

periors, thus providing important data to historians).

The seventh and maybe the most valuable chapter of the book presents the strategies of the Catholic orders in the seventeenth-century Transylvanian Principality. It outlines the “prototype” of the Franciscan missionary: a “good Catholic,” dedicated, educated, familiar with the local language and thus able to accomplish the goals of the order. We read here about the Franciscan activity at Șumuleu-Ciuc, probably the most important center in Transylvania, about the school and the printing press.

The last chapter deals with the impact of Catholic missions in the seventeenth-century. Pilgrimage is identified as one of the important elements of devotion in Transylvania. The pilgrimage to Șumuleu-Ciuc is very popular even today, and even Pope Francis attended an event there in 2019.

Overall, the author manages to fill a gap in the historiography of the post-Tridentine Catholic Reconquista, shedding light on a less researched element: the Franciscan order in Transylvania.



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IOAN POPA

Românii din Transilvania, Banat, Crișana, Sătmar și Maramureș în Primul Război Mondial:

Ancheta ASTREI: “Tablourile nominale”

(The Romanians of Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, Sătmar, and Maramureș in the First World War: The ASTRA Report: “The nominal tables”), 2 vols.

Cluj-Napoca: Mega; Sibiu: Armanis, 2019

IN THE year 1922, on the initiative of Teodor V. Păcățian, historian and author of numerous articles, and under the guidance and supervision of the Transylvanian Association for the Literature and Culture of the Romanian People (ASTRA), local authorities supported by teachers and priests conducted an ample and thorough investigation of the impact of the First World War upon the Romanian population in Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, Sătmar, and Maramureș. One year later, Păcățian published in the *Transilvania* magazine a study titled “Jertfele Românilor din Ardeal, Bănat, Crișana, Sătmar și Maramurăș, aduse în războiul mondial din anii 1914–1918” (The sacrifices of the Romanians in Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, Sătmar, and Maramureș during the World War of the years 1914–1918) (20 pp.), in which he presented the centralized results of the data collected from over 3,700 towns and villages in all the Romanian counties of the Kingdom of Hungary. Păcățian’s study illustrated the Romanian population’s involvement in the war by means of the number of mobilized people, widows, and orphans per county, making the distinction between rural and urban areas.

In the context of the centenary commemoration of the Great War, Andreea

Dăncilă Ineoan and Ioan Popa published several studies that capitalize on and bring to light this source of information unique in Europe, thus contributing decisively to our knowledge of the impact of the war upon the Romanian population in Transylvania.

As a devoted servant of the muse Clio as the author of valuable works on the history of education, culture, and leisure in 19th-century Transylvania and in his capacity as history teacher at Samuel von Brukenthal National College and at Constantin Noica Theoretical High School of Sibiu, Ioan Popa has found the time and strength to work through the county, centralizing registers and “nominal tables” of the ASTRA investigation and making them available to Romanian historiography in the form of two massive volumes. I feel compelled to emphasize the fact that behind Ioan Popa’s research efforts and editorial work lies a double motivation of both scholarly and sentimental nature. On the one hand, he was driven by a researcher’s natural desire to process a historical source and capitalize on it from a historiographical point of view, and, on the other, by a history teacher’s and patriot’s loving desire to honor “the memory of all the Romanians in Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, Sătmar, and Maramureș who suffered in some way or other during and following the First World War and especially to honor my great-grandfathers, Ioan Popa al Cacoveanului (1886–1915), of Apoldul Mic . . ., killed on the Galician front in 1915, and Aurel Popa al lui Dănilă (1891–1983), of Șelcău,” who was mobilized throughout the duration of the war and went on to take part in the Great Assembly of Alba Iulia of 1 December 1918 (p. V).

The volume is prefaced by the reputed Cluj demographer and historian of Tran-

sylvanian modernity Ioan Bolovan, a correspondent member of the Romanian Academy, who places Ioan Popa’s work in the context of the historiographical literature of the centenary of the Great Union, describes its merits and salutes its conclusions, making the following points, among others: “The author’s restitutive efforts have been immense, not only in transposing into electronic format the raw database taken from the archives, but especially in critically editing that historical source, drafting explanatory notes, making comparisons and syntheses, etc. It is therefore appropriate to openly eulogize the intense and laborious work of Ioan Popa, Ph.D., who generously provides us with diverse information as to the level of involvement exhibited by the Romanian population during the years 1914–1919. From now on, practically no regional or local monograph will be able to elude these professionally edited sources, as they provide precious information as to the number and percentage of Romanians mobilized in the war, dead, wounded, disabled, missing, of Romanian orphans, widows, refugees, detainees, etc.” (p. IX).

The author’s professionalism and comparative methodology are highlighted especially by the ample introductory study (pp. 1–108), titled “The Human Costs Incurred by the Romanians in Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, Sătmar, and Maramureș during the First World War,” comprising the following subchapters: “Known and Unknown in Romanian Historiography,” “The ASTRA Report: A Critical Analysis of the Source,” “Mobilization, Victimization, and Reward” and “Conclusions.” In his study, the author explains to today’s readers the context in which the investigation was organized, its methodology and the way in which it took place, the centraliza-

tion of the data in Sibiu, the errors that occurred while filling in the standardized questionnaire—the so-called “nominal table”—and those in the county centralizing registers. We are informed that the ASTRA Report employed two investigative tools: a standardized questionnaire called a “nominal table,” comprising 19 headings and looking into the situation of the Romanians directly involved in the events of the Great War, and an interview guide containing four questions, of which the first two referred to the material costs of the war and the last two were centered around the events in the autumn of 1918. The object of the research and of the volume are the nominal tables of all the Transylvanian towns and villages, preserved as part of the collection of the Sibiu County Services of the National Archives of Romania. After discovering them, Ioan Popa digitalized them and then built his own database based on the questionnaire headings, accompanied by the data extracted from the Hungarian Census conducted in 1910 and by the data gathered from the Christian Orthodox and Greek Catholic church records of 1880–1925. The tables distributed by ASTRA in the field and filled in via a collaboration among notaries, mayors, primary school teachers, and priests, comprised the following headings: “1. Running number; 2. Last and first name; 3. Town/village of birth; 4. Civil occupation; 5. Rank within the militia; 6. Awarded the following medal; 7–10. Took part in the activities demanded by the war, being called to serve: for active duty, as a soldier on the front (7), for sedentary duty, in auxiliary services or stationary units (8), arrested or hospitalized (9); was a refugee in the Kingdom of Romania (10); 11–16. Fate suffered during the war: died on the

battlefield (11), died in prison, exile, hospital, as a result of diseases or wounds (12); Returned home: as an invalid (13), wounded, ill, yet currently healthy (14), in full health (15); missing (16); 17–18. The deceased or missing person left behind: a widow (17), number of orphans (18); 19. Observations” (p. 3).

The thoroughness employed by Ioan Popa in processing his primary sources is also made apparent by the fact that he put together an inventory of the errors which made their way into these tables, as well as by his steadfast efforts to correct, through correlations and comparisons, the said mistakes when drafting the general tables for each county, sub-county, town and village, yet without omitting to render the erroneous or estimative figures given by Teodor V. Păcățian in his 1923 study. Ioan Popa starts by presenting the scope of the investigation, concluding that, after having invalidated 17 nominal tables which inventoried the entire population, as opposed to just the Romanian one, and with the tables for the towns of Brașov and Gherla lost, “the degree of coverage of the ASTRA investigation amounts to 90.71% in Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, Sătmar, and Maramureș” (p. 15). As for making a record of the Romanian population, in spite of certain questionnaires being invalidated or not being dispatched, the investigation managed to attain a degree of coverage of 99.56%, 99.54% in the rural areas and 100% in the urban areas (p. 19) of all the five regions united with Romania in 1918. The analysis of the coverage of the investigation is conducted both at a central level and at county level, the resulting tables providing a very clear picture of the degree of coverage and non-coverage respectively in figures and percentages for

the sub-counties of all the counties, both rural and urban.

The second part of the introductory study consists of an in-depth demographic analysis of the number of individuals mobilized, fallen on the front, missing, of widows and orphans, of those arrested, and of refugees. The ASTRA investigation reveals the extent of the involvement of the Romanians in Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, Sătmar, and Maramureș in the First World War with the aid of the following figures: 479,457 people mobilized, on the front and behind it (274,084 from Transylvania, 129,374 from Banat, 44,875 from Crișana, 31,124 from Sătmar-Maramureș), which constitutes 17.02% of the total Romanian population, 32.56% of the Romanian male population, and 56.88% of the Romanian men aged 15 to 59 (p. 62–75). Ioan Popa does not limit himself to merely commenting on the results of the ASTRA investigation with respect to the Romanians in Transylvania, but goes on to make very complex comparative incursions into the situation of all the belligerent countries, particularly the Kingdom of Romania and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, concluding that “the mobilization of the Romanians in Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, and Sătmar-Maramureș surpassed the average levels in Hungary and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as the Romanian communities in Transleithania were among the most heavily affected by the mobilization in comparison to the general situation of the main states engaged in the war” (p. 73).

The involvement of the Romanians in that armed conflict generated four categories of victims: 1) dead and missing; 2) invalids and wounded; 3) arrested or political refugees; 4) widows and orphans. For the first category, the inventory yielded

82,225 victims, which constitutes 2.92% of the Romanian population of the five regions covered by the investigation, and 17.15% of the total number of mobilized individuals, these figures and percentages being visibly higher than the ones recorded at the level of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, namely 2.37% of the total population and 17.14% of the mobilized population. The comparison with the statistics of the other belligerent states, particularly Romania and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, shows once more that “the results of the ASTRA investigation place the Romanians on Hungarian territory among the most affected populations, their situation coming fairly close to that of their fellow nationals across the mountains, who were the witnesses and victims of confrontations with military forces greatly superior in terms of experience, military equipment, and even numbers” (p. 83). In the second category, that of the invalids, 25,169 people were recorded, which represents 5.25% of all the mobilized individuals, with the number of people wounded reaching 37,534, i.e. 7.83% of the total number of mobilized individuals.

A comparison of the figure associated with this category to those registered by the other belligerent states indicates a much lower percentage of wounded individuals and invalids among the Romanians in the Apostolic Kingdom of Hungary at the end of the war than in all the other European countries. In France, for example, the records show 8.71% invalids and 23.53% wounded as compared to the total number of mobilized individuals. The explanation for these statistics, the author reveals, lies in the major difference between the culture and civic attitude of the overwhelmingly rural Romanian population,

which was accustomed to hardship and to not exhibiting their suffering excessively, as opposed to the more educated or civilized citizens of Western Europe (p. 93).

The third category, that of individuals who were arrested, hospitalized, or took refuge in the Kingdom of Romania, is of major interest as well, as it adds to the accuracy of this complex issue well known in the realm of historiography, especially with respect to the priests who experienced such situations. However, unlike the writings of the time and unlike ecclesiastical historiography, which has identified 400 arrested and deported priests and 136 priests who took refuge in Romania, the ASTRA investigation brings to light a much greater magnitude of the repression conducted by the Hungarian authorities against the Romanian population in Transylvania and Banat after Romania joined the military campaign: 1,728 individuals arrested (1,594 in Transylvania, 87 in Banat, 8 in Crișana, and 39 in Sătmar-Maramureș), namely 0.62% of the total number of Transylvanian Romanians, and 3,431 refugees (3,381 from Transylvania, 43 from Banat, 2 from Crișana, 5 from Sătmar-Maramureș), amounting to 1.22% of the Romanian population (pp. 95–96). Moreover, the results centralized by Ioan Popa show that the refugee phenomenon attained mass dimensions in 1916, at the time of the retreat of the Romanian army from Transylvania. For example, from Bilbor, in Ciuc County, 1,033 Romanians of the 1,161 recorded by the 1910 census became refugees, which means 88.98% of the commune's Romanian population! The investigation results prove that the highest numbers of arrested individuals and of refugees were recorded in the coun-

ties of Brașov, Ciuc, Făgăraș, Odorhei, Sibiu, Trei Scaune, and Târnava Mare, with figures showing that between 1.11% and 10% of the Romanian population was arrested by the authorities. In addition, the data reveal the enthusiasm exhibited by the Romanian rural population in welcoming the Romanian troops in the second half of August 1916, an eloquent example thereof being that of peasant Toader Vasi of Mucundorf/Grânari, Târnava Mare County, who was arrested for that reason and then died in the prison of Gherla, leaving behind a widow and six orphans (p. 94). In the final category, that of indirect victims of the war, there are 21,343 widows and 45,786 orphans.

Ioan Popa notes that the ASTRA investigation places their numbers within the general European pattern, with a slight surplus regarding the orphan component among the Romanians of the former Kingdom of Hungary (p. 97). One final analysis is dedicated by the author to the statistics concerning decorated Romanian soldiers, whose number amounted to 43,651 (9.01%) of the total of 484,728 involved in the war. The surprise lies in the fact that the percentage of decorated Romanian combatants is inversely proportional to the sacrifices made on the battlefield, as the recruits from urban areas registered three times more decorated soldiers (23.98%) than the recruits from rural areas (8.5%), while the percentage of deaths was double in Romanian villages (pp. 102–103).

The study is followed by the rendition in table format of the data of the ASTRA investigation for each county, sub-county, and town/village, with vol. I (pp. 109–450) containing the information regard-

ing intra-Carpathian Transylvania with its 16 counties, while vol. 2 (pp. 451–698) comprises the information regarding the counties in Banat, Crișana, Sătmar, and Maramureș. The manner in which the material is organized and the table headings clearly show that Ioan Popa did more than just edit the ASTRA investigation of 1922, but practically doubled the questionnaire headings by reproducing the results of the 1910 census, thus providing today's readers with a much more complex in-depth picture of the demographic situation of the Romanians in Transylvania during the first two decades of the 20th century. The tables compiled by Ioan Popa comprise the following 32 headings: 1. Sub-county/Town; 2. Criterion number; 3. Town/village; 4. The Romanian population, according to the ASTRA Centralizing Register; 4a. The population of the town or village/sub-county/county, acc. to the 1910 census; 4b. The Romanian population acc. to the 1910 census; 4c. The percentage of the Romanian population in 1910; 4d. The Christian Orthodox population acc. to the 1910 census; 4e. The Greek Catholic population acc. to the 1910 census; 4f. The Christian Orthodox and Greek Catholic population acc. to the 1910 census; 4g. The percentage of the Christian Orthodox and Greek Catholic population in 1910; 5. Number of decorated individuals; 6. Mobilized on the front; 7. Mobilized for auxiliary services or stationary units; 8. Arrested or hospitalized; 9. Refugees; 6–9a. Total number of mobilized, arrested/hospitalized people and refugees; 6–9b. The percentage of people mobilized on the front relative to the total Romanian population reported in 1910 (of the total Christian Orthodox and Greek Catholic popu-

lation recorded by ASTRA); 10. Killed on the battlefield; 11. Died in prison, exile, hospital, as a result of diseases or wounds; 12. Invalids; 13. Wounded, ill, yet currently (1922) healthy; 14. In full health; 15. Missing; 10–15a. Total number of individuals dead and missing in the war, 1914–1919; 10–15b. The percentage of the dead and missing relative to the total Romanian population reported in 1910 by ASTRA; 10–15c. The percentage of the dead and missing relative to the total Christian Orthodox and Greek Catholic population reported in 1910; 16. Widowed; 17. Orphaned; 18. Intellectuals who participated in the war; 19. Traders and craftsmen; 20. Ploughmen/Peasants.

Moreover, each county is accompanied by a varying number of “critical notes” written by the author, in which he provides explanations, adds nuances, expands on or amends the figures through various comments, comparisons, and historical, confessional, sociological, or percentage-related ideas, thus providing further proof of the reliability and thoroughness employed in processing the data in the investigation. Volume 2 ends with a series of final reflections, followed by symbols and abbreviations, an exhaustive list of documentary, archival, and bibliographical sources used in this scientific work, and two summaries in English and German.

Finally, I would like to publicly express my satisfaction at having read this new work by Ioan Popa, which I have no doubt will have a positive reception within the field of historiography and among the general public, as his efforts are fully deserving of the appreciation of specialists.

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