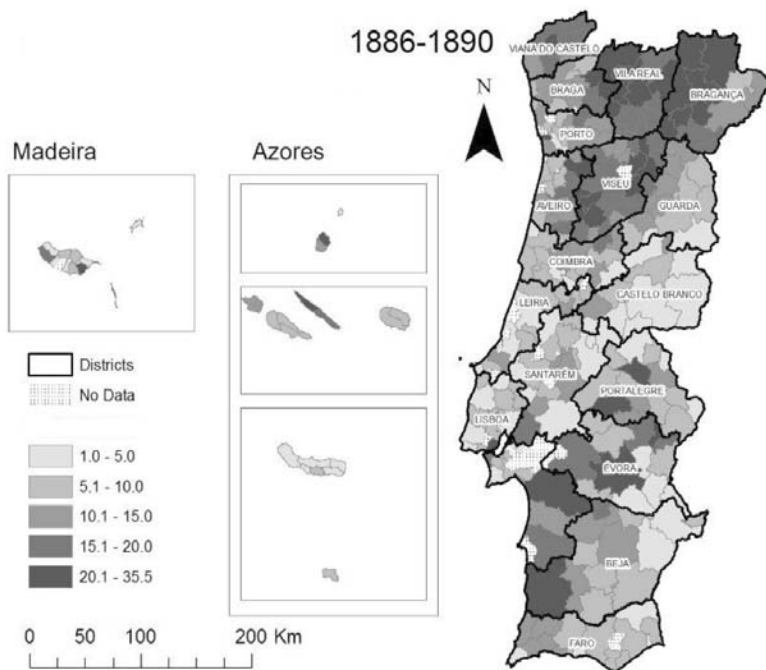
Source: Livi- Bacci 1968 b: 227.

Still, in Portugal, it is possible to find spaces that reproduce the European pattern of low incidence of illegitimacy, the case of the more southern regions (Figure 1 and 2). This reality has led some authors to stand up the existence in Portugal of a different regime of illegitimacy, in particular from that prevailing in the rest of Europe (Neves 2001; Livi Bacci 1971: 74; Brettell 1991: 230). An observation of the table, which mirrors the national reality (Table 3), immediately highlights the existence of higher percentage levels of illegitimate births in the North (see maps 1 and 2). Amaro das Neves (1998: 154) considers that values above 10% create a regime of high levels of illegitimacy. According with him, the districts where half or more than half of the councils comply to this criteria, then these would be the districts of Braga, Bragança, Porto, Viana do Castelo, Vila Real, Viseu and Angra do Heroísmo (Figure 1). There apparently is therefore continuity between the 18th and the 19th centuries with respect to the distribution of illegitimacy on the national territory. As for the remaining districts there are situations of very low incidence, such as Beja²¹ and Castelo Branco, or with a medium intensity as, for example, Guarda or Faro,

²¹ With the exception of Odemira, with values above 20%, which clearly stands out in the district context.

which registered a higher level in 1886, but later takes on a downward trend. Deserving of special emphasis are the districts of Bragança, Viana do Castelo and Viseu: between 90 and 100% of the district's councils had numbers of illegitimate births equal or above 10%.

Map 1. Percentage of illegitimates in Portugal, per council

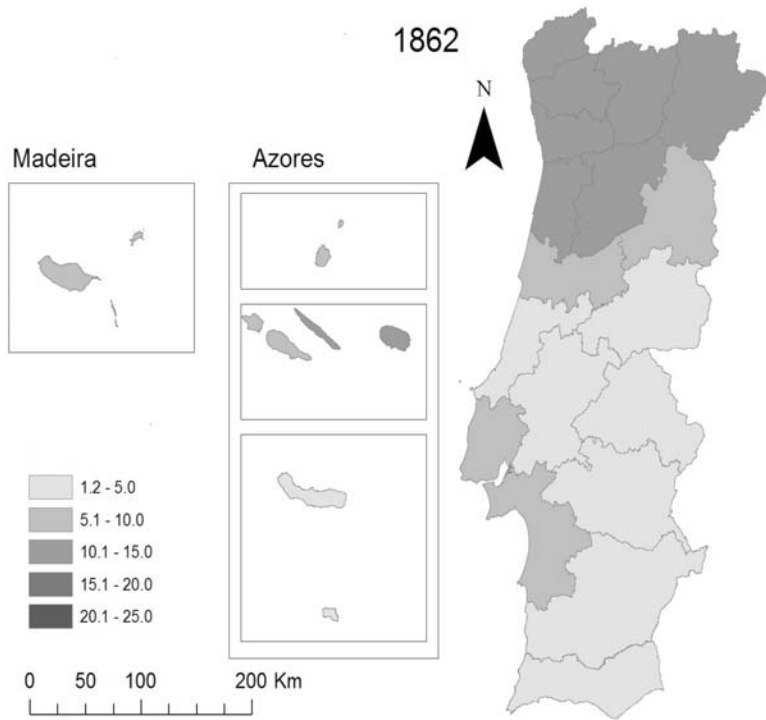


Source: Anuário Estatístico do Reino de Portugal (1885, 1886) (Statistical Yearbook of the Kingdom of Portugal); Movimento da população – estado civil e emigração, INE (Vital Statistics – marital status and emigration).

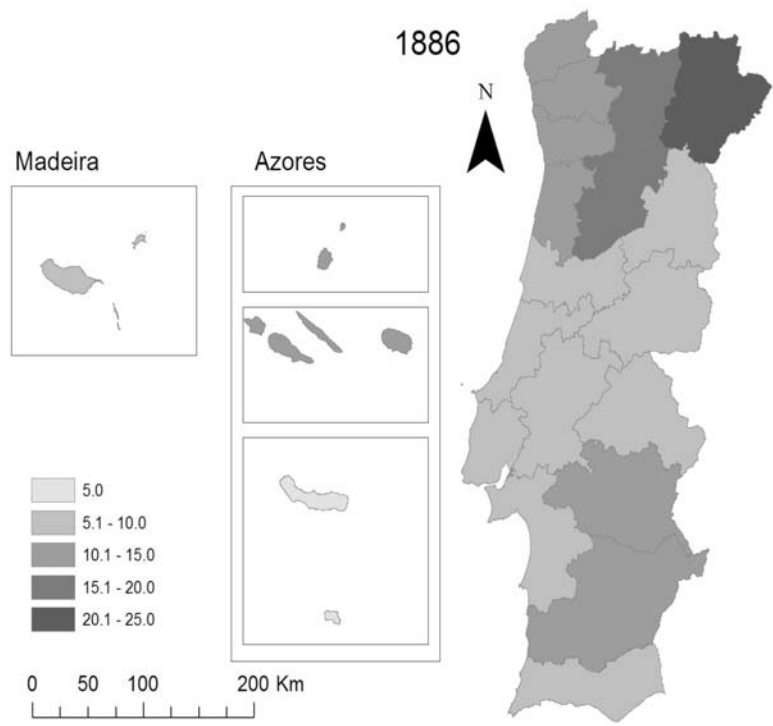
By the end of the 19th Century, Portugal was in a certain way divided into North, Centre and South with respect to illegitimacy. The highest values are concentrated in the North, with figures varying between 10% and 35%. On the other hand, here stands a pattern of low fertility and a large impact of emigration mainly in the northeast area. Yet in the Centre, there is a medium incidence, with a volume of illegitimate births around 5% to 10%, or even less. Further South it is possible to observe some diversity in situations of low and

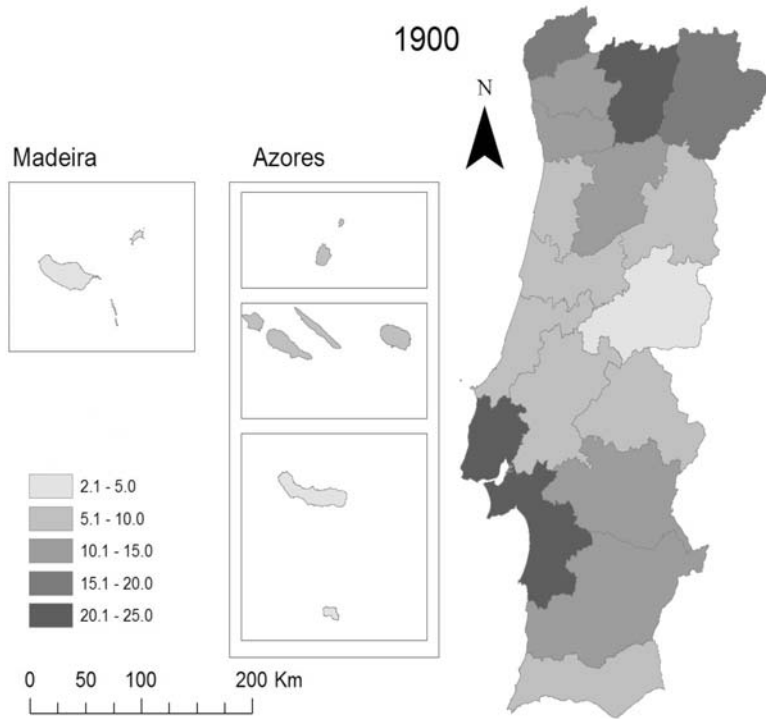
medium intensity. However, on a district view (Figure 1) there is an accentuation on the levels of illegitimacy as the end of the 1800s approaches.

Map 2. Percentage of illegitimates in Portugal, per District



Source: Mapas estatísticos dos baptismos, casamentos e óbitos que houve no Reino de Portugal e Ilhas Adjacentes durante o ano de 1862 (Statistical maps of the baptisms, marriages and deaths in the Kingdom of Portugal and its contiguous Islands in the year of 1862).





Source: Serrão 1973: 189; *Anuário Estatístico do Reino de Portugal (1885, 1886)* (Statistical Yearbook of the Kingdom of Portugal); *Movimento da população – estado civil e emigração*, INE (*Vital Statistics – marital status and emigration*).

The Atlantic archipelagos fall within the regions of medium/low and low intensity. The Azores shows a medium/low percentage, while Madeira registers very small figures. In the first case, it is necessary to highlight again the significant differences between the islands. If the indicator intensely decreases in the whole archipelago during the last quarter of the 19th Century, very high values for the islands of São Jorge and Graciosa are known, and that oscillated between 20 and 35% from 1800 to 1880 (Matos 2009).

Of further emphasis due to its specificity are the cases of Lisbon and Oporto councils, since these were the principle urban centers of the period. Indeed, the data from the *Vital Statistics* for the years of 1901 and 1905 confirms the perception that the high numbers in the councils are a consequence of its urban centers (see Table 5).

Table 5. Percentage of illegitimacy in Lisbon and Oporto cities, 1901-1905

Year	Lisbon (city)	Lisbon (council)	Oporto (city)	Oporto (council)
1901	34,6	11,9	24,7	9,2
1902	35,6	12,1	26,2	8,1
1903	34,8	13,4	27,0	7,5
1904	35,5	14,3	26,1	7,4
1905	35,6	15,6	26,0	7,3

Source: Estatísticas do Movimento da população – estado civil e emigração, INE (Vital Statistics – marital status and emigration).

These two cases appear to confirm the awareness that the urban areas could also offer a refuge for single girls from rural areas, which find in the city the possibility of having their children far from their normal reprimanding community of origin. On the other hand the domestic service should be taken into account. Not rarely these servants, coming from rural areas, got pregnant in the towns.

Some scholars as Chaunu and Bouvet suggested, that illegitimacy (with differentiation as to areas) is somehow related with the social-economic situation of the mother (Chaunu 1966; Bouvet 1968). So, in areas of less social control the explanation may lie in the existence of a certain tolerance, while in villages with more social vigilance there could exist a certain subservience felt by female peasants in relation to the landowners. However, only a depth study, which crosses data from different sources, can confirm this hypothesis. But, surely, other reasons should be taken into consideration, such as the urban structure itself with reference to the social dynamics, and proper mobility in larger urban areas.

Marriage patterns can provide some interesting information on the interrelationship with regional levels of illegitimacy. Data from the 1864, 1878 and 1890 census reveal, according to Livi Bacci (1988: 142), the existence of a zone of “low nuptials” which refers to the provinces of Minho, Trás-os-Montes and Beira, where the percentage of married women (20% and 30%) between the ages of 20 and 24 was below the national average. This fact clearly leads to a relatively older age in access to marriage in Portugal, particularly in the provinces referred to by Livi Bacci (1988: 142). It can be noted, on the other hand, that there is a contrast between North and South, noted by other authors (Leston 1996; Rowland 1988, 1997; Livi Bacci 1988; Nazareth, 1983) regarding nuptials, on a long-term frame, which extends from the 16th Century

to the end of the 19th Century. This distinction opposes a Northeast and extreme North having a higher average middle age at the first marriage to a South, which has lower figures. (Rowland 1984: 25; Livi-Bacci 1988: 96-97). However, in the case of men, this contrast is less evident, with a relative uniformity over the whole territory.

Table 6. Permanent celibacy, 1864-1890 (%)

Districts	Men			Women		
	1864	1878	1890	1864	1878	1890
Aveiro	15	13	13	25	24	25
Beja	11	12	12	12	12	12
Braga	15	13	7	28	29	15
Bragança	18	18	18	22	20	21
Castelo Branco	12	10	10	16	14	13
Coimbra	12	11	12	21	21	22
Évora	18	18	18	18	17	15
Faro	8	8	8	11	10	10
Guarda	12	11	11	19	17	17
Leiria	11	10	11	13	13	12
Lisboa	21	20	21	23	21	20
Portalegre	14	13	16	13	13	14
Porto	15	13	12	25	25	26
Santarém	12	11	12	14	13	13
Viana do Castelo	16	16	16	29	30	31
Vila Real	21	20	19	27	25	27
Viseu	17	16	16	27	25	26
Angra do Heroísmo	13	13	16	22	30	33
Horta	13	14	17	26	35	38
Ponta Delgada	10	9	15	15	16	20
Funchal	11	10	11	17	22	20
Portugal	15	14	15	22	22	22

Source : Bandeira 1996: 508.

Permanent celibacy also presents significant differences between gender and geography. For the males, besides the Lisbon district – with the higher figures for both sexes - some North areas as Bragança, Vila Real and Viseu tends to

register a very large percentage of celibataries. (see Table 6). Regarding to women one can see that the global figures were clearly more expressive. On the other hand a general trend existed between North and South. In Braga, Viana and Vila Real permanent celibacy recorded almost one third of the female population. On the contrary in the South districts (Évora, Beja and Faro) the number was under 20%. Apart from this global panorama there are strange fluctuations. While female celibacy tended to reduce in some North districts (as Braga and Castelo Branco) it raised significantly in the three Azorean districts. This regional and national frame confirms therefore a high level of celibacy, especially when compared with those verified in Spain in 1887: 7.3% for men and 10.9% for women on a national scale. At a regional level, only 6 of the 49 Spanish provinces exceeded 10%, in permanent celibacy for males and 12 of the same 49 provinces in the case of female (Reher 1997: 536-540).

So, it is possible to verify that in the North there are more celibataries, mainly women, and those who got married did so at a later age, which explains less marriages in those regions. Livi Bacci indicates that those districts with a lower incidence in female nuptials (ages from 15 to 49) in 1864, 1887 and 1890, are Angra and Horta (Azores arquipelagos), Viana do Castelo, Braga, Vila Real (1988: 167), although it is noted that there is an increase in this indicator at the end of the century.

Livi-Bacci also states that marriage rates in Portugal are lower than in Spain, or Italy due to the late wedding and celibacy (1988: 143). As such, the existence of restricted marriage, above all for women, brings us to the existence of high levels of differential male emigration, mainly in the Northeast of the country, which creates an imbalance in the matrimonial market. Robert Rowland calculated the figures for male net emigration in 1878 by age group (20-29, 30-39 e 40-49 years of age) and per district. He concludes that emigration levels are quite high in the Northeast (1988: 114-167). Viana do Castelo, Braga, Coimbra, Viseu, Vila Real, are all administrative areas with negative migration rates above 20‰ (1988: 94). Meanwhile, in Bragança male differential migration has a more reduced importance, although this district also has a model of restricted marriages²².

²² Rowland notes that in Bragança the restricted marriage model coincides with the less unbalanced matrimonial market for both sexes through the classical mechanisms of an older age at marriage and significant levels of permanent celibacy (1988: 115).

Table 7. Sex ratio (number of males for a hundred females) in Portugal by districts, 1864, 1878, 1890, 1900 (%)

Districts	1864	1878	1890	1900
Aveiro	83	81	84	83
Beja	104	104	106	103
Braga	80	80	83	83
Bragança	103	100	100	98
Castelo Branco	95	95	99	95
Coimbra	96	87	88	85
Évora	104	107	107	105
Faro	99	99	102	100
Guarda	95	94	93	92
Leiria	97	95	97	95
Lisboa	106	107	107	103
Portalegre	104	102	104	102
Porto	82	84	88	87
Santarém	100	99	99	97
Viana do Castelo	80	80	78	78
Vila Real	96	94	92	92
Viseu	91	88	87	86
Angra do Heroísmo Heroísmo	78	80	81	83
Horta	76	75	75	79
Ponta Delgada	87	88	87	87
Funchal	90	92	91	93
Portugal	92	92	93	92

Source: General Populations Censuses, 1864, 1878, 1890, 1900, Lisboa, INE.

Sex ratio's analysis from the censuses of the second half of the 19th Century (Table 7) compared to the illegitimacy's levels in the districts for the same period (Figure 2), demonstrates an eventual connection between the patterns of low marriage, previously described, and the question of differential emigration and levels of illegitimacy. In this line we should stress the low figures for sex ratio (Table 7) in Braga, Viana do Castelo, Angra, Horta, Vila Real and Viseu. In these areas, along with the low numbers of this indicator, there are high percentages of children born outside the marriage (Table 3). Livi-Bacci points to one reason to explain the high illegitimacy in the Canaries and Galiza at the end of the 19th Century - the excess of women due to male emigration - a situation which is frequently associated with high levels of extramarital conceptions (1968b: 228). It is therefore possible that in Portugal, facing an expressive male emigration at the end of the 19th Century, the impact of a rise in the proportion of single women in local and regional populations

may explain the existence of a fertility rate model as verified in the North, dominated by high rates of illegitimacy. We can, therefore, question what would have been the relationship between male emigration, female celibacy and illegitimacy.

It seems to exist a territorial coincidence between the higher number of females in the sex ratio, such as in Braga, Viana do Castelo, Vila Real, Viseu, Angra do Heroísmo or Horta (Table 7) and the high levels of illegitimacy among these areas. The district diversity is clear, with respect to the total sex ratio, revealing which districts acting as poles of emigrants. Yet this migratory profile becomes even more apparent when observing this indicator in the age groups 20-24, 25-29 and 30-34, when individuals more frequently migrate in search of better living conditions. The figures for these age groups between 1864 and 1900 are revealing as to being periods which saw a strong exit of young male individuals, since there are more women than men in the same ages (Table 8). This population in-balance in the sex *ratio* at the nuptial age made marriage therefore inaccessible to a significant number of women and enabled/strengthened births out of wedlock. Thus, the districts with more illegitimate births are those where the sex ratio is lower.

During the second half of the 19th Century there was a resurgence of the migratory phenomena, involving around 10 thousand exits per year, an amount that rises to 20 thousand legal emigrants by the end of the 80s. It occurred mainly in Brazil that received, between 1855 and 1865, 86% of the legal Portuguese emigrants and from 1891 to 1900, 93.1% (Rodrigues 2008: 410-11). The risks and costs involved in traveling to this former Portuguese possession explains why the emigrants were mainly males, with emphasis from the North (Braga, Aveiro, Vila Real, Bragança, Viana do Castelo, Oporto and Viseu), but also from the archipelagos, especially the Azores²³ (Godinho 1977: 20-21). This high male emigration therefore explains the regional discrepancies between the number of men and women.

²³ The main migratory destination from the Azores archipelago in the last quarter of the 80s was the United States of America. On a national scale the Azores and Madeira stand out as the areas with the highest levels of emigration during this period.

Table 8. Sex Ratio at 20-24, 25-29 and 30-34 years of age (1864-1900)²⁴

Districts	Age 20 - 24				Age 25- 29				Age 30 – 34			
	1864	1878	1890	1900	1864	1878	1890	1900	1864	1878	1890	1900
Aveiro	67	65	75	74	67	62	71	73	73	67	72	73
Beja	91	143	108	93	106	102	101	102	102	97	106	107
Braga	63	72	79	77	65	65	72	78	68	69	70	75
Bragança	102	99	96	95	105	92	89	94	103	102	94	89
Castelo Branco	89	88	96	84	88	87	96	95	93	96	95	94
Coimbra	83	75	79	76	76	71	73	73	81	76	75	69
Évora	102	96	110	100	111	185	112	106	106	100	109	111
Faro	92	93	95	93	89	87	97	95	93	96	94	99
Guarda	86	87	86	85	90	83	82	88	96	92	82	84
Leiria	87	85	87	84	91	90	88	83	90	90	92	89
Lisboa	111	130	123	106	122	122	119	108	117	113	118	105
Portalegre	100	117	117	107	117	102	101	107	103	99	100	101
Porto	68	81	86	81	85	74	83	85	75	77	80	81
Santarém	96	96	88	92	101	100	93	102	101	102	99	93
Viana do Castelo	69	70	68	73	62	63	63	65	76	67	60	62
Vila Real	88	84	85	91	89	83	78	89	97	85	79	86
Viseu	82	75	74	82	84	72	69	76	87	81	70	74
Funchal	74	84	76	86	80	82	84	82	85	92	86	80
Angra do Heroísmo	54	72	76	82	51	64	75	81	62	69	72	84
Horta	49	45	54	74	48	55	58	79	51	56	67	64
Ponta Delgada	63	83	79	96	67	82	79	71	83	84	79	64
Portugal	83	89	89	87	85	83	86	88	88	86	86	86

Source: General Population Censuses, 1864, 1878, 1890, 1900, Lisboa, INE.

The case of São Jorge island (The Azores)

Despite the existence of several community studies made up from reconstituted families in the 19th Century, few of them focus on the illegitimacy as an object of study. However there is an exhaustive research dealing with the

²⁴ The inhabitants of 1864 and 1878 were adjusted for five year ages groups: 20-24, 25-29 and 30-34. Those adjustments introduce a small margin of error in the results.

island of São Jorge, were unusual levels of births outside of marriage were detected, especially for a rural area (Matos 2007a, 2009). Between 1800 and 1910, following more than 900 single mothers life courses, it was recorded an illegitimacy percentage of 18 %. This high intensity was also detected for other islands such as Graciosa.

On this peripheral island with mountain features and a predominant activity based on agriculture and cattle raising, there was a considerable increase in population. With some analogies to the region of Minho, there was a slight mortality, causing an accelerated growth of the people by the mid-century. However, the inability to generate more agricultural production led to a strong migratory movement in the 1860's, especially towards the United States of America. This movement significantly increased the imbalance between the sexes. In 1870, when the illegitimacy reached 24%, the *sex ratio* was only 39.4% men for every 100 women in the age group of 20 to 39 years of age.

In São Jorge the difficulty in finding a partner is demonstrated by the high average marriage age for both sexes. Indeed for the 19th Century this figure was never below 29.6 for males and 27.8 for females, affecting in a general way all the social groups. On the other hand permanent celibacy registered very high percentages. In 1850 this indicator was about 16% for man and 28% for women, surely as a consequence of inheritance restrictions and the male emigration to the Americas.

One of the consequences of the obstacles to get married on S. Jorge was the high incidence of illegitimacy, though it was also related to various other factors. The strong endogamy and consanguinity and a post mortem inheritance system combined with some social acceptance of birth outside the marriage - even among the elites – greatly potentiating non-marital fertility. What seems to be more curious is that a considerable number of single mothers was able to get married at a later stage. We were able to follow the life courses of 911 single mothers, paying attention to their situation at death (single, married or without further information), number of children and mean age at first marriage.

Table 10. Single mother future life courses, number of children born and eventual posterior marriage in the parish of Ribeira Seca (1800–1910). Percentages and mean age at first delivery

<i>Type – situation</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean age at birth of 1st child</i>	<i>Number of children</i>
0 – Unwed at death	17	26.2	2.5
1–Single mothers without further information about marriage or death	39	25.7	1.8
2–Single mothers with subsequent marriage (father present at the baptism of the children)	26	26.2	1.8
3–Single mothers with subsequent marriage (father absent at the baptism of the children)	18	24.4	2.1
Together	100	25.8	1,9

Although there are a large number of women “without further information about marriage or death” (39%), as a consequence of strong mobility and emigration, it seems important to mention that only 17% of them died unwedded. On the other hand 44% of single mothers registered marriage, the majority even declaring the father’s name at the children’s baptism. Having this said it seems that non-marital fertility was general accepted within this society. Moreover the scarcity of abandoned children in this island (less than 2% during the 19th Century) reinforces this assumption.

Paulo Matos noticed that a *post mortem* inheritance pattern enhanced this phenomenon. Parents would try to guarantee the integrity of their wealth by not sharing propriety and doing wedding donations during life. While there prevailed a system of equality between sons and daughters, it is quite evident that many daughters only could be able to get married after their parent’s deaths. Consequently in many cases illegitimacy was considered as a “shortcut” as the majority of single mothers remained living with their children at the parent’s house.

So where did the single mothers tended to live? Using the Church communion lists of 1839 and 1875 it can be concluded that single mothers used mainly their family of origin as a refuge. Paying only attention to households with single mothers and their descendants it can be seen that the majority (58 and 64% in 1839 and 1875, respectively) lived in their parent’s households.

Table 11. Family and household configurations in situations of illegitimacy*. Revised composition of household structures in Ribeira Seca, São Jorge (1839 and 1875)

Category/class	1839	1875
<i>A - Simple households</i>	41.8	35.8
Aa - Single mothers	25.5	25.2
Ab - Single fathers	6.1	1.3
Ac - Consensual units	2.0	1.3
Ad - Siblings with downward extension	8.2	7.9
<i>B - Extended households</i>	58.2	64.2
Ba ₁ - Complete extended family with descendants	23.5	26.5
Ba ₂ - Incomplete extended family with descendants	28.6	30.5
Bb - Extended families (other combinations)	3.1	3.3
Bc - Grandmothers with children and grandchildren	3.1	4.0
Number of households in situation of illegitimacy	98	151

Sources: See Matos 2007: 398–428.

Notes: * “Family and household configurations in situations of illegitimacy”, includes illegitimate children alive and under age 18.

Correspondence with Laslett/Hammel classification of domestic households with incidents of illegitimacy is the following: Aa=3d, Ac= 2c, Ad=2b, Ba₁ and Ba₂=4b, Bb=4a-4c, Bc=4b.

It appears that unwed mothers usually stayed in their family of origin, living with their own parents. Consequently, “simple families” (simple households using Laslett’s terminology) were less common, corresponding to only 38 per cent of the total households in 1839 and dropping to 32.5% in 1875.

This figures put in clear evidence of the acceptance of this behaviour within the society. Using the island of São Jorge as a laboratorial case of Portugal and mainly to the rural areas, it could be been that several demographic variables such as age of marriage, permanent celibacy and migration played a major importance. On the other hand in several regions of Portugal illegitimacy wasn’t directly considered as female stigmatization, as it was often related with demographical *stress* and inheritance patterns. In the particular case of São Jorge it seems not to exist a clear *sub-prone society* formed by single “repeaters” mothers (Laslett 1980). More probably the community itself design a sub-prone society formed by single mothers having children with several partners and registering irregular behaviours.

3. Conclusions

Since some decades ago scholars have noticed strong geographical changes regarding illegitimacy within the European context of the 18th and 19th Centuries. Traditionally there is a North Europe with lower values opposed to the South continent, with a higher incidence of births out of wedlock, especially in Portugal, Spain and Italy. However exceptions to this occurrence are abundant. Using a simple measure - the percentage of illegitimacy - in the North of Scotland, Bavaria and Saxony are found, for example, high levels, frequently over 20%. On the contrary, in Portugal and Spain, there were various areas with low illegitimacy such as Castelo Branco and Valencia, respectively, with percentages as low as 4%.

Nonetheless, Portugal stands out for its exceptionally high levels of illegitimacy when compared with Spain, Italy and even France. In an Iberian context this difference is even more intriguing. By the end of the 19th Century the country presented more than the double of the percentage of illegitimacy found in Spain. This reality persisted until the beginning of the 20th Century.

Portugal also presents itself as a country with significant demographic differences at a regional level, being an authentic *demographic puzzle* as noted by Maria Norberta Amorim (Amorim 1999: 11). In this line, the analysis of the different regions indicates very distinct behaviours, not only between the North, South, interior and the coastline, but also within the Atlantic archipelagos of the Azores and Madeira. Of course the children abandonment in the foundlings has to be considered, as it is not possible to measure with accuracy the number of those being of legitimate offspring.

Albeit the sources' diversity and typology demands some prudence in the conclusions, illegitimacy throughout the 19th Century shows an increasing trend. It is true that this tendency is somehow geographically limited, following a North/South pattern. But the data also points to an increase in the levels throughout the 19th Century, further north, and lower figures are maintained in the Center and South in general.

The reasons behind the origins of this evolution should be sought in a specific regional context marked by the fusion of patterns of late marriages, property law and emigration levels. It seems, therefore, that the reality in the North configures a specific pattern along with some islands in the Azores with respect to the of illegitimacy's regime in Portugal. While it is true that there are Portuguese regions that are close to the European pattern of low levels of illegitimacy, the national levels were clearly higher compared to the global percentages of other European countries. This fact leads to the regional

diversity of illegitimacy in Portugal and to its particularity within the Iberian and European context.

References

- Amorim, M.N. (1973). *Rebordões e a sua população nos séculos XVII e XVIII*. Fac. Letras/UP: Porto.
- Amorim, M.N. (1987). *Guimarães de 1580 a 1819. Estudo Demográfico*. Lisboa: INIC.
- Amorim, M.N. (1997). “Diversidade de comportamentos demográficos no Portugal de Antigo regime”. *População e Sociedade* 3: 137-149.
- Amorim, M.N. (1999). “Minho: comportamentos demográficos através da informação paroquia”. *Ler História* 36: 9-43.
- Amorim, M.N. (2004). “Comportamentos demográficos de Antigo Regime na Península Ibérica”. *Ler História* 47: 147-170.
- Balbi, A. (1822). *Essai Statistique sur le Royaume de Portugal et d'Algarve*. Tome Premier. Paris: Chez Rey et Gravier Libraires.
- Bandeira, M. L (1996). *Demografia e modernidade. Família e Transição Demográfica em Portugal*. Imprensa Nacional: Lisboa.
- Bardet, J.P., Dupâquier, J. (1998). *Histoire des Populations de l'Europe*. Vol.II. La Révolution Démographique 1750-1914. Paris: Fayard.
- Blaikie, A. (1993). *Illegitimacy, Sex and Society. Northeast Scotland, 1750-1900*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Blayo, Y. (1975). “La proportion de naissances illégitimes en France de 1740 à 1829 ”. *Population* 30: 65-70.
- Bouvet, M., Bourdin, P.M. (1968). “A travers la Normandie des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles”. *Cahier des Annales de Normandie* 6 (6): 3-522.
- Brandão, M. de F. (1994). *Terra, Herança e Família no Noroeste de Portugal*. O caso de Mosteiro no século XIX. Lisboa: Afrontamento.
- Brettell, C. B. (1991). *Homens que partem, mulheres que esperam. Consequências da emigração numa freguesia minhota*. Lisboa: Dom Quixote (original edition published by Princeton University Press in 1986).
- Chaunu, P. (1966). *La Civilisation de l'Europe classique*. Paris: Arthaud.
- Dupâquier, J. (ed.) (1988). *Histoire de la population française*. 3. Paris: P.U.F

- Durães, M. (2009). "Providing Well-Being through Inheritance and Succession. Portugal in the 18th and 19th Centuries". In Durães, M., Fauve-Chamoux A., Ferrer L., Kok, J., (eds.). *The Transmission of Well-Being. Gendered Marriages Strategies and Inheritance Systems in Europe (17th-20 centuries)*, Bern: Peter Lang, pp. 201-228.
- Fine, A. (1988). "Enfant et normes familiales". In Dupâquier, J. (ed.), *Histoire de la Population Française*. vol 3. *De 1789 à 1914*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, pp. 436-457.
- Fonte, T. A. (2004). *No limiar da honra e da pobreza: a infância desvalida e abandonada no Alto Minho (1698-1924)*. Guimarães: Núcleo de Estudos da População e Sociedade.
- Franzini, M. Miguel (1826). "Noticias Estadísticas sobre a extensão e população do reino de Portugal, e ilhas do Oceano Atlantico". *Almanach Portuguez*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional.
- Godinho, V. M. (1978). "L'Émigration Portugaise (XVe - XXe siècles). Une constante structurale et les réponses aux changements du monde". *Revista de História Económica e Social* 1: 5 -32.
- Guimarães, C.M.S.P. (1998). *Santa Maria de Adoufe: comportamentos demográficos e sociais, 1780-1910*. [Tese de Mestrado] Braga: Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade do Minho.
- "Illegitimacy in England and Wales, 1879" (1881). *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 44 (2): 349-398.
- Knodel, J., Hochstadt, S. (1980). "Urban and rural illegitimacy in Imperial Germany". In Laslett, P., Oosterveen, K., Smith, R M. (eds.). *Bastardy and its Comparative History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 284-312.
- Laslett, P. (1980). "Illegitimacy over Time and between Cultures". In Laslett, P., Oosterveen, K., Smith, R M. (eds.). *Bastardy and its Comparative History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 1-70.
- Laslett, P. (1977). *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations*. Cambridge.
- Laslett, P. (1980). "The Bastardy-Prone Sub-Society". In Laslett, P., Oosterveen, K., Smith, R M. (eds.). *Bastardy and Its Comparative History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Laslett, P. and Oosterveen, K.(1973). "Long-Term Trends in Bastardy in England, 1561-1960", *Population Studies* 27: 255-286.
- Levine, D. (1977). *Family Formation in an Age of Nascent Capitalism*. New York: Academic Press.

- Levine, D. Wrightson, K. (1980). "The Social Context of Illegitimacy in Early Modern England". In Laslett, P., Oosterveen, K., Smith, R. M. (eds.). *Bastardy and Its Comparative History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 158-175.
- Linn, M. (1981). *The European Demographic System. 1500-1820*. Brighton.
- Livi-Bacci, M. (1971). *A Century of Portuguese fertility*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Livi-Bacci, M. (1968a). "Fertility and nuptiality changes in Spain from the late 18th to the early 20th century (I)". *Population Studies* XXII (1): 83-102.
- Livi-Bacci, M. (1968b). "Fertility and nuptiality changes in Spain from the late 18th to the early 20th century (II)". *Population Studies* XXI (2): 211-234.
- Livi-Bacci, M. (1988). "La Península Ibérica e Itália en vísperas de la transición demográfica". In Pérez Moreda, V., Reher, D.-S. (eds.). *Demografía histórica en España*. Madrid: Ediciones El Arquero, pp. 39-178.
- Lumley, W.G. (1862). "Observations upon the Statistics of Illegitimacy". *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 25 (2): 219-227.
- Maia, R. L. (1998). "São Miguel de Barreiros, uma comunidade entre o campo e a cidade, 1700-1925. (Estudo demográfico)". *Boletín de la Asociación de la Asociación de Demografía Histórica* XVI-I: 215-241.
- Maia, R. L. (2003). *O sentido das diferenças. Migrantes e naturais: observação de percursos de vida no Bonfim*. Lisboa: FCG e FCT.
- Matos, P. T. (2007a). *O Nascimento fora do Matrimónio na Freguesia da Ribeira Seca da Ilha de São Jorge (Açores): 1800-1910*, Guimarães, NEPS.
- Matos, P. T. (2007b). "Os expostos do concelho das Velas da ilha de São Jorge: 1806-1874". In *O Faial e a Periferia Açoriana nos Séculos XV a XX. Actas do IV Colóquio , realizado em Maio de 2006 nas ilhas do Faial e Pico*. Horta: Núcleo Cultural da Horta.
- Matos, P. T. (2009). "Female life courses and property transmission in the Azorean Periphery (Portugal). The case of the Island of São Jorge in the 19th century". In Durães, M., Fauve-Chamoux A., Ferrer L., Kok, J., (eds.). *The Transmission of Well-Being. Gendered Marriages Strategies and Inheritance Systems in Europe (17th-20 centuries)*, Bern: Peter Lang, pp. 359-390.
- Matos, S. (1995). *Os Expostos da Roda de Barcelos (1783-1835)*. Barcelos: Associação Cultural Recreativa de Areias de Vilar.
- Miranda, F.A. da S. (1993). *Estudo Demográfico de Alvito S. Pedro e Anexa, 1567-1989*. Barcelos: Junta de Freguesia de Alvito e São Pedro.

- Nazareth, J.M. (1983). “A nupcialidade da população portuguesa na segunda metade do século XIX”. *Estudos de História de Portugal. Homenagem a A.H. de Oliveira Marques* II Lisboa: Estampa, pp. 393-409.
- Neto, M. de L. A. (1959). *A freguesia de Santa Catarina de Lisboa, no 1º quartel do século XVIII (ensaio de demografia Histórica)*. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Demográficos do INE.
- Neves, A. A. (1998). “Um Enigma Demográfico: A Ilegitimidade no Minho do Antigo Regime”. *Boletín de la Asociación de Demografía Histórica* XVI (I): 137-173.
- Neves, A. A. (2001). *Filhos das Ervas. A ilegitimidade a norte de Guimarães – séculos XVI-XVIII*. Guimarães: NEPS.
- Neves, A. A. (1999). “A ilegitimidade no Minho Antigo: o exemplo do norte de Guimarães”. In Partilla, M. G., Sangroniz, K. Z. (eds.). *IV Congreso de la Asociación de Demografía Histórica*, Bilbao: Univ. del País Vasco I, pp.309-326.
- O'Neill, B.J. (1984). *Proprietários, lavradores e jornaleiros: desigualdade social numa aldeia transmontana, 1870-1978*. Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote.
- O'Neill, B.J. (1985). “Jornaleiros e zorros: dimensões de ilegitimidade numa aldeia transmontana -1870-1978”. In *Les Campagnes Portugaises de 1870 à 1930: image et réalité*. Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian/Centre Culturel Portugais.
- Pérez Moreda, V. (1996). “Infancia Abandonada e Ilegitimidad en la Historia de las Poblaciones Ibéricas”. *Actas do III Congresso da ADEH* 3: 7-35.
- Pérez Moreda, V. (2005). *La infancia abandonada en España: (siglos XVI-XX)*: discurso leído el día 8 de mayo de 2005 en la recepción pública del Excmo. Sr. Don Vicente Pérez Moreda y contestación por el Excmo. Sr. Don Quintín Aldea Vaquero, Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia.
- Reher, D. (1998), “L’Espagne”. In Bardet, J.-P., Dupâquier, J. (eds.). *Histoire des Populations de l’Europe* II. Paris: Fayard, pp. 532-553.
- Reis, M. da C. C. dos (2003). *São Pedro da Ericeira de 1622 a 1855: estudo demográfico*. Braga: Universidade do Minho.
- Rodrigues, T. (1995). *Viver e morrer na Lisboa Oitocentista (Migrações, Mortalidade e Desenvolvimento)*. Lisboa: Cosmos
- Rodrigues, T. (1997). *Cinco séculos de quotidiano. A vida em Lisboa do século XVI aos nossos dias*. Lisboa: Cosmos.
- Rodrigues, T. (2004). *A População Portuguesa no Século XIX*, Cadernos de Economia e Sociedade. Porto: Edições Afrontamento.

- Rodrigues, T. (2008). “O século XIX”. In Rodrigues, T. (ed). *História da População Portuguesa. Das longas permanências à conquista da modernidade*. Porto: Ed. Afrontamento.
- Rowland, R. (1981). “Âncora e Montaria, 1827: duas freguesias do Noroeste segundo os livros de registo das Companhias de Ordenanças”. *Studium Generale/Estudos Contemporâneos* 2-3: 199-242.
- Rowland, R (1984). “Sistemas familiares e padrões demográficos em Portugal, questões para uma investigação comparada”. *Ler Histórica* 3:13-32.
- Rowland, R (1987). “Nupcialidade, família, Mediterrâneo”. *Boletín de la Asociacion de Demografia Histórica* V (2): 128-143.
- Rowland, R (1988). “Sistemas matrimoniales en la Península Ibérica (siglos XVI-XIX. Una perspectiva regional”. In Pérez Moreda, V., Sven Reyer, D. (eds.). *Demografía Histórica en España*. Madrid:El Arquero, pp. 72-136.
- Rowland, R (1997), *População, Família e Sociedade*. Celta: Oeiras.
- Sá, I. dos G. (1994). “Child abandonment in Portugal: legislation and institutional care”. *Continuity and Change* 9: 69-89.
- Sá, I. dos G. (1996). “Abandono de crianças, ilegitimidade e concepções pré-nupciais em Portugal: estudos recentes e perspectivas”. In Moreda, V. Pérez (ed.). *Expostos e ilegítimos na realidade Ibérica: do século XVI ao presente: actas do Congresso da Associação Ibérica de Demografia Histórica (ADEH), Braga, Portugal, 1993*. Lisboa: Afrontamento, pp. 37-58.
- Serrão, J. (1973). *A Demografia Portuguesa: Fontes da Demografia Portuguesa, 1800-1862*. Lisboa: Horizonte.
- Shorter E, Knodel, J, Van De Walle, E. (1971). “The Decline of Non-Marital Fertility in Europe, 1880-1940”, *Population Studies* 25 (3): 375-393.
- Silveira, L. N. E. (2001). *Os Recenseamentos da população de 1801 e 1849*. Edição Crítica. Lisboa: INE, 3 vols.
- Soares, O. do C. S. (1996). *Unhão: paróquia e concelho – Uma análise histórica da sua população, 1515-1910*. [Tese de Mestrado]. ICS: Universidade do Minho.
- Solé, M. G. P. S. (2008). “Contextos sócio-económicos da ilegitimidade na freguesia da Meadela (1593-1850)” *Estudos Regionais* II série: 103-116.
- Wall, K. (1998). *Famílias no campo: passado e presente em duas Freguesias do Baixo Minho*. Lisboa: Dom Quixote.

Gender, Property, Economic Subsistence and Changes in Legislation in France: from Customs to *Code Civil* (1804)

Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux

*Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Centre de Recherches Historiques, 190, avenue de France,
75013 Paris, France, 0033-145-396-473, fauve@msh-paris.fr*

Abstract: In France, women were always active parties in devolution of belongings and values from one generation to the following. Securing the right of women to inherit their parents' assets is indeed one of the essential characteristics of European societies. Whatever the priority given to one of the line of descents (often but not always the male line), some share of the parents' assets was always transmitted through women. In Ancien Regime France, the part of women in transmission or devolution of assets was not homogeneous. Differences were striking from one region to another. In spite of the important legislative changes brought about by the *Code Civil des Français* (1804) customary practices survived in Northern as in Southern France and adapted to new social and economic conditions and mentalities that were not always against female interests. The *Napoleonic Code* allowed spouses organizing their patrimonial relations as they so fit, as soon as a minimum of common rules were respected. It was adopted in many European countries (including Romania) and is still in use with minimum changes by various nations. This essay traces the impact of the 1789 Revolution and following legal reforms concerning matrimonial conventions, inheritance systems and widows' economic means of subsistence in old age.

Keywords: Property, Inheritance, Gender, Civil Code, Customs, France, Marriage, Widowhood, Survival, Roman Law.

When considering French legal systems in the times of the Ancien Régime, we may rightfully assert that matrimonial conventions and inheritance systems not only protected but also favoured the widow to some extent¹. Practice did not always mirror theory, so that historians ought to scrutinize concrete cases of legal behaviours concerning widows. Anyhow we already know the extreme diversity of customs and laws in the French kingdom according to provinces

¹ I am very grateful to Mary Louise Nagata, Béatrice Craig and Sally Bould for their precious comments on earlier versions of this paper.

(Le Roy Ladurie 1976; Béaur 2004, 2011), as well as the sometimes high discrepancy between legal provisions and their concrete enforcement. It would be senseless to try to elaborate a synoptic view of the widowed condition in the *Ancien Régime* on a national scale: “every time we undertake to fathom practice, its extreme diversity strikes us” (Hilaire 1994: 5). Besides, what the widow could eventually get at her husband’s death might not necessarily tally with the provisions in her marriage contract.

Before the French 1789 Revolution and the main legislative changes that occurred with the following events and the Napoleonic *Code Civil* (1804)², from the point of view of law, and matrimonial law indeed, the French kingdom was divided in two parts: Northern France and Southern France. Most of the provinces in Northern France had customary laws and were during the Middle Ages the seat for a slow elaboration of an original matrimonial system which was to persist, including for instance, for many aspects, in Quebec (Zoltvany 1971). The case of Northern France will be considered in a first section, focusing on the matrimonial rules applied in early modern Paris and in a large region around Paris. The case of Southern France will be studied in a second section and a third part will trace the legal impacts of the French Revolution and of the *Code civil des Français* (1804), concerning matrimonial conventions and inheritance systems.

1. The Parisian Custom and the matrimonial joint estate system in Northern France

The main characteristic of the Parisian matrimonial system was pooling movables and goods of the spouses (Bourdote de Richebourg 1724, Martin 1922-1930)³. The joint estate was stated in the *Coutume de Paris*, 1510, article 220 (Bourdote de Richebourg 1724, tome 3: 45). The Custom of Paris was actually concerning not only the city and its suburbs, but many villages and localities belonging to the Prévôté of Paris. Jurists and historians consider that a large region around Paris was also concerned, where customs were more or less of a “Paris type” (Yver 1966⁴; Le Roy Ladurie 1976; Viret 2004: 32)⁵. On

²“Code civil”, 1841, in *Les Trente codes des Français*, Paris: Martial Ardant frères: 11-245. See also on line, the first edition of the *Code civil des Français* (1804): <http://gallica.bnf.fr>.

³See the Paris Custom in Bourdote de Richebourg, Charles Antoine 1724, vol. 3: 1-92. A presentation of the Custom of Paris may be found in Zoltvany 1971.

⁴In 1966, Yver published in colour a map of the distribution of inheritance customs in 16th Century rural France, excluding the southern area with the Written Law (*Droit écrit*). It is reproduced in Fauve-Chamoux and Ochiai 2009: 48.

⁵Customs of “Paris type” belonging to a “Parisian system” “type C” (by Yver 1953, 1954), were found up to Luzarche in the North of Paris, towards Champagne to the East, down to

the centre of Figure 1 below, the light grey part delineates precisely the area of customs belonging to Paris type (classified as “type C” by Yver 1953, 1954), which was broadly egalitarian in matter of inheritance. The Custom of Paris was moderate and inspired the authors of the Napoleonic *Civil Code* (1804), the influence of which is still evident in certain provisions of the present French *Civil Code*.

Marriage contracts give a fair picture of the way widows were treated, even if some of these contracts were not enforced as the wife died earlier than her husband. Wills give only global indications as to the different types of succession then considered. Concerning the town of Paris, 630 marriage contracts were analysed for the period 1660-1670 and 659 contracts for 1739-1749⁶. In Paris marriage contracts covered the whole social scale, even the poorest.

Bride's dowry

In the time of the Ancien régime, marriage contracts mentioned first the amount and the composition of the bride's dowry. Most of the dowries in Paris were money and movables contributions (84% for the first period, 67% for the second one). According to jurists and auxiliary officers giving advice to their urban or rural customers (Dolan 2005), goods and rights of the bride consisted of movables, clothes, linen, and of cash money earned by her work and savings. In the 17th Century, the proportion of dowries involving annuities, land or houses was very limited (16%), but, seventy years later, during the 18th Century, it grew to a third of all contracts.

Annuities (life- or perpetuity annuities) constituted the major part of these composite Parisian dowries whose proportion and diversity grew with the 18th Century: sometimes the presence of shares of the *Compagnie des Indes* or tickets of the *Royal Loterie* were noted. Annuities were valued as real estate. The widow was entitled to dispose of her annuities as she saw fit.

Matrimonial joint estate

Establishing the amount and composition of the dowry, the notary who was in charge of registering the marriage contract in his office indicated which part of it was to enter the marital community – a part which would be the same for both spouses, even if the amounts of their own original assets were different. Generally speaking, the proportion of assets constituting the joint estate was all

Melun towards South-East to Estampes and Orleans, South (Le Roy Ladurie 1976: 41). French Flandre is concerned (Craig 2009a).

⁶ Roland Mousnier's Project concerned 19 notaries in Paris (Scarlett Beauvalet-Boutouyrie 2001: 244).

the larger since the contribution of the bride's dowry was weak: the smaller the dowry, the larger the part entering the matrimonial joint estate. In 18th Century Paris, a tendency was noted to give a better protection to the personal assets of each spouse, and indeed of the wives: more than 60% of the marriage contracts were concluded with only one third of the bride's personal assets contributing to the joint estate (Beauvalet-Boutouyrie 2001: 253; Fauve-Chamoux 2009b: 418).

Dower, preciput and donation

After determining the composition of the joint estate, the notary recorded the *dower* (*douaire*) – which means the assets which the husband allotted to his wife if she survived him. According to the Norman custom⁷, this “survival gain” (*gain de survie*) was acquired at the time of consummation of marriage. In Paris, the amount of dower was related to the size of the dowry. The assets assigned to the dower were officially linked to the real estate which the husband owned at the time of the wedding and those which he inherited later. As a matter of fact, dower was a traditional institution not necessitating any convention and mention of it was not needed in the marriage contracts (Bart 1998: 308). But this “customary” dower was more and more substituted by a “prefix” dower, as was already noted in 17th Century Paris: it was usually some money to be paid to the widow once and for all. Only elite widows had the privilege to receive dowers made up of life- or perpetuity annuities. Occurrence of such dowers grew with the 18th Century: it was the case for only 9% of the Paris widows during the period 1660-1670 while they numbered 18% between 1739 and 1749; widows of all social strata were concerned. We may analyse such a change as a concern to compensate for small dowries.

When the dower allowed for large sums, as was the case for 10% of the Parisian contracts, the parties might foresee their reduction when the couple had children, in order to protect the children's interests. For instance one of these contracts stipulated that the widow would receive an annuity of 6000 pounds when childless at her husband's death, but only 4000 if there were children. In case of “misconduct”, especially during the mourning year, a widow was in danger of losing her dower. Let us note that remarriage, in itself, did not entail loss of dower.

Another disposition could appear in Parisian contracts: a husband could assign a *preciput* in favour of his wife if she survived him; that is the right to withhold from the estate a previously fixed part before sharing out equally between heirs. This clause gave a real advantage to the surviving widow. It

⁷ See also the Custom of Normandy in Bourdot de Richebourg 1724, vol. 4.

became more frequent at the end of the Ancien regime, especially in the lower social groups.

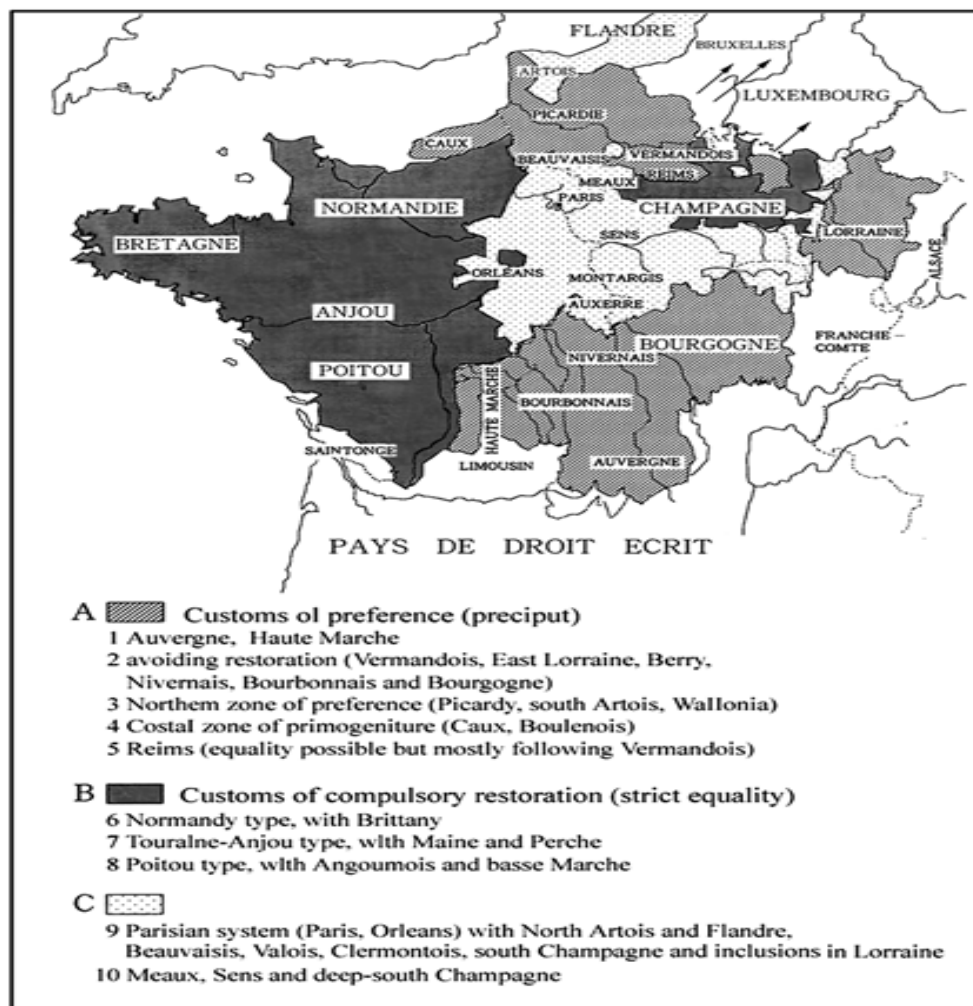
Nearly all Parisian marriage contracts secured dower and *preciput* for the wife in case of widowhood. Besides, some 10% (also in the modest groups) provided for a gift (or donation), which was usually some usufruct drawn from the joint estate, under the condition that the couple remained childless. Other clauses may be found, for instance this one which a bride specified in favour of her parents: if she died before her spouse, his obligation was to serve a life-annuity to her mother (the groom's mother in law).

The condition of widows in Paris, at the end of the Ancien regime.

It was estimated that a widow needed at least 500 pounds to live independently in Paris with her children over two or three years, at the end of Ancien regime (Beauvalet 2001; Beauvalet *et al.* 2004). After these years, she had to take a job, remarry or ask for assistance. This is the reason why widows were so fond of annuities with their regular falling dues and their 5% fixed rates or more, a good anti-inflation security. However, since marriage contracts were not usual in the poorest social groups, many widowed wives of unskilled workers or poor craftsmen became destitute.

For women married under contract, analysis of the detailed clauses allowed an evaluation of the total assets and means of living they could expect to receive after their husband's death, according to the social status of the couple. All in all, under the terms of Parisian type customs, at her husband's death, a widow could in principle bank on her part in the joint estate, including half of the acquired goods during the union, her dower, a *preciput* and some advantage her husband could have provided for. If the joint estate had taken on too many debts, she could waive her "waiver of right". The capacity for a widow to make use of that option appeared as soon as the Middle Ages in France, open at first for the nobility, then to commoners. But such a waiver of right was a case to be taken seriously, since it could also lead to loss of dower, as in Burgundy (Jean Bart 1998: 311).

Figure 1. Distribution of inheritance customs in 16th Century France, excluding the southern area with the Written Law (*Droit écrit*). Group C includes customs of Paris type



Source: Yver 1966, last page, no number. The original map in colour is reproduced by Fauve-Chamoux and Ochiai 2009: 48. The map published in Le Roy Ladurie 1976: 39 was unfortunately hardly readable.

Note: Simplified and translated map by Fauve-Chamoux after Yver 1966. As explained by Fauve-Chamoux 2009a: 210-211, the coloured map inserted by Yver in 1966 as a last page of his book, showed three main areas and sub areas in Northern France (simplified in black and white here as Figure 1). Arrows indicate non-French stem-family zones (*preciput* areas) belonging to the “Picardy-Wallonia model” described by Yver (1953, 1954 and 1966) and discussed by Fauve-Chamoux 2009a.

In early modern Northern France, the matrimonial joint estate institution was nothing like any family enterprise. The wife's interests were secured, with a tendency to a growing protection of the widow at the end of the Ancien Régime, in regions ruled by Customs of Paris type (category C). Some jurists go as far as interpreting this feature as a sign of her being deemed a legally incompetent being, dependent on her husband. Concerning other Northern regions, inheritance customary systems of inheritance were well presented by Yver and later by Le Roy Ladurie, and are illustrated here by Figure 1 (Yver 1966; Le Roy Ladurie 1976).

As explained above, on the centre of the map, the light grey part, originally in yellow colour (type C) (Yver 1953, 1954, 1966) delineates the area of Parisian custom and of Paris types, which were broadly egalitarian in matters of inheritance, and rather flexible concerning matrimonial dispositions. A widow might enjoy a *preciput*, as noted above. This moderate custom inspired the authors of the Napoleonic Code (1804), the influence of which is still evident in certain provisions of the present French *Civil Code*. The black spot near Orleans corresponds to the Dunois custom, one of strict equality (Pothier 1830: 478).

Areas in black (originally in blue, type B) are known for their strict egalitarian inheritance rules, which required that all bequests to children during the lifetime of their parents were returned to be redistributed equally among all co-heirs after both parent's death (compulsory restoration).

The part in dark grey (type A) on this map, originally in pink (Yver 1966), shows the area of Northern France with non-egalitarian family transmission – the *preciput* area – which is the focus of Fauve-Chamoux 2009a, where a child received a larger share than others when he/she was taking charge of the “house” management and family reproduction. This dark grey part covers Auvergne, Haute Marche, Picardy, Wallonia, and Southern Artois. In East Lorraine, as in Rheims region, equality was possible but families followed mostly the Vermandois system which avoided restoration and encouraged preference (*preciput*). On the Northern coast (Pays de Caux and Boulonnais, called also “Boulenois” in the past), mostly male primogeniture was followed by all social groups (*droit d'aînesse en roture*).

The white area at the bottom of the map corresponds to the “land of Written Law”, the *Pays de droit écrit*, of which French Pyrenees are part. Another matrimonial system than joint estate prevailed in Southern France; by contrast with most of Northern France, Normandy being apart, where dowry was the norm and joint estate excluded, which was an exception in Northern France (Yver 1952; Boudjaaba 2007, 2011) (Figure 1).

2. Dowry system without joint estate in Southern France

In Southern France, where “written law” still existed as a legacy of Roman law, a “pure” dowry system began prevailing with the 16th Century (Bart 1998: 313). During previous centuries, according to pre-Justinian Roman law, characteristic of the treatment of assets at disposal of the household was the contribution of the wife’s family, called dowry, which became the husband’s ownership, but he had to repay this dowry if marriage was dissolved. There was no common matrimonial property. Wives might own other assets, called *paraphernalia* (meaning “off-dowry”), which they were entitled to dispose of as they saw fit. Besides, the wife was entitled to a gift of her husband, called *donatio propter nuptias* assessed at half the value of the dowry. The interests of each spouse were thus treated independently.

Of course enforcement of these principles was subjected to alterations in the course of European history. As noticed above, for regions with customary law in Northern France, there was some concern for the widow’s fate and, besides her private belongings and her part of the joint estate; she could get some privilege of usufruct over her husband’s shares. According to law history for Southern France, the assets of the spouses were usually mixed until the 16th Century. This means that the wife’s assets were under the husband’s administration and control. However marriage contracts and wills in this part of France often conceded to the widow (if she was not the heiress) some usufruct of a part of her husband’s asset, usually of half of it. But all goods acquired after marriage (*les acquets*) were deemed ownership of the husband.

The “house” system

Partaking family assets, be they original assets or acquired goods, was impossible in societies based on perpetuation of the “house”. The basic reproduction system implied a marriage between an heir and a *cadette* (or between a heiress and a *cadet*), the partner entering a house was bringing a dowry. The family patrimony or “house” could not be altered. And “house”, in Bearn as in the Pyrenean countries, meant:

1. the whole of the family-owned real estate,
2. the rights going with this entity,
3. the family home and the family group living in it. Indissociability of house, patrimony, family lineage and name of the house was the rule.

These family assets, also called *avitins* (from the latin *avus*, grandfather), defined as those which at least three persons of the same lineage owned in succession,

were inalienable, according to the *For de Bearn*⁸, 1551 (Lacanette-Pommel 2003: 12). According to local customs, the heir/heiress was not an owner but an usufructuary: as soon as he/she married, in co-residence with his/her parents, the heir/heiress knew that he/she would be responsible for house and land, responsible also of patrimony transmission to the next generation (Fauve-Chamoux 2003a). To sell any part of the house supposed the consent of a family council and a court ruling. Even when selling of a house had been concluded, a family member could call the sale into question within one year and one day after conclusion of the sale, exercising his right of lineage withdrawal (*retrait lignager*) to recover this part for family use (for his own use only). According to the Bearnese custom (*Coutume de Béarn*), these *avitine* assets fell to the eldest son, his brothers and sisters being deprived of any right to succeed. The part of inheritance they might receive was not a matter of right. It was customary and left to the father's decision.

If the successor was an heiress (Fauve-Chamoux 2003a, 2003c), with her privileged position she owned the substance of the estate, and, strictly speaking, she did not contribute at all to marriage with a dowry; on the contrary her husband did, as he entered the house, whose name he took. This dowry of the entering spouse in a house, which was mostly paid in cash, may be considered as a first step towards the compensation due to non-heirs in this house. In principle, a dowry was inalienable, but cash circulated! At the end of Ancien régime, in Southern France, separate properties for spouses was the predominant system, against joint estate in Northern France.

But things were beginning to move and demographic growth in these times accelerated the trend. It could happen that junior brothers (*cadets*) founding a new house, as craftsmen or shopkeepers, adopted a joint estate status when marrying a *cadette* without a dowry: it was a way somehow to protect her in case of widowhood.

More generally, to allocate a dowry to a girl, when leaving her family for marriage or taking her vows in a convent, was usual when the parents could afford it. It was a sure way to exclude her from the family succession to come, in whichever matrimonial system or customary patrimony transmission system. When the custom was to allow the privilege of a *preciput* in favour of the chosen heir/heiress, giving a dowry or financial compensation to other children, brothers and sisters, bore the same consequence of exclusion. Let us add that the dowry allocated to a girl “marrying out” could possibly be recovered later by the family if, once widowed, she had to quit her spouse's

⁸ A “for” is a custom in Occitan language. The *Coutume de Béarn* is included in Bourdot de Richebourg, Charles Antoine, 1724, Vol. 4: 1071 sqq.

house for reason of sterility or if she died childless. All in all, exclusion from the native family or house succession as a consequence of a dowry given was usual in the whole Southern France, as one could expect from its non-egalitarian system of transmission, but such a practice can also be read in some parts of Northern France in spite of their egalitarian transmission system such as Normandy or even in some regions of the Parisian type area.

Parents and patriarchal power

More than in the Pyrenean countries, the local rule in Provence, deeply inspired by Roman Law, strictly limited the rights of women to inherit. The *Statuts de Provence* reflected a common feeling in that province (Collomp 1983): the future of a family was considered as secured when a possible transmission in female line had been avoided:

“A common wish by the fathers is to preserve the family name and dignity. And that can only be done through male children. Girls are the ultimate term and the end of the paternal family” (Julien 1778, vol. 1: 441).

In Haute Provence (particularly the Verdon valley) practically all marriages were notarized at the end of Ancien regime. So the historian may follow the history of all patrimonies, even the poorest. When a family head died *intestate*, a case which one of the *Statuts de Provence* treated explicitly (Julien 1778), the sons divided up the patrimony, keeping a legitimate share reserved for the girls. The size of each share depended on sex and on the number of living children. Sons received equal shares, whatever their birth rank. But the legitimate share for girls was very small: when the couple had two children, one boy and one girl, the boy got 5/6, the girl 1/6; for two boys and when one girl, each boy got 4/9 and the girl 1/9. So dowries could exceed the legitimate share, according to specific family strategies. Compensations to be given to each child were the effect of subtle calculations. Actually, the Provencal father had no interest to stir up conflicts.

As strange as it may appear, occurrences of the law of primogeniture, which helped so much to legitimate royal or feudal successions, were very seldom expressed in the local laws and customs of Southern France: in fact the parents could choose who would be the main heir (Arrizabalaga 1998; Lacanette-Pommel 2003; Zink 1993: 178-180). This choice could be expressed through a donation or a will which was to specify how the family patrimony had to be transmitted, taking into account the *preciput* allocated to the chosen heir or heiress. But waiting practically until the family head's death to determine the conditions of inheritance was fairly rare. Conditions of family transmission were usually decided when marriage contracts were negotiated for

settling children, and particularly when the chosen heir or heiress was getting married “at home” (Lafourcade 1989, 1992).

Conditions described above concerning devolution of property and means of living, for Northern and Southern France, depending on matrimonial regulations and inheritance systems, were to be affected after the French Revolution and the *Code Civil*.

3. Legal effects of the French 1789 Revolution and of the Code civil des Français (1804)

Revolutionary lawmakers obeying to strict egalitarian views were to modify the rules for transmission and heritage. There is an enormous literature by jurists and historians from France and other countries on the discussions that took place among redactors of the successive drafts of the *Code civil*, tracing Cambares action and debates among members of the Revolutionary assemblies. In August 1800, Bonaparte established a Commission for preparing the Code. The four commissaries were Tronchet, Bigot de Préameneu, Jacques de Maleville⁹ and Jean-Étienne-Marie Portalis, considered as the real “father of the code”¹⁰. Later, these proposals were debated by the Conseil d’Etat. Maleville and Portalis wrote about theses debates in detail, giving a large publicity to them all over Europe, particularly in Northern countries, as we learned from Hilde Sandvik (Sandvik 2010).

Until 1795, elimination of feudal law was their main objective (end of the primogeniture and masculinity rights), as well as some parts of Roman law (interdiction to advantage a child by will in 1793) (Maleville 1807). Then a kind of simplified customary law was put into force, which only allowed for egalitarian sharing among heirs, males and females. But compromises were adopted later. In 1801 the possibility to advantage such or such child with a part of inheritance off-shares was permitted again; in 1803 the practice of *preciput* reappeared. Thus the *Code Civil*, adopted in 1804 after a long elaboration since 1800, was the result of a compromise between various customary laws or old practices and ideological or revolutionary yearnings. It established the principle of equality (and gender equality) for successions, but allowed advantaging one child, a girl as well as a boy, the advantage *preciput* being 1/3rd of the inherited assets when two children were concerned, 1/4th when three children or more (*Code Civil* 1804, Article 913). Worth of interest

⁹The first edition appeared in 1805 (An XIV), Paris, Garnery et Laporte, 4 vol.

¹⁰ Portalis, Jean-Étienne-Marie (1745-1807), *Discours prononcé par le citoyen Portalis, orateur du Gouvernement, dans la séance du Corps législatif du 23 frimaire an X, sur le premier projet de loi du Code civil relatif à la publication, aux effets et à l'application des lois en général*, Paris : Impr. de la République, an X (1801). For more, see Jean-Luc A. Chartier, *Portalis: le père du Code civil*, Paris, Fayard, 2004.

also in its provisions is the recommendation which may be read between the lines to avoid as much as possible sharing of economic entities (Goy 1981: 79-82, 1988).

Under the *Code civil des Français*, why should spouses decide to sign a marriage contract? We should keep in mind that marital property systems are systems of ownership between the spouses providing for the creation or absence of a marital estate. It should be defined which properties are included in that estate, how and by whom they are managed, and how they will be later inherited and eventually divided at the end of the union. Matrimonial regimes are applied either by law or by way of a marriage contract (most of the time signed as a prenuptial agreement) in countries under civil law regime.

The French *Civil Code* of 1804 let couples free to choose their matrimonial system, and if they wanted to draft a marriage contract before the official union was celebrated or, possibly, during the common life. This freedom of choice was planned by the *Civil code*, in article 1387:

“Legislation regulates conjugal association, with respect to property, only in default of special agreements, which the spouses may enter into as they deem proper, provided they are not contrary to public morals and to the following provisions” (Code civil 1804, Art. 1387).

The code allowed spouses organizing their patrimonial relations as they so fit, as soon as a minimum of common rules were respected which was name “the imperative basic status”. When there was no marriage contract, the *Civil code* planned that the legal system was to be the joint estate (Art. 1399), including furniture and *acquests*, as expressed in articles 1400 and 1401:

“Community of property which is established failing an agreement or by a simple declaration of being married under the community of property regime is subject to the rules explained in the following six sections” (Code civil 1804, Art. 1400).

The following article 1401, gives basic necessary details concerning the community of property:

*“The (conjugal property) community consists actively of 1. all the (individually-own) movables that the husband and the wife had the day of their marriage, together with all the movables that falls to them during the marriage by way of inheritance or donation if the donor has not expressed the contrary;
2. all fruits, income, interest and arrears of any kind due or received during the marriage, and from the (individually-own) property that belonged to the husband and to the wife at the moment of the celebration, or that accrued during their marriage, for any reason whatsoever;*

3. *all real estate properties that are acquired during the marriage*” (Article 1401, *Code civil des Français* 1804, Art. 1401: 341)¹¹.

Up to 1st February 1966, this had not been changed in France, and the default legal system was the matrimonial community. Nowadays, it is the “community reduced to *acquêts*”, in case there is no marriage contract. Proofs of private property have to be given¹². By contrast, in Common Law countries, the default is separation of property (with exceptions in some US states which have marital community property¹³).

Under the *Civil code* regime, in Paris type regions and in Normandy, during the first half of the 19th Century, transmission of properties was not at the centre of marital concern and written conventions (Herment 2013). On the contrary, spouses concentrated their attention towards the balance of the economy and the survival of their new household (Boudjaaba 2007: 60). In the practice, the protection of the members of the nuclear family appears to have been their main concern in marital agreements. They did not think in terms of lineage. Spouses organized mutual donation favouring the one of them who will survive the other: all movables and real estate which would belong to the first dying, would pass to the survivor, namely movables in any property and real property in usufruct for lasting life. Mutual donation between spouses was more and more frequent as the 19th Century was advancing. Wills were also used.

During the 19th Century, complementing other plans, parents could also organize some *donatio inter vivos* in favor of their children, in order to help them establishing independently. The pension which the donees had to pay regularly to the donors or to the survivor of the parents constituted another means to insure the well-being of the parents in aging. Actually, retirement contracts were part of many old customs all over Europe, including France. In

¹¹ Translated from the French by A. Fauve-Chamoux.

¹² Corresponding articles of the present French civil code, revised February 1st, 1966, are the following:

Art. 1400. Community of property which is established failing an agreement or by a simple declaration of being married under the community of property regime, is subject to the rules explained in the following three Sections.

Art. 1401. The assets of the community comprise acquisitions made by the spouses together or separately during the marriage, and coming both from their personal activity and from savings made on the fruits and incomes of their personal property.

Art. 1402. Any property, movable or immovable, shall be deemed an acquisition of the community where it is not proved that it is a separate property of one of the spouses in accordance with a provision of law ...

¹³ Arizona, California, Idaho, Louisiana, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, Washington and Wisconsin, Louisiana being specific given the French influence (Stuntz 2005).

the Nordic countries, the principle behind a retirement contract was the transfer of rights in exchange for certain specified goods and services. The retiring head of household gave headship to the successor in exchange for provision in old age.

The retirement process, however, may have been gradual, from active participation, to care received. A retirement contract did not obligate the holder to live in cohabitation with family members. The goods and services were in principle transferable, and if a contract holder was living in another place, in a separate lodging, it may be that the old person had a retirement contract, but had moved out, for whatever reason, maybe to stay alone, with someone, some other child or in an institution (Sogner 2009: 598).

From a strictly legal and material point of view, the deceased couple's properties to be transmitted to inheriting persons were in three parts: 1) the male spouse's own property, 2) the female spouse's own property and 3) the matrimonial joint community (or estate), if any. But to really understand family strategies and the dynamics of transmission, many other aspects need to be taken into account as symbolic and other immaterial values, including customary transmission rules as those that we examined previously for Southern and Northern France.

Studying the middle class of the Lille region in the nineteenth century, Béatrice Craig argued that local gender norms governing property transmission were not significantly modified by the introduction of the *Civil Code*. The old Customs of the French Flanders favoured the surviving spouse, irrespective of sex, over the children, adult sons included (Craig 2009a: 185; Yver 1953, 1954) and she noted continuity on that matter. She also considers that industrialization did not lead to new practices either; neither did the progress of the "separate sphere ideology", which was supposed to keep women within the domestic sphere. In Lille, widows continued to enjoy large economic rights, as previously.

In 19th Century city of Tourcoing, Béatrice Craig has also brought optimistic view about female power in Northern France family enterprise, given the way widows were able to take opportunities of *usufruct* and of the way matrimonial assets were shared and managed according to *Civil code* and juridical business arrangements that did not contradict local old customs. Convincingly, she finally challenged earlier conclusions by Bonnie G. Smith in her book *Ladies of the leisure class* (1981) who was arguing that the advent of industrialization had removed nineteenth-century bourgeois women of northern France from the productive activity of the middle class and confined

them mostly to a reproductive experience. Craig showed clearly that business women did not have their own separate sphere (Craig 2009b).

Globally, in Southern France, the *Code Civil* did not bear either as disastrous consequence as could have been expected for the traditional one-heir-only succession characteristics. Suitable strategies developed that coped with the new legal situation to save most of the tradition (Arrizabalaga 1997, 2009). Acting in accordance with lawyers and notaries, families with properties were able to circumvent the egalitarian difficulty (Fauve-Chamoux 2009a). The main heir had to buy back, more or less fictitiously, his brothers' or sisters' shares; donations appeared suddenly just in time to vouch for the sharing balance, etc. It remained that, for all French couples not bound by a specific marriage contract stating otherwise, the *Code Civil des Français* elected, in 1804, as a legal disposition, the matrimonial status of joint estate (art. 1400, as seen above). The husband was in control of his wife's own assets, because the wife was deemed legally incompetent.

But, according to Arrizabalaga, with the *Code Civil*, the main change for the Basque family was that a heir or heiress became a full legal owner of his/her house (with land and other belongings) when his/her parents were dead, with full liberty of use or alienation, but only when both parents had disappeared, not when he/she married. Actually his/her marriage contract was still an expression of disposals to come, but real ownership, for an heir or heiress, was out of the question as long as the parents lived. After 1804, the parents could thus better guaranty their old age than previously and supervise the transmission strategy until the day of their death; the privileged heir/heiress had also more time to collect money for compensation to the other children. The main strategy of avoiding partition of the family house remained therefore more or less the same than under old customary rules, with another timing.

In the Basque country, under the *Civil Code* regime, this goal was often achieved thanks to a marriage contract for the native heir or heiress that stipulated a marital joint estate limited to acquisitions during marriage (*communauté réduite aux acquêts*). At the head of a "house", each spouse owned his or her personal assets (family property for the heir or heiress and the dowry for his or her spouse) and the two spouses together owned the family property and other assets acquired during marriage. In addition, each spouse granted the survivor some rights over his or her own assets; the survivor could receive the ownership of all of them; or the ownership of half and the usufruct of half; or the usufruct of the whole. The couple thus ensured that control over all their assets would last until the death of the second spouse. Family property owners therefore worked with the notarial officer to legally transmit assets to one child

and compensate the other children, more or less equally before the surviving parent's death. At the same time, other strategies were adopted to acquire all the siblings' shares: some of them could renounce to their legal "legitimate" share or could give it to a member of the young generation, a niece or nephew, potential heir or heiress.

Concerning central Pyrenees, before the 1789 Revolution, the joint estate regime was only chosen by non-inheriting couples, when a *cadet* married a *cadette* (Fauve-Chamoux 1994, 2004b). The introduction of the *Civil code* did not change much to the pre-revolutionary practice in terms of matrimonial regime selected and appearing in prenuptial agreements: the "dotal system" (one of the spouse bringing a dowry when entering his/her partner's natal "house") was almost exclusively chosen (Bonnain-Dulon 2011: 52). Beginning 1860, for some marriage contracts a clause of joint estate regime limited to acquisitions during marriage (*communauté réduite aux acquêts*) was registered. This corresponded, in the Pyrenean Baronies, to rural couples mostly active in some crafts or commercial activity.

During the 19th Century, parents no longer limited their choice of heir to the first-born son or daughter, as successor, but selected any of their suitable children, irrespective of sex or birth order. This fact was noticeable in all South-West France where stem-family was still the norm, and it should be related to emigration and to main demographic changes (Fauve-Chamoux 2003)¹⁴.

Conclusion

Examining matrimonial dispositions, inheritance models and the part that women and widows took in the transmission of family assets in France, before and after the 1789 Revolution, before and after the 1804 *Civil Code*, one can conclude that women were always active parties in devolution of belongings and values. Securing the right of women to inherit their parents' assets is indeed one of the essential characteristics of European societies. Whatever the priority given to one of the line of descents (usually the male line), some share of the parents' assets was always transmitted through women.

Very rare was a perfect balance between the paternal and maternal sides when it comes to transmission of assets, but the woman received always a fraction of the parental patrimony and thus was necessarily an actor for the constitution and growth of her own conjugal family. In rural as well as in urban

¹⁴ For more on demographic changes, from early modern times up to World War I, which affected family reproduction and family transmission models, see other publications by Fauve-Chamoux listed below.

European societies, a couple of spouses could not be constituted without some contribution of the man as well as of the woman when securing or building their domestic entity, both of them going on maintaining the household in variable proportions (Augustins 1989). In Ancien Regime France, the part of women in transmission or devolution of assets as well as their responsibility in the management of their own household was not homogeneous. Differences were striking from one area to another; they were also obvious from one social group to another.

Life conditions in the household for the female surviving spouse depended thus both on types of marriage settlement and inheritance devolution. When married in joint estate, a widow could enjoy the prosperity of the family household, farm or business or could be crippled with debts. When married in trust, she could recover her dowry, and maybe a dower, or mourn her disappeared dowry due to the bad management of her husband.

In Southern France, the practice of transmitting intact the whole house to the following generation was at risk of becoming obsolete with the Napoleonic *Code Civil* adopted in 1804. Taking account of violent revolutionary debates (Goy 1981, 1988) the new legislation implied egalitarian sharing of inheritance and frequent matrimonial joint estate. Actually, we have argued in this paper that many family strategies were successfully applied during the 19th Century, under the *Civil Code* regime, both in the North and in the South of France, so that main traditional goals were reached, thanks to contractual agreements, wills, donation etc. in order to secure family reproduction and the well-being of all generations, including decent conditions of living for aging parents and widows.

In spite of the important changes brought about by the *Code Civil des Français* (1804) customary practices survived; in Northern as in Southern France, practices adapted to new social and economic conditions and mentalities that were not always against female interests. This may probably explain why the *Napoleonic Code* was adopted in so many European countries and is still in use with minimum changes by various nations and in any case a respected legal reference.

References

- Anonyme (1724) [1510]. Les coutumes générales de la prévosté et vicomté de Paris, accordées en assemblée des gens des trois Etats des dites ville, prévosté et vicomté, le 27^e jour de mars, l'an 1510 avant Pasques". In Charles A. Bourdot de Richebourg (ed.). *Nouveau coutumier général, ou Corps des coutumes générales et particulières de France et des provinces connues sous le nom de Gaules....* Paris: Michel Brunet, vol. 3: 1-92.
- Arrizabalaga, M.-P. (1997). "The stem family in the French Basque country: Sare in the nineteenth century". *Journal of Family History* 22 (1): 50-69.
- Arrizabalaga, M.-P. (2009). "Marriage Strategies and Well-Being among 19th Century Basque Family Property Owners". In Margarida Durães, Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, Llorenç Ferrer & Jan Kok (eds.). *The transmission of well-being: gendered marriage strategies and inheritance systems in Europe from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries*. Bern: Peter Lang: 53-74.
- Augustins, G. (1989). *Comment se perpétuer ? Devenir des lignées et destins des patrimoines dans les paysanneries européennes*. Nanterre: Société d'ethnologie française/ Université de Paris X.
- Bart, J. (1998). *Histoire du droit privé de la chute de l'Empire romain au XIX^e siècle*. Paris: Montchrétien.
- Béaur, G. (2004). "Land transmission and inheritance practice in France during the *Ancien Régime*: Differences of degree or kind?" In David Green and Alastair Owens (eds.). *Family Welfare. Gender, Property and Inheritance since the Seventeenth Century*. Westport: Praeger, pp. 31-46.
- Béaur, G. (2011). "Le contrat de mariage dans les sociétés européennes. Enjeux familiaux et pratiques des acteurs". *Annales de démographie historique* 1: 5-22.
- Beauvalet-Boutouyrie, S. (2001). *Etre veuve sous l'Ancien régime*. Paris: Belin.
- Beauvalet, S., Gourdon, V. and Ruggiu, F.-J.(eds.).(2004). *Liens sociaux et actes notariés dans le monde urbain en France et en Europe*. Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne.
- Bonnain-Dulon, R. (2011). "Contrats de mariage et migration des filles au 19^e siècle dans les Pyrénées". *Annales de démographie historique* 1: 49-68.
- Boudjaaba, F. (2007). "Femmes, patrimoine et marché foncier dans la région de Vernon (1760-1830). Le patrilignage normand face au Code civil". *Histoire et sociétés rurales* 28 (2): 33-66.
- Boudjaaba, F. (2011). "Le régime dotal normand, un moyen de préserver les intérêts du patrilignage? Une comparaison entre deux régions: Vernon et Pont-L'Évêque (1750-1824)". *Annales de démographie historique* 1: 121-140.

- Bourdodt de Richebourg, C. A. (1724). *Nouveau coutumier général ou Corps des coutumes générales et particulières de France et des provinces connues sous le nom de Gaules... avec les notes de MM. Toussaint Chauvelin, Julien Brodeau et Jean-Marie Ricard,... jointes aux annotations de MM. Charles Du Molin,... François Ragueau et Gabriel-Michel de La Rochemaillet, mis en ordre... et enrichi de nouvelles notes*. Paris: Michel Brunet, 4 vol.
- Code civil des Français : éd. originale et seule officielle* (1804). Paris: J.J. Marcel, Imprimerie de la République.
- Collomp, A. (1983). *La maison du père, famille et village en Haute Provence aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Craig, B. (2009a). "When Generation Trumped Sex. Widow's Well-Being and the Transmission of Family Business in 19th Century Northern France". In Margarida Durães, Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, Llorenç Ferrer & Jan Kok (eds.). *The transmission of well-being: gendered marriage strategies and inheritance systems in Europe from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries*. Bern: Peter Lang, pp. 183-200.
- Craig, B. (2009b). "Women, family businesses and business families in nineteenth century northern France", paper, 15th World Economic History Congress, Session N5, *Women's intergenerational role in business family strategies and social and economic mobility, sixteenth to twentieth century*, Utrecht, the Netherlands, 3-7 August, 2009.
- Dolan, C. (2005). "Regards croisés sur les auxiliaires de justice du Moyen âge au XXe siècle". In Claire Dolan (ed.). *Entre justice et justiciables: Les auxiliaires de la justice du Moyen Age au XXe siècle*. Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, pp. 15-32.
- Fauve-Chamoux, A. (1994). "Mariages-sauvages contre mariages-souches". In M. Segalen and G. Ravis-Giordani (eds.). *Les Cadets*. Paris: CNRS, pp. 181-194.
- Fauve-Chamoux, A. (1995). "The Stem family, demography and inheritance". In Richard L. Rudolph (ed.). *The European Peasant Family and Society*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, pp. 86-113.
- Fauve-Chamoux, A. (1996). "Aging in a never empty nest: the elasticity of the stem family". In Tamara Hareven (ed.). *Aging and generational relations over the life course*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 75-99.
- Fauve-Chamoux, A. (1998a). "Vedove di città e vedove di campagna nella Francia preindustriale: aggregato domestico, trasmissione e strategie familiari di sopravvivenza". *Quaderni storici* 33 (2): 301-332.

- Fauve-Chamoux, A. (1998b). "La reproduction familiale en milieu paysan: le destin des exclus". In G. Bouchard, J. A. Dickinson and J. Goy (eds.). *Les exclus de la terre en France et au Québec, XVIIe-XXe siècles*. Québec: Septentrion, pp. 73-94.
- Fauve-Chamoux, A. (2000). "Veuvages et remariage en France pre-industrielle". In Anne-Lise Head-König and Liliane Mottu-Weber (eds.). *Les femmes dans la société européenne*. Genève: Société d'histoire et d'archéologie, pp. 281-302.
- Fauve-Chamoux, A. (2002a). "Widows and their living arrangements in preindustrial France". *The History of the Family, an International Quarterly* 7 (1): 101-116.
- Fauve-Chamoux, A. (2002b). "Strategies of household continuity in a stem-family society: from heirship to headship". In Renzo Derosas and Michel Oris (eds.). *When Dad Died, Individuals and families coping with distress in past societies*. Bern: Peter Lang, pp. 121-140.
- Fauve-Chamoux, A. (2003a). "Female transmission in comparative perspective". In Emiko Ochiai (ed.). *The logic of female succession: rethinking Patriarchy and Patrilinearity in global and historical perspective*. Kyoto: Nichibun, pp. 11-29.
- Fauve-Chamoux, A. (2003b). "Besitzweitergabe, familiäre Machtverhältnisse und die Rolle der Frauen im Frankreich des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts". In R. Prass, J. Schlumbohm, G. Beaur and C. Duhamelle (eds.). *Ländliche Gesellschaften in Deutschland und Frankreich, 18.-19. Jahrhundert*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 167-185.
- Fauve-Chamoux, A. (2003c). "Le rôle des femmes dans la transmission des biens en France (XVIIIe-XIXe siècles)". In C. Dessureault, J. A. Dickinson and J. Goy (eds.). *Famille et marché, 16^e-20^e siècles*. Québec: Le Septentrion, pp. 245-260.
- Fauve-Chamoux, A. (2004a). "Transmission des biens, pouvoirs familiaux et rôle des femmes en France: 18e-19e siècles". In Gérard Beaur, Christophe Duhamelle, Reiner Prass and Jürgen Schlumbohm (eds.). *Les sociétés rurales en Allemagne et en France (XVIIIe-XIXe siècles)*. Rennes: Histoire des sociétés rurales, pp. 141-156.
- Fauve-Chamoux, A. (2004b). "Stratégies intergénérationnelles à Esparros. Des logiques de reproduction à court ou à long terme (XVIIe-XXe siècles)", in Gérard Béaur, Christian Dessureault and Joseph Goy (eds.). *Familles, Terre, Marché, logiques économiques et stratégies dans les milieux ruraux (XVIIe-XXe siècles)*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, pp. 91-104.

- Fauve-Chamoux, A. (2005). "A comparative study of family transmission systems in the Central Pyrenees and northeastern Japan". In Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux and Marie-Pierre Arrizabalaga (eds.). "Family transmission in Eurasian perspective". *The History of the Family: an International Quarterly*, Special issue 10 (3): 231-292.
- Fauve-Chamoux, A. (2009a). "The stem family and the Picardy-Wallonia model". In Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux and Emiko Ochiai (eds.). *The Stem Family in Eurasian Perspective. Revisiting House Societies, 17th-20th centuries*. Bern: Peter Lang, pp. 203-252.
- Fauve-Chamoux, A. (2009b). "To remarry or not: well-being, female property and widowhood in early-modern France". In Margarida Durães, Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, Llorenç Ferrer & Jan Kok (eds.). *The transmission of well-being: gendered marriage strategies and inheritance systems in Europe from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries*. Bern: Peter Lang, pp. 413-445.
- Fauve-Chamoux, A. and E. Ochiai (eds.). (2009). *The Stem Family in Eurasian Perspective. Revisiting House Societies, 17th–20th centuries*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Goy, J. (1981). "Normes et pratiques successorales dans la France paysanne des 18e et 19e siècles. Propositions pour une enquête". In Joseph Goy and Jean-Pierre Wallot (eds) *Société rurale dans la France de l'Ouest et au Québec, 17e-20e siècles*. Paris: EHESS, pp. 71-90.
- Goy, J. (1988). "Code civil". In François Furet and Mona Ozouf (eds.). *Dictionnaire critique de la Révolution française*. Paris: Flammarion, pp. 508-519.
- Herment, L. (2013). *Survivants ou Conquérants: Reproduction sociale et accumulation patrimoniale chez les petits exploitants agricoles de Seine-et-Oise durant le premier XIXe siècle (1789-1860)*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- Hilaire, J. (1994). *La vie du droit*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Julien, J.-J. (1778). *Nouveau commentaire sur les statuts de Provence*. Aix: Esprit David, t. 1.
- Lacanette-Pommel, C. (2003). *La famille dans les Pyrénées de la coutume au code Napoléon*. Pyrègrap: Estadens.
- Lafourcade, M. (1989). *Mariages en Labourd sous l'Ancien régime. Les contrats de mariage du Pays de Labourd sous le règne de Louis XVI*. Bilbao: Etudes juridiques et sociologiques.
- Lafourcade, M. (1992). "Droit successoral et droit matrimonial en Pays Basque sous l'Ancien Régime". In Roland Gandhofer (ed.). *Le droit de la famille en Europe. Son évolution depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'à nos jours*. Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, pp. 517-529.

- Le Roy Ladurie, E. (1976). "Family structures and inheritance customs in sixteenth century France". In Jack Goody, Joan Thirsk and Edward Palmer Thomson (eds.). *Family and Inheritance. Rural society in Western Europe 1200-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 37-70.
- Maleville, J. de (1807). *Analyse raisonnée de la Discussion du Code Civil au Conseil d'Etat...*, 2nd ed. Paris: Garnery/Laporte.
- Martin, O. (1922-1930). *Histoire de la coutume de la prévôté et vicomté de Paris*. 2 tomes in 3 volumes. Paris (reprint in 1972, Paris: Editions Cujas, 2 vols.)
- Pothier, R.-J. (1830). "Traité des successions". In Dupin, André-Marie-Jean-Jacques (ed.). *Oeuvres de R.-J. Pothier: contenant les traités du droit français*. Volume 4, Bruxelles: J.P. Jonker, pp. 379-518.
- Sandvik, H. (2010). "Code civil in Norway and Sweden", 18-20 October conference of the Program for interfacultarian research in Oslo, on Democracy as Idea and Practice, Centre Franco-Norvégien en Sciences Sociales et Humaines, Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris.
- Smith, B. G. (1981). *Ladies of the Leisure Class*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Stuntz, J. A. (2005). *Hers, His, and Theirs: Community Property Law in Spain and Early Texas*. Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech University Press.
- Sogner, S. (2009). "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". In Margarida Durães, Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, Llorenç Ferrer & Jan Kok (eds.). *The transmission of well-being: gendered marriage strategies and inheritance systems in Europe from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries*. Bern: Peter Lang, pp. 487-506.
- Viret, J.-L. (2004). *Valeurs et pouvoir: la reproduction familiale et sociale en Ile-de-France: Écouen et Villiers-le-Bel (1560-1685)*. Paris: Presses de Paris-Sorbonne.
- Yver, J. (1952). "Les caractères originaux de la coutume de Normandie". *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Arts et Belles-Lettres de Caen*. t. XII, pp. 307-356.
- Yver, J. (1953). "Les deux groupes de coutumes du Nord: le groupe picard-wallon". *Revue du Nord* 35: 197-220.
- Yver, J. (1954). "Les deux groupes de coutumes du Nord: le groupe flamingant". *Revue du Nord* 36: 5-36.
- Yver, J. (1966). *Egalité entre héritiers et exclusion des enfants dotés. Essai de géographie coutumière*. Paris: Sirey.

- Zink, A. (1993). *L'héritier de la maison: géographie coutumière du Sud-Ouest de la France sous l'Ancien Régime*. Paris: EHESS.
- Zoltvany, Y. F.(1971). "Esquisse de la Coutume de Paris". *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 25 (3): 365-384.

Caught between Two Worlds: the Children from Gypsy and Romanian-Gypsy Families in Wallachia (1800–1860)¹

Nicoleta Roman

*“Nicolae Iorga” Institute of History, Romanian Academy, 1 Aviatorilor Blvd., Bucharest,
+40727168715, nicoleta.roman@gmail.com*

Abstract: Situated at the margins of society by their origin and status, the Gypsies had always represented a paradox as they send forth both attraction and rejection; sentiments that can be seen and traced not only with a foreigner's attitude, but also with the one of a Romanian. Until the first half of 19th Century, the society gave them a place in the social hierarchy as serfs (princely serfs, boyar serfs and monastery serfs), hardly ever discussing the possibility of a change. But things emerged in a different direction and laws for their emancipation and the improvement of their life conditions started to be on governments' agenda until they became a reality. We intend to follow in our study two main issues in order to re-create their image and childhood. First of all, what was their social status and how this status changed over time? Many of these children were serfs as their fathers and followed their families whenever they moved to one place to another. Still, one of their parents was a free person from juridical point of view; they and their parents wanted to expand this situation over them. So, how the family (parents and relatives) and the others (neighbours, authorities etc.) constructed their discourse around the child in order to achieve this goal? Secondly, we intend to see what were the alternatives the society gave them so that they could succeed in life? For, we must not forget they were treated differently both by Gypsies and Romanians alike and only the State and the Church could intervene to determine a change in mentality.

Keywords: childhood history, 19th Century, Romanian society, Gypsies, mixed families.

¹ This study was supported by the research postdoctoral grant Shaping a social identity. Orphans and child abandonment in Wallachia (1800–1860), financed by National Research Council (CNCS) and Executive Agency for Higher Education Research and Innovation Funding (UEFISCDI). The author gratefully thanks to Alistair Ian Blyth for the translation of the text.

“It was a late spring day when the Gypsies passed through my town. I was twelve years old at the time, and had gone in search of the wonderful people my father had so often told me about. Since late the night before they had camped in a large vacant lot on the outskirts of town. Tomorrow they would no doubt vanish again, leaving hardly a trace of their presence – a few dark spots where the campfires had burned, some refuse and trampled glass – and only the rumours about them would remain. Leaving the paved road, I stepped through the tall weeds into the camp. None of the adult squatters paid any attention to me. I had the distinct impression of treading on foreign soil, but nothing about it seemed frightening. Several Gypsy boys my age ran to meet me where the trampled grass marked the borderline of the two worlds” (Yoors 1967: 14).

The motto, taken from a contemporary account written by Jan Yoors, reveals the often-unacknowledged distance that exists between Gypsy children and *others*. It is a source of inspiration, especially relative to the significance of the encounter between Gypsies (also as a social group) and the other inhabitants; all the more so when the author came to know their world and their customs much more closely. The imagery surrounding the Gypsies is mainly negative, surrounded with mystery and a misunderstanding arising from their isolation. Drawing upon archive documents we set out to discover how strong was the cultural and social barrier for children from mixed Romanian and Gypsy families and how they could overcome it in order to integrate into society. Ideally, the period under study ought to have extended as far as the end of 19th Century, in order to capture the effects of the reforms carried out by the ruler of the united principalities, Alexandru Ioan Cuza (1859–1866)². Nevertheless, given that such an exploration requires a discussion far broader than a study, we shall limit ourselves to the period up until 1860, thereby dealing only with the period of the transition and the way in which the authorities and society chose to manage the situation.

Up until the nineteenth Century, the Gypsies were slaves owned by the state, monasteries, and private individuals, be they boyars or not. Slavery held them in a state of dependency upon their masters, and they were not allowed to leave their estates or to perform activities other than those assigned to them.

² Alexandru Ioan Cuza (1820–1873), was the first Reigning Prince to rule over both Moldova and Wallachia (1859–1866). His new status was officially recognized by the Ottoman Empire in 1861 and only for the period of his reign. During these seven years Cuza and his ministers made many reforms that changed the Romanian society (confiscating the monastic assets (secularization); Agrarian law; education law; the civil and penal codes, etc.). The aim was to modernize the State and to throw aside the oriental ascendancy in becoming more familiar with what happened in the West.

There were a number of categories of Gypsy, but broadly they can be reduced to two: *vătrași* (i.e. sedentary, from *vatră* “hearth”) and nomads, including *ursari* (bear tamers) and *lăieși* (from *laie* “pack, band”). We shall examine the first category, although many of the myths of the past and present have their origin in stereotyped images of nomadic Gypsies. In order to understand the situation of this group fully, and implicitly that of those children who came from mixed families of Romanians and Gypsies, an introduction to the imagery surrounding them will be necessary. This will be the first level of the intervention, which will allow us to know them from the perspective of others. Ultimately, what did the Gypsies as a social group represent in the eyes of society, in the eyes of others, be they Romanians, be they foreigners? Does this image of them overlap with their own image of themselves to any extent? Setting out hence, we shall turn our attention to the legislation that centred on them, seeking to emphasise an evolving process, which will mainly focus on the views of the State and the Church. Ultimately, were they defined by what was said by the law, albeit adapting itself to the demands of the times? Finally, we shall look at the parent-child relationship, not from the usual perspective, but from that of the continual battle the two parties fought for better recognition in the public space.

I. *An “exotic” feature of the Romanian space: the Gypsies.* Regardless of whether we are talking about villages or towns, there is an ethnic and social group from which Romanian society has permanently kept its distance as a means of protecting itself: the gypsies. Regarded as chattels to be disposed of as their owners pleased, although ironically, contemporaries discussed such transactions in terms of *souls* (*suflete*) owned or for sale, the gypsies were divided into two categories up until the middle of the Romanian nineteenth Century: slaves (belonging to the monasteries, princes, or private persons) and nomads. The latter, who plied various trades that thrust them into marginal categories (vagrants, beggars, fortune tellers, healers, etc.) and who yet again highlighted the ethnic group’s lack of adherence to any given faith, remained permanent intruders relative to the community. As part of an understanding that came almost tacitly, but which also increased their degree of freedom, they settled temporarily at the edge of localities, in raucous, quite disorganised and dirty camps, which stirred in all the others, whether Romanians or not, equal curiosity and fear. Many foreign travellers in the Romanian lands felt an attraction to this ethnic group, which they saw and treated as exotic, part of a tableau that defined the picturesque of south-eastern Europe (Todorova 2000: 145–183, 189; Wolff 2000: 77–105). In his chapter entitled “Possessing Eastern Europe: Sexuality, Slavery, and Corporal Punishment”, Larry Wolff offers two

examples of slaves, both related to Russian space (a peasant girl sold by her father to Giacomo Casanova and afterwards named Zaire; a little boy called Nagun offered as a gift by general Potemkin to Louis Philippe, count of Ségur). The moral portrait of Zaire reveals us a young woman of an unreal beauty, who likes to flirt, but who is also superstitious and very impulsive in her temper. Her portrait might very well be the one of young gypsy woman from Romanian space, described in nineteenth Century travel literature. Without living alongside them, but merely observing them from a distance and in relation to the others, they more often than not described them as cunning and prone to deception and delinquency, as dirty and negligent in their dress, as bemoaning a poverty they did not labour to overcome, being lazy and unruly (*Călători străini* 2004/I: 502, 653; 2006/III: 67, 78, 135, 371, 646, 787; 2007/IV: 647; 2009/V: 163–165, 304). Although they acknowledged in them certain qualities and aptitudes, which would have helped them had they exploited them more constantly and industriously, most of these travellers reached the conclusion that the gypsies were a social category difficult to control, as the vices they nurtured and in which they were complicit were not only a consequence of their humiliating position, but part of their nature

Ultimately, they were not also called Bohemians for nothing, a a geographical overlap, but also a term that described a disordered, unstable lifestyle, later ascribed to the image of the artist (Scriban 1939: 183). Leaving aside the descriptions of their way of life, occupations, and beliefs, on the part of the travellers there are also value judgements and labels applied to the gypsies, which, although they come from observation and informed accounts, however fragmentary, are full of scorn, sometimes full of compassion, sometimes not. Such is the case of Franz Joseph Adolph Schneidawind who considered them to be the “Jews of paganism”, a comparison that becomes recurrent as the nineteenth Century wears on. (*Călători străini* 2006/III : 67). Gradually, as soon as the situation of the gypsies was resolved through the laws of emancipation, the Jews become the main character and centre of interest, especially after the Berlin congress of 1878. Words such as “pariah”, “scourge” and “burden” fall into disuse, and in the west an image of the gypsy coalesces which is consonant with the romantic movement of the times. (Oişteanu 2012: 425–427).

For Romanians, the image of the Gypsy had almost the same shades, but nevertheless there was tolerance and an acceptance of cohabitation and working together in various activities. As a result of this lengthy familiarisation, folk culture retained numerous ethnic traits, which it reproduced in proverbs and sayings: nomadism– “He carries his house on his back like a snail” (Zanne

1889/III: 86); aggressive begging—"To beg like at the opening of the tent" (Zanne 1889/III:130); lack of hygiene—"The Gypsy, like the hoopoe, pitches his tent in the rubbish" (Zanne 1901/IX: 209); having a loose tongue, rowdiness, quarrelsomeness—"To quarrel like at the opening of the tent," "He gives himself away like a Gypsy" (Zanne 1889/III: 130; 1901/IX: 209); magical abilities—"The child that sucks from a Gypsy woman's tit is shielded from the evil eye" (Zanne 1901/IX: 293); boastfulness—"Every Gypsy praises his own hammer," with reference to the most common trade among settled Gypsies, that of blacksmith (Pann, 189); poverty—"The stones split from the cold and the Gypsy in his *islik*," "The Gypsy has eaten his good fortune" (Zanne 1901/VI: 363, 374). In fact, over the course of time attempts were made not only to settle the Gypsies, but also to make them open to various trades, which would allow them to integrate into society more easily, as well as pulling them out of humiliating poverty. They were not drawn to agriculture, but rather to trades connected with iron working and metalworking, the production of household utensils, and the sale of various products, from agricultural produce to clothing and crockery. In the nineteenth Century there was even a specific term for the Gypsy women who sold crockery and peddled clothes and old shoes: *chivuță*. Of course, the restriction of Gypsies to trades connected with the household rather than the public space can also be explained by the fact that for a long time the Gypsy slaves were household staff, from servants to cooks and coachmen. If they were free, they were hired in groups rather than as individuals for day labour involving painting, work in the fields, and household repairs, which led to the saying: "De-a valma / Ca țigani toamna" (All in a throng / Like the Gypsies in autumn) (Zanne 1901/VI: 375). Like in the fable of the cricket, despite their skill and agility and their understanding and ability to be obedient, the Gypsies only made use of these qualities when they wished to achieve a goal or to rescue themselves from a situation. And so laziness appears as another trait, which even they themselves were aware of and expressed to others around them, and there are numerous anecdotes, stories and folk songs on this subject, including the following short example:

" (...) Bună ziua, măi cucoane!	" (...) Good day, mistress!
Mulțumescu-ți, măi țigane.	Thank thee, Gypsy.
Am venit cu un ploconăș.	I've come with an offering
Ca să-mi dai un dorobanș.	So that thou wilt give me a soldier
Să mă silească de la spate.	To proud me from behind
Până bordeiaș mi-oi face".	Until I build myself a hut" (Zanne 1901/VI : 375).

The Romanians were aware of the Gypsies' specific traits, but also the fact that the themselves were liable to adopt them. For this reason, whenever they noticed among themselves behaviour similar to that of the Gypsies, they verbally castigated it, belittling the person at fault: "Stupid people quarrel like Gypsies and fight each other like blind men" (Pann 106). Nevertheless, this constant use of negative labelling did not have the same virulence as in America with reference to the situation of the Negroes. Besides the difference in status – the slaves in the Romanian space were more like serfs – they were not employed as labourers in the fields, unlike the Negroes on the cotton plantations, and they were even allowed to own shops and goods, even if they were not free. Likewise, even the use of the term "cioară" (crow) was different than in America, as it was not negative in a racial sense and did not necessarily refer to skin colour. In the Romanian Principalities the term was also used to refer to Romanians in condemnation of impertinence and irritating insistence, and as a way of saying an individual stubbornly refused to change: "The crow is still a crow!" (Zanne 1895/I: 417). Folklorist Simeon Florea Marian argued that the term was suited to the Gypsies because they were "black, daring and cheeky, like crows" (Marian 1883/I: 32–33). Thus, from the point of view of the image, what was condemned was not skin colour or race, unlike in America, but behavioural traits, which were what counted the most in Romanian society.

In fact, in the imagery of the Romanians nothing condemned the Gypsies as a social group more than their lack of any practising religion. Even the Turks and the Jews were placed at a higher level, because they had a religion, whereas the Gypsies were not humans in the full civilised and religious sense of the word. There were constant efforts to bring them closer to the Orthodox faith, but with limited success. The boyars baptised their slaves, sometimes en masse, but even if churches were built in the Gypsy villages on their estates, the Gypsies did not attend them. In Organic Regulation period, the State made it compulsory for all the Gypsies in Wallachia to have a baptismal certificate, a measure it was difficult to implement³. Entering the family life of the Gypsies via this route, we may observe that the enlargement of family relations through godparenthood was not necessarily closed (ANR, *Logofetia Pricinilor Bisericești Fund*, 62/1846). It is hard to say how the Gypsies viewed the measures taken by the State and the Church, measures which were ultimately aimed only at inclusion, civilisation, settlement, and reduction of the distances between communication with the

³ Our thanks to Bogdan Mateescu for his clarifications on this subject, arising from our interest in certain Gypsy birth certificates.

majority population. Observations of any kind referred primarily to the nomadic Gypsies, who represented a social risk for society.

Otherwise, the state demanded that the village communities should be vigilant and work with the local authorities to supervise the gypsies and to subject them to rules that would prevent their dangerous migration from place to place (Achim & Tomi & Constantin 2010: 46–48, 51, 74–78). In 1832, the office of the governor of Muscel County sent instructions to the Rîurile district regarding the implementation of measures to guard against Gypsies (BAR, *Documente Istorice*, MCDLXXXV/180). The slaves, due to their social status, could be found in proximity to the community they served, but this proximity was purely formal and rare were the cases where it developed into trust, integration or durable affectivity. Of course, when they were taken as servants in boyar households, there might exist more than familiar relationships between persons of different social statuses, but this was a complicity and intimacy in which neither party ever forgot his or her role. Even Vasile Alecsandri (1821–1890), a boyar, writer and politician, in remembering his childhood, recognised Vasile Porojan, a Gypsy from his parents' household, as his best friend. As a child, he shared everything with him (from games to good things from the house), but he was aware even then of the social distance between them. He did not understand why Porojan had to do chores while he did not, or why the little Gypsy would be punished in his stead. When he reached a certain age, their shared childhood came to an end, as Alecsandri was destined to different path in life:

“One fine morning, Porojan was given into the hands of a baker so that he could learn to make bread, ring loaves, cakes etc. and I was sent to the pension of Mr Victor Cuenim to learn all there was to be learned back then: a little French, a little German, a little Greek, a bit of history and a bit of geography on top of that. Adieu, childhood carefreeness! Adieu freedom! Adieu happiness! What my comrade suffered under the baker's pallet, I do not know; but as for me, I remember that, deprived of Porojan, I felt like I was a being without a shadow”(Alecsandri 1939: 90).

The life of a Gypsy child was not much harder than that of a poor Romanian child, as is shown by the period memoirs (Theodor Vîrnav; Nicolae Grigorescu) and documents, which show that being an apprentice or earning one's living proved extremely difficult and corporal punishment and poor wages were constants.

In a domestic community that included gypsy slaves, Romanian peasants employed as servants, and sometimes even staff from the west (governesses, tutors, etc.), whenever any untoward incident took place the

suspicion would immediately fall on the gypsies. Paradoxically, precisely because of their continual moving back and forth between the working environment and other spaces, but also because of their rather insinuating bearing toward the persons with whom they were in frequent contact, it would be assumed that they knew more than any one else about any problem and it would be toward them that the authorities and the community directed their questions.

The family life of gypsies in the period before their emancipation is hard to reconstruct today. Florina Manuela Constantin has written a highly useful study on gypsy life in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, setting out from the legislative status of gypsy slaves, documents issued by the princely chancelleries, and other acts drawn up by boyars and merchants, such as wills, in order to provide a picture of the space specific to this ethnic group, as well as the manner in which bonds of kinship were formed (Constantin 2007; 2012: 283–295). Thanks to the secularisation of the Romanian state and society and, at a secondary level, the commencement of the debate on the emancipation of the gypsies in the nineteenth Century, a number of aspects relating to this ethnic group start to come to light in this period (mixed marriages, baptism of children, runaway slaves, criminality). Their legal status was the lowest possible, as was also the case with Romanian serfs in Transylvania or Russian serfs, whose emancipation occurred in the same period, in 1848 and 1861 respectively, and even if such a comparison might seem forced, there existed in both the one case and the other an identical bonding to the land and the same ban on leaving the landowner's estate. But the ethnic difference is large, all the more so given that this is due to the way that others, whether foreigners or natives, related to gypsies as a social class. In fact, even in the nineteenth Century a series of images and stereotypes occur regarding gypsies, chief among which are fortune-telling and sorcery, child beggars, thieving, the monopolisation of occupations such as serving in boyar households, and above all the trade of itinerant musician (Fraser 1998: 140–141). These images and stereotypes are not wholly devoid of truthfulness, as they are proven by information from the archives and other sources, but it would be mistaken to make sweeping generalisations. However, very few outside observers managed to go further than what was presented to them, and for those who wished sketch them in order to illustrate one or another book were met with a refusal grounded in the gypsies' fear that their souls might somehow be stolen if their faces were captured in a drawing. Consent could be gained by offering them a few coins, however. What is important to note is the fact that the gypsies created for those outside their community what Jan Yoores

has called “an elaborate system of protection screens, so that reality is often the exact opposite of appearance” (Yoores 1967: 6). Was it merely a system of protection screens, or did the scenes that gave rise to the clichés, including those of extreme violence between parents and children, really exist? Is it possible to speak of a general feature in regard to this ethnic group, or merely an aspect deliberately highlighted and exploited as part of an oriental mystique?

The lifestyle of this ethnic group was often presented by both Romanian and foreign contemporaries as being chaotic and very often shot through with violent quarrels, whether passing and lacking consequences worthy of note or, on the contrary, tense and bloody. Family relations were no exception, whether we are talking about altercations between spouses or between parents and children. Focussing on the second segment, we shall attempt to determine, including through reference to the written evidence, how truthful was the image that was created and perpetuated above by travellers, according to which the gypsies resorted to unimaginable violence toward their own children, even clubbing them. But how did the Romanians and the authorities view this relationship and, above all, what was the explanation for it? Recollecting the notable events of his childhood, Constantin Severeanu (1840–1930) lists only four, which he records as happenings that astonished his childish mind: (1) an invasion of locusts; (2) an invasion of caterpillars; (3) an eclipse of the moon; and (4) a fight between the Romanian authorities and a *laie*⁶, described as follows:

“The fourth wonder was a big fight with a laie of nomad gypsies, who had fled from a locality where there was an outbreak of cholera. They were fleeing in terror of the sickness and the authorities would not let them, so that they would not spread the disease. The fight was terrifying. The gypsies were hitting the men from the authorities with whatever they could lay their hands on; some of them were swinging their children by the legs to hit them. There were two dead and many wounded on both one side and the other, but the gypsies were bound together, five or six with the same rope, and turned back whence they had fled. There were many of them, for there were many carts”.
(Severeanu 2008: 17)

These events took place around the year 1860 and did not represent any novelty to the Romanians. They were recorded, it is true, as an anomaly of human nature, but nevertheless they remained a custom of the gypsies as a distinct group within Romanian society. A historian of this ethnic group, Octav-George Lecca, writing at the end of the nineteenth Century, emphasises precisely this, as he himself had been witness to such a scene, when “a gypsy,

⁶ Band of nomadic gypsies.

taking a child of around two by the legs, swung him like a mace to hit his adversary.” (Lecca 1898: 43). Thus, his memory as an adult and Constantin Severeanu’s childhood memory touch upon a shared point in reconstructing an image of another’s childhood, viewed as the other in a continuous process of alterity. Seeking an answer to this way of life, Octav-George Lecca found none that he could inscribe within any definite logic and so he resorted to folk wisdom, which described the life of the gypsies as being one of constant quarrelling and uproar. Whence too the expression employed to label those who adopted such a lifestyle, in some way or another: “they live like gypsies.” (Lecca 1898: 43). On the other hand, this type of violence, inflicted by a parent on his child even in the presence of witnesses that are not part of the family, corresponds to René Girard’s theory of violence and sacrificial substitution (Girard 1995: 11). Bearing the imprint of ignorance, the individual wishes to strike at his interlocutor, but as he cannot do so, for various reasons (the adversary is stronger, knows how to defend himself, etc.), he resorts to an act whereby he aims not only to make an impression on those around himself, but also to unleash his pent-up fury. The only vulnerable victim that is always to hand is the child, as the child is not old enough to defend himself, and violence inflicted on the child’s body unfailingly produces the intended effect: the attacker obtains an illusory “victory” over the interlocutor as well as the other witnesses and he can now claim to re-frame the argument in his own terms.

Even if the documents do not discuss this peculiarity of gypsy life, perhaps since it was so commonplace (because in any case it is doubly confirmed by the accounts of foreign travellers and native witnesses), they reinforce another aspect of the violence to which the gypsies resort in relation to their children: instinct. They do not accumulate and nurture a feeling in order ultimately to unleash it with its maximum force, but rather they release it as soon as it arises. The violence makes itself felt in its raw form, unaltered and unpremeditated. Of the cases that have been studied, we shall look at that of Iordache, one of the Reigning Prince’s slaves, who, drunk and cursing, wishing to teach his son, Ioniță, a lesson, to “give him a fright”, threw an axe at him. The action was fatal, and the punishment, imposed in 1845, was imprisonment in the *Aga’s*⁷ dungeon. But Iordache did not live to serve his sentence, because in a short while he fell ill and died (ANR, *Ministerul Justiției. Penale Fund*, 8/1845: 6). Events such as this did not represent a diminution or even annulment of the feelings of affectivity between parents and children. Some of those who came to know these ethnic communities and in particular those of the nomads, living in their midst for a time, such as Heinrich von Wlislöcki, acknowledged

⁷ This term of Turkish influence was used in reference to the Police.

the durability of these relations (Wlislöcki 2000: 74–76; Block 1936: 21–22, 85). But what distinguished them from others was the manner in which they were expressed, in a way much more prone to reveal itself to the public gaze and uninhibited by any feeling of shame that might protect the participants and prevent them from committing reprobate acts.

II. *Parents and children, in front of the law.* Up until the eighteenth Century there was very little discussion of the issue of mixed marriages between Gypsies and Romanians, but with the coming of the Phanariot regime society began to become more liberal. The reforms carried out in various areas lessened the influence of the Church, which threatened with social exclusion individuals who made such marriages. Cases of mixed marriages and young people in love became more frequent, and this was also reflected in the Caragea Law of 1818 (*Leginirea Caragea*), which was an effect of long-term changes. In contrast to the legal Codex of 1652 (*Îndreptarea Legii*), where there is almost no mention of such matters, except an economic clarification of slavery, the new legislation clarifies the status of “freemen” and that of the children born of such unions/marriages. The Organic Regulations (1831), a body of legislation that served as the constitution of the two principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, introduced measures to regulate the status of the Gypsies, to bring about their emancipation (Achim 2004: 109–120), and to transform them into citizens. Far from being the result of abolitionism, the state’s plan was simply: to ransom as many Gypsies as possible from their owners, to liberate them, and then to make them pay taxes in order to increase treasury revenues. This was because the slaves owned by private individuals and the monasteries did not pay poll tax or taxes on their trades. The state therefore made a pragmatic investment that would bring a long-term profit. When the Organic Regulations (1831) were introduced, the secretary of the commission and future ruler Barbu Știrbey made a census of Gypsies owned by the state, who were found to number 4,453. These were the Gypsies recorded in the state’s ledgers, who could be counted upon to create revenues, but the number of Gypsies owned by private individuals and the monasteries remained unknown. Thus, modernisation also brought the secondary aim of creating statistical records of all individuals regardless of ethnicity. This allowed the state to increase the number of registered taxpayers, regardless of category. The Organic Regulations did not deal with the problem of mixed marriages, but merely sought to settle the Gypsies and regulate their economic obligations⁹. It was not until 1838 that the head of prisons, Colonel Constantin

⁹ The Gypsy goldsmiths paid 50 lei per annum, plus a tithe of 5 lei; the other state-owned Gypsies paid 30 lei per annum, plus a tithe of 3 lei. The tax revenues were used to pay the

Herăscu, ordered that the Gypsies be settled in villages. Nevertheless, these might not have been the starting point for legislation on emancipation from slavery, but merely a continuation and entrenchment of it, originating at an earlier date¹⁰. But this issue does not concern us here, as there are other specialists present who will discuss it. We shall briefly mention the laws referring to Gypsies from the Organic Regulations period (Achim 1998: 90–97), which we shall be discussing:

1) 22 March/16th of April 1843 – the law by which the poll tax was no longer to be collected by the Dvornik of Prisons, previously in charge of the Gypsies, but by the local authorities.

–it was decided that the tithe was to be given to the village poor boxes.

–Nomadic Gypsies were to be settled within eighteen months; after this deadline, those who were found wandering the roads and country lanes were to become property of the state.

2) 11st of February 1847-the law by which Gypsies belonging to the monasteries, metropolis and other religious establishments were emancipated, but without compensation

3) 1848-the law by which it was forbidden for private individuals to buy or sell Gypsies if these numbered more than three families.

-those who wished to sell their slaves were required to address themselves to the Treasury, which ransomed them and freed the Gypsies

4) 19th of March 1851 –the state's ransoming of mistreated slaves

5) 8/20 February 1856 -slavery was abolished and thereby “every Gypsy that falls under this category today shall be freed and shall immediately be registered as a taxpayer of the State” (*Legiuirea Caragea (1818)* anexa V, art. 1: XIII).

As may be observed, in a very short time the state set underway a campaign to rescue the Gypsies, but viewing them only in terms of their economic potential. Once the Church and the private slave owners, who consisted mainly of boyars and were the principal group against such changes, as well as being the group that probably owned the largest number of slaves, were won over, things were to move more smoothly and quickly, when the

officials responsible for collecting them, and the remainder was used to buy other Gypsies for the state. The whole operation was carried out under the supervision of the Dvornik of Prisons.

¹⁰ See Bogdan Mateescu's research on archival documents, which brings into debate the present historiography on the subject. His work, *Căsătoria robilor: între alegerea cuplului și voința stăpânului*, București, 2014 (forthcoming).

political situation allowed. After the emancipation of the monastery Gypsies, the state ordered the local authorities to draw up a ledger of their numbers. Those who were not included in the ledger were “of vicious habits” and were to be punished, although it was not specified how.

Minister of Finance Iancu Filipescu informs them all that those who “will be subject to onerous responsibility will be both the scribe and the village elected representatives” (“Învățătorul Satului” 12, 4/1847: 44). It is specified that when there were more than ten families of Gypsies, two or three Romanians had to go to and provide moral guarantees for the Gypsies. This was because the latter were not only witnesses, who signed the document, but also brought the Gypsies to be recorded in the census, as it was they who knew the local community the best. Thus, the Romanians became responsible for the Gypsy and his family, not only socially, but also legally, a situation that might be regarded as a burden for many people from the villages, where the link between state and community was more the priest and the teacher and less the village elected representatives. For the boyars, it was easier, as many of them had records of their farms, and we may observe this to have been case both for the petty boyars and the high boyars. One example is the Pleșoianu family, who in the year 1849 knew how many gypsy families – men, wives and children – lived along the Podeni Valley.

Table 1. The number of Gypsy families in Podeni Valley (1849)

Families, men	Wives	Male children	Female children	<Names>	<Age>
1				Stancu Tudor Geană	50
	1			Păuna, his wife	40
			1	Ilinca, his daughter, with the age of	12
		1		Ghiță, his son, with the age of	9
		1		Simiion, his son, with the age of	6
2				Costache sin (the son of) Stancu Geană	18
	1			Maria, his wife	15
3				Gheorghiță Tudor Geană	35
	1			Sora, his wife	25
		1		Radu, his son	12
		1		Neculaie, his son	7
			1	Florea, his daughter	10
			1	Stanca, his daughter	8
4				Petrică Tudor Geană	26

Families, men	Wives	Male children	Female children	<Names>	<Age>
	1			Ioana, his wife	0
			1	Mariia, his daughter	7
			1	Ioana, his daughter	5
			1	Dina, his daughter	1
5				Neculaie Tudor Geană	40
	1			Ioana, his wife	30
		1		Gheorghe, his son	7
			1	Mariia, his daughter	9
			1	Florea, his daughter	4
6				Răducă Tudor Geană	45
	1			Stanca, his wife	30
		1		Gheorghe with a broken leg, without father and mother	5
			1	Stanca Brat, without father and mother	7
7				Nei Tudor Geană with a Romanian wife	32
8				Radu Stan Cercel, cooper	35
	1			Nuța, his wife	25
		1		Stătică, his son	18
		1		Ghiță, his son	14
			1	Stana, his daughter	6
9				Gheorghe sin (son of) Pătru, son in law of Stancu Geană	30
	1			Ilinca, his wife	20
		1		Cosdi, his son	4
	1			Stanca, widow	45
		1		Ghiță, his son, stupid, of the age of	15
			1	Sanda, his daughter	10
			1	Ilinca, his daughter	7
			1	Mariia, his daughter, stupid	12
			1	Ioana, his daughter, stupid	11
9	9	10	14		

Source: BNR, *Brătianu Fund*, XII/7: 26–26v.

Nevertheless, a number of things may be definitely be glimpsed at this stage. In the first place, the ages of childhood (*Îndreptarea Legii* (1652) 1955: 578) as defined by the law remained the same even for this category of child. In the second place, the difference between the childhood of a poor Romanian and a

Gypsy slave was not very different in terms of the occupations available to them in order to survive and their treatment within their own families. For Romanians an apprenticeship was either their own choice or their family's, while for Gypsies it was up to their boyar or master, as the example of Porojan, mentioned earlier, demonstrates. Without having this right, they benefited from others' interest in their training, which helped them to remain useful and to make a living, even if they were transferred from one master to another. In fact, their market price and living conditions were better if they could demonstrate the skills required for their being kept next to the house or workshop. Even if the law passed by the revolutionaries on 26 June 1948 demanded that Gypsies be regarded as "brothers," in the desire to bring inter-human relations to a higher level of tolerance, we believe that the situation was different than an attempt at abolition. True, the members of the provisional government (Metropolitan Neofit of Hungrowallachia, Christian Tell, Nicolae Bălcescu, Ioan C. Brătianu, and A. G. Golescu) demanded:

"as it is to the benefit of the Gypsies from private estates to seek in a timely manner paid employment so that they not all be turned out of doors at the same time and without bread, and, in their demanding justice, so that their masters not be left without servants all of a sudden, the Provisory Government rules that up to 10 July all the Gypsies shall serve in their masters' houses as they have served hitherto, but their masters are hereby notified that corporal punishment has been abolished, and that henceforth they shall treat them humanely, for by doing otherwise they shall lose any right to compensation from the state" (BCU, doc. 178).

But this did not demonstrate a general practice on the part of slave owners, but rather it was a measure that was in keeping with ideas on the agrarian situation and economic relations, ideas intensively promoted by Ion Ionescu de la Brad (1818–1891) and Nicolae Bălcescu (1819–1852) and which were not to find any immediate implementation, but rather in time. Viewed from this perspective, the State (including the provisional government of the 1848 revolutionaries) preserved an earlier vision, of the economic type, which fit perfectly the European trend to fraternity and equality; a humanitarian concept does not exclude an economic direction. Ultimately, once all had been given the same degree of equality as citizens, it meant that they were also equal in regard to their economic burdens and their responsibilities. The Gypsy slave who had become a citizen had to work, to produce, to pay taxes the same as a Romanian. Of course, it was not allowed to beat him, the same as it was not allowed to beat a poor Romanian boy taken as an apprentice in a workshop, but nor was he allowed to run away from the estate or the workplace and then

expect “the master’s mercy” once he was caught or to be free to find a different job more to his liking. Gypsies frequently ran away from their estates or employers during the period, but this was not necessarily due to exploitative conditions, but rather to nomadism or circumstantial problems. Such was the life story of Grigore, son of Stefan the cook, a slave of the Dancu Monastery in Moldavia. The story is not much different from those of many other Gypsies like him. He declared to the authorities in 1810 how his real life began at the age of thirteen or fourteen:

“it so happened that the plague was here in Jassy and the plague struck my parents and they were taken away along with my four brothers and a sister, and they all died. And fearing lest I be struck down by the sickness, I ran away, without the monastery knowing what I had done. And I wandered from place to place, in the higher parts, until I reached the age when I could marry, having learned the trade of coachman” (Zahariuc & Marinescu & Caproșu 2013, doc. 547: 29).

For the estate Gypsies, regardless of their status, the master kept a record of kinship relations, which allowed him to trace an individual and his or her economic value. It would be going too far to call such records family trees, but they were somewhat similar if we bear in mind the case (so far unique when it comes to publication) of a family from Moldavia that can be traced back three generations. The reference point is Catrina, who married a certain Toader Furtună without her monastery’s knowledge, although the marriage was subsequently certified by the monastery. In addition, we can see how a record is created within the family, this being necessary as evidence in the event of grievances (Zahariuc & Marinescu & Caproșu 2013: doc. 543, 635, 648: 25, 108, 112), especially given that at one time they had fled to Bessarabia (Zahariuc & Marinescu & Caproșu 2013, doc. 591: 78). In fact, marriages without the permission of the master did not necessarily become illegal, because they could subsequently be recognised and accepted, by common accord or not (Cronț & Constantinescu & Popescu & Rădulescu & Tegăneanu 1973, doc. 39: 42–43). This was despite the introduction during the period of the Organic Regulations of an interdiction on Gypsies marrying without their masters’ permission (ANR. Argeș, *Prefectura Județului Argeș Fund*, 140/1832). The boyar, state or monastery remained interested in the situation of their slaves and were not always “bad masters”, but rather a source of support in the resolution of misunderstandings or problems. Such was the situation of Materi Pleșoianu from Rășinec, Vâlcea County, who in 1803 petitioned the ruling prince in his own name and also that of a Gypsy from his estate. The document reveals not only the complications that could arise if a family of

Gypsies was divided among a number of different boyars, but also who slave and master could resolve issues by common accord.

“I petition Your Greatness on behalf of baker Bănică Răcoviteanu of Olt County, for, a child of a poor Gypsy of mine lost his mother at the age of two, the father took the child to his sister, who is a Gypsy of the aforementioned boyar. And he made an agreement with his sister that she should raise the child, that he should give her a cow, and I was willing to pay for it. And after the Germans came and they made peace, I sent the father to take him from his sister and to come back and that I would pay. But the Gypsy woman did not want to give the child back, saying that her mistress did not allow it. And when I saw that she did not wish to give back the Gypsy child I informed the aforementioned boyar by letter. And he answered me in writing that he did not withhold the Gypsy child, but that I should pay the Gypsy woman, since she had raised him. But I had previously given the Gypsy woman twenty thalers and not even then was she willing to give him to me hitherto”(BNR, Brătianu Fund, XII/7: 10).

Of course, it was in the interest of the boyar to get back his slave, which is what finally happened (BNR, Brătianu Fund, XII/7, f. 10v), but we can see how the solution found for the orphaned Gypsy child is achieved by common accord with the widowed father and takes account of his relatives.

The children followed their parents, even if the parents choose to be transferred from one estate or county to another, causing damages (Iorga 1904/I: 47), or muddling the administrative order. After the passing of emancipation laws, this issue was significantly exacerbated. The monasteries and boyars wrote letters to the state on this subject. For example, Mărgineni Monastery complained to the Department of Religion in 1848 as follows:

“some of the emancipated Gypsies, taxpayers living in the monastery’s environs, on its property, were prey to vicious habits and refused to work the land, devastating their houses and surroundings, and they went and made themselves servants to various people in the villages and towns. They did not depart on their own, but took their families with them” (ANR, Felurite Pricini Fund, 124/1848: 2).

The cases even reached the newspapers, where they were reported and exposed precisely in order to prevent mobility and to supervise Gypsy families, whether mixed or not. In July 1852, *Foaia Satului* reported that the authorities in Argeş County had discovered “the concealment of three families of state taxpayers in the village of Stolnici, namely Stanciu the Gypsy and his wife and two children; Burcea Stanciu and his wife and a grandson of his, and Stan Badea and his wife and two children” (*Foaia Satului*, 12 July 1852: 59). In order to prevent the

Gypsies from evading taxes, the state announced that wherever fugitive Gypsies appeared and settled, “it should be made sure that they pay their poll tax at the village money boxes, whencesoever they may be” until a new census be drawn up (*Foaia Satului*, 3 July 1852). In this way, the state no longer made an economic loss.

III. *Child slave, free parent.* In mixed families, children sought and claimed for themselves the identity and the parent that could bring them the greatest social advantage. Of course, as in so many other cases, we do not hear the voice of the child brought before the court, but only much later, when as an adult he or she made his or her family circumstances public. In the majority of cases, the child resulting from such unions related to the “free Romanian mother”, claiming for itself the legal right to be free in its turn. But it was not only the children that demanded emancipation, but also their grandparents and other relatives. In the discourse that they constructed before the authorities, a number of significant features should be noted:

1) When they talk about their parents, the children do not employ terms that define the relationship, but only put forward the arguments required for emancipation (the mother is free; the parents have married before witnesses and, perhaps more importantly, with the consent of the slave owner; the treatment to which they are subjected by the master is demeaning).

For example, in 1844, Gheorghe sin Dobra files a complaint, on his own behalf and that of his four sisters, Maria, Ioana, Fica and Rucsandra, demanding the following: “...being a free Romanian woman and married by her <captain’s wife Uța Brejbean> to the Gypsy named Stan, with whom she gave birth to all five of us, and with our mother we are six and all slaves, and given away by her and with dowries under the name of slaves” (ANR Dolj, *Tribunalul Dolj Fund*, 24/1844: 3).

2) The relatives (and here we refer to the relatives on the side of the legally free parent; the relatives of the mother) speak of the Rumanian woman “who fell in love” with a Gypsy man. They accept the family created by such a union, but want in addition that the child should be made part of and integrated into their world.

For example, in 1832, Ioana sin Preda Bufu from Nițulești reveals that her daughter, Rada, has married a slave owned by Ilinca Amărăscă from Gîldău Valley, with whom she has had a daughter, Manda. At the time when the complaint is filed at the court in Dolj, the daughter is a child and “held as a slave”, and Ioana sin Preda Bufu wishes that Manda should be recognised as being free, because, she concludes: “I am a Romanian woman and never can I allow my daughter’s child to be seen as a slave” (ANR. Dolj, *Tribunalul Dolj*

Fund, 32/1832: 1). Likewise, Ilinca's brother, Constantin, went to the authorities to demand that her children be emancipated, because "now God has illuminated the masters that they may undo this injustice" (ANR. Gorj, *Tribunalul Gorj Fund*, 41/1836, f. 1). Both he and his sister demonstrated how they had become close, helped by the fact that Ilinca was a servant and the Gypsy Mihai was a slave at the court of Dumitrache Golumbeanu. The two were married by Father Nicolae from Andreești, and the godfather was Dincă, belonging to Dinu Udrescu. Both of them, taking part in a wedding that was intended to be legal, had died by 1836, when the petition was filed. Apart from emancipation, Ilinca also demanded the cattle they had saved up for "after they took each other in wedlock." Against it at first, but then relenting after the law was brought to his knowledge, Golumbeanu emancipated the four girls and one boy, the woman's children, but he did not give up the possessions (cattle, clothes, etc.). The motive invoked, and accepted by the court of Gorj County, was that she was unable to prove the marriage and according to the law a Gypsy's belongings therefore went to the master (ANR. Gorj, *Tribunalul Gorj Fund*, 41/1836: 4-4v) .

The owners seem knowingly to extend the status of slave to those children who, coming from mixed families, were legally free according to the legislation then in force. This should not necessarily be seen as an abuse of power, especially given that in some places the law was not fully known, and many private slave owners went by the principle that in a family of Gypsies all the members were Gypsies and consequently their slaves. This is the reason why, as soon as the plaintiffs appeared before the courts, the owners did not deny their rights, rather the contrary. A singular case, being the only one so far encountered, and which demonstrates the hypothesis presented above, is when the children of a free Romanian woman from another relationship become part of such a family and are treated by the master as being slaves. Such was the case of Marin of Maria from Lipovu de Sus, which in 1845 was brought before the court in Dolj, with the demand that Marin be recognised as a free Romania because when his mother, a freewoman, married Petru the Gypsy, the coachman of Lady Uța Vlădiceni, he was "made by his mother with another, out of wedlock". Thus, illegitimate birth was. In order to avoid being identified with an unwanted social class and cultural identity, Marin ignored the social stigma of illegitimacy and brought witnesses from his village to prove that he was not the son of a Gypsy, but a Romanian. This delimitation from the world of the Gypsies was due not only to their social status, but also to their negative image. Laziness, deception, petty theft, and employment as house servants (cooks, coachmen, maids, etc.) rather than agricultural labourers were features

of the portrait of a social class. Even the Romanian mothers that went to the courts to emancipate their children discussed their relationships with the Gypsy men in question as a mistake, as a result of seduction. In short, they had committed a sin of youth, which found its redemption in the “enlightened” legislation of the time. Curiously, the term was also used by the Church to describe relations between Gypsy men and Romanian women, which may prove that besides being part of a discourse it was also a feature of religious teaching (ANR, *Logofeția Pricinilor Bisericești Fund*, 161/1844).

Paradoxically, however, the Church interpreted the law on emancipation almost in the opposite sense. A Romanian woman, once married to a Gypsy, became a Gypsy herself and her children were regarded and treated as slaves. The ecclesiastical institution demonstrated more opposition to the acceptance and implementation of the law of emancipation than any private slave owner inasmuch as the Church, as the largest slave owner, stood to lose the most economically. For this reason, the confrontations, if we might call them that, between the state, which represented the individual who wished to claim his rights, and the Church was long and arduous for both sides. Before going to court, the individual went to the person who treated him as a slave in the hope of reaching an understanding; it was only after repeated and categorical refusals that he went to a higher authority. This is what happened in 1846 when Păuna, the daughter of Gheorghe, a Romanian from the village of Mănăilești, Vâlcea County, when she sought emancipation from Bistrița Monastery for herself and her children:

“The undersigned, being of the Romanian nation, having been born of free parents, due to the circumstances of the time I married a certain Dinu Cernea, a slave of the holy Bistrița Monastery, now deceased. And I stayed with him for a time, during which I gave birth to one female and five male children. I see that now that they are apt to work the holy monastery oppresses them greatly in their tasks, treating them as slaves, without taking into account what the law decrees under chapter one, where it says that he that is born free remains free” (ANR, *Logofeția Pricinilor Bisericești Fund*, 25/1846: 2).

Lawyer Matache Mavromate, the lawyer for ecclesiastical cases, did everything possible to plead the monastery's case, but in the end the state decided to recognise the children's free birth.

Up until the middle of the Century, the law that was followed when recognising that children from mixed marriages were free citizens was the Caragea Law of 1818. From the casuistic viewpoint, the term frequently employed was that of *pravilă*, but although this most often refers to the Codex of 1652, the citation of the legal precedent in the solution of cases showed that

the local courts also extended it to other legal codices. The Caragea Law (1818) clearly stipulates at Chapter 6 that:

“2. *As many as are born of free parents shall be free*

3. *Free also are those born of a free mother.*” (*Legiuirea Caragea* (1818) 1955: 10).

Thus, there were two situations: that of the freed slaves (taxpayers or state-owned slaves and cases met after the law of 1843) and those born of free mothers, such as the cases presented, which are the most numerous. Based on such legal foundations, the emancipation trials were quickly resolved, and the local courts recognised the child as a freeman after the evidence was provided. But, when it came to mixed families the state had a battle to wage not only against private slave owners but also against the Church, which had come to be a law unto itself and followed its own rules within the monasteries scattered throughout the principalities. The Church did not wish to give up its slaves. Much more often than the private slave owners, the Church extended the status of slave and Gypsy to those who were neither. Even before 1847, when the monastery slaves were emancipated, the State started a campaign to persuade the Church authorities, using humanitarian arguments among others. In the trial of Maria, a state-owned Gypsy woman who had been freed but was married to a slave of the Bistrița Monastery, and who was seeking recognition of her four daughters’ freedom, the State intervened against the monastery, which refused to recognise her right. Minister of Finance Iancu Filipescu firmly and diplomatically drew the attention of the Chancellery of Church Affairs to the fact that the Church “is entrusted with moral propaganda and the nation’s needful knowledge, the enlightenment of the spirit and the people’s hearts” and it was therefore not fitting that none other than the Church should deny the freedom of the children and their mother. By choosing such a path, “it is as if the Church of Christ has need of and now demands slavery; as if the spirit of the age and the laws of the land demand that slavery be perpetuated and justified” (ANR, *Logofetia Pricinilor Bisericești Fund*, 164/1844: 6). If Filipescu had stopped here, at these arguments, the case would have been lost, but he also brought into discussion the law and the changes that were to come, finally arguing, with a hint of a threat, that the State was determined in this matter and that the Bistrița Monastery ought to cease to be a law unto itself:

“[I]f it reckons itself to be just in its claim and if it reckons it worthy of religious dignity to enslave people that now enjoy their freedom then let it make a complaint by the legal channels. And not by means of abduction such as this, of which the honourable department (i.e. the Chancellery of Church Affairs) is not worthy to support, but rather should punish its perpetrators for the scant

respect they pay to law and order” (ANR, *Logofetia Pricinilor Bisericești Fund*, 164/1844, f. 6v.)

In this way, the State disassociated itself from any wrongdoing, and remained consistent in its policies regarding Gypsies and children from mixed families. In addition, without rejecting its moral and religious authority, it rejected the Church’s previous right to rule upon such cases, emphasising yet again that what was to come would be state law, rather than religious authority.

We may note that the roots of a policy on children from families of Gypsies and Romanians was much older, dating from the late eighteenth Century, given that there were stipulations in the Caragea Law of 1818. This Codex of laws (1652) remained valid up until the mid-nineteenth Century, and was treated as a *pravilă* (rule) as there were no substantial amendments. At a different level, the term emancipation is not appropriate for most of the cases from this period; more appropriate would be recognition of the status of freeman, given that this is what ultimately all the individuals were claiming. Children, parents and relatives related differently to the union between a Gypsy man and a freewoman, but for all of them the aim was the same: removal of the child from a paternal inheritance that disadvantaged it. And if in such mixed families a child might have a Gypsy mother and a Romanian father, it was unable to make any recourse, knowing that it remained trapped in the status of slave. In the end, recognition of the child’s status as a free citizen could only be achieved through the mother.

References

Manuscript Sources

- Arhivele Naționale ale României [National Archives of Romania] (ANR).
- Arhivele Naționale ale României. Județul Argeș [National Archives of Romania. Argeș County] (ANR Argeș).
- Arhivele Naționale ale României. Județul Dolj [National Archives of Romania. Dolj County] (ANR. Dolj).
- Arhivele Naționale ale României. Județul Gorj [National Archives of Romania. Gorj County] (ANR. Gorj).
- Biblioteca Academiei Române [Romanian Academy Library] (BAR).
- Biblioteca Națională a României [National Romanian Library] (BNR)
- Biblioteca Centrală Universitară. Iași (Central University Library of Iași) (BCU).

Published Sources

- Achim, V. & Tomi, R. & Constantin, Fl. M. (eds.). (2010). *Documente de arhivă privind robia ȝiganilor. Epoca dezrobirii*. București: Editura Academiei Române.
- Alecsandri, V. (1939). *Proză. Amintiri. Povestiri romantice*. Craiova: Scrisul Românesc. Critical edition by Alexandru Marcu.
- Călători străini despre țările române în secolul al XIX-lea. Serie Nouă [Foreign Travellers about Romanian Countries in the Nineteenth Century. New Series]*. Vol. I–V (1800–1851) (2004–2009). București: Editura Academiei Române.
- Cronț, Gh. & Constantinescu, Al. & Popescu, A. & Rădulescu, Th. & Tegăneanu, C. (1973). *Acte judiciare din Țara Românească: 1775–1781*. București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România.
- “*Foaia satului*”(1852). București.
- Iorga, N. (1904). *Corespondența lui Știrbei-Vodă*. Vol. I. București: Institutul de Arte Grafice și Editură Minerva.
- Îndreptarea Legii (1652) (1962)*. București: Editura Academiei Române. Critical edition.
- “*Învățătorul satului*”(1847). București.
- Legiuirea Caragea (1818) (1955)*. București: Editura Academiei Române. Critical edition.
- Pann, A. (18--). *Culegere de proverburile sau Povestea vorbei: de prin lume adunate și iarăși la lume date*. București: Editura Cartea Românească. Introduction by Gh. Adamescu.
- Scriban, A.(1939). *Dicționarul Limbii Românești (etimologii, înțelesuri, exemple, citațiuni, arhaizme, neologizme, provincializme)*. Iași: Institutul de Arte Grafice “Presa Bună”.
- Severeanu, C. D. (2008). *Din amintirile mele. 1853–1929*. București: Editura Fundația Culturală Gh. Marin Speteanu. Critical edition by Constantin Rezachevici.
- Zahariuc, P. & Marinescu, Fl. & Caproșu, I. (2013). *Documente românești din arhiva Mănăstirii Xiropotam de la Muntele Athos: catalog*. Vol. II. Iași: Editura Universității “Alexandru Ioan Cuza”.
- Zanne, I. A. (1895–1901). *Proverbele românilor din România, Basarabia, Bucovina, Ungaria, Istria și Macedonia: proverbe, dicetori, povățuiri, cuvinte adeverate, asemenari, idiotisme și cimilituri. Cu un glosar româno-frances*. București: Imprimeria Statului. 9 vols.

Secondary Sources

- Achim, V. (1998). *Țigani în istoria României*. București: Editura Enciclopedică.
- Achim, V. (2004). "The Gypsies in the Romanian Principalities: The Emancipation Laws. 1831–1856". *Historical Yearbook* 1: 109–120.
- Block, M. (1936). *Moeurs et coutumes des tziganes*. Paris: Payot. Translation by Jacques Marty.
- Constantin, Fl. (2007). "Robii țigani din Țara Românească în justiție: cutume și ipostaze juridice. Studiu de caz (hrisovul din 21 iunie 1637)". *Revista Istorică* XVIII(1–2): 91–108.
- Constantin, Fl. (2012). "Liens de parenté et liens sociaux chez les esclaves tsiganes de Valachie. Le *sălaş* au XVII^e siècle". In Alessandro Stella & Roger Botte (eds.). *Couleurs de l'esclavage sur les deux rives de la Méditerranée (Moyen Age–XX^e siècle)*. Paris: Éditions Karthala, pp. 283–295.
- Fraser, A. (1998). *Țigani: originile, migrația și prezența lor în Europa*. București: Humanitas. Translation by Dan Șerban Sava.
- Girard, R. (1995). *Violența și sacrul*. București: Nemira. Translation by Mona Antohi.
- Lecca, Octav-George (1898). *Istoria țiganilor*. Caransebeș: Tipografia Diocezană.
- Marian, S. Fl. (1883). *Ornitologia populară română*. vol. I. Cernăuți: Tipografia lui R. Eckhardt.
- Oișteanu, A. (2012). *Imaginea evreului în cultura română. Studiu de imagologie în context sud-est european*. Iași: Polirom. 3rd edition.
- Todorova, M. (2000). *Balkanii și balcanismul*. București: Humanitas. Translation by Mihaela Constantinescu and Sofia Oprescu.
- Wislocki, H. von. (2000). *Despre poporul nomad al rromilor: imagini din viața rromilor din Transilvania*. București: Atlas. Translation by Octavian Rogojanu, Camelia Stănescu, Vasile Ionescu and Delia Grigore.
- Wolff, L. (2000). *Inventarea Europei de Est: Harta civilizației în epoca luminilor*. București: Humanitas. Translation by Bianca Rizzoli.
- Yoors, J. (1967). *The Gypsies*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Characteristics of the Romanian household in Transylvania between the second half of the 19th Century and the first quarter of the 20th Century. A case study

Elena Crinela Holom

*"Babeş-Bolyai" University, Centre for Population Studies, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, 00-40-745-016-721,
elena_crinela@yahoo.com*

Abstract: The present research paper is a demographic analysis of the Romanian household from Transylvania's past in the period of time between the second half of the 19th Century and the first quarter of the 20th Century. The case study that envisaged the Greek-Catholic community in Poiana Ilvei was based on the records found in the Status Animarum ("lists of souls") dating from 1864, 1892 and 1925. The processed information unveiled a household that was rather reduced in terms of size (4-5 members), as well a gradual increase in the number of simple households. The data also revealed several other changes regarding the relationship between marriage and the establishment of an autonomous household from one record to another. Furthermore, the analysis of the individuals' life cycle revealed that the household became more simplified and nuclear.

Keywords: household size and structure, household establishment, life cycle, Transylvania.

1. Introduction

Intellectuals and researchers almost constantly paid a great deal of attention to aspects regarding people's nuptial behaviour and to those related to the household structure (Thomas Malthus, 1793; Frédéric Le Play, the middle of the 19th Century). Those and the ones who followed tried to classify, codify and elaborate some theoretical models (patterns) that could be found amongst populations as different as possible.

In 1965 statistician John Hajnal drew a famous scheme according to which, from a nuptial model point of view, Europe was divided by a line that linked Sankt Petersburg and Trieste. According to this complex theory, the nuptial behaviour on the west side of the continent was characterized by a late marriage and a high celibacy rate for both sexes; the nuptial behaviour on the eastern part of the continent was characterized by an early marriage, while

celibacy was almost non-existent. In the same research paper Hajnal claimed that the family structure in the eastern and central part of Europe was much more complex than in the Western and Northern Europe (Hajnal 1965: 101-143).

Though in his paper Hajnal talked about family systems, the scholars of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure had the merit of adding factual bases to this historic study of households. A standardized classification code of the domestic group was advanced in the book *Household and Family in Past Time*; this manner of definition and classification will be later adopted by a number of scholars (Laslett and Wall, 1972: 31).

Five years later, Laslett confirms many of Hajnal's ideas regarding the Western family model, adding other characteristics such as: the prevalence of the nuclear family, the reduced age gap between partners and the presence of unrelated persons within the household (servants) (Laslett 1977: 13).

Later, in an article published in 1982, Hajnal came back to the domestic group, by admitting that the group was formed based on some specific rules. As such, the simple family household that was commonly found in the north-western parts of Europe was characterized by a late marriage, by the fact that after the marriage the man became the head of the household and by the young people's capacity to travel as servants before marriage. For the extended family household, which was specific to the rest of Europe, the marriage took place at early ages, the young couple starting their life together with an older couple. In the households that included more couples, there was a tendency of separation to set up two or more households, each of them having one or more couples (Hajnal 1982: 452).

Generally speaking, some historians considered these schemas as new delimitations between the north-west and the rest of Europe and were added to the roster of other divisions that were known on the European continent along its history (the western and eastern side of Christianity; the "Germanic" world and the "Slavic" world; the countries located on the west and east side of the Iron Curtain). Nevertheless, their role was extremely beneficial. From a scientific point of view, they generated a wide range of productive ideas that continue to be debated up to the present day. From a practical point of view, they helped Europe get to know itself better and discover its core elements, as well as its different ones.

These schemas were used by numerous scholars as starting points in their analyses that were focused on the aspects of the marital demographic behaviour, the family and household size and structure. Actually, the

Occidental space's historiography is extremely productive in this sense and well-documented and scientifically valuable works have been and are being elaborated.

Thus is not the case of the Romanian historical writing where the aspects regarding the household aspects were less treated. Generally, the works elaborated up to this moment have supported the preponderance of the extended households in Transylvania during the 18th-19th Centuries (Solcan 2010, Ștefănescu 2009, Muntean 2006). A very recent and well-documented research showed the supremacy, at the middle of the 19th Century, of the simple family households in two localities situated in the eastern part of Transylvania (Pakot 2013).

As for the 20th Century, the anthropological research studies claimed that the extended household forms existed only in some villages in Banat¹. The same studies asserted that the most spread form of family in the Romanian area was the simple one, comprising the married couple and their unmarried children and that in the past there might have also existed extended families, in which the married children continued living with their parents (Stahl and Stahl 1968, Stahl 2003²). The fact that these studies lack concrete data, a shortcoming often recognised even by their authors, represents more proof that it is impossible to elaborate pertinent conclusions that would be based solely on them. Even foreign scholars have associated the Romanian family either with the extended family, with the Balkan *zadruga*, or with the nuclear family model that was specific to some areas in Hungary (Muntean 2006: 212)

That is why the herein study aims to achieve a demographic analysis that will unravel some structural elements concerning the Romanian household from Transylvania's past (the second half of the 19th Century – the first quarter of the 20th Century). To this respect, we shall realize a case study on the Greek-Catholic community in Poiana Ilvei starting from the records from the *Status Animarum* dating from the years 1864, 1892 and 1925.

¹ Also known as “communities” (communities), these family types were very similar to the Serbian *zadruga* and were formed only in the regions that also had a Serbian or Bulgarian population. (Stahl and Stahl 1968, H.H. Stahl 2003).

² H.H. Stahl's and P.H. Stahl's theories also influenced the classification made by Karl Kaser regarding the forming patterns of the households that were located in the south-eastern part of Europe (Kaser 1996: 381-382).

2. Analysis framework, sources and objectives

Poiana Ilvei (Sâniosif, Szentjózsef) is a village located in Transylvania in the north-eastern part of the current Bistrița-Năsăud, at the root of Rodna Mountains, and is crossed by the Ilva Valley.

Map 1. The location of the Poiana Ilvei village, Transylvania, Romania



The locality has an old military tradition, being a part of the Second Border Regiment (1762-1851) and then, after the military border's dismantlement, the Poiana Ilvei border guards have entered the regular line regiment no. 50, which had its garrison at Alba-Iulia (Varvari 2004: 94, 106).

Table 1. The confessional structure of the village Poiana Ilvei (1850-1930)

Year	Greek-Catholic	Orthodox	Roman-Catholic	Jewish	Total
1850	517	-	3	-	520
1857	591	-	3	8	602
1869	697	-	1	4	702
1880	678	7	-	5	690
1890	708	-	-	13	721
1900	762	5	1	21	789
1910	866	-	2	21	889
1930	966	3	-	11	980

Source: Varga 2001; KSH Népszámlálási feldolgozási táblák, XXXII-23-H. Óradna Járás: 99, Óradna Járás: 11.

Between 1850 and 1930 the village had a preponderant Romanian population, with approximately 97% of the villagers being Romanians; from a confessional point of view, the villagers were Greek-Catholics in the same percentage (Table 1). Most of the population was involved in the agricultural sector, as the

censuses from 1900 and 1910 show that more than 90% of the population was working in agriculture (*Recensământul din 1900 Transilvania. Populația după ocupații* 2006: 182-185; *Recensământul din 1910 Transilvania. Populația după ocupații* 2006: 164-167).

The three reports that were identified in Poiana Ilvei's parish archives dating from 1864, 1891 and 1925³ - they were recorded at the beginning of each year - included details about the households in the village. At least the last two of them indicate this exactly. Thus, the report dating from 1891 specifies at the end "*according to the people's record made in 1-10 January...*" (*Register 63: 24*), whereas for the report dating from 1925 this is written on the front cover "... *made in January 1925*".

The heading in the report from 1864 was made by hand and included information regarding the house number and current number, the first and last name of the father and the members of the family, the year of birth, the year of marriage, the marital status and comments. The report from 1891 included information about the house number and there were four families listed on one page, with details about the full names of all the family members along with their date of birth. The report does not mention the year of marriage, but often times this could be tracked back by useful information from the reports from 1864 or 1925. The report dating from 1925 is by far the most complex; it features a printed heading that includes details about the current number, the house number, the first and last name of the head of the family and the family members, the year/month/day of birth, marriage and death. This report also included further details showing the line of descent (or not, as the case might be) from border guards families, how the property was acquired, domicile changes, whether the members of the household were cottars during the border regiment years, whether the members of the household were cottars or they settled in the village after the border was abolished and a separate column for comments⁴.

Starting from the information taken from these three reports, we hereby aim to capture some aspects regarding the size and the structure of the domestic group in the Poiana Ilvei village at the time of the aforementioned

³ The National Archives, Bistrița-Năsăud County Directorate, Poiana Ilvei Greek-Catholic Parish Offices, *Register 62, A record of the Greek-Catholic Population, Volume I and II. A record of the St. Iosef population from Năseudu in 1864*, *Register 63, A record of the population living in the village of San-Iosip, 1891*; *Register 65, A record of the Greek-Catholic Christians living in the Poiana Ilvei Parish, Rodna Veche Vicarage and of Its Border Community, Volume IV, from January 1925*.

⁴ These records' shortcoming was the fact that the priests used to add information along the years, but unfortunately these details became less and less rigorous. That is why we decided to analyse only the data and figures from the first year of records.

reports. The individual perspective will also be carefully analysed; therefore, apart from identifying the number of individuals who lived in households of various sizes and structures, we will also analyse the relationship between the age of the head of the family and the domestic group's typology. A separate section in this study will analyse the connection between marriage and setting up a household, while the last part will be focused on following the course of life of the individuals within a family based on their age and their relationship with the head of the family.

2. *The domestic group: size and structure*

The size of the domestic group is an important criterion that is used to characterize the type of households from various regions. The stereotype regarding the existence of large domestic groups with numerous members, especially in the traditional societies, was a dominant criterion. However, quantitative research-especially in the case of data consolidated for large regions-generally indicated a small average in terms of household size, usually around 5 individuals per household (Todorova 2006: 112, Laslett 1970: 81-84).

Table 2. The distribution of households and individuals based on the size of the household (1864, 1891, 1925)

	1864		1891		1925	
	Households	Individuals	Households	Individuals	Households	Individuals
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
1 person	1 (0.8)	1 (0.2)	6 (3.6)	6 (0.8)	6 (3.1)	6 (0.7)
2 persons	8 (6.8)	16 (2.4)	21 (12.7)	42 (5.7)	37 (19.2)	74 (8.4)
3-6 persons	73 (61.8)	352 (52.8)	117 (70.5)	509 (69)	115 (59.6)	510 (57.8)
7-8 persons	25 (21.3)	189 (28.4)	16 (9.6)	121 (16.4)	21 (10.9)	153 (17.3)
9 and more	11 (9.3)	108 (16.2)	6 (3.6)	60 (8.1)	14 (7.2)	139 (15.8)
Total	118 (100)	666 (100)	166 (100)	738 (100)	193 (100)	882 (100)

Source: see note 3.

In the Poiana Ilvei village, in 1864, the average size of a household was 5.6 members. The highest weight (61.8%) was in the households consisting of 3-6 individuals (Table 2). This situation was extremely similar to other villages across Transylvania or located in other cultural spaces. For example, in 1868, the average household size in the villages Vlăhița and Căpâlnița was 5.4

members, with the rate of the households consisting of 3-6 persons reaching 59% (Pakot 2013: 25). In the case of the Italian village Casalguidi, the average size of the domestic group between 1819-1859 was 5.2 members (Breschi *et all.* 2009: 282). Even in the case of four districts in Serbia, the 1863 census revealed the fact that the average size of a rural household was 5.1 individuals (Gruber 2009: 238). Furthermore, in 1860, for the villages with a dominant Christian population located in the north-east part of Maria Teodorova's research studies showed a household average size of 4.39 members, with 50.3% of these households consisting of 3-6 individuals (Todorova 2006: 115).

For Poiana Ilvei, the percentage of the single-member households was extremely low (0.8%), with an equally low percentage of the two-member households (2.4%). More than one third of the households in the Poiana Ilvei village had between 7 and over 9 members. All this data shows a tendency towards setting up a family, ensuring descendants and mutual help in a society where life as a single person was quite harsh (Marica 2004: 172-179). These aspects are also highlighted by the individual-level data. The individuals who, in 1864, lived a solitary life, was only 0.2%; similarly, the number of individuals who preferred to live next to only one individual was extremely low (2.4%). Besides, in 1864 almost 45% of the individuals in Poiana Ilvei were living in households consisting of more than 7 members. A simple calculation shows the fact that 94.1% of the people were living in households comprising at least 4 members.

Apparently in other cultural spaces there were also cases in which people preferred living a solitary life or next to only one partner. For example, in 186, in the French village Grisy-Suisnes, the percentage of those who lived in households comprising only one member was 16.2%, and the percentage of those who lived in households consisting only two members was 30.5%. The number of those who lived in households comprising 4-10 members was just 31.7% (Blayo 1972: 255).

For the year 1891, the average size of the domestic group in the Poiana Ilvei village was 4.4 members. The number of the households consisting of 3-6 members had the highest weight (70.5%); however, the number of such households was bigger than in 1864. We can also notice an increase in the number of households consisting of only two members (12.7%). On the contrary, we can see a decrease in the number of domestic groups that included more than 7 members (13.2%). Besides, the individual-level analysis also reveals that the number of those who lived in households consisting of at least four members dropped to 81.7%.

In 1925, the domestic group in the Poiana Ilvei village has an average size of 4.5 members. For the Christian community in the Bulgarian village Čepelare in 1920, the average size of a household was 4.7 members (Brunnbauer 2002: 344).

In Poiana Ilvei, the households consisting of 3-6 members had the highest rate (59.6%). The weight of the households consisting of only one member was quite similar to the level recorded in 1891 (3.1%), whereas the number of the domestic groups consisting of only two members increased (19.2%). The percentage of the domestic groups that were larger than 7 members was 18.1%. The individual-level analysis revealed the fact that 80.3% of those lived in households consisting of at least 4 members.

The analysis of the households in the Poiana Ilvei village for the years 1864, 1891 and 1925 highlighted the fact that the average size was a small one, around 4-5 members, which is indicative of a gradual decline towards the end of the 19th Century and the beginning of the 20th Century. This situation was also found in England and The Wales, where the average size of the domestic group was around 4.7 members in the 16th-19th Centuries; later, around, 1891 the average size slightly declined to 4.6 members, and in 1921 it dropped to 4.1 members (Laslett 1972: 138).

While the majority of the individuals from the past of the Poiana Ilvei village lived in households consisting of at least four members, the data showed the fact that between 1864 and 1925 several changes occurred in the number of the individuals who lived in smaller- or larger-sized households. The size of the household was undoubtedly largely influenced by the whirl of births, marriages and deaths; a more thorough analysis of the natural flow components is able to offer more complex explanations in this respect. On the other hand, several possible explanations regarding the size of the domestic group in the Poiana Ilvei village can also be found by analysing its structure.

In order to have a clear view of the structural aspects that were specific to the domestic group in the Poiana Ilvei village, Laslett-Hammel's well-known classification schema was applied to the data we were able to gather (Hammel and Laslett 1974: 96).

Table 3. The structure of the households based on categories, 1864, 1891, 1925 (%)

Categories	1864		1891		1925	
	Households	Individuals	Households	Individuals	Households	Individuals
1. Solitaries						
1.a Widowed	0	0	3	1.1	2.6	0.6
1.b Single	0.8	0.1	1.2	0.3	0.5	0.1
1. Total	0.8	0.1	4.2	1.4	3.1	0.7
2. No family households						
2.a Co-resident siblings	0	0	0.6	0.3	0	0
2.b Other co-resident relatives	0	0	1.8	0.8	0	0
2.c Unrelated persons	0	0	0	0	0	0
2. Total	0	0	2.4	1.1	0	0
3. Simple family households						
3.a Married couple alone	7.6	2.8	12.6	6.5	17.1	7.5
3.b Married couple with children	44.9	46.7	44.7	48.1	45.1	51.1
3.c Widowers with children	2.5	2.3	2.4	1.9	0	0
3.d Widows with children	3.4	2.4	3.6	3.2	11.4	10.8
3. Total	58.5	54.2	63.3	59.7	73.6	69.4
4. Extended family households						
4.a Extended upwards	15.3	14.3	15.1	17.5	12	14.5
4.b Extended downwards	1.7	1.5	0	0	3.1	3.8
4.c Extended laterally	4.2	4.7	1.2	0.9	1.5	2.3
4.d Combinations	3.4	3.9	0	0	1.5	1.9
4. Total	24.6	24.4	16.3	18.4	18.1	22.5
5. Multiple family households						
5.a Secondary units up	0.8	0.7	0	0	3.7	5.3
5.b Secondary units down	15.3	20.6	12	16.4	0.5	0.6
5.c Secondary units laterally	0	0	0	0	0.5	0.9
5.d Frèresches	0	0	1.8	3	0.5	0.6
5.e Combinations	0	0	0	0	0	0
5. Total	16.1	21.3	13.8	19.4	5.2	7.4
1-5. Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
1-5. Total (Number)	118	666	166	738	193	882

Source: see note 3.

Table 3 shows that in 1864 the simple domestic groups had the highest percentage (58.5%). Similar percentages were also found in the Treppo Carnico village in Italy, where 59.4% of the households had a simple pattern between 1835-1867 (Breschi *et all.* 2009: 282). The 1863 census revealed that, in four districts in Serbia, 59.5% of the households had a simple structure (Gruber 2009: 242). Similarly, in 1876, 51.5% of the farmers' households in the Virolahti parish in eastern Finland had a simple structure (Moring 2003: 95). This type of households were even more common in the Vlăhița and Căpâlnița villages (over 70%) (Pakot 2013: 28) or in the Spanish province Cuenca where, between 1851-1875, the percentage of the simple domestic groups was 89.4% (Reher 1988: 62). In Poiana Ilvei, more than 52% of the households were made up of married couples and married couples with unmarried descendants. The percentage of the widowers/widows with children was 5.9%, with a slightly higher percentage rate in the case of widows.

A very interesting aspect regarding the Poiana Ilvei village concerns the fairly high rate of households with an extended family structure, as nearly one quarter of these households was structured this way. This situation was also found in the Finnish village Kurnlinge-Brändö where, in 1859, 25.9% of the households had an extended structure (Moring 1998: 72). On the other hand, this percentage was only 14.7% in the case of Vlăhița and Căpâlnița villages (Pakot 2013: 28).

The researchers pointed at several reasons why people chose to live within extended families: the concern for the vulnerable individuals (elder, young or disabled members), mutually economic interests for a higher productivity, the lack of a living space and of resources to run such a space, certain feelings of affection that made some people want to live together, certain traditions or social and legal rules (Paping 2008: 4).

Regardless of the reasons that determined the people in the Poiana Ilvei village's past to live together within such extended families, we believe that the old rules set by the central authorities in the villages that were part of the military border must have had an important role as well. In his research, Gheorghe Șișeștean mentions the so-called "Hauskommunion" or "house communion", which is a form of social organization that was set up during the second half of the 18th Century in the Austrian military border area in Banat and Transylvania. Very similar to the Balkan zadruga, the communion included an extended domestic group and was introduced by the Austrian authorities who wanted to monitor the daily life more strictly, with a military exigency, but also because of the need to increase the productivity of the domestic economy (by resizing the rural space and increasing the number or people involved in

the communion's collective rural economy). Since this communion was serving as a veritable nursery of soldiers that would ensure the border's security, agriculture was the base occupation and primary food provider within the house communion. The necessary equipment used by the border guards in military service was made within the house communion and the border guards' children were educated in the house communion, therefore it required a strong level of protection which was ensured by an individual whose authority prevailed within the group. "The family head" or "the family mother" used to monitor the entire activity of the extended domestic group, from personal hygiene, cooking, clothes making, working the land and educating the children (Șișeștean 2010: 275-277). The fact that this form of organization continued to exist even after the military border disappeared—such a communion was identified in the Șanț village (Bistrița Năsăud county) even between the two World Wars—enables us to believe that there were similar realities for the Poiana Ilvei village (Șișeștean 2010: 287-288).

We believe that this aspect also explains the reasons why even multiple domestic groups were fairly common in the Poiana Ilvei village in 1864 (16.1%). If we look at realities that existed in other cultural spaces, we can identify several common elements. For example, in the Chinese province Liaoning the rate of the multiple domestic groups exceeded 45% during 1792-1873 (Lee and Campbell 1997: 110). This rural area of China was also located at the border; its villagers had been endowed vast lands in exchange for which they had to provide grains, manpower and military support in particular (Lee and Campbell 1997: 7). Furthermore, each multiple domestic group had a highly authoritative leader, usually an elder member of the group or one of the parents in the family (Lee and Campbell 1997: 12, 136).

In the case of the Poiana Ilvei village there weren't identified any domestic groups with no family structure in the year 1864, which highlights once again the tendency to setting up a family, since even the number of single-member households was insignificant (0.8%).

If we take into account the individuals as standard units of analysis, the data is very similar to those that envisaged the household as standard unit. The highlight in this case is the fact that in 1864 21.3% of the individuals from the Poiana Ilvei village lived in households that had a multiple family structure. Even though the rate was not as high as in the case of the Chinese province Liaoning, where 75% of the population was living within domestic groups consisting of two or more marital units (Lee and Campbell 1997: 72), we believe that this aspect deserves a more thorough investigation in the future in order to identify as exact as possible the causes of these realities.

For the year 1891, the situation in the Poiana Ilvei village shows that the simple domestic groups continued to exist (65%), with a slight increase as compared to 1864. The weight was similar to the one identified in the Finnish village Korpo-Houtskär where, in 1895, the simple domestic groups reached 62% (Moring 1998: 72) or 60.2% if we look back at figures dating from 1890 in the Italian parish Bertalia (Kertzer 1978: 006).

We can also notice a relative stability regarding the rates for the married couples with descendants and the widowed persons with children. As compared to 1864, we notice a slight multiplication regarding the rate of married couples without children (12.6%). A more in-depth analysis of the marriage phenomenon for the entire second half of the 19th Century would explain more clearly if there has been an increase in the number of marital unions before the records dating from 1891.

We can also see a significant decrease of the extended domestic groups (16.1%) and a smaller rate drop regarding the multiple structure domestic groups (13.8%). In the Poiana Ilvei village it was still common for a younger couple to live with an older one, while examples of several fraternal married couples living within the same household were fairly rare. Only 1.8% of such couples were identified in 1891.

The rate of households with no family structure reached only 0.6%, and only 4.5% of the households consisted of one member - most of them were widows or widowers.

If we take a closer look at the individual as standard unit of analysis, we'll find that 60.5% of the individuals lived in simple domestic groups and more than 35% lived in extended or multiple family structure domestic groups.

In the year 1925 we can see the exponential growth of the simple structure domestic group (73.6%). The same situation could be found in the Albanian village Tabaku where, according to the 1918 census, 70.4% of the families were nuclear (Gruber and Pichler 2002: 355). The rate of the nuclear families was even higher in the Spanish province Cuenca where, between 1901-1925, it reached 81.3% (Reher 1988: 62). 82% of the families living in the Bulgarian Christian community Čepelare in 1920 were nuclear (Brunnbauer 2002: 336).

The high percentage of the widows with children (11.4%) clearly stands out. The situation can be explained by the fact that this Transylvanian community contributed with soldiers to the First World War. This village's monograph reveals that 161 men were called to arms. 112 of them returned safe, 13 returned with war injuries and 26 died on the battle fields. Only 2 of

the 10 prisoners of war returned home, and nothing else is known about the remaining 8 (Varvari 2004: 115-116).

While the rate of the households that had a family structure slightly increased (18.4%) as compared to 1891, the rate of the multiple family structure households seriously dropped, reaching 5.2%. The war might have contributed to this situation, as it took away many heads of families from within these multiple domestic groups⁵. The rate of the domestic groups consisting of only one member was 3.1%, of which 2.6% were widows/widowers.

If we take into account the individuals who lived in 1925 in the Poiana Ilvei village we can see that the ones who lived in simple domestic groups prevailed, and their number was almost equal to the category of widows with children. We find, in exchange, a slightly increased number of individuals who lived in extended and multiple domestic groups in 1925.

To summarize the situation of the community living in the Poiana Ilvei village in 1864, 1891 and 1925, we will find that people preferred to live within a family and not alone. While in the first two years most of the households had a simple structure, this situation became even more certain in 1925. Of course, on the other side we can see a decrease in the number of households that an extended and multiple structure. The latter had the most obvious decline because of some internal changes that occurred within all households in the village. Some of these aspects as well as their causes will be identified later in this research.

4. The age of the head of the family and the typology of the household

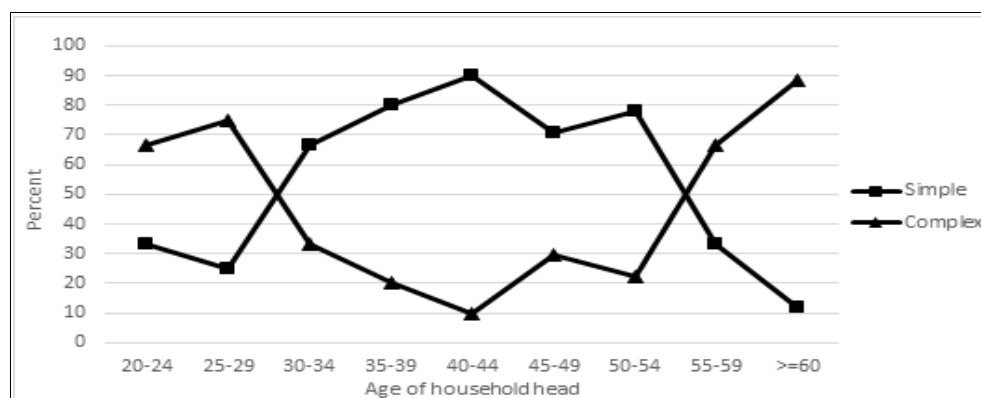
The aspects regarding the size and the structure of the household were not constant at all. During their lives, the individuals experienced the life in various types of households, and the transitions from one type to another depended on a series of social, economic and cultural factors (Duben and Behar 2002: 62).

In the following pages we shall analyse the relationship between the age of the head and the typology of the household, and in order to do so we

⁵Another possible explanation for this fact could be linked with the way the records were made. The researcher Gheorghe Şişeştean claims that after the disappearance of the military border, Hungarian censuses used household as unit of analyses, this being associated in most of the cases with the nuclear family. He sustains that because of this modern way of conscription, Hungarian censuses and also Romanian ones after the Great Unification, are not the best sources for capturing large domestic groups (Şişeştean 2010: 287). These problems are probably available also in the case of Poiana Ilvei village, especially since the three recordings were made by different people.

created some categories. The extended and multiple households were included in the complex category, the simple family households were included in the simple category, and the single individuals and those who lived outside the family group were included in the solitary category (Pakot 2013: 30).

Figure 1. The relationship between the age of household head and the typology of the household (1864)



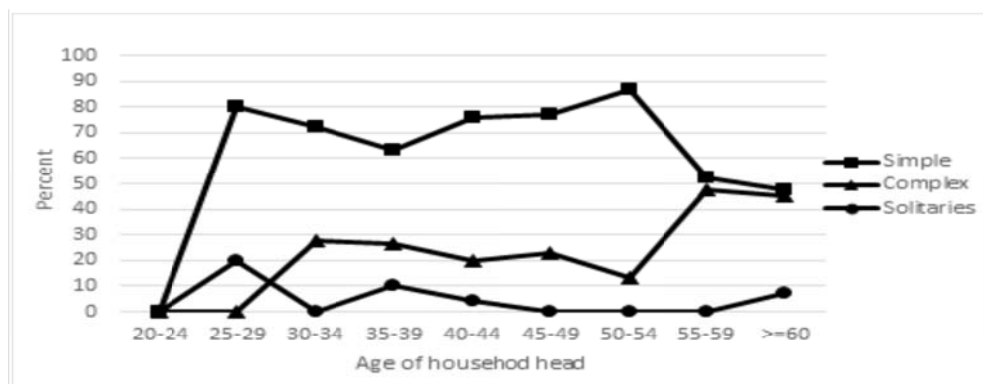
Source: see note 3.

In the Poiana Ilvei village, in 1864, the heads of the families aged between 20-29 years prevailed in approximately 71% of the households with a complex structure⁶ (Figure 1). For the 30-54 age group, the dominant groups were the simple ones, with an age peak at 40-44 years (90%). After the age of 55, the heads of families were mostly leading households with a complex structure (87.9%). The situation is slightly different as compared to the data from 1868 in the Vlăhița and Căpălănița villages, where the young heads of families (21-35 years) lead the destinies of complex households in a larger proportion (Pakot 2013: 30). Probably this explains the reason why there was a larger number of households with a complex structure in Poiana Ilvei, and even the presence of some domestic groups in the form of communions, whose leader enjoyed respect and authority even at an old age⁷.

⁶ Because we only have one example of solitary household in 1864 and there are no records regarding the age of its head of family, this was not included in our analysis.

⁷ An oral testimony from another border village, Șanț, confirms the high level of authority and obedience shown to such a head of family, even if he was quite old. See Șișeștean 2010: 288.

Figure 2. The relationship between the age of household head and the typology of the household (1891)



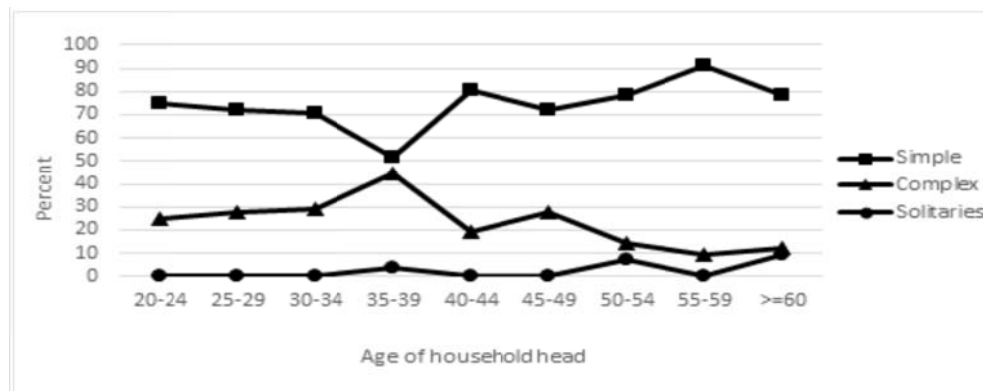
Source: see note 3.

In 1891, the majority of the simple households (75%) were led by heads of family aged between 25-34 years (Figure 2). The situation was almost similar in the case of the Christian community Çukur where, in 1884, approximately 61% of the households with a simple structure were led by head of family aged between 15-44 years (Renieri 2002: 501).

As for the Poiana Ilvei village community, approximately 45% of the complex domestic groups were led by heads of families aged more than 55 years, while about 23% were led by young heads of families aged 25-49. In the Çukur village 45% of the domestic groups with a complex structure were led by heads of families aged more than 45 years as well (Renieri 2002: 501). Last but not least, 20% of the heads of families from Poiana Ilvei who were aged 25-29 lived alone, and this rate increased gradually after the age of 60.

In 1925 the number of young heads of families who lead a complex household in Poiana Ilvei was higher than the old heads of families (Figure 3). More than one third of those aged 20-39 lead such a household, with an age peak at 35-39 years (44%). The simple groups were led by heads of families of similar ages. Solitary households became more numerous after the age of 50.

Figure 3. The relationship between the age of household head and the typology of the household (1925)



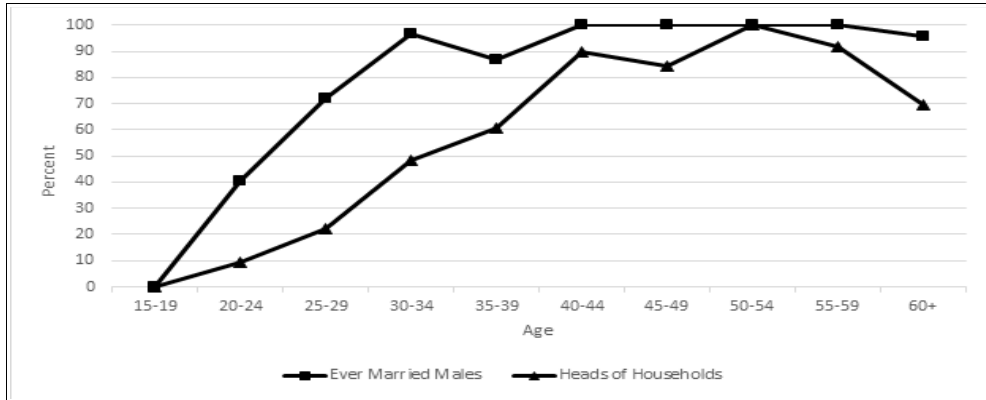
Source: see note 3.

By summarizing what has been revealed so far regarding the relationship between the head of the family and the typology of such a household, we can determine that for the years 1864 and 1891 most of the complex households were led by older heads of families, aged more than 55, whereas the simple households were generally lead by heads of families aged up to 55. A slight difference was noticed in 1864 when we identified cases in which some complex structure households were also lead by young people aged 20-29. In 1925 the simple domestic groups prevailed, and they were led by heads of families pertaining to all age groups. Though in present day these types of households are fewer, we can witness a dramatic change in the case of the complex households, as most of them are now lead by young heads of families.

5. Marriage – a constituent part of the household?

A key indicator of the connection between marriage and establishment of an autonomous household is also illustrated by the relationship between the proportion of the ever married males and those heading a household (Gruber and Pichler 2002: 364, Duben and Behar 2002: 81). Seeing that most of the heads of households were men, we have only analysed this distinct population segment.

Figure 4. The relationship between men's marriage and establishment of an autonomous household (1864)

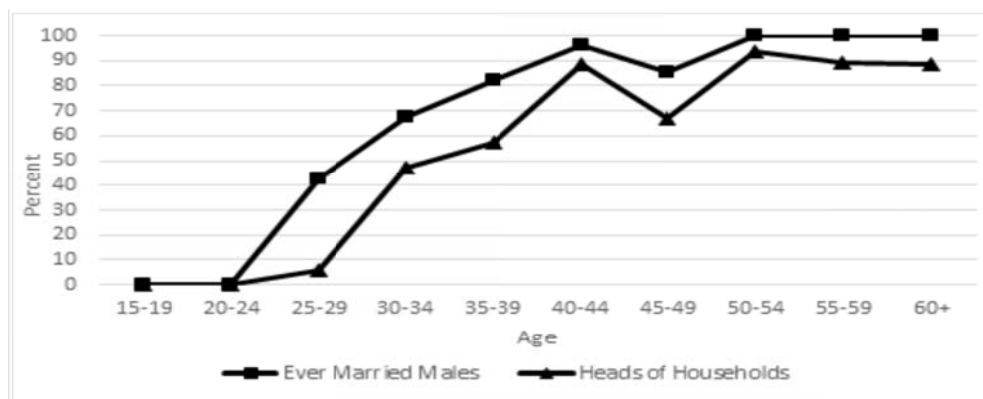


Source: see note 3.

In the Poiana Ilvei village, in 1864, the data reveal the fact that a large part of the men did not become heads of their own households immediately after marriage and lived together with other relatives within extended or multiple complex domestic groups (Figure 4). We can notice that this situation is slightly different from the one in the Vlăhița and Căpâlnița villages where, after the age of 25-26, the rate of those who also became heads of families after marriage increase significantly (Pakot 2013: 31). In Poiana Ilvei, for the age group 25-29 years, out of the 72% married men only 22% were also heads of families. For the age group 30-39 years, out of the 90% married men only 55% were also heads of their own households. The two roles were almost simultaneous only at the age group 40-59 years.

For the year 1891 the situation is somewhat identical as out of the 65% married men only 36% lead their own household before turning 39. After this age and even after the age of 60, the two roles - husband and head of family - was almost simultaneous (Figure 5).

Figure 5. The relationship between men's marriage and establishment of an autonomous household (1891)



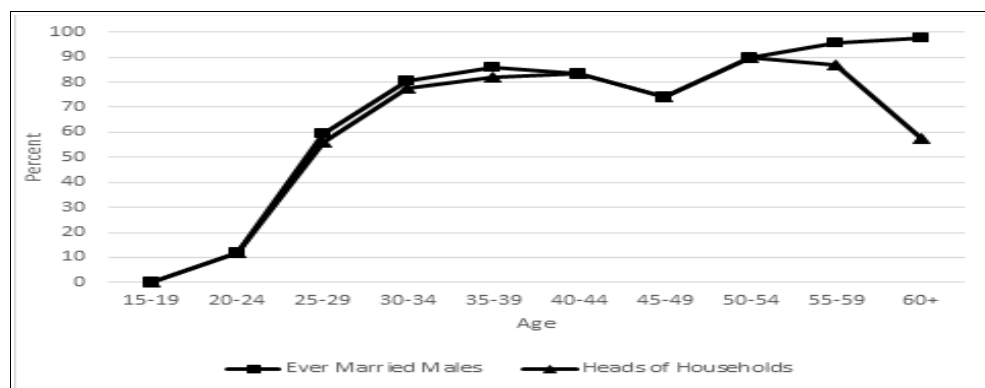
Source: see note 3.

In the Poiana Ilvei village, in 1925, the analysis of the married men and of those who were also heads of families revealed the fact that marriage and reaching the status of leader of the domestic group were two phenomena that happened almost simultaneously (Figure 6). This situation was even more obvious in the case of the Spanish Province Cuenca. Between 1901-1925 approximately 91% of the men aged 25-59 were married, and 89.5% of them were also leaders of their own households (Reher 1988: 68).

For the men aged more than 60 in Poiana Ilvei we can see that 95% of them were married, and 69.5% were heads of their households. We can probably speak of a transfer of power towards the younger men in this situation.

As for the relationship between the married men and those who were heads of families, the data for the years 1864, 1891 and 1925 revealed that, in the Poiana Ilvei village, for the first two years in our analysis the act of marriage did not trigger the immediate access to the position of leader of the household, as these roles were exercised simultaneously only after a certain period of time. On the other hand, in 1925, men also became heads of their households almost immediately after marriage.

Figure 6. *The relationship between men's marriage and establishment of an autonomous household (1925)*



Source: see note 3.

6. *The life cycle of the individuals within the household*

Each individual, man or woman, goes through various stages in life as they become older. Even within a family or a household, the individuals experience various stages, as they are assigned certain roles that are closely connected to their age and their relationship with the person who leads the domestic group. In order to analyse these relationships, the members of the domestic group from the past of the Poiana Ilvei village were divided into several categories, depending on their relationship with the head of the family and their age. The following categories were created for the men: unmarried and married sons, unmarried, married and widower leader, father of the leader, other male relatives (brothers, sons-in-law, cousins, nephews, fathers-in-law, brothers-in-law), other unrelated male individuals, unknown relationships. The following categories were created for the women: daughters, wives, unmarried, married, widow leaders, mother of the leader, other female relatives (sisters, daughters-in-law, cousins, aunts, nieces, mothers-in-law, sisters-in-law), other unrelated female individuals, unknown relationships (Sovič 2005: 174, Pakot 2013: 32).

In 1864, for the men living in the Poiana Ilvei village the transition from the unmarried son status to the married son status started after the age of 20 and ended sometime before the age of 40 (Appendix: Figure 7). After this age, no married son was found in the households in Poiana Ilvei, and from this point of view the situation was similar to the one found within the male population in the Slovenian village Mislinja in 1851 (Sovič 2005: 174).

The presence of other male relatives in the households in the Poiana Ilvei village was quite common and counted for 7-30% of the men aged 0-50 years. The kinship was stronger during childhood and up until the early adult life. While during this time most of these men were nephew, after the age of 30 they were brothers, sons-in-law, brothers-in-law or fathers-in-law.

The existence of this strong kinship in the Poiana Ilvei village was underlined once again by the fact that after marriage many sons continued to live next to the head of the family. Their rate was 25% for the age group 20-24, 39% for the age group 25-29, and 42% for the age group 30-34. After this age the rate decreased gradually to 4.7% between 35-39 years and 10% between 40-44 years.

Most of the married men became heads of their own households quite late in life, around the age of 40. As for the widower heads of families, their rate dropped at younger ages, between 3-10%, but increased after the age of 55, reaching over 25%. These cases probably illustrate the fact that the male heads of families had a strong authority, and they continued to rule the destinies of the household and those of its members even if they were widowers and old. Probably only a handful of the elders transferred the power towards the younger members of the family, but they continued to live under the same roof as the younger leader of the household (8.6%). In the Vlăhița village this rate reached 33% in 1868 (Pakot 2013: 34), whereas in the Slovenian village Sencur it was as high as 20% in 1879 (Sovič 2005:175).

For the men living in the Poiana Ilvei village in 1891, the transition from unmarried son to the married son status started after the age of 25 and ended shortly before turning 40 (Appendix: Figure 8). During this period of time some men - or 4-27% of them - continued to live in their parents' house even after marriage. Other men chose celibacy, but their rate was insignificant and, most probably, short lived.

Just like in 1864, most of the married men became heads of their own households after the age of 40. Also after this age we can see a gradual increase of the number of households that were run by a widower leader. This aspect confirms the fact that most of the men who were also heads of their own households exercised this position until their death; the low rate of fathers who lived in their sons' households (2.4%) enables us to believe that the transfer of power to the younger members of the family was difficult. All these aspects come to illustrate the importance of the blood relationships, of the kinship, and they are confirmed once again by the presence of a fairly large number of other male relatives in the households, their rate reaching 3-23% at the men

aged 0-50. However, we can see a slight decrease from 1864, when this rate was between 7-30%.

As compared to 1864, the records dating from 1891 mention the presence of some unrelated individuals in the households, most of them listed as servants, with a rate of almost 8%.

In the case of men living in the Poiana Ilvei village in 1925, there were some changes as compared to the previous years. The transition from the status of unmarried son to the status of married son/head of his own family started around the age 20-24 as well, and reached the absolute peak between 45-49 years (Appendix: Figure 9). One aspect that clearly stands out is the fact that almost all men became heads of their own households after marriage, and only 3.2% of the sons continued to live under the same roof as the old father after marriage. Also, the rate of the unmarried leaders was quite low of only 4%, almost the same with the rate of the widowers (4.6%). There is no doubt that this situation was highly influenced by the war. After it ended, the men who returned from the battle field tried to overcome the war's horrors and consequences by choosing to come back to the state of normality and equilibrium within the family. Furthermore, the selection mechanisms on the matrimonial market probably became more relaxed for men, who could find a partner more easily. Either way, a more thorough investigation of the marriage phenomenon, of the mechanism that ran the partners' selection process would bring more light in this respect.

The fact that after the age of 55 and especially after the age of 60 there is a higher rate of aged fathers who chose to live in their younger sons' households enables us to believe that the transfer of power towards the younger members of the family was more common during this time. The realities in the field show that the kinship also suffered some changes, as the presence of other male relatives in the household has a much lower rate of 1-11% for the age group 0-50. After this age and especially after the age of 60 most of the aged men were brothers-in-law, uncles, and, of course, the parents-in-law. The latter group might also have transferred more easily the rein of their households to their younger sons-in-law.

For the women living in the Poiana Ilvei village in 1864 the transition from the daughter status to the wife status was very similar to men's transition. Only 4.7% of the daughters were unmarried before the age of 39. The transition from daughter to wife was made quite gradually by the women in the Poiana Ilvei village, with an age peak between 35-39 years (Appendix: Figure 10).

The presence of other female relatives was even more common than in the case of men, as it happened for 8-57% of the women aged between 0-50.

In Poiana Ilvei's case, in 1864, there were no records of unmarried or married women who were also heads of their own households, but the records do indicate widows who lead the destinies their own households, and their rate was higher than the men's. For the group age 30-44 the rate of the widows who were also heads of their households was around 10%, with an age peak between 55-59 (28.5%).

The transition from wife to mother of the head of the family was made especially after the age of 60. After this age we can see a significant drop in the rate of married women, while the number of female relatives (mothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, aunts, old cousins) starts to increase. Undoubtedly, these aged women found comfort for their old years in the households of their younger sons.

In 1891, in the case of women, the transition from daughter to wife was made a bit earlier than in the case of the sons and even than in the case of the women in 1864 (Appendix: Figure 11). Even is this process started earlier, apparently it lasted longer, as records show that these daughters were not found in their fathers' households only after the age of 44. In 1891 there are no records of single women running their households, or of married women that also have a leader role. Only the widows were leading the households, and their number increased after the age of 55.

The presence of other female relatives in the household was equally common in 1891, with a rate of 3-46% for the female population aged 0-50. The transition from the status of wife to the status of mother of the head of the family began gradually after the age of 45, with an obvious age peak after the age of 60. Besides, after this age we can see the same decrease in the rate of wives from more than 70% for the age group 45-59 to 49% for the women aged more than 60.

In 1891 the women who were outside a relationship with the head of the household counted for approximately 4% and most of them were listed as servants.

In 1925, the case of women, the transition from the unmarried status to the wife status also began very early (15-19 years), and reached a high peak between 30-39 years (Appendix: Figure 12). Only 8.3% of the women lead their household by themselves, and they pertained to the age group 55-59. While there are no records indicating married women who were designated head of the family, the data from 1925 show several households that were led by widows, their combined rate reaching almost 20% for the age group

between 25 and over 60 years. Probably some of these women lost their husbands during the First World War. Furthermore, over 67% of the mothers of the heads of families were also widows who could have possibly suffered losses similar to the ones caused by the Great War.

Just like in the case of men, when analysing the women's situation we can see that the presence of other female relatives in the household suffered a significant drop, and the highest rate was among the women aged over 60 years: aunts, sisters-in-law and mothers-in-law.

When summarizing the situation in the Poiana Ilvei village in the years 1864, 1891 and 1925, we will notice that some realities were preserved, while some changes occurred in terms of age in the case of shifting from one stage to another, as well as during the life of the individuals. Thus, most of the men shifted from the status of unmarried son to the status of married son between 20-49 years. The case was similar for women as well, but between the years 1891 and 1925 the shift from the status of daughter to the status of wife starts before the age of 20. The habit of solitary running the household was quite isolated in the Poiana Ilvei village, where women and men alike chose to set up a family.

While at younger ages the rate of widower leaders was lower than the rate of widow leaders, after the age of 60 the numbers changed. The situation was different only in 1925, when as a consequence of the First World War the rate of widows who took the role of heads of households was much higher, regardless of the age.

If between 1864 and 1925 the rate of the sons who continued to live in the father's household after marriage was quite high, after 1925 this became almost insignificant, as the marriage and taking over the role of leader of the household happened almost simultaneously.

If before 1925 the presence of some strong, even authoritarian relationships between generations was also illustrated by the large number of men who ruled the destinies of the domestic group, even though they were aged and widowers, after that moment the realities reveal some important changes. The fact that the old ones were no longer leading the domestic group at such high rates and the fact that sons stopped living in their fathers' household after marriage probably led to the loosening of the relationships between relatives. We believe that this situation was also influenced by the small number of other relatives who were also living within the household.

7. Conclusions

During the second half of the 19th Century and the first quarter of the 20th Century, the domestic group in the Poiana Ilvei village was quite small (4-5 members). The dominant structure was the simple family household, its rate increasing from one census to another. The complex family households were present at a higher rate in the first two years of our analysis, but their rate dropped significantly in the last year. The solitary groups had a very low rate in the three years of our analysis, as the people in Poiana Ilvei's past preferred to live within the family.

The relationship between the age of the head of the family and the family's typology revealed that in the first two years of our analysis most of the households were run by aged heads, but the situation reversed in 1925.

Furthermore, while in the first two years of our analysis the men didn't become heads of households immediately after marriage, in 1925 the roles of husband and household head happened almost simultaneously.

The individuals' life cycle revealed in 1925 a spectacular decrease of the number of sons who lived in the aged father's house, a similar drop in the number of widowers who also had the leader role and also in the number of other relatives who lived within the household. We believe that all of these aspects led to the loosening of the relationships between the different parts of the group, at least in the case of the extended groups, as the household tended to be more simplified and nuclear.

Acknowledgments

This work was possible with the financial support of the Romanian Cultural Institute, within the framework of "Lucian Blaga" scholarship. My special thanks to the members of the Demographic Research Institute, Budapest, especially to dr. Zsolt Spéder and dr. Péter Őri. All my gratitude goes to dr. Levente Pakot for all his support during my stay in Budapest and for his guidance offered for the completion of this research paper.

References

Primary Sources

The National Archives of Hungary, *KSH Népszámlálási feldolgozási táblák, XXXII-23-H*.

The National Archives of Romania, Bistrița-Năsăud County Directorate, Poiana Ilvei Greek-Catholic Parish Offices, *Register 62, A record of the Greek-Catholic Population, Volume I and II. A record of the St. Iosef population from Năseudu in 1864; Register 63, A record of the population living in the village of San-Iosip, 1891; Register 65, A record of the Greek-Catholic Christians living in the Poiana Ilvei Parish, Rodna Veche Vicarage and of Its Border Community, Volume IV, from January 1925.*

Secondary Sources

- Blayo, Y. (1972). "Size and structure of households in a northern French village between 1836 and 1861". In Laslett, Peter, Wall, Richard (eds.). *Household and family in past time. Comparative studies in the size and structure of the domestic group over the last three centuries in England, France, Serbia, Japan and colonial North America, with further materials from Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 255-266.
- Breschi, M., Fornasin, A., Manfredini, M., Zacchigna, M. (2009). "Family Composition and Remarriage in Pre-Transitional Italy: A Comparative Study". *European Journal of Population/Revue Européenne de Démographie* 25(3): 277-296.
- Brunnbauer, U. (2002). "Families and mountains in the Balkans. Christian and Muslim household structures in the Rhodopes, 19th–20th Century". *History of the Family* 7 (3): 327–350.
- Duben, A and Behar, C. (2002). *Istanbul households: marriage, family, and fertility, 1880-1940*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Engelen, T and Wolf, A. P. (eds.), *Marriage and the family in Eurasia. Perspectives on the Hajnal hypothesis*, Amsterdam: Aksant.
- Gruber, S. (2009). "Household formation and Marriage: Different patterns in Serbia and Albania. In Fauve-Chamoux, A., Bolovan, I. (eds.). *Families in Europe between the 19th and 21st Centuries. From the Traditional Model to the Contemporary PACS* (Supplement of the Romanian Journal of Population Studies). Cluj-Napoca: Cluj University Press, pp. 229-247.
- Gruber, S. and Pichler, R. (2002). "Household structure in Albania in the early 20th Century". *The History of the Family* 7 (3): 351-374.
- Hammel, E. A. and Laslett, P. (1974). "Comparing Household Structure over Time and between Cultures". *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 16 (1): 73-109.
- Hajnal, J. (1965). "European marriage patterns in perspective". In Glass D.V. & Eversley, D.V. (eds.). *Population in history: essay in historical demography*. London: Eduard Arnold, pp. 101-143.

- Hajnal, J. (1982). "Two kinds of preindustrial household formation system". *Population and Development Review* 8: 449-494.
- Hartman, M. S. (2004). *The household and the making of history: A subversive view of the Western past*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hionidou V. (2012). "Independence and inter-dependence: Household formation patterns in eighteenth Century Kythera, Greece". *The History of the Family* 16: 217-234.
- Kaser, K. (1996). "Introduction: Household and Family Contexts in the Balkans". *The History of the Family. An International Quarterly* 1 (4): 375-386.
- Kertzer, D. I. (1978). "The Impact of Urbanization on Household Composition: Implications from an Italian Parish (1880-1910)". *Urban Anthropology* 7(1): 001-023.
- Laslett, P. (1970). "The Comparative History of Household and Family". *Journal of Social History*. 4 (1): 75-87.
- Laslett, P. (1972). "Mean household size in England since the sixteenth Century". In P. Laslett, R. Wall (eds.). *Household and family in past time. Comparative studies in the size and structure of the domestic group over the last three centuries in England, France, Serbia, Japan and colonial North America, with further materials from Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 125-158.
- Lee, J. Z. and Campbell, C. D. (1997). *Fate and fortune in rural China. Social organization and population behaviour in Liaoning 1774-1873*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Marica, G. E. (2004). *Satul ca structură psihică și socială*. Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut.
- Moring, B. (1998). "Family Strategies, Inheritance Systems and the Care of the Elderly in Historical Perspective-Eastern and Western Finland". *Historical Social Research* 23(1/2): 67-82.
- Moring, B. (2003). "Nordic family patterns and the north-west European household system". *Continuity and Change* 18 (1): 77-109.
- Muntean, A. F. (2006). "Grupul domestic din nord-vestul Transilvaniei în cea de-a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea. In Rotariu, T., Bolovan, S. P., Bolovan, I. (eds.). *Populația României. Trecut, prezent, viitor*, Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, pp. 211-222.
- Pakot, L. (2013). "Households and Families in Rural Transylvania. A Case Study of Vlăhița and Căpâlnița, 1868". *Romanian Journal of Population Studies* VII (2): 21-41.
- Paping, R. (2008). "The dynamics of household structure and household size in the Northern Dutch countryside: The importance of complex households". Paper prepared for the ESSHC Lissabon, February-March.

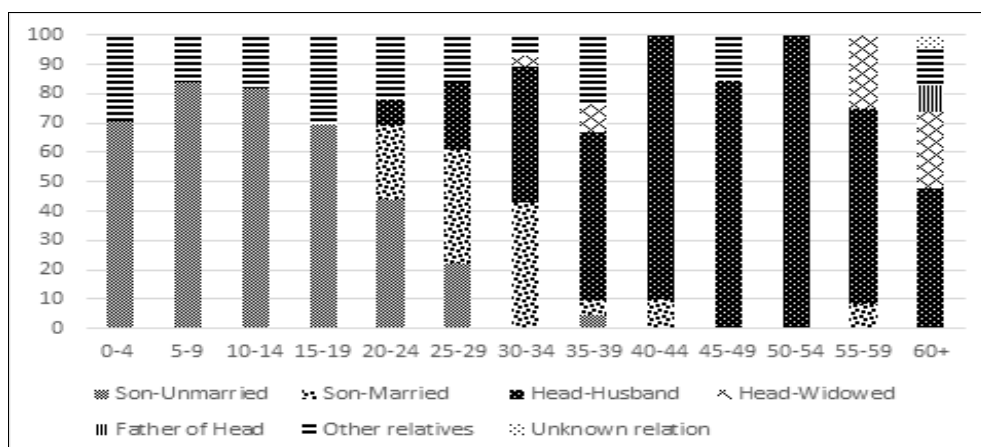
- Recensământul din 1900. Transilvania. Populația după ocupații* (2006). T. Rotariu, M. Semeniuc, M. Elemer (eds.). Vol. II. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană.
- Recensământul din 1910. Transilvania. Populația după ocupații* (2006). T. Rotariu, M. Semeniuc, M. Elemer (eds.). Vol. II. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană.
- Reher, D. S. (1988). "Household and Family on the Castilian "Meseta:" The Province of Cuenca from 1750-1970". *Journal of Family History* 13(1): 59-74.
- Renieri, I. (2002). "Household Formation in 19th-Century Central Anatolia: The Case Study of a Turkish-Speaking Orthodox Christian Community". *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34 (3): 495-517.
- Solcan, Ș. (2010). *Populația Țării Făgărașului la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea*. București: Editura Universității București.
- Sovič, Silvia. (2005). "Families and households of the poor: The 19th-Century Slovenian gostachi". *History of the Family* 10 (1): 161-182.
- Stahl, H. H. (2003). *Istoria socială a satului românesc. O culegere de texte*. București: Paideia.
- Stahl, H. H. & Stahl, P. H. (1968). *Civilizația vechilor sate românești*. București: Editura Științifică.
- Szolysek, M. (2007). "Central European household and family systems, and the "Hajnal-Mitterauer" line: the parish of Bujakow (18th-19th centuries)". *History of the Family* 12: 19-42.
- Szolysek, M. (2008a). "Three kinds of preindustrial household formation system in historical Eastern Europe: A challenge to spatial patterns of the European family". *History of the Family* 13: 223-257.
- Șișeștean, G. (2010). "Populație și structură socială în Granița Militară (Militärgrenze) austriacă. O supraviețuire traversând istoria: Grupul domestic extins din zona Graniței Militare născudene". In Bolovan, I., Covaci, D., Deteșan, D., Eppel, M., Holom, E. C. (eds.). *În căutarea fericii. Viața familială în spațiul românesc în sec. XVIII-XX*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Presa Universitară Clujeană, pp. 275-291.
- Ștefănescu, B. (2009). "Coabitation "In Bread" in Bihor at the beginning of 18th Century". In Fauve-Chamoux, A., Bolovan, I. (eds.). *Families in Europe between the 19th and 21st Centuries. From the Traditional Model to the Contemporary PACS* (Supplement of the *Romanian Journal of Population Studies*). Cluj-Napoca: Cluj University Press, pp.109-126.
- Todorova, M. N. (2006). *Balkan family structure and the European pattern: demographic developments in Ottoman Bulgaria*. Budapest: Central European University Press.

Varga, E. Á. (2001). *Erdély etnikai és felekezeti statisztikája, 1850-1992*. Budapest-Czik-Szereda: Pro-Print.

Varvari, O. (2004). *Comuna Poiana Ilvei până la începutul mileniului trei-Pagini de monografie*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Napoca Star.

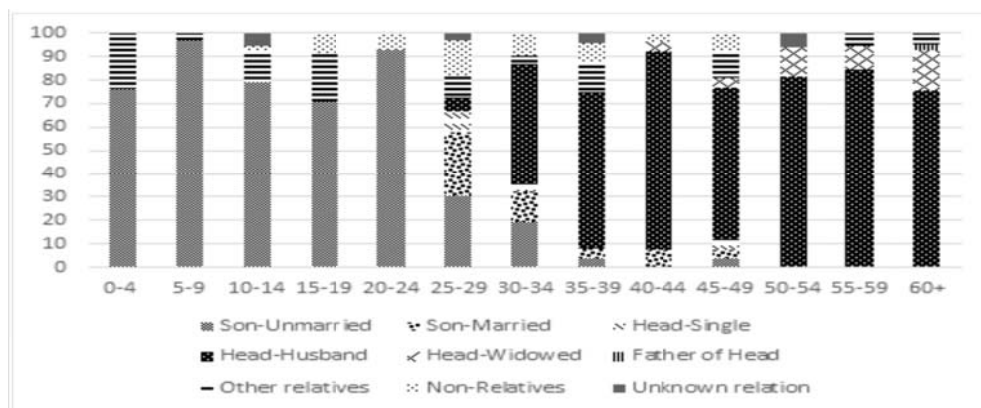
Appendices

Figure 7. Men's life cycle within the domestic group (1864)



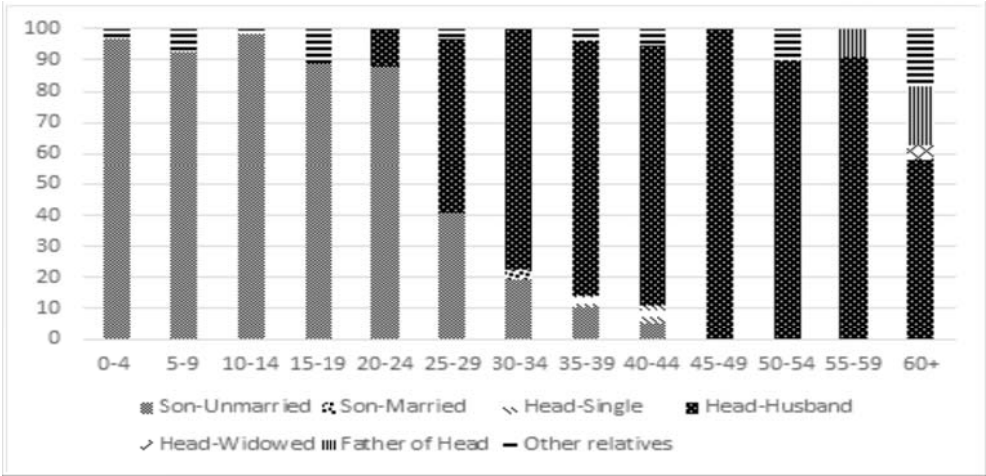
Source: see note 3.

Figure 8. Men's life cycle within the domestic group (1891)



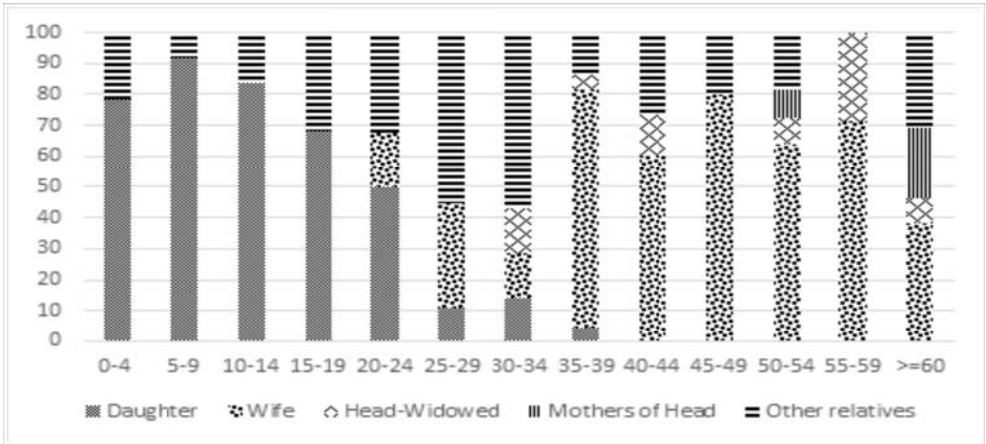
Source: see note 3.

Figure 9. Men's life cycle within the domestic group (1925)



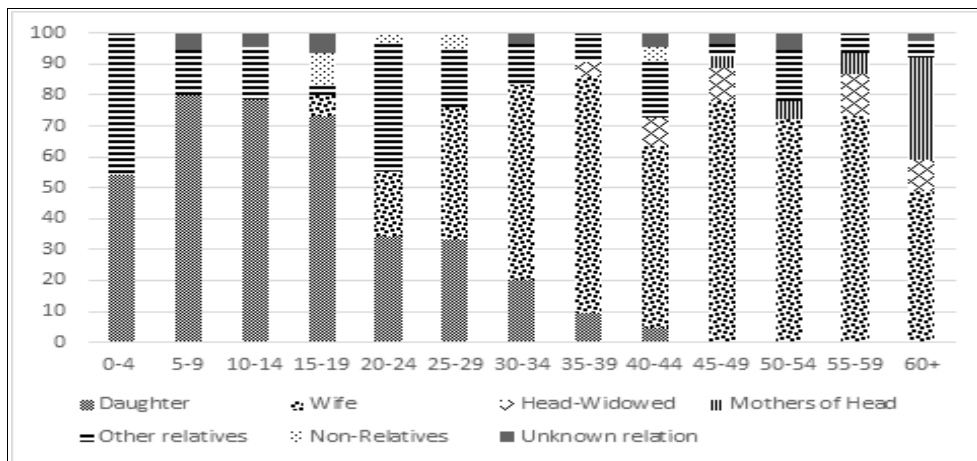
Source: see note 3.

Figure 10. Women's life cycle within the domestic group (1864)



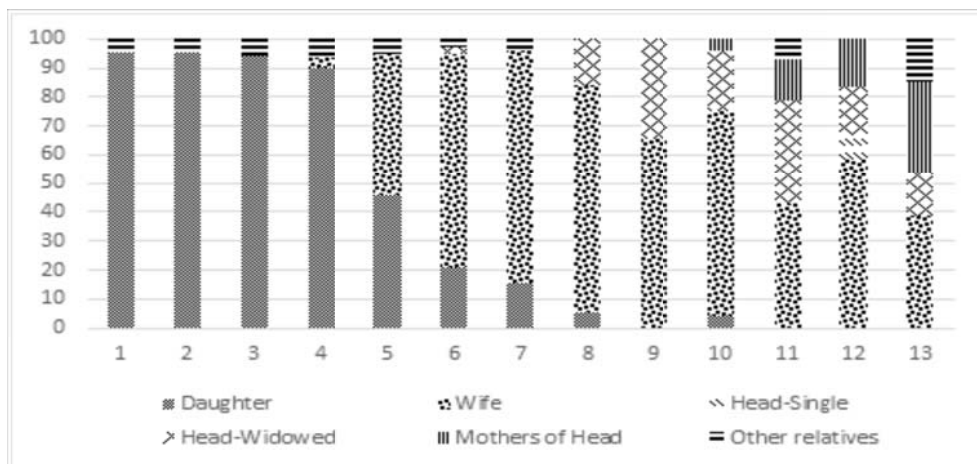
Source: see note 3.

Figure 11. Women's life cycle within the domestic group (1895)



Source: see note 3.

Figure 12. Women's life cycle within the domestic group (1925)



Source: see note 3.

Transnational Mothers from Romania

Viorela Ducu

*“Babeş-Bolyai” University, Faculty of Sociology and Social Work, Department of Sociology, Lunii
9/47, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, 00-40-741-162-919, viorela@yahoo.com*

Abstract: This work presents the strategies of transnational motherhood that migrant mothers from Romania employ in relation with their children. These women need to confront a defamatory discourse that accuses them of abandoning their children, at the macro level (society), but also at the meso level (community) and the micro one (family). Through the transfer of care, educational support, redefinition of motherhood and transnational relationships, these women succeed in fulfilling their role as mothers. The work proposes two theoretical models for understanding the exercise of transnational motherhood: the model of care in transnational motherhood and the model of functioning of transnational motherhood, through emphasizing the need for displaying transnational families. From a methodological viewpoint, this work is a feminist qualitative research, at which 37 subjects have participated (transnational family members and key persons) from six rural transnational communities.

Keywords: transnational motherhood, transfer of care, transnational caregiving, defamation of migrant mothers, transnational communication, empowerment of women

I have started off this research wishing to offer an argued answer to the accusations of “abandonment of children left home”, allegedly exercised by migrant women, and naturally, I asked myself how migrant mothers in Romania succeed to fulfill their role as mothers transnationally. Specifically, I have formulated the main research question in the following way: “What are the strategies of transnational motherhood in the case of Romanian migrant women?”. The very question implicitly assumes a positive response, meaning that transnational motherhood actually works. I have allowed myself to believe it to be unfair to speak of “mass abandonment” in the case of so many women (statistics on migration are still unstable, the last circulated number being 2 million migrants, out of which 50% are women, many of them transnational mothers).

1. *Theoretical perspectives*

1.1. Understanding transnational motherhood

The spatial and temporal separation between women and their families that remain in their country of origin has led to the emergence of what Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) called “transnational motherhood”: the maternal strategies used by these women for maintaining a relationship with their children at home. The author lays emphasis not on the physical circuit of migration, but on that of affection, care and financial support that breaches national borders.

Studies having mothers left to work as subjects have identified a redefinition of the concept of mother, with a shift of emphasis from direct care towards material support, towards ensuring opportunities for children in the long run.

Raijman R., Schammah-Gesser S. and Kemp A. (2003) have identified a rhetoric specific for transnational motherhood, that places economical responsibilities towards the children at the same level or even higher than a daily presence with them. Women try to impose this new kind of definition of motherhood even at home, where their absence could be negatively judged. “Milk, shoes and schooling” (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997) are the desiderata of transnational motherhood: maintenance and protection for the children, preparing them for the future

In the period of work abroad of the mothers, the caregiving role for the children is taken over by another woman, relatives (grandmothers, sisters, mothers, mothers-in-law, aunts, older daughters, sisters-in-law, cousins etc.) or by female friends, in some cases even persons who are less close: neighbours, mothers of the children’s schoolmates. There are cases when men from the family (husband, father, brother, uncle) take over the caregiving role.

We can talk about a motherhood “shared” with the husband (Moon, 2003) or about a motherhood transferred between “natural” mothers and “surrogate” ones. Mothers always try to ensure that the person with whom the children remain at home will provide them the attention and care they need, and will not jeopardize the safety of the children (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997), and in most cases they prefer the grandmothers (LARG 2005). Lamentably, there are cases in which the choices for the person who should take care of the children is not well made, and they even suffer persecution in the absence of their mothers (Sandu *et al.* 2008).

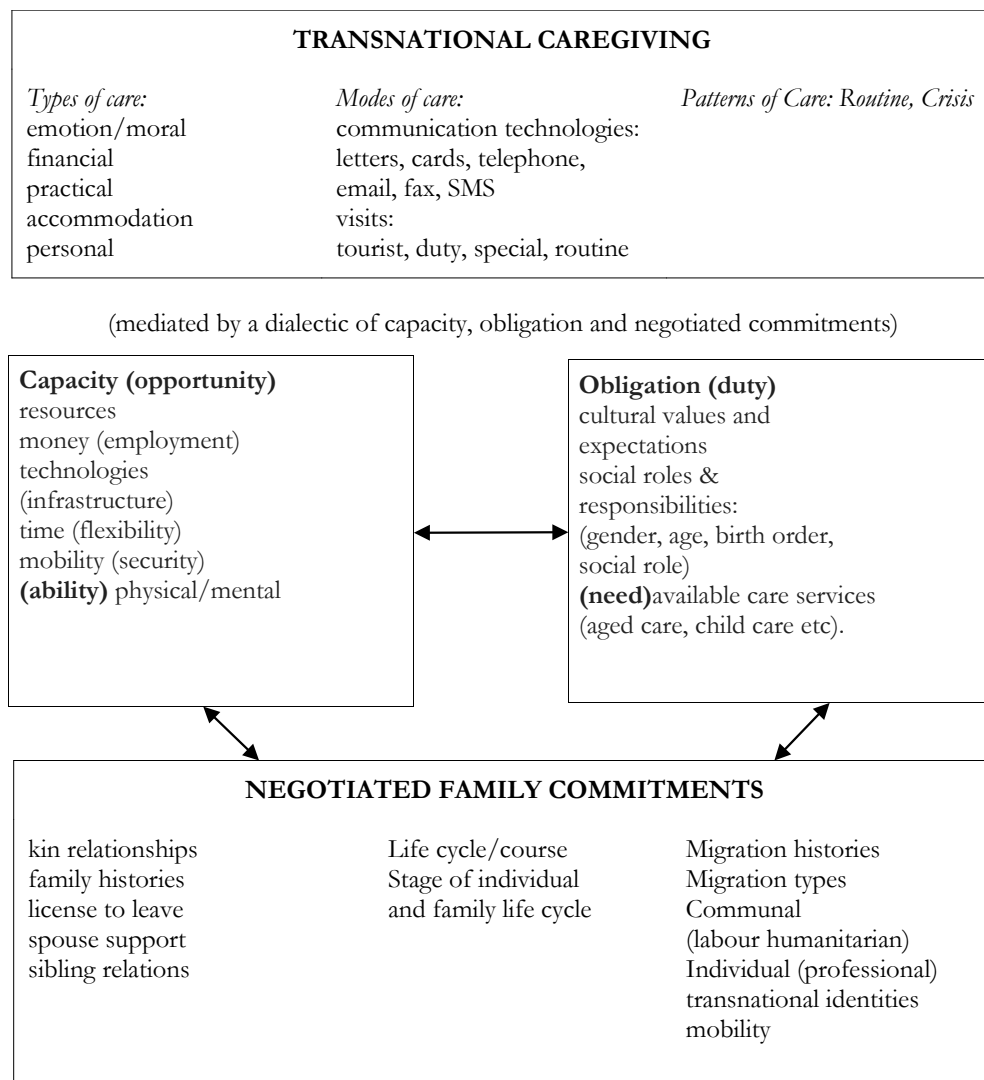
The greatest fear of mothers who are abroad is that the affection of the children towards the direct caregiver will overshadow the one towards them. In the case of older children also often appear blaming attitudes towards the

mothers who have been left in the care of others (Schmalzbauer 2004). Parental authority becomes quite questionable in these cases since the relationships between children and adults is somewhat unclear and unsure (Sandu *et al.* 2008). On the one hand, children are taught to love and respect their mothers who are not at home, but on the other, most of the direct decisions concerning their lives are taken by those at home.

2. The phenomenon of displaying transnational families

Finch (2007) defined and argued the importance of “displaying” within the existence of families. She argues that family practices should be recognized as such by others, and by the families themselves as well, in order to make sense, *this is sharing of family practices constituting the way of “displaying” of the family*. According to Finch (2007, 2008), displaying is essential in a social context where family relationships are becoming more diverse and fluid. The critical factor is that *observers* should recognize an action as constitutive for displaying the family in order for this to be validated as such. This is potentially problematic, insofar as certain relationships can be considered by observers to be so far from their preconceived notions about family life, that they might refuse to recognize certain acts as constitutive displaying of the family, regardless of the intention of actors. Almack's example (2008) is an illustrative case, showing many lesbian mothers in her study who argue that parents have refused to recognize their partners as co-parents on an equal footing with the partners of their heterosexual children who had babies in their turn. Similarly, transnational family practices may seem so contrary to preconceived notions about family life, that they may also be rejected by observers as legitimate family displaying. (Heath *et al.* 2009).

Figure 1. The model of transnational caregiving



Source: Baldassar *et al.*, 2007: 205.

The authors have presented ways in which migrants negotiate their family relationships (Figure 1) and engage in negotiation of family and care responsibilities through space and time, as well as through various stages of the life process. Their research revealed many examples of mutual exchange of support between family members across borders. Reciprocity is very important

because many studies have highlighted the support that migrants offer for those at home, without considering the role of other members in the functioning of transnational families.

This model illustrates the complex mix of motivations that articulates the *exchange* of care practices transnational flowing in both directions – from migrants to their country of origin and vice versa.

3. The methodological approach of the research

My *research objective* was to understand how women manage to make transnational motherhood functional. More specifically, I wanted to hear – and make heard – the voices of these women, theirs and their families' story concerning the episode of migration in their lives. My research chooses an approach of a feminist character, being born from the urge to respond to discrimination against migrant mothers observed in the media, trying to bring forth life experiences of migrant mothers as a primary purpose.

Based on the theoretical concepts presented in the first part of the work (transnational motherhood, functioning and displaying of transnational families), I have generated the research questions, as they appear below.

The main research question: What are Romanian women's strategies of transnational motherhood?

Secondary questions, inferred from the main question:

1. What are the effects of women's migration on their role as women in transnational families?
2. How are transnational relationships exercised between migrant women and members of transnational families at home?
3. How do migrant women succeed to stay connected in order to provide care, in a transnational manner, for other members of their families?

4. Description of the fieldwork

Participants in this research were mostly from seven rural communities: four villages of the commune of Mociu, Cluj County, and the villages Dumitra, Parva and Feldru of Bistrița-Năsăud County. To these add some transnational family members whom I met in another context (Cluj-Napoca) and on air travel routes of migrants, who agreed to give me interviews

My research has been carried out during the summer, the holiday period for migrants. Due to the newly built houses and foreign plate cars, especially in Bistrița-Năsăud, I felt like I was in Spain itself. These communities are heavily impregnated with the phenomenon of migration, but not only because from the money earned abroad many new homes have been built, but

also because all the members of the community are directly or indirectly involved in the phenomenon, having relatives and friends among the migrants; hence a great part of discussions during summertime focus on what is going on “there”.

5. Participants in the research

Participants include respondents – transnational family members – as well as key persons – representatives of the local administration, of NGOs, teaching staff.

Table 1. List of participants in the research

37 Participants in the research	
7 Transnational community members	
	5 Key persons: Auntie Viorica (retired school-teacher), Mălina (school-teacher), Vasilica (NGO representative), Lia and mister Pavelescu (representatives of local authorities)
	2 Neighbor women: Rica, Mioara’s neighbor; and Vera’s neighbor (herself a member of a transnational family)
8 Members of transnational families	
	4 Husbands: Ieana’s husband, Silvia’s husband, Vera’s husband, Ioana’s husband
	4 migrants’ children (1 teenager Radu, 1 teenager Ionela and 2 young adults, Tania’s and Matilda’s daughters)
22 Women from transnational families	
	6 non-migrant women Daria’s mother, Nora’s mother-in-law, Sanda, Lăcrămioara, Mariana, Maria’s mother
	16 migrant women: Mirela, Cristina, Augusta, Paula, Lola, Mia, Vera, Ani, Felicia, Carmen, Maria, Emilia, Cumnata Verei, (3 without children as yet) Monica, Viki, Flora

The respondents have been identified via the key persons: a representative of an NGO in Mociu, a retired school-teacher in Dumitra and a young school-teacher in Parva. At times, the snowball method has been used as well, through indicating of possible respondents by others.

Data analysis I used thematic and narrative analysis to process this data.

6. Defaming migrant mothers

6. 1. “Little Ciurea” and the accusations against Romanian migrant women (macro level)

In Romania, through the intensifying migration for work abroad, the number of transnational families has been greatly increasing. Usually, the most active family members migrate, leaving the children, the elderly and the sick at home. There are cases when only one active member of the family migrates, mostly the husband, but due to the increase in work offers for migrant women, ever more often we meet cases in Romania when only the women migrate. The migrants try to support dependent family members from. Romanian press has presented the departure of parents negatively, especially in the case of mothers.

Migrant parents have been accused of “abandonment”, and their children considered “victims”. Thus, on the 3rd of October 2007 one of the newspapers (*Evenimentul Zilei*) highlights the “drama” by reference to the cases of suicide among these children. “A boy only 12 of age has committed suicide on Monday, the 1st of October, due to his longing for his mother who was going to return for work to Italy. It is only one of a long list of dramatic situations within the last years. A child aged 12 hung himself to escape loneliness. Andrei Ciurea, a boy only 12 of age, from the commune Valea Danului in Argeş County, hung himself after learning that his mother is going to leave for work again to Italy, in order to be able to raise her three children”. Moreover, in February 2009, the international press (*The New York Times*) described the “dramatic” situation of children at home, presenting the (presumably identical) case of the little Ciurea, who committed suicide two years earlier. In this article the child appears under the name of Ştefan Ciurea, the *Evenimentul Zilei* had presented him two years earlier as Andrei Ciurea. His goodbye letter presented in the two cases is approximately the same.

Rhacel Salazar Parreñas (2009), mentioning the article from the *New York Times*, draws attention upon the unfairness in accusing migrant mothers from Romania of neglecting their children at home, similarly to migrant mothers from the Philippines and Poland. She lists Romania with Poland and the Ukraine as Eastern European countries with predominantly female migration where children are left at home. Transnational families are considered in the Philippines, Poland and Romania as being “the wrong kind of families”, endangering the life of children, proposing a nuclear family model instead – in a quite absurd manner, because these societies being based on income from migration, the existence of transnational families is not a choice but rather a necessity.

7. Discrimination of migrant women in their home communities (meso level)

In their communities migrant women are viewed with suspicion and accused to jeopardize their own family lives. In communities where I carried out my research, I faced the same attitude concerning transnational families with a female migrant. Mothers remaining in the country, even those with their husbands abroad declare they cannot understand how these women sacrifice their children for money. They admit these children have more material support, but maintain that education provided by others instead of the mothers themselves isn't adequate. The departure of the husband is accepted as a way of financial support for the family, even if he breaks relationships with the family. An exemplary situation in this sense occurred in a group interview in which a migrant woman was accused of neglecting her daughter, by a woman whose husband has been migrating to Spain for years. The migrant man entered a partner relationship with a migrant woman from the same village, the relationship being accepted by the wife since the husband was sending money for the children, and during his rare visits in the country, came to live with her and the children. Even if the children learned from the village about the father's relationship with the other woman and were suffering because of this, the mother claimed that the children's pain was far smaller than that of the young girl whose mother migrated together with her husband and who was left in the care of her maternal grandparents. In other words, this woman argued that the presence of the mother beside the children was more important than the integrity of the father role.

Representatives of local NGOs, local administration social workers, teaching staff, all of them females, who participated in our research, showed the same blaming attitude, especially towards migrant mothers, for the situation of their families. One line of accusations was the deviant behavior of children at home without motherly supervision that was supposed to lead to delinquency. In the moment in which I asked them to exemplify this by cases in the community and to shift from general opinion to substantive talk, they didn't manage to identify cases of this sort in their community. "Such things do not happen at us, but haven't you seen them on TV?" (Lia). The influence of the media impacts directly on the opinions of those from the community, even if the reality they live in contradicts the received message.

8. Discrimination of migrant women within their families (micro level)

Radu and Ioana are only two of the teenagers who, in the first minutes of the interviews with them, insisted to emphasize that although gone for work abroad, their mothers love them very much and keep providing them care from a distance. It is interesting that in their case the fathers were also abroad, but they wanted to ensure that I do not accuse their mothers for migrating. These children always need to confront the “compassion” of their mates, teachers, neighbors and relatives who do not understand “what kind of a heart these mothers who leave them have”. As a consequence, the children are forced either to take position or defend their mothers, or to get in line with the discrimination and also start accusing them.

The situation is very delicate, especially in the case of younger children who don't manage to form their own image about the relationship with their parents and who are much more receptive to persons who raise them in a direct sense. This is the case with Vera, a migrant mother who needed to return home since her daughter, in the first form, had difficulties at school, and both the school-teacher and the grandparents who were raising the child considered that the absence of the mother was the cause of her lack of success. Vera had the opinion that in fact her mother, the girl's grandmother was to blame first of all, spoiling her and not imposing her to study since “the poor child has problems anyway, and she hasn't even got a mom”, an idea she has also inoculated to the girl. Vera said she would get sick herself if someone repeated endlessly to her that she was: “*The grandparents have made a mistake; they told her that her mother is gone and that she cannot study out of her longing for her mother*” (Vera).

9. Empowering migrant women

9. 1. Narratives of migrant women's empowerment

Nora's husband has left to Spain in 2003. After 2 years, under the pressure of suspicions that her husband might be cheating her, on advice of her husband's mother, her mother-in-law, who gave her the money for the trip, she left to Spain to try saving her marriage. Her husband was not doing well in Spain, having debts even with his rent, and Nora decided to help him. She works as a housekeeper at 10 families and earns “herself more than him”. For 3 years she has been working with her husband in Spain, and being more attentive with expenses, they have managed to raise some money: “the last year they have brought in the country one billion two hundred and fifty million lei... money you couldn't make in a lifetime over here” [about 35000 euro].

Maria had not only made money in Italy, but also managed to build a professional career. She worked in typography where she was promoted to be a team leader. She was one of the few migrants in the company and managed to integrate well. Since the child who didn't want to live only with the grandparents anymore, her return home didn't only mean the separation from her husband, who remained to continue work for the family, but also giving up her professional status. In Romania, the chance to re-integrate professionally is quite distant. Even thus, she learned from her migration experience that one can manage professionally and hopes that from the money raised she could open a small business in Romania together with other family members.

Mia has left for five years to Spain following her husband. She worked for two years at a cleaning company, and due to her dedication she received a job offer at typography. She is 38 and would have great difficulties finding a similar workplace at this age her problem seems to be that she needed to choose between her work and her role as a mother. Her daughter was left home alone in Romania from the age of 10. But since she has no work opportunity in Romania, she is determined to continue work until a total of 10 years in order to receive a pension there.

10. Redefining motherhood

These women are their families' breadwinners, and their reason to migrate was the family's financial need. All of the above respondents, and others too in my research chose to migrate due to the lack of money: for a more decent home, in order to raise their children and support them in their studies. Tania had two student children she needed to support. Daria was a lone mother and needed to raise a child. Augusta left since she and her husband had two children and they shared one room and a kitchen. Mirela was forced to migrate since her husband, who initially wanted to migrate to Portugal took a mortgage loan from a bank, mortgaged their house and was cheated by somebody who took the money.

11. Empowerment through access to employment

Women in Cluj County usually migrate *alone*, when leaving for short periods of time. They find employment through employment agents or through a network – other women or relatives. Sometimes they are followed by husbands. Their migration is rather a cyclic one (3-4 months of work abroad, 2-3 months at home). In many cases they keep their workplace through “shifting” with another migrant woman from their family. Resorting to this type of migration is motivated by them through their incapability to stay away

from their families for a long period of time. This type of migration seems to be associated with one target country, Italy. The women extend their period of migration when another family member starts to accompany them (husbands, sisters, cousins).

In the same community, men migrate alone (irrespective of the target country); they spend much more time away from the family. Although the time spent with their family at home is much longer compared to men, migrant women are seen negatively by the community. Thus, it is preferable in the community that men migrate who also bring back more money, due to their better paid work types and the longer time spent at work. Families having the female members who migrate are considered families with a high risk of disintegration. Women are ignored by the community as primary breadwinners and this role is not directly recognized by their own families. The priority of women's roles as direct caregivers against breadwinning is reinforced by the migrant women themselves: "I need to do this for the money, but being here with them, giving them care is all I really wish for" (Augusta).

12. Empowerment through the establishment of partnership with their husbands within migration

Women from Bistrița-Năsăud migrate mostly following their husbands. Sometimes the couple migrates together, but women mostly leave a few months or years after the husbands' migrating. In these communities, there are large numbers of kin migration networks, men from the family being the first to leave. Migrant women manage to get involved as equal partners in the couple through migration, participating in equal manner to the incomes and decisions in the family or even becoming the leader of the couple. The situation is overturned since the husband often loses his professional and social status through migration and becomes disoriented. In this situation, women take control. I underline that women in my study have left from Romanian villages, where, under communism, even if they had a workplace in the neighboring city and were relatively educated – due to the nature of social administration that expected every youth to study at least up to professional schooling or high-school, being then placed at a mandatory workplace – they were still generally subordinated to men. They lacked the power to decide in the family and were responsible mostly with caring for the children and the elderly, without a real emancipation resulting from an understanding of their status, having only a formal one. After communism, due to the high unemployment caused by the closure of large state enterprises these women used to work together with their husbands and the families have remained

mostly without an income. This phenomenon has led to increased alcoholism among men and subsequently to a growing violence against women. Thus, migration for these people became the sole means of survival, and for women, a chance to gain a status within the family and trust in their own powers (Morokvasik 1984, 2007).

For women, sharing the role of the family's financial supporter with their husbands through migration is much more than a simple project to work abroad. It entails involvement in the couple as equal partners, sometimes even the coordination of the couple for common goals.

13. Educational and professional emancipation of migrant women

Beyond material benefits, migration offers these women other gains as well: self-confidence as a result of bringing money to the family, followed by the wish for and the success in professional advancement.

For women, this kind of participation in breadwinning through migration together with their husbands or alone is more than a simple work-abroad project. It presupposes their involvement in the couple as equal partners, sometimes even the management of the couple's life for shared purposes (either at home or abroad). Moreover, they need to slide between work and children, sometimes giving up their professional goals for the sake of children, or accepting separation from the children in order to keep their job.

A major impact of the experience of migration on women concerns their trust in their own capacity for educational progress. Mirela, in the period she was working as a housekeeper in Italy, has also graduated from the faculty of economics at a university in Romania and at the moment of returning to the country, she received employment at the only bank office in her village; Emilia and Lola also wish to pursue their studies (Emilia wants to visit the courses of a faculty of economics in Spain, Lola, after stopping migration, wishes to receive a diploma at a faculty of pedagogy in Romania in order to become a teacher at a primary school in her village). Thus, we may speak of an emancipation of these women migrating from Romanian villages where they had no such perspective and where they never experienced success.

14. Strategies of educational support towards the children

14. 1. Education as an argument for migration

Most respondents have placed material support of children's education as the main argument for migration. They wish to ensure a future for the children, a better one than their own. Those who don't take the children with them argue that in Romania it is easier for them to continue their studies. At the extreme, I

met cases in which women gave up their migration project, since their children encountered difficulties at school and at home. Vera and Mirela have been put in the situation to choose between work abroad and the wellbeing of their children, and chose to return home

15. The education of migrant children

I also meet contrary situations, in which mothers do not come back to the country, even if they would like to, since the children they took along already entered the educational system abroad and it would be difficult for them to reintegrate in Romania. Lola left to Spain with her two children in 2000, a few months after her husband did. She works as a cleaning person, independently, since she needs a flexible schedule in order to manage with the children's education. Unfortunately, the children have not learned to read and write in Romanian and the parents cannot come home until after the children finish their studies, including university, and are able to manage on their own in Spain. There are situations when the mothers accompanied by the children make extra efforts to prepare them for a possible return to the country, and their integration in the educational system here. Emilia tried to teach her child in her free hours to write and read Romanian, since there was no Romanian teaching available in their area in Spain. Parents there have difficulties teaching their children Romanian, mostly because children do not see the reason for this: "is it not enough I have learned Spanish?" Women like Emilia have the task of maintaining their children's Romanian identity. Thus, besides participating in the family's breadwinning, they also handle the education of children following their parents as migrants

At the extreme, I met cases in which women gave up their migration project, since their children encountered difficulties at school and at home. Vera and Mirela have been put in the situation to choose between work abroad and the wellbeing of their children, and chose to return home.

16. The impact of transnationalism on the vocational choices of children

Emotional and educational support children need is provided by migrant mothers through the strategies described above. In turn, through these data, I underlined another phenomenon: migrant parent's children's wish not to continue their studies and to launch in money-earning activities as soon as possible. In most cases, they wish to follow their parents' example. This data are different from that obtained in other areas where children at home manage to continue their studies and get above their migrant parents in social status (Schmalzbauer 2008). Radu, who had just turned 18, finishing his high-school

by time of the interview, had already been hired at a car workshop, and wanted firmly to follow his parents to Italy and to find a job there. He wasn't sure if his plan was going to succeed, because his parents had the opposite idea: that they should return in the country definitively (after 8 years of absence), to build a house and to support Radu in his studies at a university. Here we witness a conflict between the parents' expectations for the children's future, who should be more educated and have an easier life than theirs, and children's wish to earn quick material benefits.

Moreover, even if the parents are in the country, but other members of the family have migrated, there exists the tendency in children to give up their studies and migrate. The interviews with transnational community members highlighted that especially young people after high-school – even having no migrant parents – tend to migrate. Living in a transnational family, in which life is split between Romania and migrants' target countries, young people develop a transnational way of life even if they haven't migrated yet, through the connections with their migrant friends, the objects sliding between worlds they come in contact with, populating their life-world. Thus, migration is a way of life for them, the easiest to conceive and the most graspable. To study and to build a professional career in the country is not an example they could perceive in their immediate community.

On the other hand, choosing higher education fields by migrant parents' children depends on the migrant workforce market. For Ileana's older daughter, her mother's migration project is a life-example to her. Even though she could have gone to college, she chose to study to be a nurse, since she would get an employment contract abroad easily after a two-years practice at home.

17. Strategies of transfer of care within transnational families

17. 1. Traditions from the rural milieu concerning the transfer of child care

In Romanian villages, caregiving towards dependent persons—children, the sick and the elderly—used to be, even under communism, and remained thereafter the main responsibility of women in the family. Neither before, nor after the fall of communism did the mothers afford to be full time mothers, since they also needed to participate in the family's breadwinning—compulsorily before, out of need after; families' income has been on the decline because of extensive post-communist restructuring of workforce (Pasti 2003). Moreover, in villages there was and is no adequate institutional care system for children (kindergartens, where present, have only 4 hours schedules). Thus, in caring

for the children, but also for other family members, these women always called for help: the children and the sick went under the responsibility of grandparents or other women, mostly from within the family, but also woman neighbors, who took over the task because they were at home. Diverse forms of the transfer of care are therefore an old practice in Romanian villages. Still, in spite of this tradition, when talking about migrant women who use transfer of care, the public becomes critical concerning this as a strategy of transnational motherhood.

18. People responsible for care at home

Children, especially when very young, remain mostly in the care of grandmothers, preferably on the mother's side. This is the case with Maria's child, too, who remained in her grandmother's care from the age of four months to that of four years.

I only met three cases when migrant women have been helped by paid women: Mia paid a woman to take care of her daughter at home; Vera and Maria paid a young woman to come in Spain and provide care for children there. These situations are very rare and migrant women choose them as a last of strategies in providing care for the children or other dependant members, because they want to save money.

There are very few cases when males take over women's caregiving roles after their departure. I only met one case where the husband was directly responsible for providing care: Ileana's husband has been „both mother and father” for their two teenage daughters. In most cases, even if they are at home, another woman from the family takes over these tasks. This is a way for men to keep power within the couple even if the woman becomes the main family breadwinner (Pasti 2003). The situation is similar to that observed in other societies where migration became strongly feminized (see Parreñas 2006, 2009 for the Philippines, Tolstokorova, 2008, 2009 for the Ukraine).

19. Migration of people responsible for care

Migrant women also request help from those who migrate together with them. Besides work-related migration of women, we meet the migration of other women for supporting the family, from within or from outside, for payment: grandmothers, sisters, nieces or young women from the home village. There is very little or no talk about the role of these Romanian women, both at home and abroad, who take over the tasks of caregiving from migrant women engaged in money-earning activities. In turn, through their work, even if not paid, they participate indirectly in raising the incomes of the family, making

other women's migration possible. Most of the women who take over caregiving are mothers or sisters of migrant women.

Lăcrămioara, at home with one child after her husband has left to work abroad, takes care of one nephew, too, the older son of her sister who has migrated to Spain with two younger children. Besides the fact that she tends the children in the country, she also goes to Spain for three months a year to take care of the children of her two sisters there, since she is too sick to work for money and in this way she feels like participating in the support of her large family.

20. Difficulties with the transfer of care

Women also encounter problems with the transfer of care. Those left in their stead do not always manage to cope with the task, special events occur that require the presence of the children's legal representatives, and sometimes excessive protection turns back on the children.

Mirela gave up working abroad since her husband, who was supposed to take care of their two teenage daughters, developed an alcohol problem. The girls have desperately contacted their mother and asked her to come back and stay. Mioara lived a true nightmare when her son, left in the care of two women, a neighbor and a friend, needed to undergo an urgent surgery. The women took the child to the hospital and stayed with him, but when needed to sign for his complete anesthesia, everybody panicked since both parents were away and there was no legal tutor for the child in the country. Mioara talked to the doctor on the phone and gave him her verbal consent, then sent him an SMS declaring this again. In most cases, when parents are away, there is no legal empowerment of the person who provides care for the child, although in late years a law has been enacted requesting parents to announce the caregiver's identity to the authorities. The representatives of authorities understand from this law that through parents' declarations they will be able to figure which children to erase from social care lists, given that their parents now have an income. Parents perceive this law as an abusive control of the state against their lives, not feeling in any way helped by it.

21. Relationships within transnational families

21. 1. Using new technologies and of communication rituals

Women in my research maintain family "intimacy virtually", communicating regularly in a transnational way (Parreñas 2005; Wilding 2006; Vertovec 2009) with those at home (from daily in most cases, to weekly in least). Thus, migrant women assign tasks from a distance, check their fulfillment and offer rewards,

mostly material. The phone is the most used, but I have met three cases where the internet was used, in order that the women maintain an active relationship with those at home, that entails, beside mutual affective support, the involvement of migrants in decisions taken together. Maria and Cristi, who left their newborn baby in the care of Maria's parents, have installed a computer in their village home with internet access. Using the webcam, they could have periodical visual contact with their child as well. The communication followed certain rules. At the agreed hour, each night, the mother and the father went online in Italy. At home, at the same time, in front of the computer, the grandparents and the children gathered. It seemed impressive for me how they placed the computer in the middle of the nursery, full of toys. The little one knows how to start the computer by himself, the Messenger being automatically started. The grandparents don't know how to use the computer for other purposes. They don't even know how to write. They only use the audio and video functions of the messenger in order to communicate with Maria and Cristi.

Using the Internet in Romanian villages is rare, only migrant families and the few intellectual families use it. However, due to the good offers of Internet providers in the period of economic crisis, it becomes ever more popular even in villages. Thus, transnational communication via the Internet is extending among this category of migrants, as well. The example of migrant families in having an Internet connection is taken over by other families in the village, too, migrants thus participating in the technological advancement of villages in an indirect way.

Beyond regular communication that becomes like a ritual in the family – exact hours and / or days for communication – the mobile phone is a compulsory accessory of those at home and of migrant women. Moreover, SMS-s, being cheap, are often sent just to communicate (quite often, several of them are exchanged between mothers and children). During the interviews, two of my respondents received SMS-s from their family members in Italy, respectively Spain: Radu received an SMS from his mother "...the third one that day" (so he said – and it was only 11.10 am), and Daria's mother from her sisters at home. Otherwise, the two were among the few whose family members hadn't arrived home yet, being expected for the following days.

Whereas a few years ago, the cheapest way to communicate was to call by phone from abroad, and not vice versa, in the last period, under the pressure of EU communication regulations, but also as a reaction to the economic crisis that affected their incomes, telecommunication companies in

Romania offer acceptable prices for international telephony. On a short look on the prices of Romania's main telephony providers, I noticed that the countries cheapest to call are roughly those with the most Romanian migrants – certain EU states, the US and Canada (as low as 0.07/0.09 Euros per minute).

22. Means of transportation and the rise of mobility

Due to regular mass transport schedules developed lately between origin and target communities, there is a constant flux of material objects that ensure an indirect contact between those abroad and those at home. Thus, through monthly or weekly packages, gifts are sent, even food and daily use products, but mostly pictures and video recordings (Zontini 2004). Money often gets to the country through these packages, or even more often through fast money transfer services or common access to bank accounts. The way in which money is spent by the recipients at home is decided in most cases by the whole family, indeed the money is spent for things agreed upon in advance. In most cases, these are invested in enhancing the house and buying electronic gadgets –the direct motive of adults' migration: a better life. The older daughter of Mirela has direct access to her mother's bank account, and she buys objects for the house after deciding together with her mother on phone. Augusta and her husband negotiate through the internet what should be bought for the money she sends. We also witness the material rewards migrants offer to those at home, especially to children, having previously established criteria that need to be met for money to be received, to be spent as the child wishes: a motorbike for Robert if he enters highschool.

In Romania we can also observe mutual visits, especially between women and children, much more frequently than in other countries: for example, in the Ukraine (Piperno 2007), in the Philippines (Parreñas 2005) or in Honduras (Schmalzbauer 2005), these visits are extremely rare and very seldom. Migrant women from Romania return at least once a year (especially in Bistrița-Năsăud), mostly during the summer vacation, and they spend 2-3 months at home, and/or return for Christmas and Easter as well (in Cluj the visits are more frequent). In the case when the women do not return to the country, the children and other transnational family members from Romania visit them during these holidays in the target country.

These mutual visits are due to the status of legal migrants that Romanians possess (Piperno 2007) and most of all, to cheap transportation. During the last few years, low-cost airlines have started operating in Romania. Wizz Air and Blue Air have taken the lead among these, because of their policy to connect the main home cities with the destination cities of migrants.

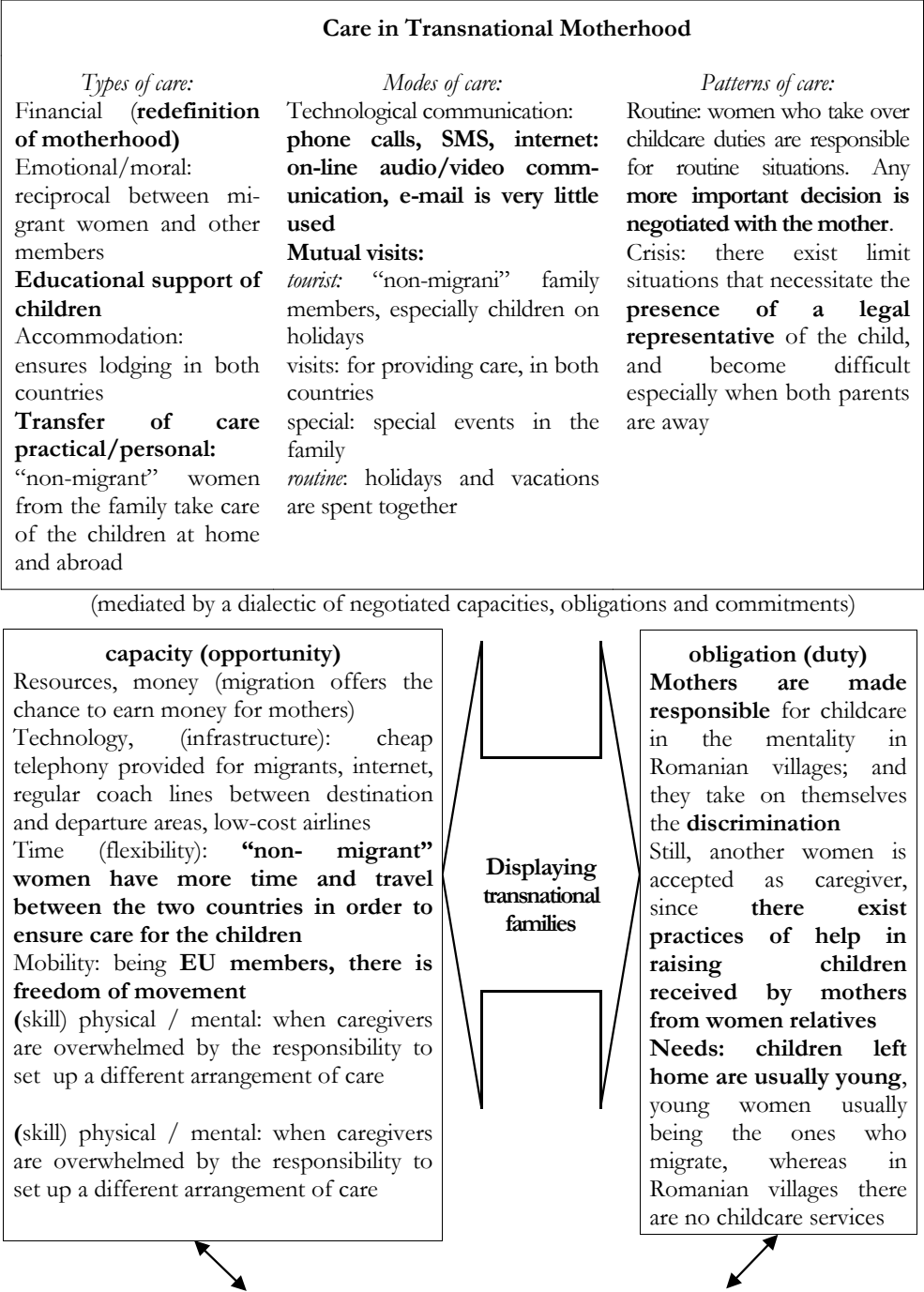
Irrespective of the target country and the duration of the leave, the bond with those at home, especially in the case of migrant women, plays an important role in the life of transnational families. Migrant women manage, through transnational relationships, to offer their children the emotional and educational support they need, even when these remain in the country.

23. The exercise of transnational motherhood

23. 1. The model of caregiving in transnational motherhood

In interpreting the research results, I have followed the proposals of Baldassar *et al.* (2007) within the description of the transnational caregiving. In my analysis, the characteristics specific to the migration of women from Romania are emphasized. Unlike Baldassar and her colleagues, in the research of whom migrants are responsible for care-providing for the elderly at home, I am presenting mothers who need to ensure care for their children at home, and in many cases, for children who accompany them in migration. Since they cannot manage on their own working and providing care for the children abroad, migrant women need to ask for the help of their transnational families in order to receive support while migrating.

Figure 2. Care in transnational motherhood



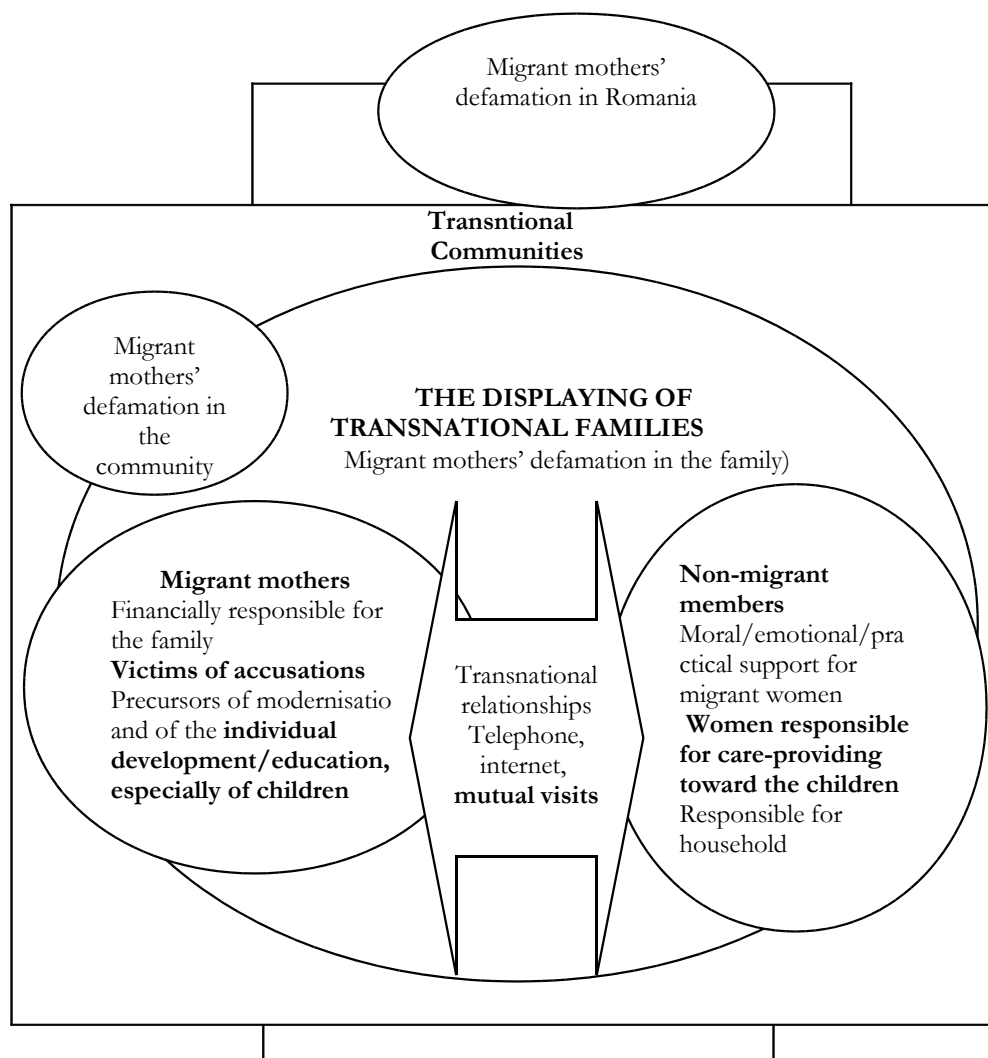
<i>Kin relationship</i>	<i>Life cycle/ life course</i>	<i>The history of migration:</i>
<p>Women in Romania have a history in the transfer of childcare</p> <p>Women receive the licence to leave since they bring money to the family and because they live in transnational communities where transnational motherhood is becoming a common way of existence. The support of „non-migrant” women from the family</p> <p>Relationships between mothers and daughters, sisters, sisters-in-law, within the transfer of care</p>	<p>Mostly adult women migrate, who are able to earn money, alone or together with the husbands, leaving small children at home.</p> <p>Old women, women less capable to work, or young women become involved in childcare, either at home or abroad.</p> <p>Children grow and relate directly with the migrant mother</p>	<p>Migrant mothers are from the first generation of migrants, but we see the emergence of the second generation of migrants.</p> <p><i>Types:</i> I have met two types of migration: cyclic and long-time</p> <p><i>Individual (professional) :</i></p> <p>We can mostly speak about migration for money, but sometimes migrant women encounter professional opportunities abroad and ever more of them want to be developed through continuing their studies</p> <p>Living in trans. communities, women develop trans. identities, bonding with the home country, remaining open to mobility</p>

24. The model of functioning of transnational motherhood

To the way of functioning of transnational motherhood in the case of women from Romania, who need to confront a defamatory discourse, I have deemed it necessary to add the idea of displaying, recently introduced in the study of families (Fisch 2007) and more recently to that of transnational families (Heath *et al.* 2009; Kim 2008). This idea underlines that for families, the way they are displayed, presented as a family towards their members, but also towards the public, is important.

First of all, these women are exposed to a defamatory discourse at the macro, meso, micro levels: that of the country, of the transnational community and even the family. Transnational families live within transnational communities which they strongly influence by their impact on their modernization and the growth of the desire to migrate of the members of the respective communities, whom they even help in fulfilling this desire. We notice that transnational families surpass the boundaries of transnational communities and of the country, having a strong need to display their functionality both within the family, the community, but also abroad. For the families having migrant mothers it is important that the mothers manage in fulfilling their mother-role, in order to be displayed as a family. Therefore, migrant mothers are supported by the non-migrant members of the families in fulfilling their motherly duties, but also by public discourses aimed to demonstrate their success both as migrant women and mothers.

Graphic 1. The diagram representing transnational motherhood in Romania



For the success of the functionality of the transnational family, the non-migrant members offer moral/emotional/practical support for migrant women and become responsible with the household in the country. Non-migrant women become responsible for care-providing towards the children. Migrant mothers are the financial responsible for the family's well-being, and although victims of a defamatory discourse, they manage to find in migration a source of personal empowerment, obtaining thus a partner role in the couple. Their own

and their children's education becomes the main goal of these transnational mothers. Transnational mothers and non-migrant family members relate transnational through transnational communication (telephone, internet), and through the often seen mutual visits.

Transnational families are ever more numerous, due to globalization and the cosmopolitan way of life towards which people are tending, still they are not yet accepted socially as a "right" way of functioning. They share the fate of other "new" ways of family organization: lone parents, families with internationally adopted children (especially when the child is of another race), homosexual families, ethnically mixed families etc. Within transnational families there are differences of public acceptance depending on the expectations and the mentality of the communities, on the different forms of organization of these families. Thus, the easiest type to accept and the least debated is the type of transnational family where an adult son or daughter migrates—since it has become self-understood, at least in Romania, that children create their own life during adulthood. Similarly, in the case of the migration of the parents, it is easier to accept that a father leaves in order to provide for his family, but if the migration of a mother is at issue, tolerance decreases

References

- Almack, K (2008). "Display Work: Lesbian Parent Couples and their Families of Origin Negotiating New Kin Relationships". *Sociology* 42 (6): 1183-1199.
- Baldassar, L., Baldock C. V., Wilding R. (2007). *Families caring Across Borders. Migration, Ageing and Transnational Caregiving*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan Press.
- Finch, J. (2007). "Displaying Families". *Sociology* 41 (1): 65–81.
- Finch, J. (2008). "Naming Names: Kinship, Individuality and Personal Names". *Sociology* 42 (4): 709-725
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. and Avila. E. (1997). "I'm Here, but I'm There": The Meanings of Latina Transnational Motherhood". *Gender and Society* 11(5): 548-571.

- Kim J., (2008). *Transnationalising intergenerational relations: redefining and negotiating family care and support in an international migration context*. This paper was presented at a joint session of the Research Committee on Sociology of [RC11] and of the Research Committee on Sociology of Childhood [RC53]. The First International Sociological Association Forum of Sociology: Sociological Research and Public Debate, Barcelona, Spain, 5 to 8 September 2008.
- LARG, (2005). *Transnational, multi-local motherhood: experiences of separation and reunification among Latin American families in Canada*. <http://www.yorku.ca/cohesion/LARG/html/largindex2.htm>. Accessed on September 15th 2008.
- Moon, S, (2003). “Immigration and Mothering – Case Studies from Two Generations of Korean Immigrant Women”. *Gender & Society* 17 (6): 840-860
- Parreñas, R., (2005). “Long distance intimacy: class, gender and intergenerational relations between mothers and children in Filipino transnational families”. *Global Networks* 5 (4): 317–336.
- Parreñas, R. (2006). *Understanding the Backlash: Why Transnational Migrant Families Are Considered the “Wrong Kind of Family” in the Philippines*’ <http://globalchild.rutgers.edu/pdf/Salazar>. Accessed on August 15th, 2008.
- Parreñas, R., (2009). *The Gender Revolution in the Philippines: Migrant Care Workers and Social Transformations*. <http://www.wide-network.ch/pdf/presentationsJaKo/Parrenas.pdf>. Accessed on September 28th, 2009.
- Pasti, V. (2003). *The Last Inequality, Gender Relationships in România*. Iasi: Polirom.
- Piperno, F. (2007). “From Care Drain to Care Gain: Migration in România and Ukraine and the rise of transnational welfare”. *Development* 50(4): 63-68.
- Raijman, R., Schammah-Gesser, S. și Kamp, A. (2003). “International Migration, Domestic Work and Care Work—Undocumented Latina Migrants in Israel”. *Gender & Society* 17 (5): 727-749.
- Sandu, D. et al. (2008). *Effects of migration: Children left at home. Risk and solutions*, Bucharest: Open Society Foundation. <http://www.osf.ro>. Accessed on January 15th, 2008
- Schmalzbauer, L. (2004). “Searching for Wages and Mothering from Afar: The Case of Honduran Transnational Families”. *Journal of marriage and family*. 66: 1317-133.
- Schmalzbauer, L. (2005). *Striving and Surviving, A Daily Life Analysis of Honduran Transnational Families*. New York: Routledge.
- Schmalzbauer, L. (2008). “Family divided: the class formation of Honduran transnational Families”. *Global Networks*. Vol. 8 (3), pp.329 -346.

- Tolstokorova, A. (2008). "Locally Neglected, Globally Engaged: Ukrainian Women on the Move". In Anderl, R., Arich-Gerz, B. și Schmiede, R. (eds.). *Technologies of Globalization. International Conference Proceeding*. Technical University Darmstadt, pp. 44-61.
- Tolstokorova, A., (2009). "Costs and Benefits of Labour Migration for Ukrainian Transnational Families: Connection or Consumption?". *Les Cahiers de l'Urmis*. no. 12. <http://urmis.revues.org/index868.html>. Accessed on May 3rd, 2010
- Vertovec, S. (2009). *Transnationalism*. London: Taylor & Francis e-Library Press.
- Wilding, R. (2006). "Virtual" intimacies? Families communicating across transnational context". *Global Networks*. 6 (2): 125-142.
- Zontini, E. (2004). "Immigrant Women in Barcelona: Coping with the Consequences of Transnational Lives". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30 (6): 1113–1144.

BOOK REVIEW

Mureșan, Cornelia. (2014). *Education and Childbearing. Effects of Educational Attainment on First and Second Births in Romania*. LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing, 62 p. ISBN: 978-3-659-29570-6.

Connections between educational attainment and fertility have been made before in Romanian demographic/sociological literature, but from a macro-level or cross-sectional perspective, showing that, as a rule, better educated women have fewer children than lower educated ones.

The novelty of Cornelia Mureșan's book consists of its life course perspective on fertility and education. It is not the first time when the author writes and publishes about reproductive behaviour of Romanian women with this approach, but this is the first extensive investigation of the effects of educational attainment on births of different orders, comparing two different historical periods: the socialist and post-socialist times.

The author investigates the link between education and first and second births by advanced event history analysis techniques. The technical parts are not easy to follow by readers not familiar with event history analysis, but the richness of the findings compensates and makes the book appealing for a broader public.

By her previous publications, both in Romanian and English, the author promoted the life course paradigm in Romanian population studies, a space where it is insufficiently developed. Dealing with concepts such as *pathways of life, life trajectories, transitions, turning points, timing*, this approach assumes that in a person's life there are different phases, ordered according to their time of occurrence and marked by events that occur at certain points in time. The sequence of phases delineated by events form the individual's biography and decisions about major life events are influenced by previous experiences and events.

Starting with observations based on macro level aggregate data, the author argues that "high educational attainment seems to be an important predictor for low second and third order fertility" and the importance of education in fertility decisions "increased in the case of a first birth and particularly in the case of decision for a second birth" (p. 6). Given the rapid

development of educational differences among cohorts, the author's line of investigation is fully justified.

Speaking about effects of education on fertility over the time, a presentation of Romanian educational system, with its changes over the two historical periods, could not have missed. A particularity that is worth mentioning is the existence of education forms that allow the combination of family life with education enrolment: vocational and high-school evening education during socialist times and distance-learning higher education after the political turnover.

The research is based on Generations and Gender Survey (GGS), conducted in Romania in 2005, an international program that for the first time allowed Romania to be part of a comparative research. Due to its retrospective design and life course approach, the GGS data are still not outdated. It is worth mentioning that Cornelia Mureşan played an important active role in Romania's participation in this international program.

The second part of the book is dedicated to educational attainment and first births. Building complex event history models, the author tests several hypotheses such as the *opportunity costs of childbearing*, the *incompatibility between enrolment in education and motherhood*, the *career planning* or the *catch up* hypotheses, for both the socialist and post-socialist period, more precisely years 1975-1989 and 1990-2005. Some of the interesting findings are: little difference between entry into motherhood by level of education during socialism, positive effect of enrolment on postponement of motherhood in both periods, changes in behaviour mainly in case of tertiary educated women in post-socialist times, in terms of signs of career planning.

In the third part of the book, dedicated to the effects of education on second order fertility, the analysis becomes more complex, given that not only effects of educational attainment and enrolment are investigated, but also the indirect effect of educational attainment through the age at first birth. Additionally, the unobserved individual characteristics are accounted for. An interesting finding is the similar risk of a second birth for women enrolled in education as those with tertiary educational attainment, fact that contradicts the often proved hypothesis of incompatibility between education and motherhood. But as the author emphasizes, this category of women in education in the present study must be "associated with part-time education, evening schools and distance/correspondence higher education" (p. 39), so the category should be rather called "women in education improvement", as a specific of Romanian educational system, for both socialist and post-socialist period.

Such enterprise of investigating the effect of education on fertility is not an easy one, especially when one works without complete educational histories, as it is the case in the present study. This situation requires the assumption that every respondent was enrolled in education all the time until her declared final educational level is attained. The situation is problematic mainly for the most recent period of analysis, when the requirements of the market economy and the development of distance-learning higher education made possible (and necessary) that women returned in education to gain a diploma in the new emerging fields. The author is aware of all these issues and addresses and tackles them with care.

By her interest in family demography and her skills in advanced event history analysis, Cornelia Mureşan's work is in line with international research in the field. Unfortunately, it reaches a narrow national public, due to its highly technical character. But hopefully with the author's contribution in her teaching activity, the life course approach and corresponding analysis techniques will gain more grounds in Romanian scientific community, too.

Reviewed by Mihaela Hărăguş
“Babeş-Bolyai” University, Centre for Population Studies
Avram Iancu St., No. 68, 3rd floor
400083, Cluj-Napoca, Romania
mihaela.haragus@ubbcluj.ro

PROJECT PRESENTATION

Historical Population Database of Transylvania project

Following the competition within the framework of the EEA Financial Mechanism 2009-2014, The Romanian-EEA Research Programme - “Research within priority sectors” (<http://uefiscdi.gov.ro/articole/3458/EEA-Financial-Mechanism-2009-2014.html>), the Centre for Population Studies was awarded a grant for a highly original, innovative, 34 months project, *Historical Population Database of Transylvania 1850-1910*, in partnership with the Norwegian Historical Data Centre - University of Tromsø.

The project topic and its practical relevance

The new scientific requirements of the past couple of decades have imposed a change of perspective in the study of populations, shifting interest from the study of demographic regimes, of data aggregated strictly for longitudinal analysis, to research on the life course of people, based on micro-social level data. Life course refers to the route followed by individuals throughout their existence, to the events through which they pass: births, marriages, divorces, deaths, changes of occupation, migration. Demographic historians are showing an increased interest in this approach, focusing specifically on research methods based on micro-level data. Family reconstitution used to be considered the main traditional analytical tool for this purpose, but this stage has been overcome, and analytical tools have been developed so as to benefit from the entire wealth of information on the lives of individuals that is available to historians, marking the transition, in other words, to event history analysis. This entails, however, new requirements and demands as regards the manner of organizing the available data.

Historians have been creating such databases for nearly half a century, based on data available in archives (parish records, tax records, censuses and population registers). The development of technology has led to expanding the geographical areas of coverage for these datasets, as well as of the analytical power of these individual-level data. This has led to launching initiatives of creating infrastructures for population longitudinal data at a broader regional or national level, targeted at the scientific environment and designed to offer researchers access to secondary data about the life course of individuals throughout the 19th- 20th centuries, suitable for event history analysis. Such data are essential for understanding how economic, social and cultural changes

have influenced the lives of ordinary people and how these people, in turn, have survived and experienced their life course.

Even if the merit of longitudinal data has been acknowledged for a long time, access to historical data of this kind is limited, since the construction of these databases is complicated, time consuming and requires adequate funding. Many such databases have been produced in various research projects, being therefore restricted in terms of volume or aiming to undertake genealogical reconstructions for the general public.

The most developed and comprehensive such databases exist in North-European countries with a respectable tradition of rigorously recording population data: *The Demographic Database* in Sweden and the *Historical Sample of Netherlands* in the Netherlands. Other demographic databases that are extremely well developed, but evince a local character, are found in Norway (*The Norwegian Historical Data Centre*) and Belgium (*Historical Database of the Liege Region*, *COR-sample*, Leuven, *Historical Sample of Flanders*). The existing databases are being continuously updated and their complexity grows by the year. For example, LINKS (LINKing System for historical family reconstruction), is a project involving several important research institutions from Netherlands, aiming at reconstructing all nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Dutch families – thus highly developing the degree of data linkage within existent databases and digitized sources.

A longitudinal database is, first of all, “*a searchable mass of computerized data providing information about individuals over time*”. The purpose of such a database is to reconstruct, as comprehensively as possible, the life course of individuals; in other words, to make it possible to trace individuals from birth to death, based on information such as age at marriage, religious affiliation, the number of children ever born, occupation, birth place, literacy, social network and migration history. Containing such information, these databases represent a fundamental resource for researching aspects in the fields of demography, sociology, epidemiology, socio-economic development, and social geography.

As regards the local studies related to the problem of population evolution, it was only after 1990 that the tendency to focus on the domestic sphere and family life became apparent, as previous research had been targeted at overall population dynamics. The valorisation of information from parish registers has enabled recent Romanian historiography to approach the privacy of the family's home, the reality of private life, in an attempt to bridge the gap separating it from Western research. Still, Romanian historical demography research has focused mainly on general issues relating to births, marriages and deaths, only a few researchers carrying out family reconstruction studies in

various parishes and villages and essentially conducting case studies. In all these cases, however, it has been a matter of the researchers' individual effort of processing the primary sources, as they have had limited resources at hand for the management and processing of information gathered from archives.

The project objectives and outcomes

The main objective of the *Historical Population Database of Transylvania* (HPDT) project is to build the first historical database of Transylvania's population, covering the period 1850-1914 (from the first modern census to the limit of vital registration research allowed by Romanian Law). This will be carried out according to the most up-to-date methodological principles proposed in the field and will be fully compatible with the latest versions of the Intermediate Data Structure (IDS), allowing its connection to existing similar databases in Europe and North America. Considering the chronological and financial limitations, as well as the state of the sources, the project aims to cover 5-10% of the population of Transylvania during the period studied (ca. 5.4 million births) thus providing between 350,000-500,000 IDS-type individual records. Due to its multi-ethnic and multi-confessional character, Transylvania is one of the most suitable geographic regions to start such a scientific enterprise.

The project is based on the collaboration between the Centre for Population Studies—Babeş-Bolyai University (CPS-BBU) and the Norwegian Historical Data Centre—University of Tromsø (NHDC-UT). The ensemble of activities will be carried out by the Romanian party, while the role of NHDC-UT will be to ensure the technical and methodological expertise in each of the project phases. As this is the first project of its kind in Romania, the expertise of the Norwegian party is absolutely necessary. The project was developed within the EEA Research Programs, in the field of Social Sciences and Humanities, under the objectives: to stimulate interdisciplinary research, to increase the society's capacity to cope with demographic change and cultural diversity, to strengthen capacity and human resources development.

The construction of HPDT aims to accomplish three major goals for Romanian research on population history: creating a pool of data that will allow more extensive and more complex analyses to be conducted than those currently under way; reconsidering the role of historical information on population and the socio-economic perspectives opened by the knowledge in the field; linking the research conducted on population in Romania to the current effort of reconstructing Europe's population.

The most important objective of the project is constructing the first historical population database for the territory of Transylvania (1850-1914) and

ensuring its proper functioning in the long run. From the scientific point of view, the development of the database, as it is envisaged, will open new, extremely vast perspectives in the study of Transylvania's population. So far, both longitudinal and cross-sectional analyses - whether targeting communities or micro-areas - have been strongly limited by the major effort of collecting and introducing data in an encoded form. This barrier has, inevitably, lowered the number of research projects that can represent solid comparative benchmarks, engendering a vicious circle from which escape could only come in individual cases and with notable efforts. The HPDT will largely solve this problem by providing researchers with a vast amount of historical and demographic data. A higher number of localities than those monographed to date will be added to the database, ethnic and confessional diversity will be closely monitored and the number of variables on which analysis may be carried out will increase exponentially.

The database will function and will be updated, in parallel, both offline (for the internal use of the Centre for Population Studies – CPS-BBU) and online (as genealogical search engine for the use of third-parties), while a third copy will be preserved on DVD. In this way, what will be eliminated from the very start will be the possibility of accidents with major losses of information, due to computer security breaches. A simple, user-friendly interface will be developed for the online version, backed by the necessary manuals. The current estimates - based on tests performed in a pilot-project evaluating the activity of data extraction/input in parish registers, correlated with the financial and chronological dimension of the project and the dimension of the human resources involved - indicate that between 2014-2017 it will be possible to introduce around 350-500,000 IDS-type individual records (this activity involving not only the raw introduction but also the inter-connection of the information from the database at the family, inter-family and inter-community levels).

Another objective of the project is to bring a major contribution, at the national level, to reconsidering the role of historical information on the population and the prospects it opens at the socio-economic level. The results of the project will consist in opening possibilities for further analyses applicable in various scientific and socio-economic domains, thereby aiming at linking the results of historical research to contemporary needs. These analyses will prevalently focus on domains of current interest (migration, inter-ethnic and inter-confessional relations, medicine and public health) in order to provide other researchers with the opportunity of placing the processes and phenomena they study against a historical background. In parallel, the project

and its results will be promoted primarily in disciplinary areas with a major potential for the development of interdisciplinary research with socio-economic application (epidemiology, genetics).

The project also aims to strengthen the links between population research conducted in Romania and the current European effort of population and family reconstruction. The expertise provided by the Norwegian partner will involve a permanent link between the NHDC-UT and the CPS-BBU, concretely manifested in organizing workshops that provide theoretical and, especially, practical training, maintaining a detailed correspondence and exchanging information about each stage of the project. CPS-BBU is currently a partner in the EHPS-Net, a *research network project* coordinated by the IISH Amsterdam, whose goal it is to develop links between different institutions generating population databases.

The coordination of the database with similar initiatives at the international level will represent a major step forward for Romanian researches in the field of the social sciences and the humanities. It is known that although regional socio-cultural peculiarities have always been regarded with interest, their correlation with the specific requirement of outstanding international research has raised problems and they have often remained at the level of exotic case studies because of the use of methodological approaches that have either not been adapted or, on the contrary, that have been adapted without taking into account the losses incurred by adaptation. The specific characteristics of the IDS, however, provide a solution to this problem, because they entail only additions (not eliminations) of variables, allowing for a virtually unlimited expansion of the fields of information, followed by inter-connecting, at a supranational level, solely those that are compatible. In this way, it becomes possible to automatically discriminate between information that lends itself to a comparative analysis and information that may only be subjected to regional analyses.

The project results and their applications will have an impact both in the scientific (the university education system, research) and in the socio-economic environments (market applications, public policies in the medical and family fields). Its main end-product, the database may be expanded later chronologically, geographically and information-wise, so as to cover as large a population sample as possible and to enable more complex analyses than the initial ones. Besides the value of its content, HPDT will represent a benchmark of excellence and good practices, encouraging the development of similar initiatives at the national or regional level and supporting them through analogies and expertise.

The project aims to create the first historical population database on the territory of Transylvania (and Romania) and to ensure its operation at optimal parameters, meeting the most advanced international standards in the field: the Intermediate Data Structure (IDS).

The HPDT represents the first initiative of its kind in Romania and that its implementation can be an example and also an incentive for similar initiatives dedicated to other regions of the country. At the same time, once the database has been built, both the concept and its information will arouse the interest of researchers in related (philology) or more distant disciplines (medicine, genetics), as has happened in for example Scandinavia and the US. Finally, the growing interest in such approaches on an international level and the tendency to interconnect the existing databases with a view to developing comparative studies will help integrate the outcomes of the project within the European scientific effort, ultimately highlighting the compulsory adoption of an interdisciplinary approach.

The results of this projects will increase the society's capacity to cope with demographic change and cultural diversity, necessarily implies the existence of a historical perspective. At present, there are no historical databases for population reconstruction in Romania, preventing an accurate understanding of the current demographic processes. This desideratum becomes all the more poignant as Transylvania is a region with a strong multi-ethnic character (Romanians, Hungarians, Saxons, Roma), in which the competitive factor played a leading role in the construction of identity perceptions over the past two centuries.

The project is highly interdisciplinarity, through the major associated disciplines (sociology, history) and due to the large number of border sub-disciplines and auxiliary sciences involved in the construction of the HPDT and in the analysis of the results (historical demography and statistics, computer science and medical statistics, historical anthropology, paleography, onomastics and toponymy, archival science). Basically, the project represents a large-scale sociological research, to be carried out against a historical backdrop, with the help of computer programs. While the interaction between history, sociology and computer science can be regarded as defining for the project throughout its entire chronological development and within the ensemble of the activities subsumed to it, the relation between the major disciplines and the border disciplines will be circumscribed, depending on the specific nature of the activities, within several spheres of interdisciplinarity. A first such sphere will form with the development of the methodology for circumscribing the target localities and micro-areas, which takes into account the demands and

needs of historical demography, as well as aspects pertaining to historical geography, archival science (the existing sources and the possibility of identifying them in other funds than the classical ones) and anthropology (the cultural relevance of the micro-area). Another area of interdisciplinarity will be formed around the extraction of information and input into the database, an activity for which the contribution of paleography, onomastics and toponymy is vital, with a view to ensuring the accuracy of historical data. The third area of interdisciplinarity will be built around the activity of linking the IDS structure to the autochthonous needs: alongside sociology and computer science, historical anthropology will play an important role in finding the best solutions for mediating cultural differences and highlighting the variables that should be taking into consideration and proposed for integration into the IDS model.

The coordination of the database with similar initiatives at the international level will represent a major step forward for Romanian researches in the field of the social sciences and the humanities. It is known that although regional socio-cultural peculiarities have always been regarded with interest, their correlation with the specific requirement of outstanding international research has raised problems and they have often remained at the level of exotic case studies because of the use of methodological approaches that have either not been adapted or, on the contrary, that have been adapted without taking into account the losses incurred by adaptation. The specific characteristics of the IDS, however, provide a solution to this problem, because they entail only additions (not eliminations) of variables, allowing for a virtually unlimited expansion of the fields of information, followed by inter-connecting, at a supranational level, solely those that are compatible. In this way, it becomes possible to automatically discriminate between information that lends itself to a comparative analysis and information that may only be subjected to regional analyses.

In conclusion, in the whole Eastern European space there is no such database that contains information about the population of the past which may be capable of answering a diversity of demographic queries, among others. The attainment of such databases is absolutely necessary, especially since in Europe they are an indispensable support for quality research.