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Contents

Were Peasants Able to Move in Feudal Poland? Tracking the Determinants of Internal Migrations, 1501-1800

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Abstract: There is some discrepancy in literature about the reality of peasant territorial mobility. Our research of internal migration in Poland intends to study several big cities and almost 1,000 small towns in a predominantly agricultural country, over time. While land owners certainly limited the peasants' mobility so that they themselves could survive, but peasants' serfdom was a dynamic phenomenon, this changed over time: lords could sell "freedom" to their peasants. The peasants needed to travel for money, for contact with the city market. They searched for non-rural occupations and seasonal work in towns and other villages. Peasant's mobility was dependent on the distance from the village to the town. Some peasants used multigenerational social networks and chain migration to get to the city. Thanks to this, they became the reliable workers in the new social space. This paper shall show how the peasants' families, friends and local community influenced migrants' decision to move. The range of peasant mobility was dependent on economic condition of manor houses, peasant households, urban markets and elastic migrational urban politics. The proximity of the town was connected with high level of exogamous marriages in rural parishes. I shall also show that matrimonial mobility was reduced after 1650 and was never as high. The economic situation deteriorated: urban markets collapsed and peasants stopped buying urban goods. But, in this period, there was a greater care by the landlords for their peasants' welfare.

Keywords: migration, mobility, micro-region, social networks, Cracow, labour, peasants

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1. Introduction

Were peasants mobile or stationary in feudal Poland (Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth)? There is some discrepancy in literature about the reality of peasants' territorial mobility, be it in times of socio-economic crisis or in regular years. It is also difficult to find adequate sources; however, existing demographic research results are indicative of considerable mobility in Polish society during that era (Dworzaczek 1952; Baszanowski 1995; Kuklo 2009). To identify the migration patterns with greater precision in line with the adopted methods, the level of observation needs to be lowered to that of the micro-region, and the use of varied source material is required, with both qualitative and quantitative data (Hollingsworth 1970; Pooley 2017; Lucassen and Lucassen 2017). Therefore, special attention was paid to the Cracow urban complex and its micro-region, Map 1). The various materials differ in terms of quality and state of preservation. The most prevalent category of sources pertains to the influx of migrants while less information is available for emigration from specific communities. This causes difficulties e.g. in calculating the migration balance or applying the cross-cultural migration rate (Lucassen and Lucassen 2017). Surviving archival material makes it possible to demonstrate patterns in the functioning of rural and rural-urban migration networks, marital exogamy, peasant migrants' participation in urban life, and especially their incubation and acculturation. It also affords acquaintance with the migration policies of peasant families, local communities, proprietors of landed estates and towns (their owners, urban communes and burgher families). The formation of the attitudes of urban and rural communities towards newcomers is of particular interest. We can also examine the factors attracting and pushing out migrants.

The Polish births, marriages and burials records for the period are not sufficiently reliable to base conclusions entirely on such data (Hayhoe 2016: 16-18; Day 2012; Leeuwen and Maas 2005; Pain and Smith 1984). It is even more difficult to use the family reconstruction method and combine information about specific individuals based on different source categories (Souden 1984). However, the preservation of long chronologies in such records offers a better understanding of the social changes, and a chance to demonstrate the patterns of marital exogamy and the geographic reach of marital selection (Puschmann et al. 2016). There is a shortage of sources recording the flows of seasonal workers. A way out is offered by the analysis of municipal criminal records, where we find minutes of interrogations of migrants, including their life stories (Poniat 2014). Census and other demographic listings are preserved in small fragments only and do not provide

as detailed migrant data as the English of French censuses from that time (Hayhoe 2016; Kaźmierczyk 2017). Paradoxically, urban sources are probably the most helpful in the analysis of Polish peasants' mobility, as those books were kept consistently and are well preserved in some cases, for example in the Cracow urban complex. This is important because flows into cities are one of the primary types of internal migrations (Lucassen and Lucassen 2017; Prak 2018). Sources of an economic nature (municipal registers of goods admitted into the town) offer an insight into the operation of the local markets, and consequently the mechanics of the shuttle movements of population. The registers of newly-admitted burghers or apprentices in urban craft guilds facilitate describing the migration networks and the migrants' adaptation in the city (Miller 2005). This information is supplemented by said municipal criminal records. All these sources, however, are pertinent to individual migrations. Information about the migrations of peasant families can be examined, to a limited degree, by looking into judicial trials of serfs for unlawful departure from their villages. These can be found in books kept by the nobles' courts. This material, however, is selective and unrepresentative, in addition to being difficult to gather, as it is dispersed amid thousands of irrelevant cases (Kiełbicka 1989). I have built a database drawing on multiple materials to identify and determine migration processes (about 20,000 records and c.a. 7,000 measured geographical distances). I used both quantitative and qualitative methods.

Our research of internal migration in Poland involves studying several big cities and almost 1,000 small towns in a predominantly agricultural country, over a period time (Frost 2015). Towns weakened the feudal system: noble landowners competed with towns for peasant labour (Malinowski and van Zanden 2017). Certainly, landowners limited the peasants' mobility so that they themselves could survive, but peasants' serfdom was a dynamic phenomenon, which changed over time: lords could sell "freedom" to their peasants. An important factor in research on preindustrial Polish society is the high share of peasant population, reaching about 75 percent (Kuklo 2009; Szołtysek 2015). Regrettably, this group is probably less researched than any other group or individual with historical influence. It has already been demonstrated in international research that peasant population in the preindustrial era was characterized by considerable mobility, and most of them moved permanently or temporarily at least once in their lifetime (Hayhoe 2016: 4-6, 179). Could things have been different in Poland, even in the context of ever-tightening feudal regulations? (Bade et al. 2011).

2. Peasants and the urban market

The peasants needed to travel for money, for contact with the urban market. They sought non-rural occupations and seasonal work in towns. Peasants' mobility was dependent on the distance between their village and the town. The range of peasant mobility depended on the economic condition of the manors, peasant households, urban markets, and the cities' flexible migration policies. Longer-term migration was undertaken predominantly by young people, before marriage (of course, marriage did not actually mean that peasants stopped migrating) (Fauve-Chamoux 2017). It is important to note that peasants' families, friends and local communities influenced their decision to move. All categories of peasant population had links to the city through trade and the labour market (Carter 1994; Wyżga 2017). A detailed analysis is afforded by the surviving detailed register of goods admitted into the town of Kazimierz, which was part of the Cracow urban complex. For four consecutive weeks in September and October 1658, every day, including Sundays, peasants brought autumn crops into town. The average geographical distance of the influx of these individuals matches the reach of the local grain measure and the area of the local market (median: 17.9 km). Out of the 1,648 suppliers recorded during that period, only 210 were women (14.3%). It needs to be noted, however, that the municipal customs officers ignored small amounts of goods carried into town, although the criteria for deciding who would and who would not be recorded are unclear. It is also known that various produce, raw and building materials, crops were brought in by male peasants from greater distances (median: 25.1 km, a distance that took about 6 hours on foot but they mostly used wagons) than by women from the nearest villages, who mastered delivery of merchandise "on their own bodies" (mostly food products), and usually walked to the city (median: 11 km, with an average passage time of 2.7 hours). Women would mostly bring baked goods, flour, and grain to the market (42.2% of supplies), fruit and fruit preserves (27.6%), live animals, meat and grease (17.6%), dairy products and eggs (5.7%), as well as smaller amounts of goods such as vegetables, salt, or alcohol.

3. Peasants and urban guilds

Peasants used multigenerational social networks and chain migration to get to the city and live there. Owing to this, they became reliable workers in the new social space. Their day-to-day contacts with the market and the burghers sustained and further developed these social networks, based on commercial, social and family ties. This was important with respect to proving the

provenance of migrants seeking admission to apprenticeship in craft guilds (Shephard 1986). Testimonies given by witnesses, who confirmed that they originally came from the same village as the candidate and had known him in the past, were recorded in the municipal books. Between 1647 and 1730, about 2,800 such attestations of background were entered in the books of the *Genealogiae* series for 1,370 young men. An analysis of these has revealed that 59.3% of Cracow's future craftsmen and burghers were born in villages located within the reach of the city's local market and micro-region (Table 1).

Table 1. The geographical extent of males from rural areas incoming to the craft guilds in the Cracow urban complex (1647-1730)

Distance to the town (km)	**0-9**	**10-19**	**20-29**	**30-39**	**40-49**	**50-59**	**60-69**	**70-79**	**80-89**	**90-99**	**>100**
N	230	256	255	163	112	56	53	22	24	10	68
%	18.4%	20.5%	20.4%	13.1%	9.0%	4.5%	4.2%	1.8%	1.9%	0.8%	5.4%

Source: National Archives in Cracow, ref. Adv.Crac. 259-262.

The largest number of migrants hailing from this area pursued occupations connected to the production of food and clothing. When they reached the city, they would usually be taken on by a previously agreed craft master and employer. This is how the mutual obligations between peasants and burghers organized into social networks were fulfilled in practice. In most cases, parents decided their children's occupational future and recommended them to selected guild masters. Once they were established in the city, migrants enjoyed the support of their former village neighbours who were now city-dwellers, their own elderly siblings who had attained economic independence, their godparents and legal guardians. The parents, even those very advanced in years, tried to exercise ongoing control over their children apprenticed and working in the city. The successive stages of migration could range from the migrants' home villages, villages nearer to the city, and the suburbs where some of the migrants ended up establishing themselves, and finally the city proper, where, however, only a small percentage managed to obtain full burgher rights. From the burghers' point of view, the social networks secured a steady inflow of reliable and trustworthy labour force, as well as raw materials and foodstuffs from the countryside. In return, the peasants had better opportunities for the distribution of their farm produce in town and in ensuring a future for those of their offspring who would not inherit their

farmstead and would consequently be unable to start a family in their home village (Szołtysek 2015). Their urban connections also enabled the widowed or impoverished parents of migrants to seek residence in town. In turn, the city-dwellers could find affordable and relatively secure overnight accommodation with peasant acquaintances in the countryside, which they would use when travelling or fleeing from an epidemic in the city. The migration networks proved uniquely durable. It is known that epidemics were followed by inflows of relations and acquaintances from the rural areas to replenish the larger, depopulated cities with migrants who were already quite familiar with the problems of their urban comrades and the city itself.

4. Marital exogamy

The proximity of the town was connected to a high level of exogamous marriages in rural parishes. I shall also show that matrimonial mobility (geographic exogamy proportions) was reduced after 1650 and was never as high again (Table 2).

The economic situation deteriorated: urban markets collapsed, and peasants stopped buying urban goods (Malinowski and van Zanden 2017; Miodunka 2015, 2016). In the 18th Century, migration was less and less economically attractive to peasants. The Polish cities no longer grew demographically, with the exception of Warsaw, the capital. In that period, the landlords exercised greater care over their peasants' welfare. On the other hand, the decline in marital exogamy may have been correlated with the deteriorating parochial record-keeping, such as the omission of the migrant's place of origin. It can be assumed that the decrease in the inter-parish marriages was also driven by the growing population numbers in the middle of the century.

Table 2. Exogamous marriages (1571-1800), 21 rural parishes in Cracow's micro-region (cumulative)

Period	Marriages (all)	Migrants	%
1581-1590	25	5	20.0
1591-1600	223	81	36.3
1601-1610	332	109	32.8
1611-1620	525	195	37.1
1621-1630	760	251	33.0
1631-1640	838	308	36.8
1641-1650	1045	404	38.7
1651-1660	654	197	30.1
1661-1670	819	221	27.0
1671-1680	636	152	23.9
1681-1690	655	106	16.2
1691-1700	870	149	17.1
1701-1710	741	106	14.3
1711-1720	523	75	14.3
1721-1730	454	68	15.0
1731-1740	434	72	16.6
1741-1750	685	85	12.4
1751-1760	796	58	7.3
1761-1770	485	59	12.2
1771-1780	257	37	14.4
1781-1790	213	27	12.7
1791-1800	289	47	16.3
Total	12,259	2,812	100

Source: M. Wyżga, KRAKDEM Database [my own computations]. Data in successive decades differ in value due to gaps in the continuity of entries, among other factors.

5. Peasants family and migration

My analysis of peasant family migrations in the Cracow Voivodeship was based on a database which I developed on the basis of 1,649 trials for unlawful departure from a village. This material, previously unresearched, had been collected by Aniela Kielbicka from books kept by the nobles' courts, covering the years 1590-1610 (Kielbicka 1989). The database refers to intended migration resulting in relatively permanent resettlement. The advantage of the selected period is the fact that it comprised a very dynamic process of restricting peasant freedoms, initiated by the noble owners of manor farms. My research indicates that peasants usually covered rather short distances in search of a better life. It was probably not feasible economically to migrate further

away, and possibly beyond their financial and technical capabilities. Moreover, they were very well acquainted with the surrounding areas, within a radius of tens of kilometres, from their previous travels undertaken for trade or work-related purposes. As a rule, migration was based on an extensive social network. Moving illegally, i.e. without the permission of one's feudal lord, was quite a common practice, and a well-organized process, which even had its own name (*wykocowanie*, a term close in meaning to "moving out/getting out"). Sometimes, a bout of migration would involve several families, all of whom subsequently settled in one new area, which helped minimize the risk involved in migration. For the manor farm and the local community, however, departure of even a single wealthy farmer could mean quite a painful loss (Hayhoe 2016). We do not have exact data with regard to the affluence of all the migrants. It can be determined for only one-third of the group under review, without counting in data on rural craftsmen and administrative workers. Research into this set of data revealed that self-sufficient farmers were often searched by their feudal lords and persuaded to return. They accounted for no less than 57.6% of all wanted runaways, while representing no more than 10-15% of the local village community. For comparison, other categories of runaway peasants pursued by the law on the initiative of their feudal lords reached considerably lower percentages: servants (27.7%), landless peasants who only held small homesteads (13.0%), and hired labourers, the poorest category (1.7%).

Peasants who left their place of residence illegally usually did so at a time when the owner of their village was having problems, such as his own serious disease (or death), the sale of an indebted estate, or a natural disaster. Specific circumstances favourable to such departure included night-time and help from some middlemen (agents of their prospective new landlord), who also gave the migrants the use of their wagons. In the first instance, migrants could find accommodation with people who had helped them leave, in peasants' cottages, in burghers' houses, or in manor buildings. Finding a fugitive was grounds for litigation against his new landlord by his former feudal lord. As a result of the ensuing trial, they could be returned to their former landlord, which sometimes led to another escape, but this time in a different direction, and twice as far away. The new landlords were reluctant to part with migrants, and they also defended their subordinates who had helped in such migration.

Specific charges with regard to outstanding obligations towards the owner of the village were formulated against 5.3% of the migrants, including walking away from a contract of service prior to its expiry; departure without

their superior's written decision granting release from the relationship of bondage; debts in cash, rent or labour owed to the feudal lord; damage done to the landlord's property; departure while holding the lord's property without due settlement (which, however, peasants could consider a form of compensation for overdue wages). Such property, for which no consideration was given to the lord in exchange, included mostly grain for sowing, farm animals (horses, oxen, cows, hogs, poultry, and even bees), wagons, farm and craft tools, weapons, or garments. Such objects were also the belongings that peasants took with them when migrating (61.4% of peasants migrated with their "lifetime earnings"). Migrating with movable equipment and cash also made it possible to reproduce a farmstead in a relatively short time upon reaching their destination, in addition to being advantageous to the new landlord, who thus avoided considerable outlays in support of such settlers.

In the period under review, cases recorded in the court files which referred to migrations of whole peasant families were prevalent (58%) over individual movements. But even in the latter category individual leavers mainly relied on migration chains, e.g. following their siblings who had left their village earlier. In the trial files, the information about family members was imprecise (in 956 cases, the term used was simply "homesteader with family"). In the remaining group, with more exact designations, 15.9% were married couples, 12.1% were married couples with children (three per couple on the average, of which no fewer than two were male), and 2.1% were families with various kin (parents, in-laws, adopted children and adoptive parents) as well as house servants. Widowed heads of households accounted for 2.2% of the group and were predominantly female. The average number of members in a migrating family was 4 (See: Szołtysek 2015).

The distances that they covered (not counting the '0 km' distance in those cases where migration meant moving within the same village) were not great in most cases (median: 17.2 km). This indicates that hiding was not a major priority for migrants. They probably hoped to be able to ultimately complete the procedure of obtaining the permission of their landlord, or some other considerations forced them to initiate their move, or perhaps a prospective rich and powerful patron gave them more courage. As a rule, peasant families moved to places located at somewhat shorter distances (median: 14.5 km) than individual leavers (median: 20.1 km). It needs to be noted that women are an underestimated category within this group. Single female heads of households accounted for only 2.6% of all migrating households. All the women recorded in the trial files (household heads, individuals migrating on their own or with partners, women described as

distant relatives) accounted for 14.1% of all migrants. The geographical distances covered by the respective sexes corroborate previous findings. Women migrated shorter distances (median: 8.9 km) than men (median: 21.1 km). Women moving together with their families (mostly limited to offspring) migrated to destinations somewhat closer to their previous abode (median: 6.3 km) than women leaving on their own (median: 11.7 km). Single women migrated further away (median: 14.9 km) than widows (the medians for widows travelling solo and with offspring were similar: 6.6 km and 6.9 km, respectively). Migrating widows whose deceased husbands had been affluent farmers with large land holdings are known to have experienced social degradation and were described in the files simply as peasant women.

In a breakdown by socio-occupational group, the richest, self-sufficient peasants (*kmiecie*) moved further away (median: 21.6 km) than house servants (median: 12.9 km); rural craftsmen (median: 11.5 km), or the less affluent categories of peasant population (median: 7 km). For 21.4% of migrating peasants the city was their intended destination and they were prepared to cover a larger distance to get there (median: 26.5 km) than 78.6% of peasants who moved to another village (median: 13.1 km). Compared to the countryside, the city offered development in non-agricultural occupations and personal freedom.

In the group of peasant migrants under review, 10.2% had been trained in a specific trade (168 in total, mostly affluent rural craftsmen, such as millers, tavern keepers, or blacksmiths). Interestingly, 15 coachmen were identified among the migrants, presumably individuals with considerable experience in travel and a broader geographical horizon. Similarly, self-sufficient farmers were better acquainted with a wider world as they would often drive wagons with grain (whether their own or the manor's) to the rafting ports or town markets. Then came the peasant sons educated at the expense of their landlords to be musicians (fiddlers, flautists, trumpeters, or organists). A mere 1.8% of the migrants were members of lower-ranking staff involved in manor or village administration. The migrating peasants also represented a number of crafts and trades associated with urban economy. It is also known that some landlords would invest in training a peasant's son in a trade that would be useful for the manor farm (e.g. a papermaker, coppersmith, fisherman, carpenter, or stove fitter). Occasionally (in 36 cases) some individuals are identified by their ethnic background, as Czechs, Muscovites (i.e. Russians), Ruthenians (i.e. Ukrainians), Germans, Silesians, Scots, and Hungarians. The trial files usually do not specify the age of the migrants, but only their marital

status. There is also no more information indicative of the influence of inheritance practices on migrations.

Among the destinations chosen by migrants, a notable pull was exerted by places with tax reliefs for settlers, especially in the mountainous areas, which enjoyed greater autonomy, just several dozen kilometres south of Cracow. That was the direction chosen by peasants wishing to obliterate all ties to their previous place of residence. The highest number of peasants moved from villages which were noble property (92.4%), next from Church property (4.9%), and royal villages (2.8%). However, most people migrated to noble villages (58.4%), while a significant percentage of peasants went to royal villages (29%), Church and municipal property (12.6%). This situation was likely connected to better living standards on royal property than elsewhere.

The reasons for migration are usually not clearly stated. Those recurrent in the studied materials include the death of the household head (in those cases the children would migrate together, sometimes with their mother; they would also start their new households either in one village or in several settlements just a few kilometres apart and owned by one landlord, and would continue to have close relations), death of the spouse (mostly for migrating widows), or even offspring. Other reasons for departure were poor crops and hunger (a circumstance under which the law allowed for seasonal migration in search of employment), excessive living costs or amount of forced labour within the feudal system, a crime committed by the migrant, or being a victim of a conflict between two neighbouring noble landlords.

The trial files seldom provide information on the subsequent fate of the migrants. Some of those peasants already had previous experience of migration and the village that they specified in court was not their place of birth. Some of them were also former city-dwellers. After some time, even more than a decade, some migrants moved on, others returned to their home village or were forced to do so by their feudal lord. However, it is hard to determine the real number of this kind of migrants. Some of the migrants settled in towns and started families there. Those individuals would often acquire a surname referring to the name of the village of their origin (Nagata 2002). A small number would obliterate all information of their provenance for personal reasons and would live under a new name to throw off those in pursuit, not always successfully. Once they reached the city, the migrants would take up lodging with their prospective employers, or in manors outside the municipal jurisdiction, or with their relatives and acquaintances using more affordable accommodation in the suburbs. Some started work as house servants or were trained for a trade.

6. Conclusion

Despite the deficiencies of the sources, it is possible to demonstrate that migration was a common phenomenon in the lives of Polish peasants in the preindustrial era. The migration flows of peasant population and the lower strata of city-dwellers were not as far-reaching or international as in the case of the elite echelons of merchants and craftsmen, or the nobles. Such flows took place mostly within the areas of the various towns' and cities' local markets and were strongly connected with the process of social change (Lucassen and Lucassen 2017). Permanent flows of peasants towards the same destinations (shuttle and periodic movements) contributed to the development of durable migration networks. Peasants migrated both legally and illegally. Their decision to change their place of employment was influenced by factors relating to their desire to improve their lives. But it was only permanent settlement in a town that afforded an opportunity to change their social status and gain personal freedom. Other factors influencing permanent movements included peasants' ongoing contacts with the local market and with towns, exchange of information, and participation in the circulation of goods and money. The proactive policies of affluent peasants, feudal lords and burghers who needed labour also influenced the migrants' decisions to move. Feudalism proved unable to completely prevent the nascent capitalist developments. A factor that hampered internal migrations to a higher degree than the law was the deteriorating economic situation of Poland and the progressive impoverishment of society, especially in the cities. This situation would continue to become increasingly acute until the mass migrations to major urban centres and to other European countries or America in the 19th century. In the preindustrial period, the internal migrations in the Polish lands were not of sufficient magnitude to ensure the demographic development of cities, which was the case in Western European countries. This was caused not only by the overall low level of population density and the agricultural nature of the country but also by the policies of the government dominated by the noble estate who did not perceive cities as a factor conducive to their own growth and development.

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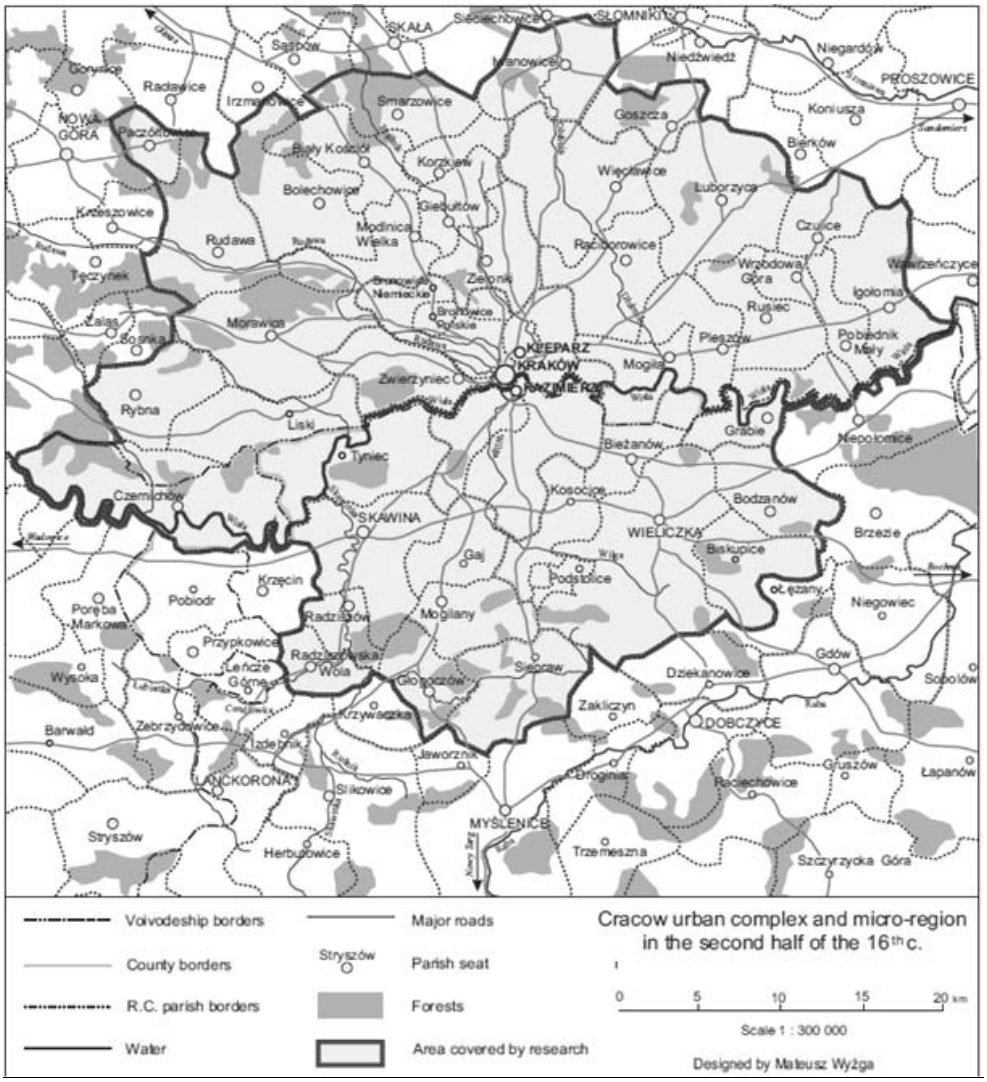
Map 1.


SKAŁA
SŁOMNIKI
PROSZOWICE
NOWA GÓRA
KRZESZOWICE
RUDAWA
TĘCZYNIEK
ZAŁAS
MORAWICA
RYBNA
LISKI
TYNIEC
CZERNICHÓW
KRZĘCIN
POBIODR
PORĘBA MARKOWA
PRZYPKOWICE
LEŃCZE
WYSOKA
BARWAŁD
ZEBRZYDOWICE
JADOWNIK
ANCKORONA
STRYSZÓW
HERBUROWICE
SŁIKOWICE
MYSŁENICE
TRZEMESZNA
SZCZYRZYOKA GÓRA
ŁAPANÓW
GRUSZÓW
RADECHOWICE
DROGINIA
JAWORZNIK
KRZYWACZKA
GŁOGOCZÓW
RADZISŁAWICE
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SKAWINA
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PODSZKOLE
KOSOCICE
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BISKUPICE
BIEŻANÓW
GRABIE
PIEKARY
MOGIŁA
ZWIERZYNIEC
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GIEBUŁTÓW
MODLNICA WIELKA
BOLECHOWICE
KORZKIEW
BIAŁY KOŚCIÓŁ
SMARZOWICE
IRZMANOWICE
RADAWICE
GORYSZICE
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SĘDZISZÓW
IWANOWICE
NIEDŹWIEDŹ
NIEGARDÓW
KONIUSZA
BIEŃKÓW
GOSZCZA
WIĘCKOWICE
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CZUDEC
RACZYCZOWICE
WRZOSOWA GÓRA
RUSIEC
PIEKARY
IGOŁOMIA
WAWRZEŃCZYCE
POBIEDNIK MAŁY
NIEPOŁOMICE
BODZANÓW
BRZEZIE
OŁCZANY
NIEGOWIEC
GDÓW
DZIEKANOWICE
SOBOLÓW
ZAKLICZYN
DOBCZYCE
Volvodeship borders
County borders
R.C. parish borders
Water
Major roads
Stryszów
Parish seat
Forests
Area covered by research
Cracow urban complex and micro-region in the second half of the 16th c.
0 5 10 15 20 km
Scale 1 : 300 000
Designed by Mateusz Wyżga

Azorean Intra-mobility through the Lens of the Cities of Angra and Horta (1825-1835)

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Abstract. This paper introduces and discusses new evidence for the study of mobility in the Azorean archipelago around 1830. Mobility and internal migrations within the archipelago are analysed through the lens of two urban spaces: Angra do Heroísmo (Terceira Island) and Horta (Faial Island). By examining the population lists, where birthplace is given for some parishes, it is possible to obtain a first image of the share of foreign-born citizens, as well as their geographic and socio-economic profile. Although these lists were made in 1832 when the Liberal army was in the Azores, in total about 21% of residents came from other islands, revealing potentially strong migratory movements towards the urban centres. The presence of foreigners from the central and occidental groups is quite significant, as opposed to those from São Miguel (oriental group), the most populated island. This suggests different migration trajectories in the archipelago, especially in the case of those originating in the oriental group (São Miguel and Santa Maria islands). Another important conclusion is that the majority of the foreigners recorded are women, most of which were likely employed as servants and tavern owners.

Mobility is also inferred in this paper by using marriage records for the city of Angra do Heroísmo (1825-1835). The records confirm the predominance of female population married (794 marriages against 598). The data also indicates that the high level of mobility shown by the population lists is accompanied by effective marriage intensity, indicating a capacity for settling down and establishing a family.

Keywords: mobility, internal migrations, migration history, Azores islands

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1. Introduction

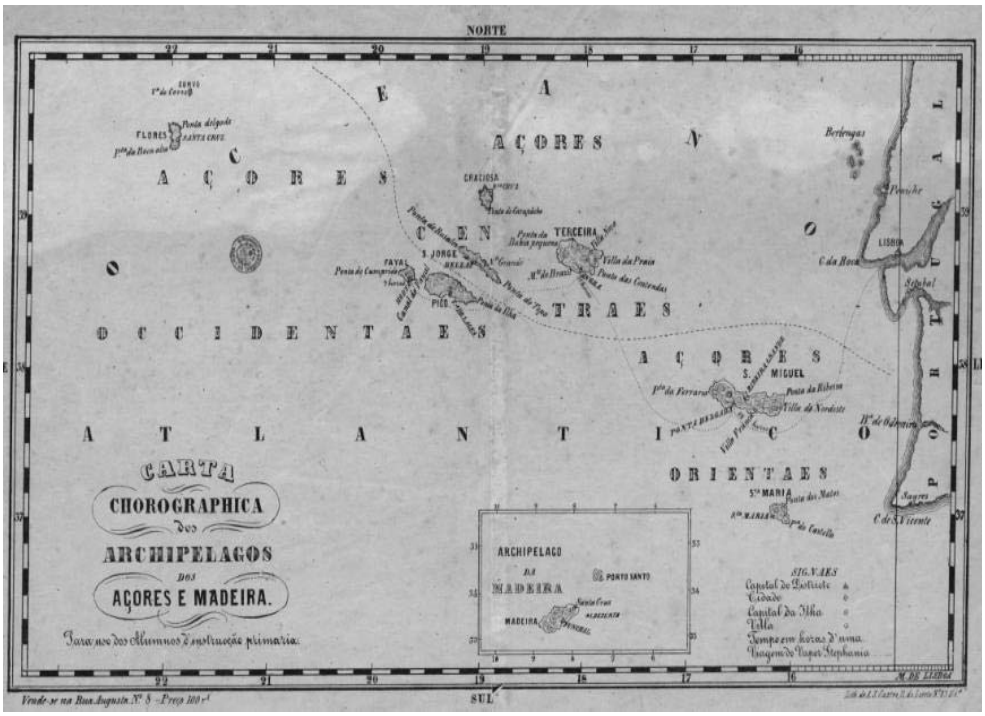
Historians and economists have recently begun to pay more attention to internal migrations, which have frequently been neglected in the framework of global migrations in world history. The historiographical debates initiated by Patrick Manning (2010), and more recently by Jan and Leo Lucassen (2014). revealed that internal mobility in European societies was more intense than had previously been presumed, even before the Industrial Revolution.

In a recent introduction to a volume dedicated to cross-cultural migrations, Jan and Leo Lucassen emphasized that historiography privileged long distance migrations, those which implied cross international (or intercontinental) boundaries, relegating internal migrations to a secondary role, even though they involved the movement of millions of individuals either in Europe and Asia. Therefore, certain migrants, and particularly those more "mobile" due to its professions, such as seasonal workers, sailors, and merchants are regularly excluded from migration histories (2014: 7-8). But there are understandable reasons for neglecting short distance migrations: the available sources for direct estimations are extremely rare, and it is therefore necessary to develop specific and indirect methods.

The archipelago of the Azores offers an interesting case study in the debate on internal migrations across Europe's economically peripheral areas. The region is situated approximately 1,300 km West of continental Portugal and encompasses nine islands with very different sizes and characteristics. The Azores are traditionally viewed as a rural and peripheral region of Portugal. but different realities coexisted within this area. The economically dynamic and cosmopolitan nature of the islands of São Miguel, Terceira, and to a certain degree, Faial, contrasted with that of the other islands, which tended to be based on subsistence farming and cattle breeding, and were hardly integrated in the more active economic cycles (João 1991).

For the period of 1830–1835 about 209,000 inhabitants were computed, representing a demographic density of 89,9 inhab/km^2. which was much higher than that of the continent. with c. 43,0 inhab./km^2 (Matos and Silva 2008: 84). São Miguel, Terceira and Faial represented 68% of the total population of the entire archipelago, showing the considerable demographic concentration in these islands. There were three official cities: Ponta Delgada (island of São Miguel) with 13,000 inhabitants, Angra do Heroísmo (island of Terceira) with 10,000 inhabitants, and the town of Horta on the island of Faial. which was elevated to city in 1833, when it counted around 7,000 souls.

Map 1. The Azores islands (1839)



Source: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. "Carta chorographica dos archipelagos dos Açores e Madeira". http://purl.pt/1790/3/.

Ponta Delgada and Angra were considered large cities for Portuguese standards, since there were only ten urban centres in the whole country surpassing the 10,000-inhabitant threshold. Around 1835, Ponta Delgada was at the level of Coimbra, while Angra do Heroísmo was closer to Ovar. The newly elevated city of Horta was at the level of Faro, the capital of the province of the Algarve (Matos and Sousa 2008: 576-577; Matos and Marques 2002: 24-26).

The importance of studying inter-island mobility in the Azores based on its cities is interesting for both Portugal and Europe. Despite their apparent "peripherality", the Azores acted as an important rotation point between Europe and the Americas. In the 16th century, Angra do Heroísmo became a vital port for the *Carreira da India* (the "India Run" sea route), an annual connection between Lisbon and Goa, and later for the Spanish sea routes to the New World. Apart from the dynamism of the cities of Angra do Heroísmo and Ponta Delgada in the European and American trade routes, there were

also important migratory currents towards Brazil, which began in the 17th century.

In the early 19th century, particularly during the transition from the Old Regime to Liberalism (c. 1820-1835), the Azores continued to be an archipelago with two "speeds". Historians have pointed out how the subsistence farming economy prevailed and persisted on the islands but contrasted with very active areas. The "orange cycle", with massive exports to England, brought great economic prosperity to São Miguel, especially to the city of Ponta Delgada (Miranda 1989). At the same time, the port of Horta on the island of Faial became increasingly important, particularly as a platform for the exportation of the famous wine from the island of Pico and for supplying whalers from the United States. Both the growing economic importance of these cities (including Angra do Heroísmo), and their geo-strategic situation continued to attract foreign communities, merchants, and diplomats, especially from England, France, and the Netherlands. The consulate of the United States of America was established in Horta in 1795, reflecting a strengthening of economic relations and the increasing importance of the city as a port of call for American whaling ships. In the period under study the Netherlands also had a consular delegation in Horta, and England had another one in Ponta Delgada.

Azorean historiography has emphasized the intense rhythm of emigration to Brazil, and later, from the 1830s onwards, to the United States. Attention has also been given to the movement of inhabitants to the metropolis, either via isolated emigration sponsored by the crown, or large-scale military conscription. Nonetheless, internal mobility in the Azores (as well as for mainland Portugal) has received little attention.

This paper is part of a wider study of the Azorean population structure and mobility in the early 1830s. given the existence of exceptional quality censuses for most of the islands. This is an exploratory paper, and we chose to focus on the cities as reflections of migration among the islands. In an archipelago in which living conditions on the smaller islands were deteriorating, the large cities functioned as repositories for an external workforce that could be employed in a great variety of services and economic activities.

The period under analysis – 1825-1835 – coincides with the onset of a political crisis for the kingdom of Portugal in which the archipelago played a vital role. It was here that a Liberal military expedition to the mainland was prepared, headed by the emperor of Brazil, D. Pedro, against the Absolutists. In February of 1829 troops loyal to the Queen disembarked on the island of

Terceira. The following year, with the arrival of new Liberal contingents, along with the exiles from England, the subjugation of the archipelago began, Angra do Heroísmo became the capital of the kingdom of Portugal until the definitive victory of the Liberals in 1834 (Enes 2008).

The chief objective of this paper is to present an initial picture of the internal mobility in the archipelago based on the cities of Angra do Heroísmo and Horta, both situated in the central group of islands. The choice of these spaces was founded on the existence of populations lists included the subjects' origins, as well as on the fact that the circulation of people appeared to be more intense among the five islands of the central group (Graciosa, Terceira. São Jorge, Faial and Pico). In the first place, it provides an overview vision of these cities in 1832 in terms of the origin of their residents by using population samples. This picture may be slightly distorted due to the military contingent stationed there (mostly in Angra, Terceira island) and the influx of other Azorean people necessary for the Liberal cause. In a second phase, a study will be conducted using marriage registers for the city of Angra do Heroísmo between 1825 and 1835. This data alone is not conclusive in terms of inter-island mobility. For that it would be necessary to know the actual residence of the brides and grooms, which we will address in our research at a later stage. However, the analysis of this information may be a good indicator of mobility, and at the same time will provide information about the possible impact of the presence of the Liberal army on the island between 1829 and 1832.

2. Azorean mobility (c. 1800-1835): what we do know already?

Inter-Azorean mobility in the Azores for the first half of 19th century has not attracted historians so far, and has not received a quantitative approach. Despite important studies by Maria Norberta Amorim, mostly for Pico and Faial islands by using marriage records, we only know little about the concentration of Azoreans who came from other islands in the urban centres coming.

Matos and Sousa suggested a greater mobility in the more populated islands, particularly in the urban centres, where more marriages occurred because of the larger number of available services and because of needs associated to military life. For example, between 1827 and 1832, 65% of male newly-weds from the parish of the Sé in Terceira island came from outside the parish (Matos and Sousa 2008), but it is unclear whether marriage in these places resulted in the settlement of the newly-weds. The most populated centres received people from remoter and poorer parishes - a city was only a city if it attracted peasants from the surrounding areas. Permanent internal

dislocation was often associated with marriage and mobility between parishes, and to the allure of cities and towns. In the smaller islands and in the remoter parishes, there is evidence that marriages with outsiders occurred, Norberta Amorim estimated for three parishes in the south of Pico that between 1770 and 1830 almost 5% of the residents were not local. In the second half of the eighteenth century, 14.6% of male newly-weds in those parishes came from outside; for women the percentage was lower, reaching only 5.3% (Amorim 1991: 109-111). In her study of Criação Velha, in Pico, Hermínia Mesquita calculated that between 1801 and 1839, 19.5% of newlyweds hailed from outside the parish. Yet out of the total number of non-local newlyweds, 64.1% came from nearby parishes (Mesquita 1998: 51-52). Paulo Teodoro de Matos estimated for the parish of Ribeira Seca (1800–1850) on the island of São Jorge, that out of about 15% of marriages one of the spouses was non-local; of those, 71% were from S. Jorge (Matos 2007: 181).

Although Azoreans apparently circulated little around the archipelago, certain indicators, like marriages, show that the islands weren't as isolated as is often thought. Studies for the first half of the eighteenth century describe population migration between the islands, which was stronger in the central group (Meneses 1997: 56-58). There are records of migration between Santa Maria and São Miguel, and even the isolated island of Flores registered mobility to Faial, the biggest urban centre of the region at that time (Meneses 1996: 70). In the first decades of the nineteenth century the increase in population may have caused the growth of the number of dependants, causing the population to circulate with more frequently.

Most of the internal population flow occurred among rural labourers and domestic servants, craftsmen and merchants. Beggars and indigent people, which comprised a quite sizeable group in the days of the Old Regime, also circulated. Seen as a dangerous group, they were subjected to several municipal regulations that were intended to restrict their wandering. The cyclical food crises enlarged the numbers of these vagrants, endangering the security of people, goods and farm products, whereby the control over these groups was reinforced (Meneses 1996: 71).

The authorities of the captaincy-general of Azores (1766-1828) tried to control the population flows and asked the Crown magistrates to prevent the exodus of people from smaller islands that were considered to be in danger of depopulation. For example, in 1806, the royal delegate in Santa Maria was asked to tighten control over departures to São Miguel. In some cases, the Crown magistrates demanded the return of individuals who had left to other areas of the archipelago without proper authorization (Costa 2005: 206).

However, unlike the regions of the mainland where large contingents of rural labourers moved around to work in the grain and grape harvests, there are no records of large-scale movements or organized networks of migrant workers. In other words, it was rare for a peasant or a landless worker in Terceira to leave for Graciosa and work in the grape harvests, or for a resident of S. Jorge to get on a boat to go work in the wheat fields of Terceira, or any of them to go to Pico to work on a daily basis for the grape growers of Madalena. Even so, in studies of the southern part of the island of Pico, Norberta Amorim demonstrates that even in the eighteenth century, permanent movement away from the community "was not less than a third of the initial population of each generation" (Amorim 1991: 354). In 1820, when Sá da Bandeira took refuge in the house of the British consul William Read in Terceira island during the Liberal Wars, all the servants were from São Jorge. According to his *Diário da Guerra Civil* (Diary of the Civil War), the Azoreans continued to emigrate to Brazil, and residents of islands like São Jorge left for São Miguel, Terceira, and other islands where they could earn better wages (Sá da Bandeira 1974). In 1834, Luís Meireles do Canto e Castro, remarked that in Terceira "every day many people are coming in from other islands to serve in the houses of the city, and some to work as labourers" (Canto and Castro 1834). Existing records indicate that these populations that moved and migrated between the various islands were mainly male, but there was also a smaller female contingent, apart from the number of women who worked as domestic servants.

2. Sources

2. 1. Civil population lists (1832)

The empirical support of this research is firstly based on the population lists of Angra do Heroísmo and Horta in 1832. Ordered by the Provisional Liberal Government of Azores on the 26th of November 1830, these civil lists were possibly prepared by the priests, who knew the population best and were used to produce population censuses following the ecclesiastic orders.

This paper makes use of several villages' lists collected for Sé. Conceição, Santa Luzia and São Pedro urban parishes of Angra do Heroísmo (a total of 10,011 persons) and Angústias, Conceição and Matriz from Faial island (a total of 6,981persons). All these parishes are located within the urban perimeter of the two cities. The lists contain the following information:

a) Location;
b) Household number;
c) Household leader;

d) Name;
e) Gender;
f) Age;
g) Marital Status;
h) Kinship;
i) Occupation.

Contrary to what was common in Azores in the mid-19th century, these enumerations covered all population, including children younger than 7 years. If it wasn't for the absence of a specific time reference (day and hour), this source would be a complete and reliable population census. The village's lists however contain only limited information about residents' occupation: for the males, it is only given for heads of household, servants, and, in rare occasions, military; for the females the limitations are even higher, as the activities mentioned generally only included servants, weavers or tavern keepers. Priests likely assumed that women's main occupation was that of housewife and, because of that, the total number of women with any occupation is significantly lower than the number for males.

Two lists – Sé of Angra do Heroísmo city and Angústias of Horta town – also detail the residents' homeland, For Sé, the list covers about 22% of the total city's population, while Angústias's covers 20%. These two villages will be used as a proxy to the study of geographical origin of Angra's and Horta's residents in 1832

2.2. Parish records of marriage (1825-1832)

The second document corpus used in this exploratory paper are the marriage records of the four parishes of Angra do Heroísmo, on a total of 975 celebrations between 1825 and 1835. This information is quite stable in terms of contents and includes the date of marriage, the affianced couple's names, filiation, birthplace, residence and marital status. At times, the source includes observations of the male's occupation, especially for military and superior public servants and legitimated offspring.

The analysis of this data is important for deepening the dynamics of inter-Azorean mobility. The occurrence of an extraordinary event - that of quartering a large military contingent between 1828 and 1832 - is also relevant because it has generated significant impacts on the intensity of marriage. The first obstacle in the use of these registers is the fact that it is not known to what extent grooms from different islands have settled in the city of Angra or Terceira. Only a more detailed investigation through the crossing of marriages

prior to 1831 with the 1832 lists can provide a more concrete idea of this reality. We know that in the Azores, as in the mainland, it was traditional for a man to marry in the bride's parish, and later to establish a family in his place of origin.

The data collected may provide a first - necessarily indirect and provisional - picture of intra - Azorean mobility, in the certainty that the search for a partner outside the island is in itself a first indicator of this mobility. Additionally, this information allows us to shed light on an extraordinary reality in the city - the vast military contingent stationed there that has greatly increased marriages in the capital of the city.

3. Data discussion

3.1. Geographical profile of the resident population in Angra and Horta (1832)

The non-natural populations of Terceira and Horta's islands, where the cities of Angra and Faial are situated, are given in table 1. The results allow us to obtain interesting perspectives on inter-island mobility, even though they may be disturbed by an additional mobility derived from the Liberal expedition, mainly in Angra.

Table 1. Geographic provenance of the residents of Angra and Horta (1832)

	Angra		Horta	
	N	%	N	%
Abroad	38	1.7	22	1.3
Portugal (Mainland)	103	4.6	16	0.9
Madeira islands	17	0.8	1	0.1
Santa Maria	5	0.2	1	0.1
São Miguel	18	0.8	14	0.8
Terceira	1589	71.2	29	1.7
Graciosa	70	3.1	21	1.2
São Jorge	219	9.8	29	1.7
Pico	125	5.6	206	11.9
Faial	31	1.4	1337	77.3
Flores	15	0.7	54	3.1
Corvo	1	0.0	0	0.0
Total	2231	100.0	1730	100.0
External population	642	28.8	393	22.7
Azorean population	484	21.7	354	20.5

In total, about 21% of residents came from other islands, revealing potentially strong migratory movements towards the urban centers. The attraction of external populations from the Azores tends to follow the logic of both geographic proximity and the demographic weight of the islands from which the migrants originate. As expected in both urban spaces, the natives of the central group islands (Terceira, Graciosa, São Jorge, Pico and Faial) tend to be predominant: 92% in Angra and 81% in Horta. However, there are dissonant points:

a) In Angra the most representative group of foreigners come from São Jorge (almost 10% of the inhabitants), an island of poor economic conditions, but much closer to Horta. We know that São Jorge developed more intense economic ties with Terceira's economy since the colonization, which will certainly explain this reality.

b) Horta showed a greater attractiveness for inhabitants of the small and ultra peripheral island of Flores, far from the central group. Although the distance from Flores to Horta and Angra was similar, it is important to note that Horta's appeal (54 residents) was much stronger than that of Angra (15 residents).

The mobility studied from the central group reveals another reality: the weak representation of natives of the island of São Miguel. In the period under study the population of this island was equivalent to 40% of the residents of the archipelago, 11 but less than 20 individuals lived in these spaces. How to explain such results? The most suggestive hypothesis may be related to the dynamism of São Miguel's economy, generating more job opportunities. At the same time the closest proximity to the mainland (especially from the best maritime connections) may be part of the explanation. It is also necessary to postulate possible cultural issues, such as a possible opposition to the other islands, still today well established in the local populations. It is certain that a systematic study will be necessary to the city of Ponta Delgada to realize to what point it will be a pole of attraction of the remaining islands.

Table 2. Characteristics of external Azorean population in Angra and Horta (1832)

Angra	N	Sex ratio	Average age	Heads of household	Servants
São Miguel	18	175	30.2	61.1	18.2
Terceira	1589	53.5	27.7	17.4	56.9
Graciosa	70	75.0	30.4	30.0	60.0
São Jorge	219	59.9	30.2	12.3	43.8
Pico	125	76.1	30.2	24.0	62.0
Faial	31	72.2	30.0	32.3	50.0
Flores	15	66.7	29.9	33.3	33.3
Horta					
Terceira	29	141.7	38.3	51.7	10.0
São Jorge	29	70.6	37.5	44.8	21.4
Pico	206	77.6	37.7	38.8	32.4
Flores	54	37.0	37.7	45.3	18.2

The disaggregation of data about the residents of islands outside of Terceira (city of Angra) and Faial (town of Horta), allows us to reach several conclusions regarding sex ratio and average age.

Sex ratio - As far as sex ratios are concerned, we note that the urban spaces described herein were mainly inhabited by women – 67.4% in Angra and 74.2% in Horta – which raises questions about the role played by the females in the cities, often carrying out important functions in the management of services and businesses, and many working as maids. Women from other islands also comprised the largest part of the outsider population in these urban spaces (Table 2).

Invariably, the so-called peripheral islands (Graciosa, São Jorge, Pico and Flores) channelled more women than men to the larger cities of the central group. In the case of Angra, the surplus of females helped to reduce the existing gender imbalance, as the number of women from the island of Terceira in Angra was greatly inferior to the number of men. The first conclusion that we can draw is that there was greater female mobility towards urban centres. Part of the explanation for this may be due to female occupation as servants and maids, although it was not unusual for men to carry out these functions. Unfortunately, the information about occupations is far from systematic, which makes it difficult to get an in-depth view of this reality.
In Angra, natives from the island of São Miguel were, however, mostly male. The same thing occurred in Horta in relation to those from Terceira. Although

both cases are not very representative, the prominence of males can be explained by the activities they performed. There we find tradesmen, government employees and military personnel, who most likely had a "drifting" nature. In Horta, there were large numbers of seamen from Terceira.

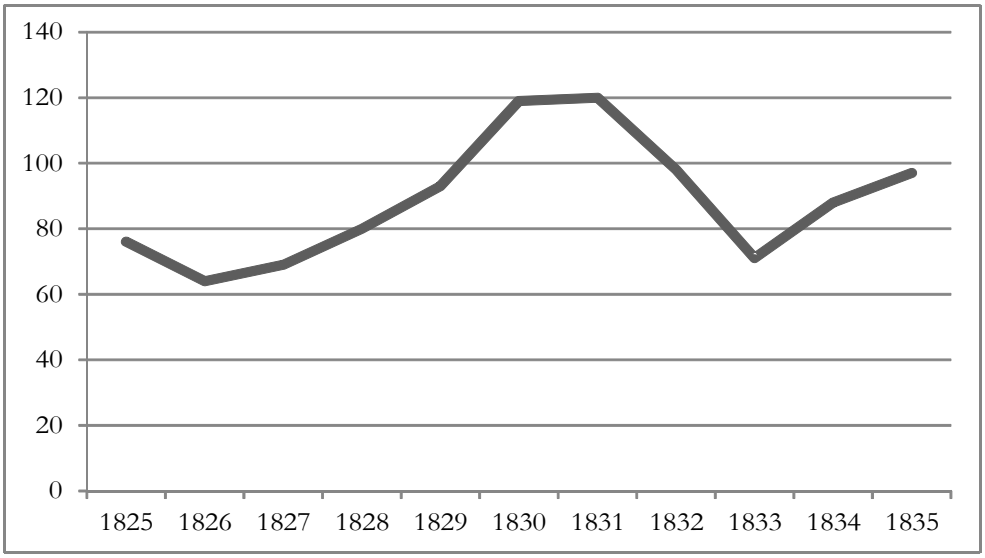
Average ages – the average age of Azorean migrants in the city of Angra showed extraordinary proximity, varying between 29.9 (Flores) and 30.4 years (Graciosa). In Horta the reality was identical (37.5 for residents of São Jorge and 38.3 for those from Terceira), but here the population from outside had quite higher average ages. This could indicate different migratory profiles, In Angra the capacities for settling down (normally in order to constitute a family) would have been smaller given the high cost of living. In Horta the reality was very different, where there was a part of the population from outside (mainly from Pico) who settled permanently. Proof of this is the percentage of outsiders listed as household heads. In Horta 40.5% of residents from other islands were heads of households; in Angra this percentage was only 26.7%.

3.2. Intensity of marriage and provenance of couples in Angra do Heroísmo (1825-1835)

In the period between 1825 and 1835, 975 marriages were registered in the city of Angra. Figure 1 shows that the average rose significantly between 1828 and 1832, when the Liberal troops were stationed on the island. The averages for marriages (adjusted according to the dates of the first and last disembarkations) are as follows:

a) Before disembarkation (1825-16/02/1829)	73
b) During the stationing of the troops (16/02/1829 - 22/06/1832)	119
c) After the troops' departure (22/06/1832 - 1835)	78

Figure 1. Number of marriages in Angra, 1825-1835



During that period, 199 military were registered as having married in the city, out of which 136 (68.3%) were from continental Portugal. Out of 166 soldiers from Portugal, 107 (78.6%) were married in the city during the time that the Liberal troops were stationed on the island.

Apart from those 166 soldiers, there were another 65 men from Portugal whose marriage was registered in the city[1]. The most notable data is related to the number of women from Terceira who chose a partner from outside the region (mostly military men). Before the arrival of the troops to the island (1825 to February of 1829) the annual average of marriages between women who sought natives from Portugal was 28, which decreased again after the departure of the troops (June 1832 to 1835) to an average of 21. But during the presence of the Liberal army this average rose to an impressive 83. During the entire period, out of 603 brides from the city, 21% chose a partner from the continent.

How can the apparent fever for individuals from continental Portugal be explained? Awe towards outsiders from the archipelago, especially military men, may provide one explanation. In fact, it was not unusual for a couple to legitimize children born out of wedlock, after frequently living together. However, another important fact should be taken into consideration: in 1832 there were only 54 native men in Angra for every 100 women (Table 2). This

[1] Many of these may have been soldiers, with information omitted by the priest.

big discrepancy in the marriage market may explain the significant increase in the number of marriages in such a short space of time, especially since many of these women appeared to come from less advantaged social situations. Despite the political and military crisis in the island of Terceira, its repercussions were felt in the daily life of its people, encouraging the attraction of outsiders and subsequent mobility.

It is important here to analyse inter-Azorean mobility by the geography of grooms and brides. Up to what point did individuals from different islands inter-marry, or marry natives of the island of Terceira? Was there a correlation between the significant population of outsiders registered in 1832 and the number of registered marriages?

Table 3. Number of married people in Angra per origin (Azorean archipelago), 1825-1835

Island	Men	Women
Corvo	2	1
Faial	10	13
Flores	7	8
Graciosa	21	27
Pico	42	39
Santa Maria	0	3
São Jorge	52	82
São Miguel	9	18
Other islands	**143**	**191**
Terceira	455	603
Azores (total)	**598**	**794**

The results shown in table 3 allow us to draw several conclusions about the profile of marriages according to geographic origin. In the first place, around 24.0% of married individuals were not from the island of Terceira. This percentage is close to the number of Azorean migrants in 1832 (21.7%). The data indicates that the high level of mobility shown by the population lists is accompanied by an effective marriage intensity, indicating capacity for settling down and constituting a family.

A second conclusion is that on all the islands (except for Pico and Corvo) more women got married than men. The total sex ratio for marriages of non-natives from Terceira was 75.3%, a figure that is close to the sex ratio

of the resident population of outsiders in 1832 (71.3%). Although there appeared to be a larger inter-Azorean female mobility in Angra, it is also true that these were the ones that married the most; in this respect, women would have had the same prospects for marrying as men.

4. Conclusions

This paper is the result of vast research about Azorean mobility in the decade of the 1830s. especially regarding large urban centres. Azorean historiography has already emphasized the importance of migratory flows among the islands, especially among the central group. Further studies to quantify this mobility are still missing, particularly during the period of the Liberal wars.

The results obtained indicate a high mobility in the city of Angra do Heroísmo (Terceira island) and the town of Horta (Faial island) in 1832, since approximately 21% of the population was from other islands, mainly São Jorge, Pico and Graciosa. These figures corroborate their prominence among the large cities in the central group of islands and support the idea that even in a relatively peripheral archipelago, mobility was very significant.

Contrary to what would be imagined, women predominated in these flows, often working as servants in wealthier households. The circulation of the workforce appeared to be high, encompassing a female sector potentially disadvantaged in their islands of origin. In any case, women from outside seemed to benefit from the same opportunities for marriage as men did. The data seems to indicate an effective capacity for settlement in urban centres (bigger in the case of Horta), with the subsequent constitution of a family.

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Historical Geography of Rural House Types and Premises of Social and Economic History. Moldova, Muntenia and Oltenia, Late 18th Century – Early 20th Century

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Abstract. House characteristics could provide interesting talking points regarding wider social and economic evolutions, if put in a framework that includes statistical representativity and spatial reconstruction. We engaged in a study that would enlarge the existing framework (greatly based on results from the 1912 census), by approaching unused sources or by better analyzing sources that have already been published in non-digital form. This paper aims to present the results of historical reconstruction and to discuss their possible implications in other related subjects. Even though the complexity of the matter permitted little other than hypotheses, these were enough to formulate research questions regarding aspects like mobility, government reform, the effects of war on habitat, and the relation between house, household and wealth.

Keywords: habitat, house typology, Wallachia, Moldavia, census, household, Stahl

1. Introduction

The present study originated as part of our unpublished doctoral thesis, in which we tried to document household living patterns in Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bucovina, and to provide explanations for different territorial differences. The general premise was that household structure was the result of co-residents reacting to hardships and demands, which in turn were determined by factors such as wealth, ecology, or consumer/producer ratio; or were the direct expression of social norms (like inheritance practices). One factor we took into account was human habitat (houses and their characteristics). The ideal framework for analyzing the relation between demography and habitat implies the presence in the same source of information of both sorts.

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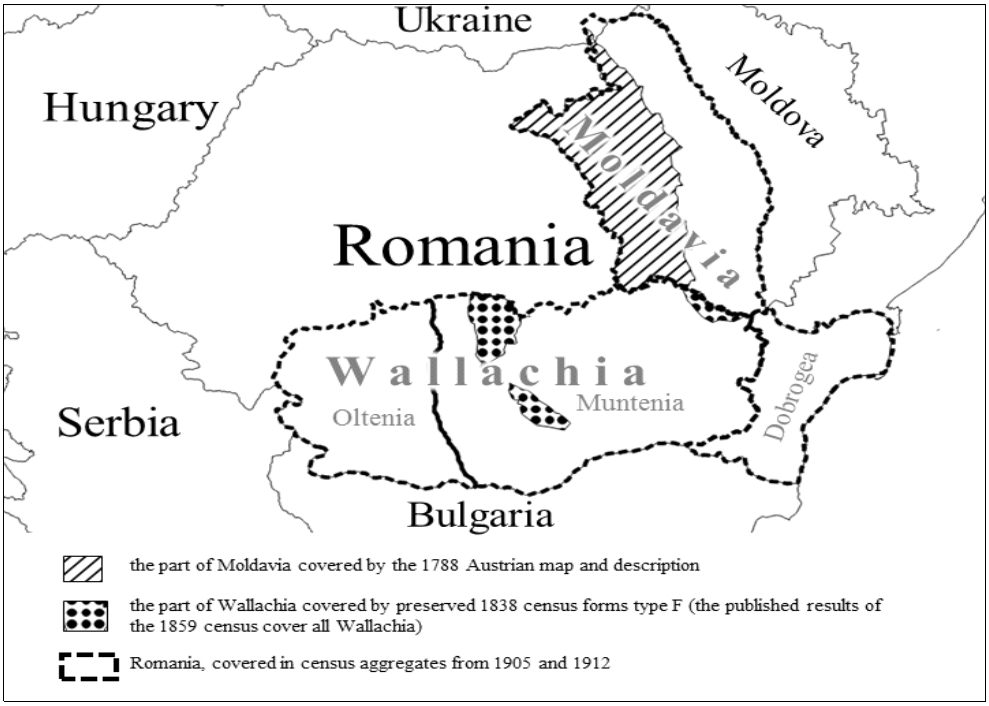
However, such sources appear late or, for all we know, they have almost no preserved material. The next possibility was to combine individual information from different sources. This time, sources on houses were too hard to interpret (see note 1). We abandoned the prospects of analysis based on individual data and turned to regional-level analysis. We wanted to see how demographic patterns varied geographically compared to patterns of habitat characteristics. Our first impulse was to look at ethnological works that map types of traditional houses, but, once again, this approach proved to be flawed. As opposed to our own generated demographic maps, designed to represent cross-sectional data, most ethnologic maps do not reflect statistical representativity, but merely locate case studies that span over a wide period. Thus, a problem of incompatibility arose: we needed results that would provide representativity. We finally resorted to our own attempt to reconstruct the spread in space and time of house types.

We approached 18th and 19th century sources, which were previously untapped or used only limitedly, and engaged on a path of geographical and statistical analysis. This kind of reconstruction can, at the least, benefit the knowledge of rural habitat, as a needed alternative to case studies and ethnologic maps, as well as a continuation of previous efforts that have covered mostly the 20th century. Moreover, the results are enough to draw hypotheses and early conclusions regarding the interaction between habitat and demography, society and, in general, the process of modernization. This paper aims to present both sets of results: possible geographies of rural habitat in late 18th– early 20th century and broader implications in the field of social history.

2. Current knowledge on rural house characteristics

Our focus is on the regions of modern-day Romania that in the past formed the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. The two principalities existed since the middle ages, when they came under Ottoman control but maintained autonomy and local administration. They would become the theatre of confrontation between Russia, Turkey and the Austria in the 18th and 19th centuries. In 1859 they united into Romania, which gained independence in 1878 and became a kingdom in 1881. The study thus covers the period of transition to modern Romania and to the modern Romanian state, in which the number of historical sources greatly increased. Fitting this evolution, our study uses both foreign and local sources.

Figure 1. Studied territory, by source



Knowledge and information in general about houses originated in several paradigms. Official bureaucracy sought to create instruments that would better serve government needs; sometimes inquiries were ordered as prospects for social reforms, otherwise such sources were compiled for purely statistical reasons. These circumstances varied from local authorities to military governments. Russian and Austrian occupations of Moldavia and Wallachia saw the army high commands preoccupied with housing troops and headquarters, so numerical sources on houses were ordered, and conducted by either army officers or by local officials in 1788, 1810, 1833, 1835, 1849, just to count the ones that are familiar to us. For native authorities, houses did not generally play a practical role, at least not after 1831, when the old fiscal practices were overwritten by Russian imposed constitutional laws (the Organic Regulations). Most of the population's obligations were not settled by house, but by family, in the fiscal sense of the word. The fiscal family, regardless of living patterns, was the universal administrative working unit. Local and government taxes were paid per family and the number of families of each village determined balances between central and local budgets,

recruitment, the establishment of schools and parishes. Therefore, native authorities began recording houses later than military occupants, and for different reasons. The first large scale recordings of houses were general censuses (for statistical purposes): 1838 (Wallachia) and 1859 (both principalities), only to continue later on, in 1899 and 1912. Other sources came as a by-product of attempts to modernize rural society. During the village systematization in the 1830s, local Wallachian authorities were required to compile lists of materials that had to be supplied to each villager for the building of their new house (Novac 2006: 299-307)[1].

Scientific paradigms were offered by ethnologists, historians, archeologists, architects and physicians. Needless to say, archeological approaches gave way only to case studies focused on better preserved houses or remains, which often were urban or belonged to the elites. Historians followed a similar trend of focusing on the elites and/or urban population (Apetrei 2009, Iacob 2011) while some included rural houses in discussions of the cultural perception of health issues and modernization (Bărbulescu and Popovici 2005, Bărbulescu 2015).

Like in other fields, mapping and quantification is fundamental in understanding any correlation between material culture, social relations, and development. But house typologies were rarely approached in this manner. Ethnologists attempted to map typologies but in most cases the results simply locate physical remains, which should not be read as showing a majority of the characteristics or models from certain areas. In few studies where representativity is sought after, the data comes from very different historical periods (Ghinoiu 2003 and subsequent publications from the same series). The lack of empirical basis for generalization is however understandable. Because case studies can be so meticulous (implying measuring, inventorying, drawing and even preserving), it is impossible to gather large amounts of material from a wide territory.

A solution in this circumstance is to use other sources that allow generalization, if not directly than at least through extrapolation. Physicians, scholars, and government officials from late 19th early 20th century took on the task of researching house characteristics on a wide basis, in their quest to solve health and social problems. It is their efforts (Scraba 1907, Colescu 1920) that are so far the most consistent and most often cited by historians and

[1] Although this is one of the most detailed 19th century sources regarding house characteristics, we refrained from using it since we still do not know the quantities of materials missing from the list. Some might have been recycled from old houses and not provided by estate or forest owners.

ethnologists alike. Leonida Colescu, the head of Romania's statistical office, published the results of the 1912 census of houses and buildings, joined by an extensive analysis of the aggregates, per administrative districts. While his results were not as detailed as future ethnologic case studies, they are by far the best when it comes to wider territorial reconstruction.

P.H. Stahl was one of few ethnologists who attempted historical and geographical investigations. Like in other fields, he tried to connect history and sociology. Referring strictly to mapping house typologies, he reproduced Colescu's results, representing them on a map (Stahl 1963: 127, 128, 131, 132, 134), thus showing just how much ethnologists were dependent on historical and administrative sources if they wanted to construct a large-scale projection of their object of study. He did however innovate in his study of underground houses in Wallachia (Stahl 1972), where he calculated their share using the census of 1859, and mapped the results by subdistrict, a territorial unit better suited to geographical analysis but rarely used by historians themselves. Stahl also tried to provide historical context and interpretation using a different array of sources, and conclusively linked his observations to the works of Bulgarian ethnologists, while at the same time dismissing the assessments of some Romanian scholars. His study on underground building thus offers an innovative model of interdisciplinary work. Another of Stahl's contributions was focused on the evolution of building layouts and size throughout history. Although he offered visual results (Stahl 1963: 113), as well as building plans for two large (and rather vague) epochs (until 1850 and until 1900), the methodology behind this reconstruction was absent from the work. We don't know whether this was a deduction based on fieldwork or whether Stahl used any historical information. Another scholar who broke out of the realm of case studies was architect Andrei Pănoiu, who used the preserved census forms from 1838 to examine what types of houses were present in Muscel county (Pănoiu 2004: 121-123).

The historical and geographical reconstruction of rural habitat should be therefore pursued in the way P.H. Stahl envisaged it, by combining history and ethnology, but by improving interdisciplinary methods. Since ethnology has already published its findings to a large extent, it is up to historians to offer complementary results, especially since historical sources still have great potential. This paper aims to do just that. We used sources previously left untouched in habitat reconstruction, such as the 1788 description of the Western Moldavian districts and revisited sources already used, but which had not been exploited to the fullest. For 1838 we employed the same source as A. Pănoi but for a more extended territory: breaking down the data by subdistricts

and trying to find a conceptual solution to local terms that seemed to reflect similar or identical types of houses (Andrei Pănoiu tried to explain different terms but some used them as they appeared in the source). For 1859 we examined all types of houses, not just underground ones, and dealt with one important element that seems to have escaped attention so far: house size. What is more, we tried to link information from different sources in order to show evolution through time. Figures and percentages similar to those provided by L. Colescu and mapped by Stahl can be obtained for earlier periods, while Stahl's assessments about house size can be reevaluated by diachronic analysis. Finally, we attempted a historical interpretation of our results.

3. Objectives and sources

Our effort of reconstruction followed two main aspects that can be documented by our sources: general typology and size. By general typology we will refer to houses built below or above ground, with those built above ground being sub-classified according to the construction material of their walls. This classification might seem simplistic when compared to ethnologic models, as it overlooks a variety of sub-categories and excludes layouts (plans). Unfortunately, the historical information available did not allow complex break-downs of each type, as we will explain. By size, we mean the number of rooms.

Given the general goals specified above, we selected the sources available to us that:

- Register any characteristics of houses or buildings. We excluded the sources that offer the number of houses alone;
- Refer to the rural environment;
- Cover all houses or buildings;
- Allow for statistical analysis;
- Allow for geographical analysis at sub-country level.

The oldest source used is the 1788 description of the western districts of Moldavia, attached to the map made by Austrian officers during the 1788-1791 Austro-Russian-Turkish war. The description was compiled as a table with several columns, each row representing one village. For each village, separate columns recorded information on the number of houses, bulls and horses, as well as male individuals, subdivided into taxed householders (*Heuerpflichtige Hausväter*) and other abled men (*ansonst diensbare*). Another column mentioned the distance to other settlements, while the following eight columns contained descriptive entries, each assigned to a different issue (settlements, solid

buildings, forests, meadows and swamps, lakes, rivers, roads and bridges, mountains and hills). What particularly interested us was the second descriptive column. The context suggests that "solid buildings" (*soliden Gebauden*) meant buildings made of brick or stone wall. But, after mentioning such buildings (usually churches), the census takers usually described the rest of the houses, naming their general typology. The original manuscript is preserved in the Vienna archives, with a copy made in 1912, currently available at the Library of the Romanian Academy (mss. germ. 2, vol. I-II). These copies were recently edited by Ion Donat and şerban Papacostea (Donat and Papacostea 2015). In this study we relied on all three sources: copy of the description, publication, and map (Mapire 2018). Geographical analysis was done partially by subdistricts (ocoale), as they existed in 1803 (based on data extracted from Istrati 2010).

The oldest Romanian source we used is the form type F of the 1838 census of Wallachia. It recorded houses in two columns. The first was reserved for the house of the estate owner, recording the construction material, the number of rooms and levels, while also mentioning if the house was surrounded by a fence. In the second column the census agents had to fill in, for each village, the number of houses made of certain construction materials. Unfortunately, not many such forms survived. We could only find material for six out of 95 subdistricts: Ogrăzeni from Vlaşca district[2], Marginea de Jos from Slam-Râmnic[3]; and Nucşoara, Argeş, Dâmboviţa and Râuri, all from Muscel[4]. We used the archival source, which, according to our knowledge, has not been published.

Like the previous census, the 1859 census of Wallachia recorded both population and houses, with detailed information for both; but we could only use the aggregates, since no preserved forms were found. For urban environment data was aggregated by settlement (for Bucharest, by city sectors), for villages by subdistrict[5].

[2] Giurgiu District Archives, fund Subocârmuirea plasei Ogrăzeni, file 37/1838.

[3] Buzău District Archives, fund Pretura plasei Măicăneşti (Subocârmuirea plasei Marginea de Jos), file 45(41)/1838.

[4] Romanian National Archives, fund Ministerul de Interne – Divizia Administrativă, files 2-5/1839.

[5] In 1859, even though administrative borders were changed, Wallachia still had 95 subdistricts.

The aggregates were published in the release of the Statistical Office, *Annale Statistice şi Economice*, 1860 (II), 121-133. The publication contains the sum of: private buildings (by categories); public buildings (by categories); houses by number of levels (including houses built underground, as a separate category); shops; rooms; buildings (all categories, private and public) by construction material; the value of all buildings; annual rent of all rented buildings.

In 1905 Romania a vast inquiry was made regarding living conditions and rural economy. This came at the initiative of G.D. Scraba, who lead a research group which benefited from the help of the Ministry of Interior, who issued orders to all village mayors to fill a form of 80 questions. Two concerned houses: question 44 asked for the number of houses with 1 room, 2, 3 or more, while question 45 asked for the number of underground houses, by the ethnicity of their owners.

The results were published in 1907 in a book rich in tables and figures, out of which we used those regarding human habitat, that structure the data by districts (Scraba 1907: 18, 19).

The 1912 population census was by far the most complex and well prepared. The organizers of the census were more meticulous not only in carefully defining concepts, but also in recording more information. Construction material and rooms were better classified, while the census covered roofs, toilets, as well as the relation between human habitation (household size) and house size. Thus, even if the forms were lost, the aggregates are, as opposed to previous censuses, more permissible in terms of scientific work. Their only disadvantage is the geographical unit used, the district, which is larger and thus vaguer than the village (used in 1788 and 1838) or subdistrict (in 1859). The results were reported in an official publication, in two parts. The first contains a broad dissemination of the data by L. Colescu, preceded by a presentation of the census forms, instructions, concepts and methodology (Colescu 1920: 2-51). The second comprises a series of three types of tables, each kind replicated three times, as data was aggregated by country (subdivided by districts), by rural environment (by districts), and by urban environment (by towns) (Colescu 1920: 54-89). Table type I contains the number of: buildings by ownership and way of entry into possession; houses by number of levels, construction material of walls, of roofs, by presence of annex buildings; annex buildings by type. Table II focuses on habitation, containing the number of: buildings, inhabited (by number of residences/households) and uninhabited (either empty or in construction); houses by role (domestic or economic); residences by role (domestic and economic), inhabited and uninhabited, with or without gardens;

rooms by role (domestic or economic)[6]. Finally, Table III is dedicated solely to habitation, summing up both residences and population. It shows the number of residences by number of rooms (1, 2, 3, 4-5 and over 5), each category divided by the seize of the inhabiting group (1 person, 2, 3-5, 6-10, over 10).

4. Concepts, methods and setbacks

Not all four sources allow for the same type of reconstruction: the general typology of houses is covered in 1788, 1838, 1859 and 1912, while house size appears only in 1859, 1905 and 1912. Even so, not all matching sources allow for the same type of analysis and, moreover, the information is joined by an impressive set of problems that must be navigated through. Overall, the biggest setbacks stem from the relativity of concepts (1788, 1838, 1859, 1905), the absence of information within the same source (1788); absence of uniformity in concepts within the same source (documented in 1838, possibly in other sources as well). Below we will tackle each problem while we present the concepts used in this study, starting with the main types of houses.

Wooden houses. Probably the most well recognized in ethnology and imagery, they are known to have their walls made of pieces of wood (trunks, beams, or planks), laid horizontally and joined at the corners by fitting cavities. Thus, the joints substitute for structural pillars. Light, wooden pillars might exist, but they might be fixed to the porch rather than to the walls, acting as enforcements for the support of the roof. The house is usually built on more massive wooden beams, in turn placed within a base or pedestal of stone, acting as foundation. Some have a sub-structure made of stone, entirely or half buried, where the cellar lies. Also, after completion, walls could be left bare or plastered with earth. Most sources used here avoid going into such details, reducing the information to generic terms derived from wood: "von Holz", "hölzerne" (1788); "de lemn" (1838, 1859, 1912). It is only in 1838 that some census agents nuance their recording. Two terms seem to describe walls made of beams or trunks: "de bârne" (of beams) appear in the subdistricts of Dâmboviţa, Nucşoara, and Marginea de Jos. Its derived noun, "bârnăreaţă" is used in Râurile, Ogrăzeni and rarely in Dâmboviţa. Meanwhile, the term "de vârghini" appears in Dâmboviţa and Argeş. In Romanian dictionaries (sg.) *vârghină* or *vârghie* is synonymous for stick, which is confusing when referring to construction material. Taken out of context, it might lead to the idea of thin beams, or to walls made of earth, with a wooden inner structure of sticks (see the second type in this section). But in these two subdistricts, which are in the

[6] For towns the table differs slightly, as it also takes into account aspects like water supply and toilets.

high-lands and are well forested, this is the main type of house, and the term "of wood" does not appear at all in Argeş, and in only nine villages in Dâmboviţa. This leads us to believe that, in fact, "vârghini" is simply a lexical substitute for "wood", found in these two neighboring administrative units, and does not refer to a different type of house. The opposite is the case, still in Argeş, but with the word "de blojdini". The word means "plank", suggesting that in this case walls are made of more refined elements. Another sub-type of wooden houses is given a short description: "de zid şi deasupra cu verghii (of solid wall and above wood), jumătate de zid şi jumătate de vârghii (half solid wall, half wood)". It is surely the case of houses with cellars made of stone walls.

Working with these sub-types for the whole 1838 sample is tricky because they are clearly the product of individual initiative of the agent who made the recording, who thus provided more information than the instructions required. Hence, these sub-types should be taken as such, as indicators within their own subdistrict, and not within the total sample. Faced with this lack of uniformity, with some source authors being more precise than others, we operated with the concept of "wooden houses", in which we included the above-described sub-types, regardless of whether they were mentioned or obscured by the census.

Houses made "of earth" / earthen houses. These attracted less attention that wooden houses, as they were also less numerous. No less diverse, they can be classified according to the share and manner in which earth was used in building the walls.

Two sub-types used an inner structure made of wood or sticks, filled and covered with clay, in turn blended with straws. In the first instance the structure was made of intertwined sticks, supported by vertical spiles or poles that were fixed in the ground. The result is a type of construction usually called "de nuiele" (of sticks) or "de gard" (of fence; Manolescu 1895: 21). In the second instance the structure was made of two parallel rows (one for each side of the wall) of sticks or poles fixed in the ground. The space between the rows was filled with a mixture of clay and straws. Such houses are called "de vălătuci" (Colescu 1920: 10). A third type used clay almost entirely, either as earth bricks dried in the sun (this type is called "de chirpici"), or as earth rammed between planks of wood, later removed (Manolescu 1895: 23; Ţugui et al 2018: 5).

Most sources used here make some kind of distinction between these subtypes. The clearest is the 1912 census, distinguishing between all three, aggregating numbers into specific columns: "vălătuci", "nuele cu lut" (sticks and clay), "cărămidă nearsă" (unburnt brick). The 1838 census and the 1788 description generally refer to the first type: "von Zaun Ruthen geflochten", "Flechtwerk", "de nuiele", "de nuiele împletite", "de nuiele împletite cu pământ". The term "de gard" ("of fence") is used in 1838 in Argeș and Râurile, and we believe it refers to the exact same type, since the inner structure greatly resembles a fence. Because other subtypes are absent or extremely rare, we cannot ascertain with any certainty whether they were included by error in the predominant type. The 1859 census simply uses the general category of earthen buildings ("de pământ"). We followed the same procedure as with the latter type, operating with a general category common to all sources: earthen buildings.

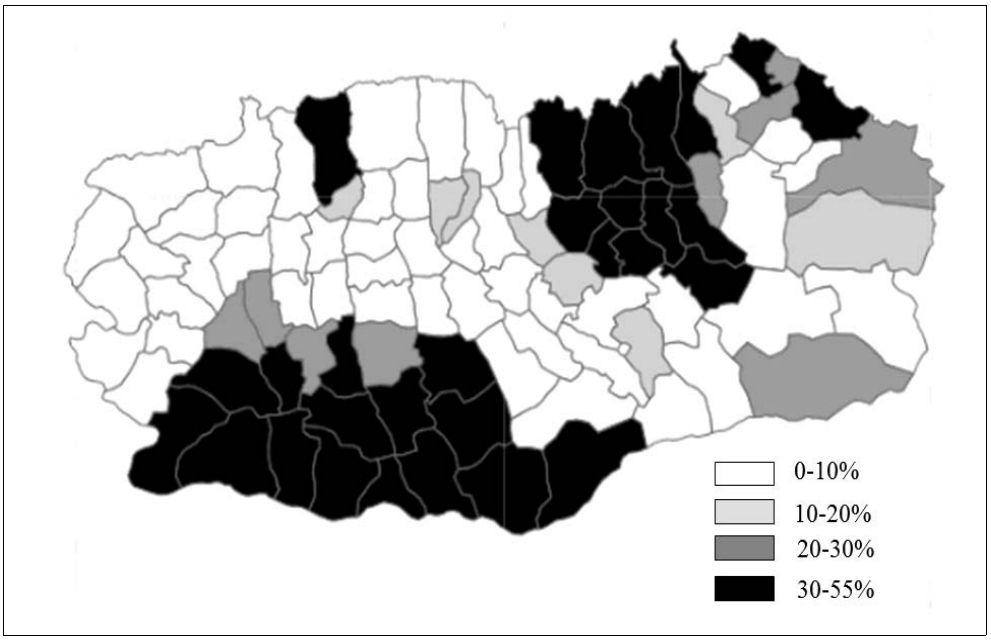
The same applied to the type of construction by far the least represented in the villages: houses of solid walls, or „de zid" (1838, 1859). Their walls could be made of brick or of stones, but only the 1912 census records these instances separately. In this case we used the category of *brick or stone houses*.

Underground houses. In Romanian they were referred to as "bordei"; it is widely accepted that this word designated houses that have their walking level beneath ground. Subtypes vary according to several criteria and are more difficult to document, since very few houses have been preserved. The depth of the construction has been debated by Vasile Neamțu (Neamțu 1987), who argues out that "bordei" might designate a completely or only half buried house, with some examples having only a few tenths of centimeters in depth. Construction material also proved relatively diverse (Bărbulescu 2015: 105, 106). A wide range of categories can be drawn if the layouts of the house are examined, as P.H. Stahl thoroughly presented (Stahl 1972: 46).

Again, such nuances are masked under general terms used in our sources. We suppose that in the 1788 descriptions "erdhütte" is the term used for underground houses. In 1838, 1905 and 1912 we have the classic "bordei", while the 1859 census records such houses as *underground* ("sub pământ"). The latter provided us with the general term used here.

So, in dealing with the general typology of houses we used this general classification: wooden buildings, earthen buildings, brick or stone buildings and underground buildings. The latter are sometimes referred to as earthen huts or earthen buildings. In this study we reserved the name earthen buildings only for above ground constructions with walls made of earth. We referred to underground buildings as such, regardless of construction material or depth (absent from our sources). We calculated the share of each type of construction, as follows: for 1838, 1905 and 1912 the unit of analysis is the house; for 1859 there is the building, a notion that merged all kinds of constructions. The census classified buildings by destination (public, private, used for residence, etc.), but construction material was disseminated only by types of material, not by types of building. This might seem as making the data incompatible with the other sources, especially since the share of houses in 1859 is relatively small. In average, houses made up 41% of recorded buildings. It is possible to infer their typology only in the subdistricts where one construction material greatly dominates over others. Using the total number of buildings, then the total number of buildings constructed from the most used material, as well as the number of houses, we can calculate the maximum share of houses that could had been made out of a different material than the dominant one. For example, in the subdistrict Râmnic (district Râmnicu Sărat) there were 8269 buildings. The most used construction material was wood, with 8114 buildings, thus 155 buildings were made out of some other material. At the same time, the number of houses was 2736. Assuming that, all 155 exceptional buildings were houses, then a maximum equivalent of 6% of the houses (155 out of 2736) could have had walls of earth or stone. We can use this percentage as a margin of error. In 50 subdistricts (out of 95), the percentage was 10% or lower, so data in their case is quite reliable as a proxy indicator for houses. In 36 subdistricts the value is over 25% so, figures here are less reliable. In 28 of them this indicator is over 50%, so they are unreliable, as the following map shows.

Figure 2. Wallachia, the census of 1859, subdistricts: maximum possible error (% of no. of houses) when using construction material of buildings as proxy indicator for the construction material of houses



A similar incompatibility arises within the 1788 description: it gives the number of houses for each village, but the unit of reference for typology is the whole village, simply mentioned as having houses of a certain type. This is an obvious generalization, as some exceptions might have existed within the same village. In many cases more than one type of house is mentioned for the same village, but we don't know the share of each type. We treated them as such and we created the following categories to work with: (villages with) wooden houses, earthen houses, underground houses, mixed wood-earth; mixed wood-underground; mixed earth-underground; mixed wood-earth-underground. However, another problem with this source is that not all villages have the house type(s) recorded. In fact, out of 931 settlements, only 541 have this information present (58%). We had no alternative than to use the data as it is, not knowing how much the margin of error would affect the result. If we assume that the gaps in information are random, then reality should not differ much from these results. Therefore, the data from this source should be taken as a sample that has no specification about its methodology of selection.

*

The size of the houses. Ideally this should be studied as surface and number of rooms. Our sources are limited to the number of rooms, and only for Wallachia in 1859 and Romania in 1905 and 1912. Moreover, the conceptual problems persist.

For the first two censuses there are no known definitions in the instructions. Agents were required, without additional explanations, to fill in the number of rooms. Still, in 1859, the form does distinguish between two types of rooms. On one hand we have "odăi de locuinţă" – rooms for residence (of residences); on the other "câte prăvălii sunt în aceste case" – how many shops there are in this house. This points to differentiation between domestic and economic use, regardless of the fact that a shop might be comprised of several rooms. But even taking *residence rooms* into account, it is no easy task to clarify their meaning. What did this category comprise? Did it cover rooms for all domestic needs, like sleeping/resting, cooking, storage, passage from one room to another or mixed use? The key of understanding might rest in the term "odaie" (room), in turn difficult to interpret. In ethnologic works, "odaie" is brought up as the term used for the best room of the house, either as such or as "odaie frumoasă" – nice room (the dormitory, sometimes the equivalent of today's guest room). But this association with the dormitory should not exclude the possibility that other rooms were alternatively called "odaie". Ethnologists were interested in the exact use of each room and in special words used to describe it, while census takers had to count all rooms known under a general term and having a general destination.

The contexts are too different to have strict implications one upon the other. Indeed, when we look at other historical sources, we found that the word "odaie" was certainly not limited to dormitories. Consider the fragment "1 casă […] alcătuită din 5 odăi [având] 1 cuptor […] în odaia al 4lé" – "1 house […] made up of 5 rooms [containing] an oven in the fourth room"[7]. The presence of the oven in the fourth room suggest that it was used as kitchen, but it was still counted as "odaie". Unfortunately, time did not allow us to do an extensive and intensive survey of other sources.

While not employing the same term in preparing the census of 1912, L. Colescu confronted the same issue. He distinguished between rooms of residence and rooms for work or business (also, rooms of mixed use). But *residence rooms* were not easy to conceptualize, as Colescu points out (Colescu 1920: 41). As we understood, the chosen principle was the following: *residence room* should be considered any room in which inhabitants could sleep or rest. It

[7] Romanian National Archives, Ministerul Agriculturii şi Domeniilor – Bunuri, file 257/1846, p. 9.

could be a specially assigned room or one with mixed destination, like a kitchen or hallway (tindă) (Colescu 1920: 9). Colescu thus preferred to avoid classification based on exact domestic role, probably because destinations overlapped, so exact definitions would be harder to apply. One could sleep in the kitchen or hallway or could cook in the room where the bed laid, as ethnologists themselves noted. At the same time Colescu did not overgeneralize. Storage spaces and very small rooms were left uncounted, unless residents actually slept in them.

Ambiguities do not stop here. The way census takers treated uninhabited buildings is also unknown. Were they included or excluded from the count? If included, was the number of their rooms as well? Or were rooms excluded, since, being off limits to agents, they were harder to be determined? For 1912, although the publication is not clear about it, we can tell from the data that uninhabited houses were counted, but not their rooms. The 1859 census does separate the houses used for residence from houses in general, in turn separated from buildings of economic and public use. This might reflect the criteria of habitation, but we cannot be sure, since the instructions do not address the problem. Aside from this, the only certainty is that the 1788 description recorded both uninhabited and inhabited houses. The situations for 1838, 1859 and 1905 are unknown.

To add to all this there is the incompatibility between the indicators. We can quantify the size of houses by two main indicators: the average number of rooms per house, and the share of houses with a certain number of rooms. For 1912 we can calculate both indicators, for 1859 only the first, and for 1905 only the second. So, a direct compatibility exists only between 1859 and 1912, then between 1905 and 1912.

Faced with this impressive inventory of uncertainties, we were forced to work with these general or relative concepts, while at the same time taking into account all potential situations described above, even though we could not be certain of which ones applied. We assumed that, from source to source and for situation to situation, different equivalents in indicators should be used. For example, if we hypothesize that in 1905 only inhabited houses were counted, then, for 1912, we must use only the number of inhabited houses. We defined several scenarios according to possible interpretations of concepts and analyzed the information according to each scenario. While not providing exact results, such an approach can at least draw a minimum and a maximum limit to which the outcome can vary according to different possible meanings. Thus, results would function as margins of error. But this still leaves the problem of what kind of indicator to use, since the average number of rooms is not

available for 1905. We decided to estimate the total number of rooms in 1905 by assuming that the average number of rooms for the upper tier houses (with 3 rooms or more) would have been similar to that in 1912.Therefore, knowing the number of houses with over three rooms recorded in 1905 and knowing an approximate average of rooms per house for each district, allowed us to generate the compatible indicator needed in comparing all three years.
As a result, we created three main scenarios, as the table below shows:

Table 1. Comparing house size in 1859, 1905 and 1912. Conceptual scenarios used to generate results according to different hypothesis regarding the meaning of concepts present in the sources

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">Hypothesis</th><th>Indicator year 1</th><th>Indicator year 2</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Scenario 1: comparing 1859 and 1905</td></tr>
<tr><td>1.a.</td><td>Rooms of both destinations were registered (domestic and economic)</td><td>(shops + residence rooms) / all houses</td><td rowspan="2">Rooms/ houses</td></tr>
<tr><td>1.b.</td><td>Only domestic rooms were registered</td><td>Residence rooms / houses used as residence</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Scenario 2: comparing 1905 and 1912</td></tr>
<tr><td>2.a.</td><td>Both inhabited and uninhabited were counted</td><td rowspan="2">Rooms / houses</td><td>All rooms / all houses</td></tr>
<tr><td>2.b.</td><td>Only inhabited houses were counted</td><td>Resided rooms / resided houses</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Scenario 3: comparing 1859 to 1912</td></tr>
<tr><td>3.a.</td><td>All rooms (domestic and economic), both inhabited and uninhabited were counted</td><td>(shops + residence rooms) / all houses</td><td>All rooms / all houses</td></tr>
<tr><td>3.b.</td><td>Idem, only inhabited houses were counted</td><td>(shops + residence rooms) / houses used as residence</td><td>All rooms / all inhabited houses</td></tr>
<tr><td>3.c.</td><td>Only residence rooms, both inhabited and uninhabited were counted</td><td>Residence rooms / all houses</td><td>All inhabited rooms / all houses</td></tr>
<tr><td>3.d.</td><td>Idem, only inhabited houses were counted</td><td>Residence rooms / houses used as residence</td><td>All inhabited rooms/ all inhabited houses</td></tr>
</table>

5. Results

As expected, all sources show a diversity in the territorial dissemination of different types of houses.

Wooden houses dominated highlands, especially the mountains, where forests were abundant, while houses made of earth were more prevalent in the lowlands. The presence of underground dwellings was significant only in some lowland regions and houses made of stone or brick were almost entirely absent before 1912. Important exceptions can be observed, from both a spatial and a temporal perspective, and will discussed below.

The approximate border of wooden houses did not always follow the demarcation between high and lowlands. In 1788 Western Moldavia the altitude divide is doubled by a North/Central and South divide. In the North wood has a larger share in the highlands but is still predominant even in the lowlands. Along the Siret valley within Suceava district, wood appears as construction material as frequently as in the mountains.

In 1859 Wallachia, instead, the alternative divide followed a West and Central/East line. Approximately, the line stretches from Bucegi mountains in the North, to where the river Argeş flows into the Danube, in the South. In both regions, wooden buildings were more prevalent in the hills and mountains than in the plains, but it is only in the West that wooden buildings predominated. The Eastern macro-region is easily noticeable by its general lack of wooden houses, that even in the mountains occupy a small share. The latter observation could be the result of incompatibility between concepts, as the respective subdistricts have a high margin of error for using the building as proxy indicator for house (see figures 2 and 12). But even taken as such – observing buildings in general and not just houses – the figures still show significant variations in how wood was used, even in well forested regions. An important exception to this pattern consists of three lowland subdistricts from the East (the two composing Brăila and a neighboring one from Râmnicu-Sărat), in which over 80% of buildings were made of wood. In two subdistricts it is statistically impossible for a majority of houses to belong to another type of construction, as the same margin of error is quite low. The 1912 census shows a similar divide but with the limit of wood prevalence pushed farther to the West. Since more extended geographical units were used, this line is more imprecise, but the decline in wood as building material is still obvious (figure 2 and 12) so, to an extent, wood does seem to decline from 1859 to 1912. The small territory documented in the 1838 forms mainly fit this pattern of 1859. The four mountainous subdistricts of Muscel, West of the divide, have high shares of wooden houses, declining according to altitude, but not under 50%.

Marginea de Jos, in the East, has a great majority of earthen houses. The exception is Ogrăzeni (Vlaşca), located in the West but having a majority of earthen houses.

Where wooden houses are not prevalent, the alternatives are either earthen houses (in Eastern Wallachia – 1859) or underground houses (in South and South West Wallachia, and most of Western Moldavia).

We managed to document underground dwellings in three important areas. Two are shown by the 1788 description for Western Moldavia, both of which are situated on or near to the Siret valley, a lowland region. The first one is in the central part of the surveyed territory. Roman district is practically dominated by underground houses, which have a significant presence in Bacău (subdistrict Bistriţa de Jos) and lighter shares in Tecuci (subdistrict Polocin) and Neamţ (subdistrict Siret). The second area, far smaller, is in the South of the Putna district. The third area is in Wallachia: a strip of land bordering the Danube, in the South and South-Western part of Romania (or Southern Oltenia and South-Eastern Muntenia). In these three areas underground houses are the majority. They show less impressive figures elsewhere, of between 10-20% mainly in the lowland region of Wallachia. The situation for Wallachia has been previously pointed out by historians (Bărbulescu 2015: 100, 101) and ethnologists (Stahl 1972: 52) our own analysis merely confirming their observations and are almost identical to those of P.H. Stahl. The only difference is that, if we use the 10% share as threshold for mapping presence, then we also find a surprising enclave in Muscel district. Subdistrict Argeş had a percentage of underground houses of 17% in 1838 and 11% in 1859.

Over time these percentages dropped. In Moldavia underground houses seemed to have disappeared almost completely by 1912, while in former Wallachia, they still lingered in smaller shares, the highest in Romanaţi district of 19%, as, again, previous studies have shown. Their place was taken by earthen houses, who even replaced wood in many parts, becoming the most prevalent construction material in Romania. Nevertheless, stone and brick houses multiply considerably, sometimes taking the place of underground houses, as in Southern Oltenia, where the largest share was encountered (Figure 12).

*

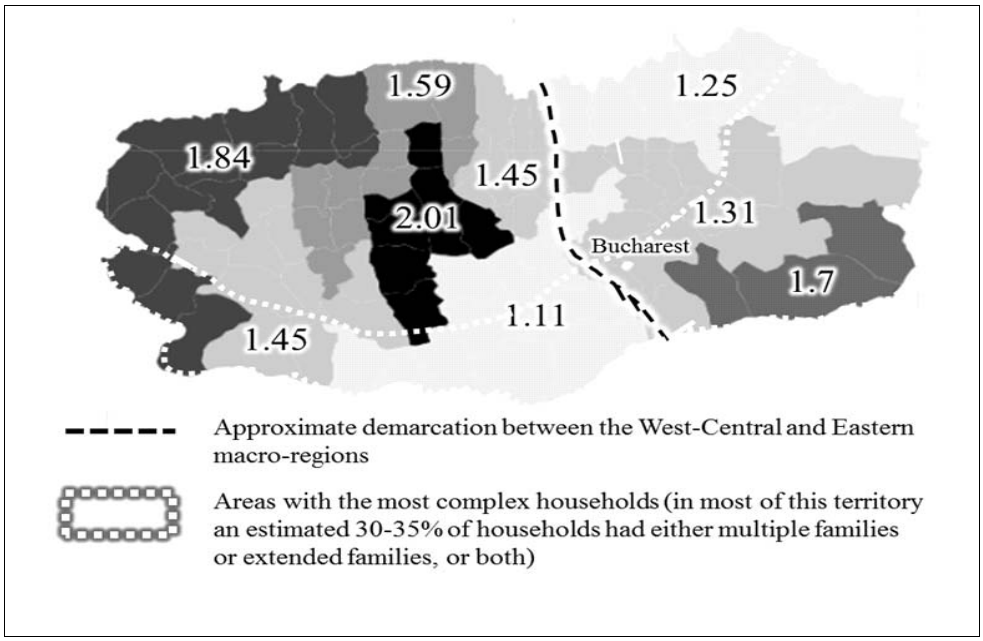
Concerning the size of houses, we will focus on the territory of former Wallachia, as this matter was better documented. Our findings point to an important evolution from 1859 to 1905 and 1912, as well as to a change in territorial patterns over time.

The analysis of the 1859 census aggregates showed an anticipated landscape

dominated by small houses (Figures 3, 13). The average number of *residence rooms* per house is only 1.5. It would mean that 70-75% of houses were composed of a single room. Breaking down the results to subdistrict level, we can observe the same West-Central/East divide as for general typology, but this time articulated differently.

In the Western macro-region, the size is above country average, while highlands had higher averages than lowlands. In the East houses were generally smaller, but the altitude pattern was reversed: a considerable number of lowland subdistricts had houses larger than Eastern highlands, which, in turn, remained below country average.

Figure 3. Wallachia in the census of 1859. The average size of houses (number of residence rooms per houses used as residence), in regions composed of subdistricts with similar values (there are important exceptions inside each region, see figure 13)



At the beginning of the 20th century house size was considerably higher than in 1859: 2.5 rooms in Muntenia, 2.36 in Oltenia. But the evolution was different from region to region. The biggest change by far happened in low altitude districts, which saw the size of houses greatly increased, whereas districts dominated by high altitudes saw far smaller differences. With some exceptions, this evolution can in general be observed regardless of the conceptual scenario

or time frame (1859-1905; 1905-1912; 1859-1912). For the sake of simplicity, we will present our results by averaging figures per scenario, and by regrouping districts into micro-regions, according to their position and general altitude[8].

In the Eastern region, the change from 1859 to 1912 was quite staggering, of 138%, with a minimum of 134% in scenario 4.a. and a maximum of 143% in scenario 4.d. In the Southern region the average change was of 70% (min. 67%, max. 73%) and in South-Western region the turnover reached 64% (min. 60%, max. 68%). In contrast, the percentages for highlands were quite low: an average of 23% (min. 15%, max. 30%) in the North-West and 29% (min. 24%, max. 34%) in the North.

Breaking down the evolution by time span, we noted some irregularities for the interval of 1905-1912. Two lowland micro-regions and one highland micro-region fit the general pattern of increase, but the change was accelerated, more than double when compared to the previous interval (1859-1905): 1.8% - 5.1% (East); 0.8% - 4.0% (South); 0.4% - 1.3% (North). Meanwhile, the remaining two macro-regions (South-West and North-West) witnessed changes extremely close to zero.

The outcome of this evolution is a different territoriality of house size than in 1859. In 1912 lowlands outsized highlands, both in the West and in the East. Again in 1912, as well as in 1905, Moldavia showed smaller houses than the territory of Wallachia (2.16 vs 2.49 in 1912 and 1.71 vs 2.10 in 1912).

6. Hypothesis and early conclusions

Rural habitat was seen by ethnologists as a product of two main factors: the interaction between humans and nature on one hand, and domestic needs on the other. The existence of different types of houses (as those described in this study) was mainly associated with environmental influence. Wooden houses were assumed as normal in well wooded areas, earthen and underground houses were seen as an alternative in regions where wood lacked (Focşa 1957: 5).

The diversity of sub-types and of different layouts (not covered in this study), as well as their general evolution, were interpreted as consequence of villagers finding or improving solutions to cater to different needs. The need to shelter from the elements would have led to the creation or extension of passage spaces, while the need to cook and store various foodstuffs and materials led to rooms assigned to this purpose. Otherwise, cultural influence

[8] Since one macro-region was composed of districts roughly divided between lowlands and highlands, results are more ambiguous and were left out. Results for this area (North/North-East) can be found in figures 5, 6, 8, 9, 14

and tradition made their way into several studies. It was suggested that the underground dwellings of Wallachia were an inheritance from ancient times (Focşa, 1957: 4), possibly receiving an influence from across the Danube. Their disappearance, in turn, was attributed to late-19th century health regulations (Stahl 1972: 54). Other factors, as well as other types of houses, have yet to be scrutinized.

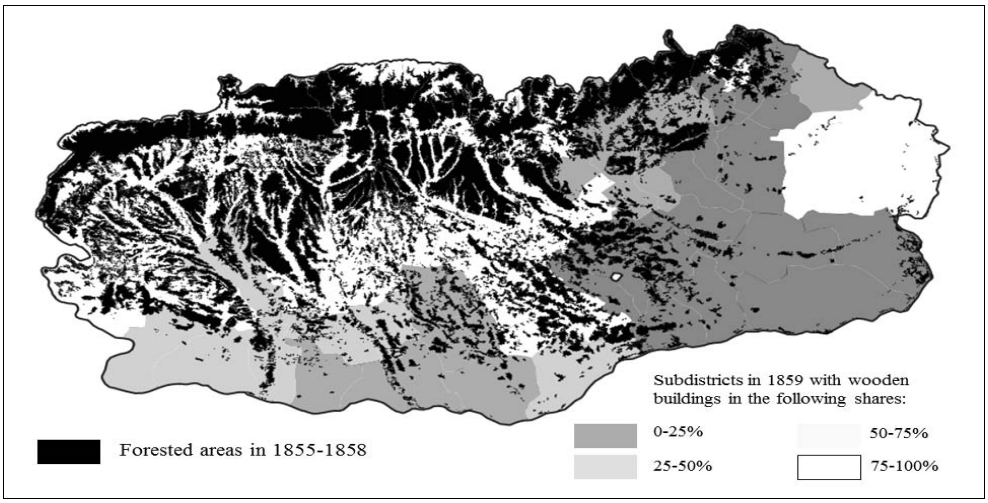
Probing these explanations, as well as exploring others is difficult because of some difficulties that prevent us from expressing many firm conclusions. Our main disadvantage is that in any connected field we might look into for answers, it will be hard to find compatible results or instruments. For example, our analysis employed a statistical and geographical approach. We used figures on village level (1788, 1838), subdistrict level (1788, 1838, 1859), and district level (1905 and 1912). A proper methodological framework would call for figures at the same levels from other fields: environment, household structure, mobility, economic wealth and development, cultural influences, the impact of policies and war. Only in remote subjects were such figures accessible to us, and even then, we had to create our own instruments, as Romanian historiography rarely incorporated low-level statistical and geographical designs of analysis.

Another major aspect that proved evasive is the environment, mainly the presence of forests. There are sources that show forested areas, but we could only use them descriptively, rather than in a proper statistical or geo-referenced manner. Moreover, not all types of wood were suitable for house construction, so the forested area itself might not have been enough for concrete results. Unfortunately, the potential of published sources stops here, as they do not go into such details. In other fields, the availability of suitable information is scarce, when it is not fully lacking. To add to this, certain explanations require far more than spatial or statistical correlations. Trying to see whether government regulations or mobility played any role asks for in-depth archival work, followed by a quantification of the results. Needless to say, such prospects exceeded our possibilities at present. Because of these difficulties we had to limit the interpretation of our results to correlations, simple hypotheses, or partial/improper data. Some explanations involved both house size and house type. Therefore, instead of unpacking possible causalities by these two issues, we decided to present them from the point of each factor that might have had an influence.

The environment can explain to some extent the spread of general typologies. The existence of the Wallachian West-Central/East divide can be attributed to forests having a far stronger presence in the West and central regions, hence

the high share of wooden houses there (Figure 4). But patterns fade when focusing on certain areas. Underground houses from Southern Oltenia were seen as a direct result of the absence of wood, although this assessment has the obvious fault of not considering above-ground earthen houses as an alternative to wood. Why underground houses in particular?[9] Moreover, some areas almost completely devoid of forests show quite an impressive presence of wooden buildings (sub-districts Gradişte from Râmnic, Balta and Vădeni from Brăila). In opposition, the mountainous regions in Eastern Wallachia are just as well forested as their Central and Western counterparts, yet the presence of wooden buildings is far reduced. These are three instances where environment alone does not explain patterns of typology, so other factors need to be brought into question.

Figure 4. Wallachia: forested areas in 1855-1858[10] compared to Subdistricts in 1859 by their share of wooden buildings (for the sake of visual clarity we inversed the subdistricts' color coding and left boundaries unmarked)

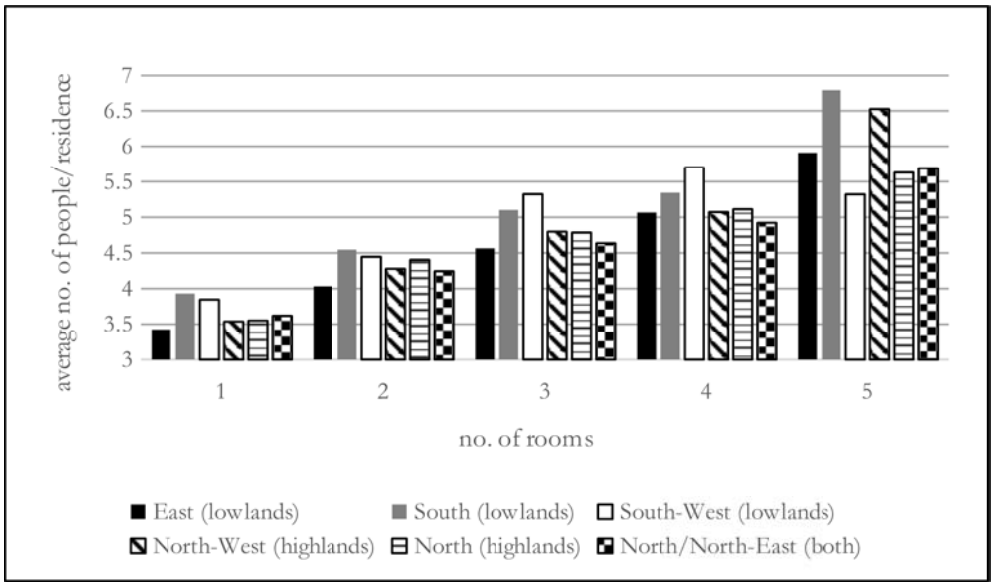


[9] P.H. Stahl counteracted the factual premise of this theory by pointing out that forests were present in South-Western Wallachia, all the way to the Danube (Stahl, 1972: 57). In fact, this is highly debatable, as a overgeneralization. Even without geo-referenced instruments it is easy to conclude that forests were scarcer there, at a time when there was a of massive presence of underground buildings.

[10] Vector map created by Bogdan Mateescu, based on the second military survey of the Habsburg Empire - Österreichisches Staatsarchiv B III a 203-2, published and georeferenced by Arcanum Adatbázis Kft - G. Timár, G. Molnár, B. Székely, S. Biszak, J. Varga, A. Jankó).

Household size. Even if single-family households undoubtedly dominated our historical context, some geographical differences still existed. Some lowland areas witnessed a higher degree of household complexity, and neolocality was not always the norm. Naturally, we wanted to see whether indicators of household complexity overlapped with those of house size. The data of 1912 fits what we would consider a normal pattern. It shows a positive correlation between the size of the house and the size of the group inhabiting it.

Figure 5. The territory of former Wallachia in 1912, macro-regions. Household size, by residences of different sizes



Moreover, the correlation is replicated when we look at districts: those with larger households have larger houses.

Keeping this trend in mind, it is striking to see that no clear pattern emerges for 1859, or that the pattern is slightly reversed. The subdistricts with the largest houses have average or small households, while the subdistricts with the smallest houses have average or large households (figure 3). Positive correlations can be observed in isolated regions. Framing the results according to the West-Central/East divide, it can be said that only the Eastern part shows a *normal* pattern (in Ialomiţa and partially Ilfov), even though houses there were still smaller than compared to the North-West, where households

were the smallest. To add to this, there are important exceptions (Brăila and some parts of Buzău), so a *normal* pattern was not necessarily the norm, even in the East. In the South and in Oltenia the subdistricts with the most complex households almost all had house sizes well below country average.

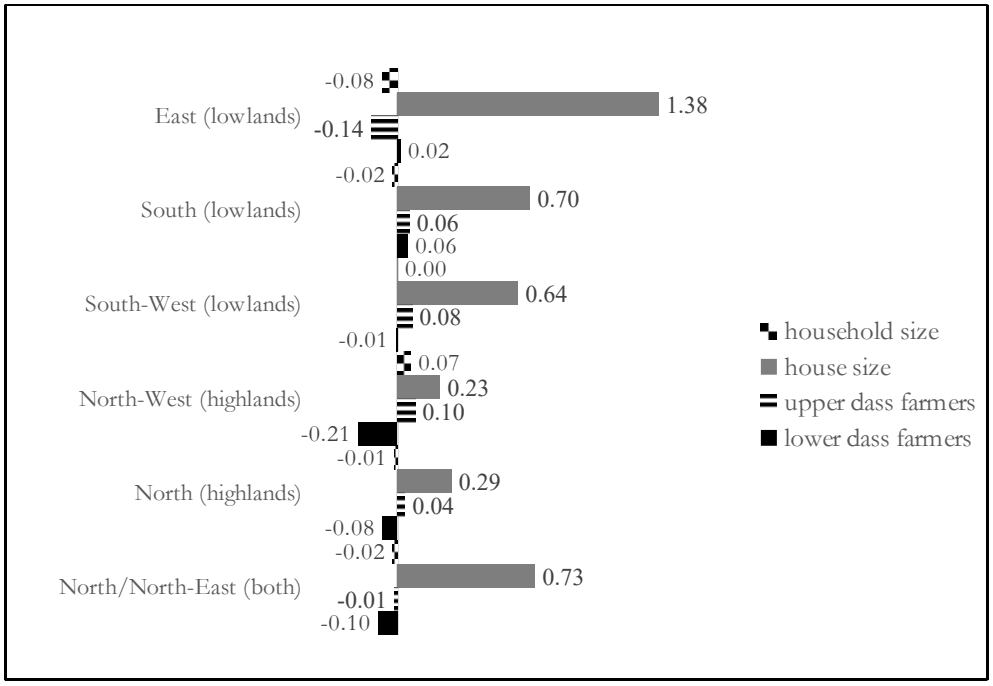
If the data for 1859 is reliable (which we still could not verify), then we can assume two early conclusions. First, habitat did not have a strong influence on living arrangements or vice-versa, at least not one that would manifest on larger territorial level. Habitat neither favored complex households where houses were large, nor did it limit complex living patterns where houses were small. Secondly, the rise in house size from 1859 and 1912 was not due to the rise in household size and complexity. Household size either dropped or roughly stayed the same, while house size increased considerably. Thus, the cause of increase of house size over time must be searched for elsewhere.

A factor we then turned to is **economic development and economy in general**. The complexity of the matter means that it can be addressed as a multitude of issues. One would be the general wealth of the household: there was obviously a stratification inside Romanian rural society based on wealth, and we can hypothesize that the richer the householder, the more incentive and possibility to invest in their house. Moreover, in an agrarian society, wealth amounted to resources that were labor intensive to use. Therefore, it might have favored larger houses not just as a sign of social status but also out of practicality: they could host living rooms for employees or storage place for supplies and more abundant harvests. If this truly applied, we would expect to see a correlation between wealth and house size, at both individual level and regional level. There are numerous indicators we can use, both for the mid-19th century and early 20thcentury, but we decided to go with the share of agrarian classes[11] as we assume that they were strongly linked to the amount off multiple resources used by farmers, so it would act as an aggregate indicator.

[11] Villagers were classified into three classes, mainly according to the number of work cattle. Labor relations, access to resources, contracts and regulations were usually calibrated by class, especially in the case of land tenants. Small land owners were also to be classified in this manner, thus reflecting status and wealth. The upper class included those with four cattle or more; those in the middle class had two, while those in lower class had none. The data was extracted from a numerical census from 1853, and from the inquiry of 1905 (Scraba 1907: 246). Both sources include both land tenants and small land owners.

The results are very similar to those from the previous point. There is a positive correlation between wealth and house size in 1912, but no correlation or a slightly negative correlation in 1859. Therefore, we can assume that both wealth and household structure favored the development of large buildings in the early 20th century, but they did not act as a main factor, since they are excluded when looking at the evolution in house size.

Figure 6. Macro-regions of former Wallachia (Muntenia and Oltenia): change from mid-19th to early 20th century in indicators regarding habitat, households or social status



Of course, economy was not limited to wealth, and wealth alone did not insure wellbeing. Relations between land owners and land tenants also played an important role, especially since about three quarters of householders were tenants on large properties, until the 1864 land appropriation gave small lots to ordinary householders. Historians generally argued that contracts, based on biased regulations, disproportionally favored land owners, leading to impoverishment of land tenants. Others, Ilie Corfus especially, offered a more moderate conclusion, suggesting that the most productive regions of Wallachia were also those with the richest villagers and with the most favorable contracts to the land tenants. We can hypothesize that harsher terms of contract meant

that tenants had a lower chance to profit from their own work and resources. An aggregate indicator for this outcome would be the income of land tenants, but, unfortunately, we could not find a source providing this information. Nor could we quantify information on other instances of social tensions and spatial mobility.

Mobility, like economy, can be studied in several instances. Fleeing the estate is regarded by historians as a widespread practice, and it is easy to assume that the prospects of changing one's residence amid social tension was discouraging to any investment in immobile property. On the other hand, mobility (or immobility) can be associated with land ownership as well. Landless farmers, we can assume, were more likely to move (out of any reason), thus less incentivized or capable to develop their houses. The opposite can be assumed about small land owners. Indeed, in 1859, the areas of small houses generally overlap with those where landless farmers were the great majority of the population. So, this might prove a viable hypothesis to work with in the future, when we hope to find methods to test this reality[12]. Moreover, if this causality will prove true, it could explain the growth in house size up until 1912, and why the changes were so dramatic in the lowland regions, where the land appropriation of 1864 was the most wide-ranging. Therefore, we can argue that after 1864 farmers were more encouraged to develop their houses (perhaps by also increasing their size?), because they benefited from land ownership which would have reduced their mobility. Moreover, laws following the 1864 appropriation prohibited the sale or alienation of the newly given land, thus, as historians rightfully pointed out, tying the farmers to the land, at least in a formal manner. Again, such a hypothesis remains to be tested by comparing indicators of mobility before and after 1864.

We can also look at mobility in the context of wars and military occupation. Needless to say, repeated plunders, requisitions, destructions caused the breakup of entire communities throughout the 18th – 20th centuries. They might explain the presence of underground dwellings, as an improvised form of housing used while fleeing or out of fear that better constructions risked being destroyed. Stahl also took this factor into account, calling it „terror" (*peur*), but did not effectively attempt to test the theory beyond the isolated cases cited by foreign travelers. Our own findings suggest that it was plausible for certain areas, and ambiguous for others.

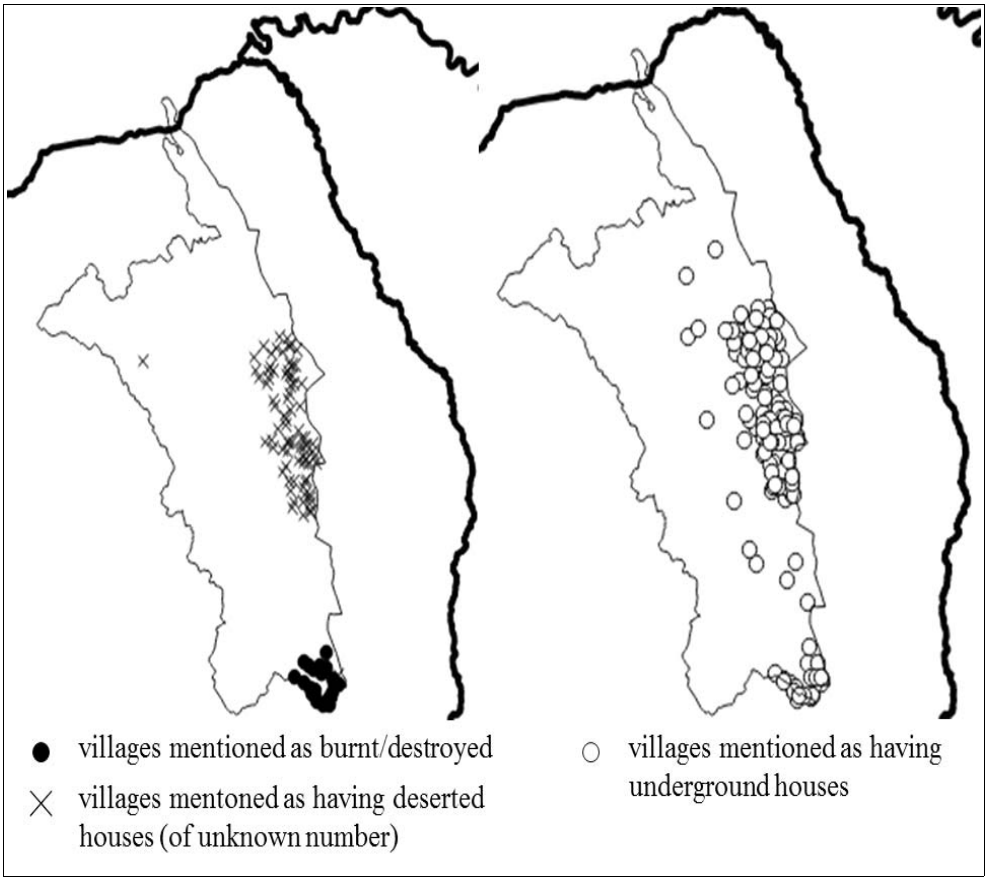
[12] Land ownership might also provide an explanation for the fact that the mountainous Eastern Wallachia shows few wooden buildings in 1859, as compared to highlands in the West. It could be because land owners were a minority – thus they did not possess forests and were probably less incentivized to build out of wood, since it was more expensive and since they were – perhaps – more mobile.

The frequent presence of underground houses in the South of Putna district (1788) coincides with visible marks left by the Russian-Austrian-Turkish war of 1788-1791, in the theatre of operations that lead up to the battles of Focşani and Râmnic (1789). A valuable clue is given by the fact that Austrian census takers noted whether the village had been burnt or destroyed in the war[13]. Out of 25 such villages, 23 were in Putna (two others in Wallachia).

Even though the census agents were inconsistent in recording the construction material of houses from each village, a clear pattern still emerges if we compare destroyed villages to those unaffected in this manner. The subdistricts most impacted by war were Milcovul de Jos and Gârlele: out of 26 unaffected villages with recorded house types, only 7 are of underground houses. On the other hand, out of 11 devastated villages that have recorded house types, eight are of underground houses, two are of simple "huts", and one had houses of "wood and earth-huts". Based on these figures, the correlation between the military conflict and the presence of underground houses is provable. Not the exact same can be said for the more northern area, spread in Roman and Bacău. Of what we know from this source alone, these districts did not witness direct conflict, but rather only army passage and possible requisitions. Nevertheless, they did witness instability, as hinted to by the presence of deserted houses inside their villages. Looking at the subdistricts of Siret (Neamţ), Ocolul de Sus (Roman), Ocolul de Jos (Roman), Mijlocul (Roman), Bistriţa de Jos (Bacău) and Polocin (Tecuci) we can observe that 67 villages are mentioned to have had empty houses, 65 of which comprise underground houses. In contrast, out of 81 villages without empty houses, only 36 have the same characteristics. Of course, these correlations are not the only indicator of relevance, because movement from a place to another could imply that both places are somehow related and impacted, while only one place is referenced in the source. A village that is not shown as devasted, but having improvised dwellings, might be the site of relocation from a destroyed village, that could have had houses of wood. The same for deserted villages that were built of wood or earth. So, when the exact causality is unknown, the correlation of proximity might be relevant as well, assuming that relocations happened in the same area. Again, as figure 7 shows, desertion, devastation and underground dwellings significantly overlap in Moldavia.

[13] On the map, such villages are represented as having yards but not houses.

Figure 7. Western Moldavia in 1788: comparison between the location of villages comprising underground houses and villages affected by the war or having deserted houses



For South-Western Wallachia simple observations dismiss the role played by war, at least for the time mark of 1859, as no recent wars existed in the area. The region indeed knew troubled times, but in a more distant past. For instance, the entrance of the Austrian army in Oltenia in 1718 was preceded by attempt of the Ottomans to evacuate the population. This resulted in the devastation or emptying of 273 villages, the majority (190) from the South (Papacostea 1998: 35). The Austrian occupation that followed until 1737 did not cease to witness instability, with only a part of these villages being repopulated. The 1788-91 war did not spare the region, as it witnessed the battle of Calafat and army posts in many villages, although it was not the only Wallachian region affected by this war. Calamities in Oltenia would continue

during the purges of Pazvanoglu, possibly the most ruthless series of events in the region's 18th and 19th century history, that affected this part of the country in particular. Russian armies were stationed there from 1828 until 1834, with Austrian and Ottoman armies being present in 1854, but without full scale military operations. Looking at this chronology, this region alone experienced the hardships of war and devastation only at the turn of the century. So, war alone is not enough to explain the existence of underground houses in 1859, long after the savageries of Pazvanoglu ended.

Health and building regulations. Although these are usually disregarded as failed or slow attempts to reform rural society, they still deserve consideration., as they might have shaped the way houses were built in three ways. The first concerns construction material. Village systematization in the 1830s and 1840s seems linked to adopting wood as material for newly built houses. It is unclear which law was behind this practice[14], or whether it was ad-hoc rather than the result of a regulation *per se*. From the study of Ilie Corfus it is quite clear that in some districts, operations could not take place unless wood supply was ensured, either from the immediate vicinity of villages, or from further locations (Corfus 1967: 279, 285, 286, 289). One such case was that of Brăila, empty of forests, but in which new houses were built out of wood. This could explain the apparent anomaly of the district, which the census of 1859 shows as an island of wooden houses in a sea of earth typology. By contrast, its southern neighbor, Ialomiţa, had poor progress in systematization due to a of lack of wood, and, indeed, the 1859 census shows it as dominated by earthen houses. On the other hand, the case of Ogrăzeni subdistrict (Vlaşca district) contradicts this explanation. The 1838 census forms type F also mention if the village was systematized, and when looking at such villages we see that almost all have houses of earth (out of 80 villages arranged "in lines", only two have most houses made of wood). Why in 1859 the same region sees wood as most widespread construction material for private residences currently remains a mystery.

Another way that regulations could have affected rural architecture was by the interdiction to build underground houses. This too coincides with the effort to systematize villages in the 1830s (Corfus 1967: 287), but clearly failed since this type were the norm in a large part of the country (Figure 12). The interdiction will be renewed in late 19th century (1888 and 1894 – Bărbulescu and Popovici 2005: 55-60), and this time it does coincide with the decline in

[14] Unfortunately, most laws regarding village systematization were not published in the official mouthpiece (Buletin Gazetă Oficială / Monitorul Oficial), very few of them having been published or referred to in later literature - (Novac 2006: 298-9; Bărbulescu and Popovici 2005: 56-7). Therefore, a clear image of the legal context was beyond our reach for the time being.

the number of underground houses. The same laws also imposed a minimum of two living rooms per house, so they might be taken into consideration when dealing with the increase in house size, but, again, we could neither confirm nor contradict this theory. Historians doubted that such changes were possible in such a short span of time (Bărbulescu 2015: 113; Bărbulescu and Popovici 2005: 60). We share this concern and hope to test this theory in the future.

The technology used in construction. It is worthwhile to enquire whether certain technologies could have favored or discouraged certain types of houses. One way to address this is again regarding house size in Southern Romania, where our results showed that patterns generally overlapped areas where a certain construction material was dominant. Areas with above ground houses made of earth witnessed the most abrupt changes, while areas of wooden construction witnessed rather mild or no changes. Assuming that premise for growth existed in both areas, could different technologies and materials account for difference in change? The 1912 census suggests that earth houses were more diverse than those made of wood, at least if we agree that the more numerous the rooms, the more different the layout. The average size of houses in the mountainous districts is not lowered by a larger share of single room buildings, but by a large share of two room houses. Surprisingly, single-room houses have a bigger share in the lowland districts, but the average is inflated by significant shares of upper-tier houses. In the East and South, we also observe a plurality of types of houses classified by size, while mountainous districts are characterized by a majority of one type.

Figure 8. The territory of former Wallachia, 1912, macro-regions. Share of residences with a certain number of rooms

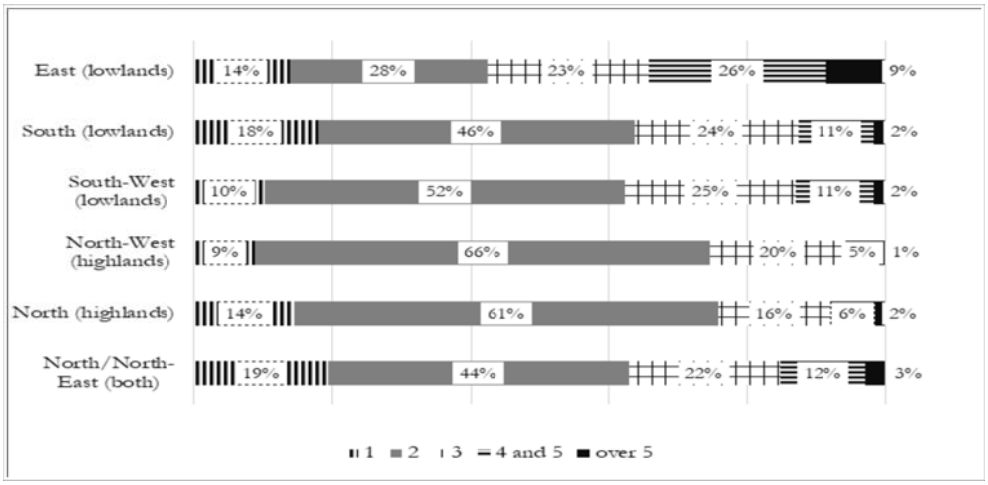
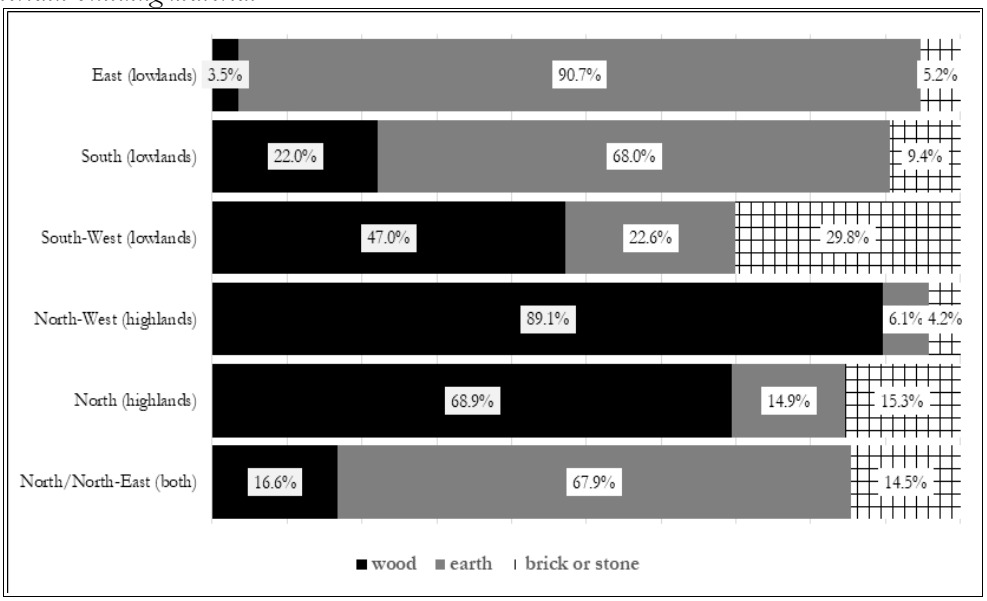


Figure 9. The territory of former Wallachia, 1912, macro-regions. Share of houses of a certain building material



Hence, a hypothesis emerges: building one's home out of earth gave the builder more layout options, while building it out of wood imposed certain limitations, possibly reducing it within variants of a two-room model.

We can only speculate on how this exactly played out, as, again, deepening the interpretation far exceeded our current goal and means. Our theory is that the size of construction elements determined the dimensions of the house, because some elements had to be used in whole and without the possibility of extension. In other words, a house could not be longer or wider than certain elements. Our initial hypothesis focused in walls and their constitutive beams. Rather than sticking the beams to pillars, they were intertwined and laid horizontally. We believe that this made extending the wall difficult, because this type of connection only worked (or at least we only observed it to have been used) on perpendicular walls, and not on walls that were continuous to one another. If a wall was to be made up of more than one row of beams, then the joints had to be different. We encountered such cases only where planks or refined beams were used, as opposed to rough beams. So, a second element comes into place: carpentry. The rougher the works, the more limitations builders had on the layout. As a corollary, refined carpentry could have encouraged a more flexible design. If this causal link is true, then

we should expect that the *wooden* areas of 1912 were not familiar with refined carpentry (thus, planks were used less frequently than beams), so the result was a more confined building layout. Again, this remains to be assessed in future analytical endeavors.

A second hypothesis, more plausible, was formulated and suggested to us in a private discussion by architects Mihai Nuţă and Ion Soreanu. Mihai Nuţă indicated not to the walls for possible limitations, but to the underlaying large beams that supported the outer walls. There could be a single perimeter of such beams (called *tălpi*), or an additional, more massive, supporting the first, resting on the ground (called *temee*). Either way, the structural integrity of the house depended on using integer elements on each side. The same can be said about the upper beams (*cosoroabe*) upon which the roof laid, pointed out to us by Ion Soreanu: they had to be made up of one element.

If this theory is true, and if various premises existed for building larger houses (regulations, social preferences, economic prosperity, etc), than the technologies and elements used at the time might have limited the possibility of developing the plans of wooden houses.

Finally, the discussion about the interplay of any factors would be incomplete without bringing in **habitus**, itself a possible factor capable of canceling out all others. Villagers could build houses in a certain fashion out of simple habit present in a certain region, passed over from one generation to another. This could have prolonged certain styles of construction in spite of the effort of the authorities to suppress or improve it, or despite the presence of conditions which allowed for better or different styles. Habitus could explain the persistence of underground dwellings in Southern Oltenia. Even if they might have originated as an improvised form of living in times of instability, villagers might have gotten used to this type and kept it over time, gradually adding to its complexity and diversity, resulting in the beautiful and surprisingly well- built houses signaled by Gheorghe Focşa (Focşa: 1957). The same factor can hypothetically be said about houses from the highlands that we observed in our field work, that were built of planks (rather than trunks or rough beams) but were still small (both in volume and in number of rooms). Even if refined carpentry was introduced at a certain moment, the habit was still to build in the usual layout.

7. Conclusions

House characteristics can prove useful in several connected fields, from household demography to modernization, agrarian relations, mobility, impact of government reforms or wars. In order to advance different theories and to deepen any research, we first need to perform the crucial stage of analyzing, quantifying and mapping historical information, as this process would provide a more solid framework of addressing research questions. We attempted to widen the existing framework that exists up to WWI, consisting mostly of L. Colescu's results and analysis on 1912 Romania. We analyzed sources from 1788, 1838, 1859. Our results confirmed previous conclusions (like the disappearance of underground houses in the second half of the 19th century) but provided new perspectives on issues unaddressed or only assumed in a general manner. Regarding underground houses – a recurrent motif in historical habitat studies – we showed that they existed in Moldavia as well, and most likely they were the result of war and instability, whereas in Wallachia the reason of their existence is still unclear (it could be indeed, as P.H. Stahl suggests, because of cultural influence or habits). Their share was not the only one to decline in the 19th century, as earth and even brick and stone begin to replace wood, which becomes a seldomly-used material in 1912 Muntenia and Moldova.

The study of house size proved interesting because of sharp evolutions and territoriality alike. In 1859 Wallachian highlands generally had bigger houses than lowlands, but this was overturned over time, as the lowland region witnessed a rather dramatic increase in house size. More wealth and more complex households favored the building of larger houses, but only in early 20th century. But, surprisingly, these factors were not the ones responsible for the expansion over time. Instead, mobility, land-ownership and sedentarization post-1864 could explain this evolution.

Unfortunately, our current resources did not allow us to push the boundaries of these theories, as connecting different fields of research implied compatible results. We hope however that the hypotheses formulated so far will be enough to refresh the interest in house typologies as both a factor and an indicator in broader social and economic processes.

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Appendices

Figure 10. Western Moldavia in 1788, subdistricts: the share of villages mentioned as having houses of certain types

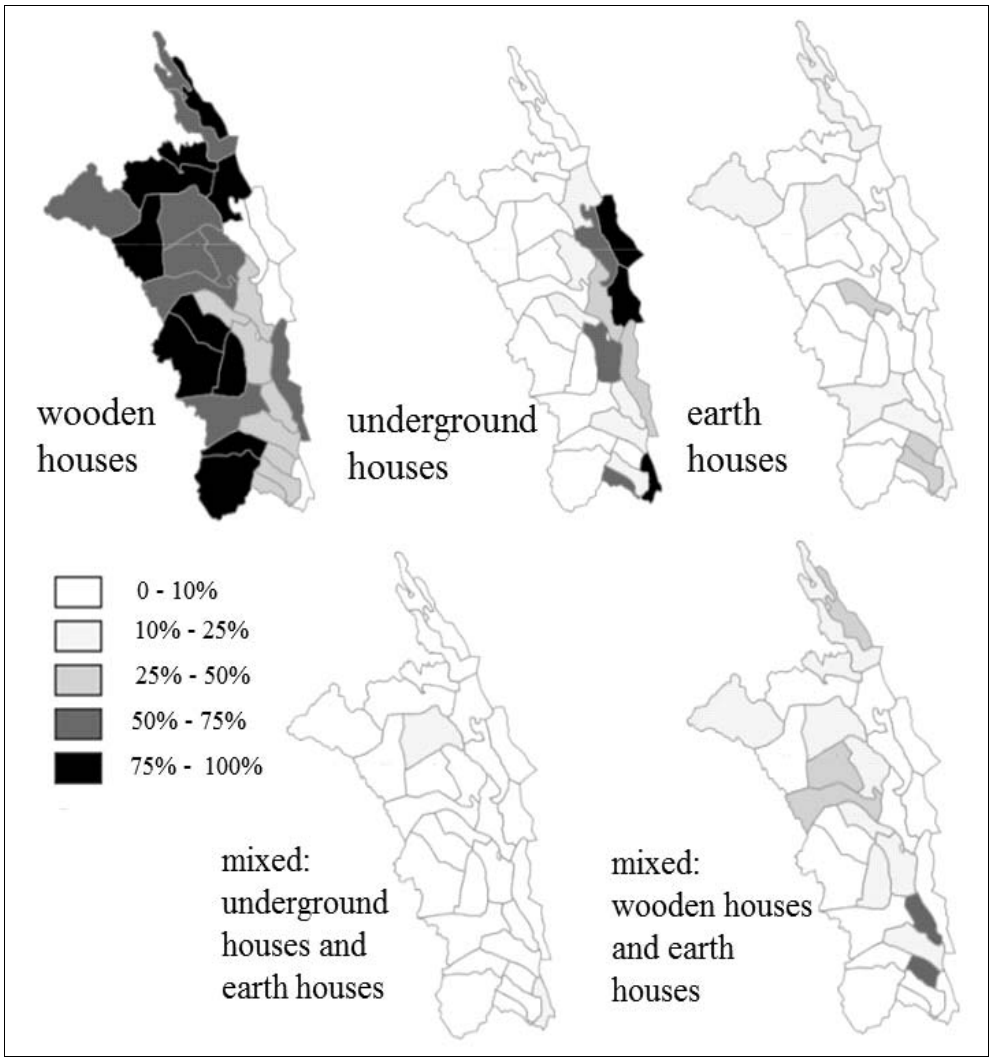


Figure 11. Wallachia, 1838, six subdistricts with preserved forms type F from the general census

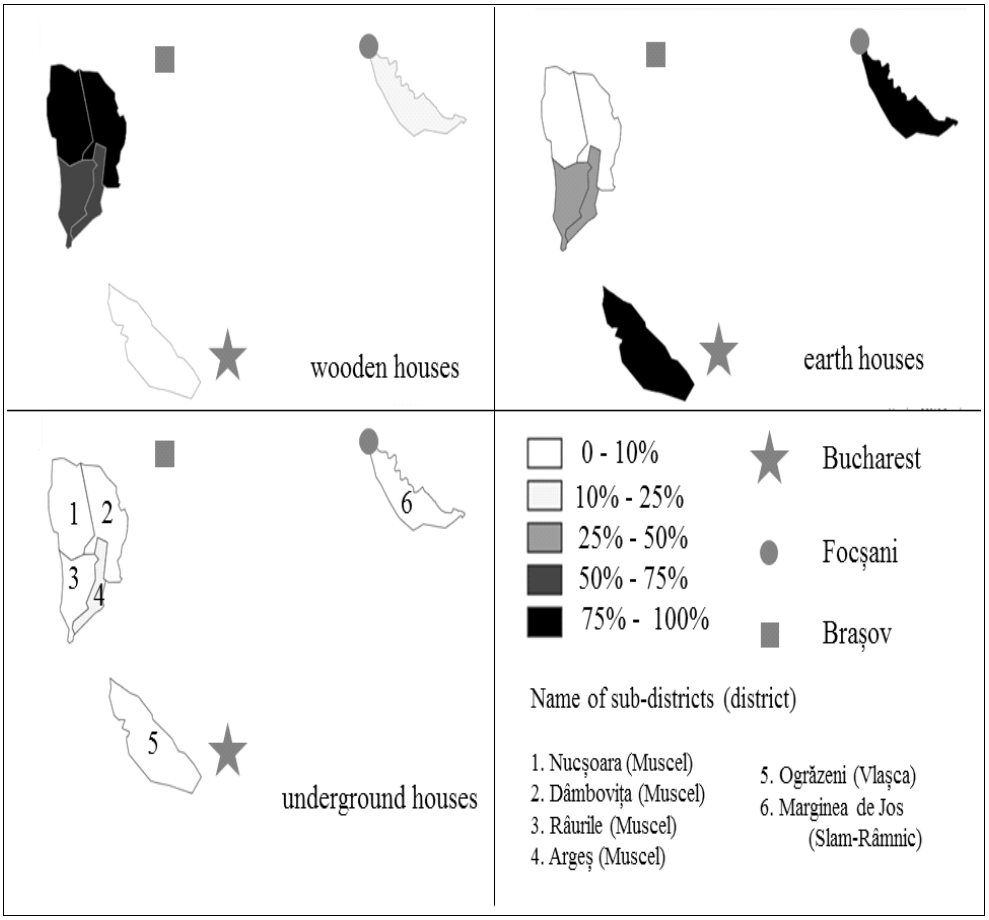


Figure 12. Wallachia, 1859, subdistricts: the share of buildings of certain types

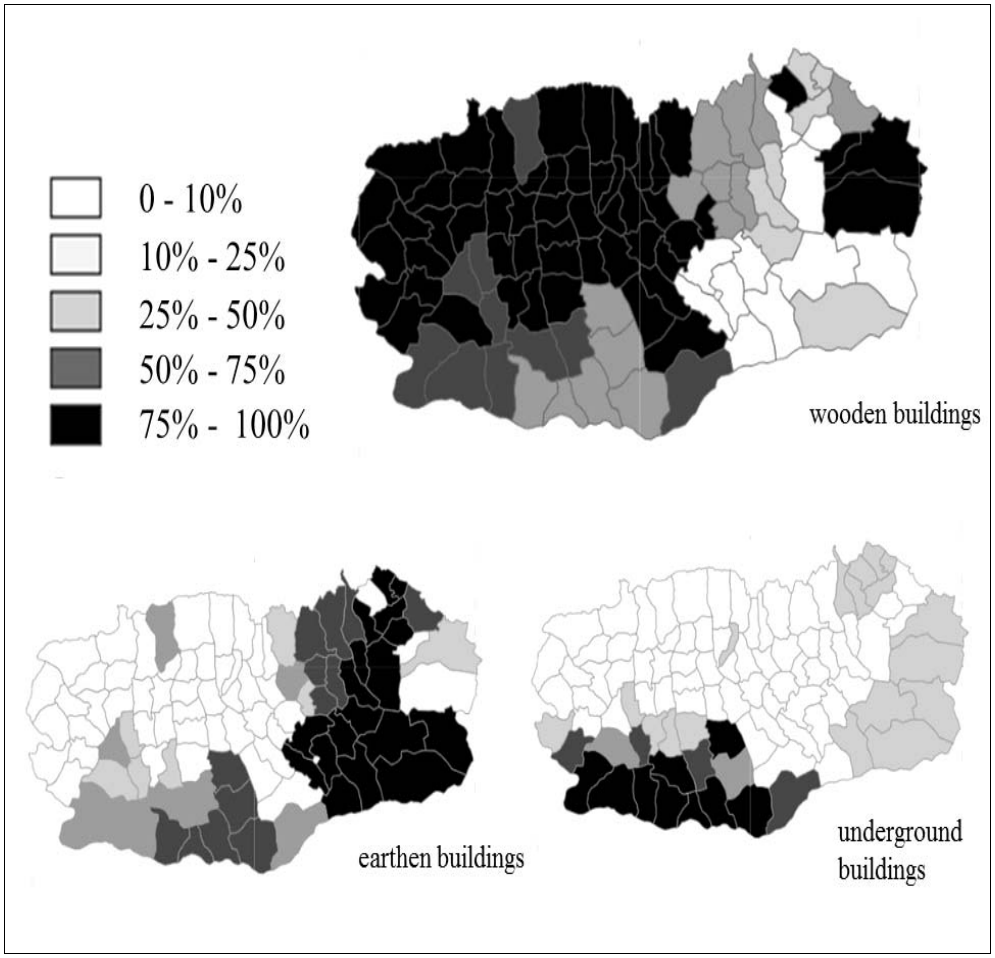


Figure 13 . Wallachia, 1859, subdistricts. Average number of residence rooms per residence

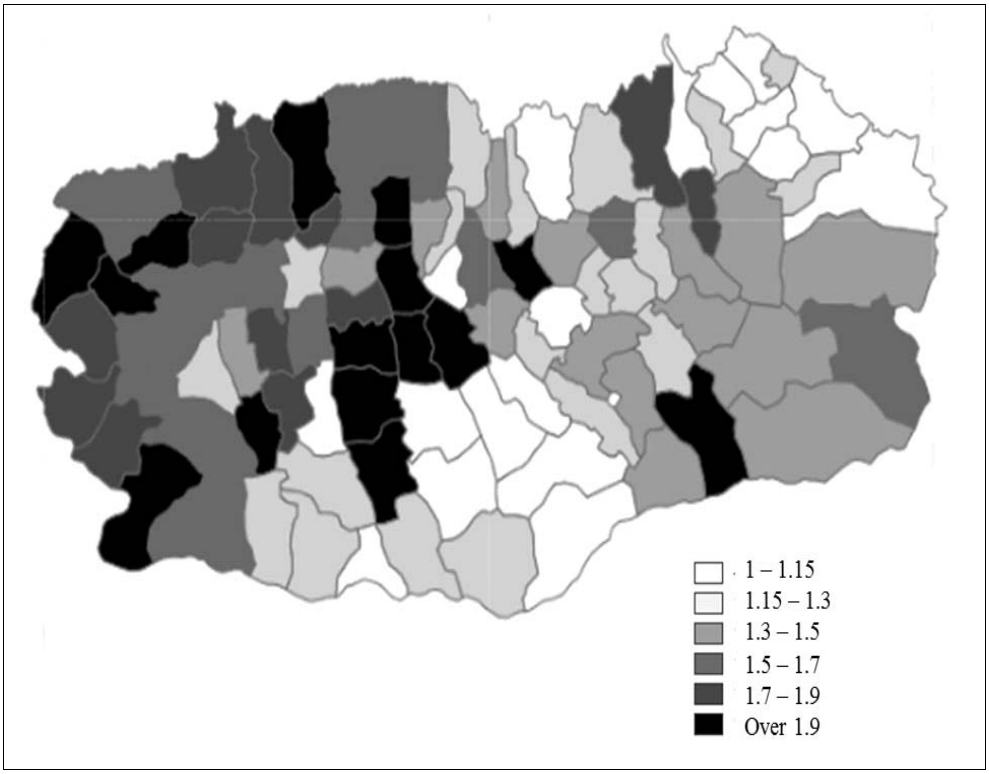
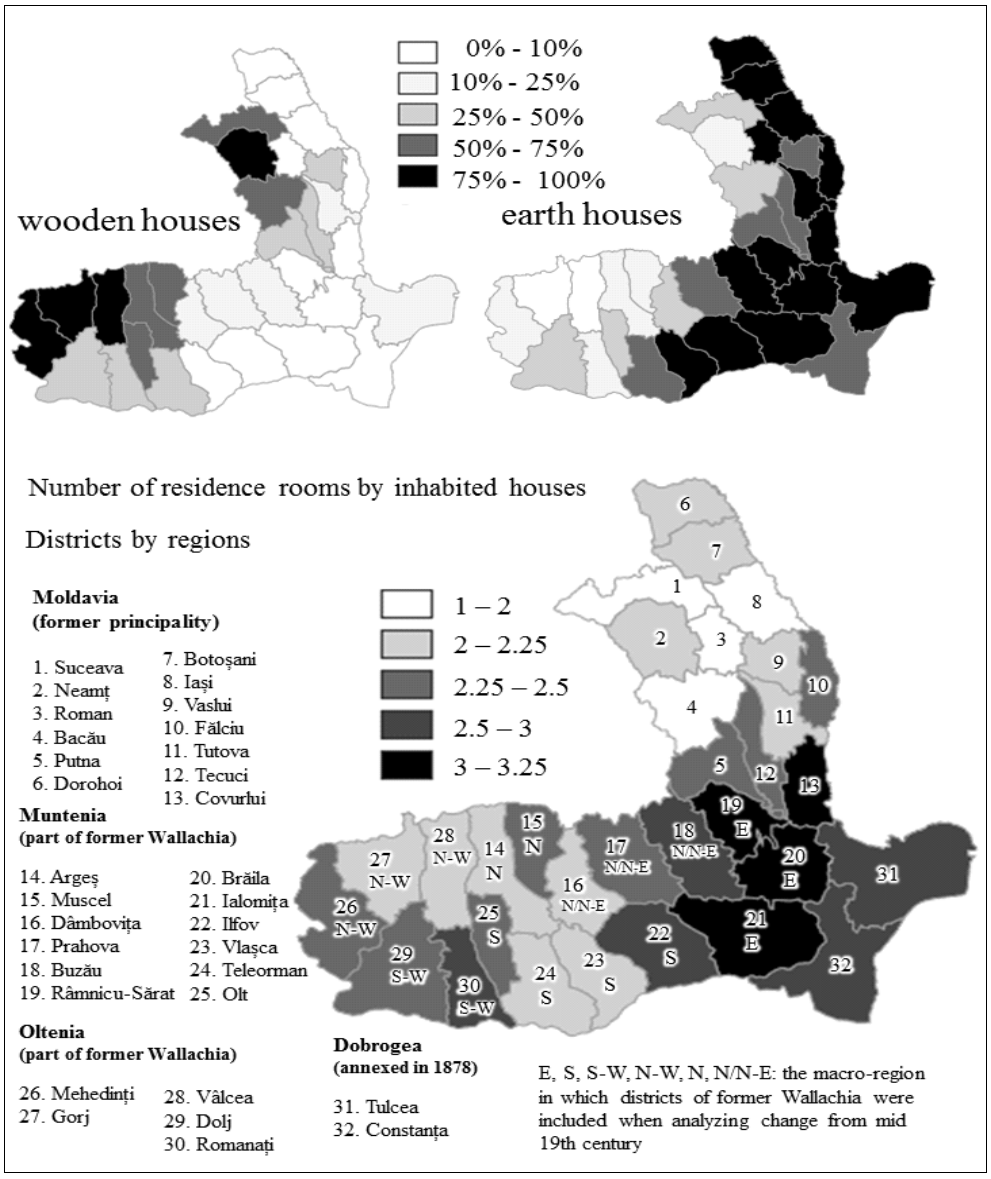


Figure 14. Romanian in 1912, districts: the share of houses of certain types and the average number of residence rooms per residence



Insights into Designing and Building a Historical Population Database

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Abstract. The study presents some of the issues involved in designing and building a historical database, namely the *Historical Population Database of Transylvania (HPDT)*. Devising the architecture of a source-oriented database is always a challenging task. Working with historical, complex sources with heterogeneous information, written in different languages, meant a continuous adaptation of the database that had several development versions, being presently at the starting point of its fourth version. HPDT was developed to have a research component with multiple databases (a source database, a standard one, and a linked table of individuals), as well as a public component.

Keywords: Transylvania, historical population database, HPDT, standardization, record linkage

1. Introduction

The potential of computer-based methods and computer applications has been long recognised by historical research. The development of databases is central in the transformation of methods in research. The creation of a database can be a simple process, but for historical needs it must follow some important concepts. The database can serve many needs in historical research, among which we might highlight data management, Record Linkage and data analysis (http://port.sas.ac.uk/mod/book/view.php?id=75&chapterid=132).

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Keeping in mind these functions, the database design will be shaped to best serve the interests of historians. There are several kinds of databases that are useful for historical research: Some historians are interested in bibliographical databases, others in finding the best sources and correlating them; others are interested in connecting individuals and subsequently analysing patterns related to populations' structure like births, marriages, deaths. These types of databases deal with historical populations.

Databases on historical populations have been in use since the 1970s, when the currently extant large databases which contain millions of data were created and started to be used for research (Murmann 2010). But like all databases used by historians, these population databases need to follow certain rules. The clearest and most widely used guidelines in this sense were drafted by Kees Mandemakers and Lisa Dillon in the 2004 article entitled "Best Practices with Large Databases on Historical Population", published in the prestigious journal *Historical Methods*.

They laid the foundation for the design and documentation of a source-oriented database, where the data must be organized according to the source. In brief, this type of database acts as a digital clone of the historical source offering an enormous advantage to the historian – reliable data, small storage space, the ability to tackle a large variety of research topics, as well as computer assistance in linking and analysing the data.

2. The source data

For studying the historical population, researchers mainly use the information found in archival sources (parish registers, censuses, civil registrations etc.). The *Historical Population Database of Transylvania* (HPDT) was the main result of a project which aimed to build a population database covering the period between 1850 and 1914. The main sources used were vital registrations (baptisms, marriages, burials) which were recorded and kept by the church. These cover the most important demographic events during an individual's lifetime. Although at the time the HPDT was designed, several historical population databases which could be used as a model already existed, most of which were built some three decades earlier, constructing a database for the population of Transylvania still presented some challenges.

In Transylvania, the church registers were written in several languages (Romanian, Hungarian, Latin, German, etc.) with different alphabets (Latin, Cyrillic, Kurrentschrift, etc.), a feature that cannot be found in other population databases. The registers were also the product of diverse denominational milieus: Orthodox, Greek Catholic, Catholic, Calvinist,

Lutheran, Jewish etc. Accommodating this diversity proved to be a demanding task for the database architect and for the data entry operators, since the database had to be permanently adjusted to reflect the various sources (Crăciun, Holom & Popovici 2015). At the same time, the data-entry operators needed to have an expert palaeographic knowledge and several language skills, so their selection was just as sharp. Moreover, there were significant differences in terms of structure between the registers used: the different columns encountered for each denomination had to be integrated into a table following both the principles of source-oriented databases and the guidelines for the appropriate design of the database.

3. Constructing the dataset

The *Historical Population Database of Transylvania (HPDT)* is a relational database, built with the MySQL database management system, an open source framework. It follows the best practices model for constructing population databases (Mandemakers and Dillon 2004). As we mentioned above, HPDT contains information on people attested in the parish registers maintained by different denominations.

From the beginning the database was developed to have a research component with multiple databases (a source database, standard database and a database with linked individuals), as well as a public component which allows for genealogical research. In this paper we will discuss the research component and the challenges of constructing the three separate layers of databases.

4. The source database

The source database is an exact copy of the parish registers. The challenge in constructing the dataset for the source database was to incorporate the different fields found in the registers. The parish registers which were transcribed into the database stem from six different denominations: Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Jewish. This diversity is also reflected in the information recorded, as each Church has its own priorities in registering various events. Some pieces of the information, such as the name of the central individual for a particular event are common across all denominations, while certain pieces of information are particular to each denomination. Moreover, even for the same denomination, the most recent registers differ in terms of the breadth of data contained, compared to older registers that record fewer details of the individual vital events.

In order to follow the best practices and adhere to the source, the database tries to incorporate all the fields found in the registers. During the transcription phase, the database was constantly modified in order to accommodate new fields and to follow the source precisely. Presently, the source database has reached the third version of development and will soon be reorganized for a fourth version.

The metadata is structured into four major tables corresponding to the events recorded in the parish registers. Each row in these tables represents a record of an event. Each table details a major event viewed from the perspective of the religious ceremony marking it: Baptism (*Tbirths*), Engagement (*Tengagements*), Marriage (*Tmarriages*) and Burial (*Tdeaths*).

In the original version of the database, the first table for baptisms (*Tbirths*) had 91 columns. The form page for this category has boxes for free text input: child's name, parents' names, birth place, baptism place, parents' occupations, parents' residence, witnesses' names and occupation. These text boxes allow the user to fill in the original text found in the register, even if spelling errors or incomplete text etc. are encountered. There are also fields that are controlled by the structure of the database – value lists and drop-down lists – denomination, legitimacy, gender, priests, and midwives. These values are standardized and do not allow free filling. We chose this method in order to prevent the unwieldy extension of the table structure, and to eliminate the redundant data for a normalized database. The same value could be found on multiple rows, as for instance one priest was present in over 2000 baptisms (the Greek Catholic priest Leontiánu Leontin&L. from the small town of Ocna Mureş performed 2277 baptisms and 426 weddings between 1863 and 1872).

As the number of priests and midwives included in the drop-down lists from which the data entry operators could make a selection was high and made the search difficult, we elected to combine the drop-down list with an autocomplete search box.

The dates were split into three fields – day, month, year. The dates were not always completely recorded: sometimes the exact day of the event was missing, while in other instances there was no month or even year registered. This was owed to the fact that the priests were using partial dates, preferring to only fill in the year for the first record on the page, and to add a *ditto* mark for the following records. As the use of the *datetime* field was not possible because of the incomplete date, the three separated fields currently employed give a clear view of the date records.

Sometimes the written text contained by the source could not be read, for various reasons. The paper could be degraded, the text could be illegible, the operator could not read or understand the text because it was abbreviated or misspelled, or the priests recording the event could omit information from certain columns in the register. In order to emphasize these different reasons, we used a coding system with negative numbers, similar to the one prescribed by the best practices with large databases on historical population (Mandemakers and Dillon 2004):

Source variable left blank **-1**
Illegible due to bad preservation **-2**
Shredded paper **-5**
Illegible due to palaeographic reasons **-6**
Unclear (to be rechecked) **-7**.

Some negatives were used in special situations to mark a problem with the source or palaeographic inconsistency.
The variety of information contained in registers for the same event, but from different time periods or different denominations was also dealt with: in cases where a particular column was present in some sources, and not in others, the corresponding text box of the form was left blank during data entry. This signalled that the information was not missing, but rather was not required at all by the source structure. Columns were also left blank in the case of free-form sources, where events were recorded only as short texts, resulting in a non-tabular structure.

After working with the database for some time, different fields were added to the Baptism (*Thirths*) table. The second version contains fields for ethnicity, second and third occupation of the parents, parents' and witnesses' denominations.

There are also two fields assigned for observations. One field contains the additional observations made by the priest in the register and the second field contains the remarks of the operator on the source, sometimes pointing out the mistakes made by the priests on the filling, or other brief notes that might aid in the verification and subsequent linkage of the source.

In the original version of the *Thirths* table, the form contains fields for one pair of godparents and for a second godmother. Nevertheless, these fields proved to be insufficient, as early on during the data entry process more than one pair of godparents had to be accommodated. The number of godparent pairs for baptisms ranged from one to five pairs, generally. This meant that in

the current baptism table an additional 49 columns would need to be created. The columns would have repeated the information for each pair of godparents (first name, last name, nickname, residence, denomination, occupation). However, this would have gone against one of the main principles of the relational database, namely normalization: the process of organizing the tables of the database in a manner that minimizes redundancy and ensures that the data dependency makes sense (Harrington 2009).

What is more, not all of the events list five pairs of godparents, so many of the event rows will be left blank for the second to fifth pairs, and thus the creation of so many additional columns would have been useless on most occasions.

The solution was to move the recording of the godparents into a new table. Although this does not entirely respect the flow of the events as it appeared in the primary source, it nevertheless provides a clear look of the god-parenting process. Every pair of godparents is linked independently with the ID of the event so that everything is connected according to the process of normalization. Even though the data entry flow does not respect the source completely, the detail page of the record can easily be reconstructed exactly as it appeared in the primary source.

In the present version, the table of Baptisms (*Thirths*) has a total of 86 columns that comprise the fields found in the baptism registers.

The second major life event recorded in the parish registers is the betrothal. There are registers that document this event in the Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches. The table *Tengagements* contains information about the future bride and groom, their parents or curators (first name, last name, nickname, literacy, denomination). It has columns for free text and columns that allow the operator to choose from a list (denomination, literacy).

In the second version of the database, new fields for ethnicity of the recorded individuals and for the wedding date were added to this table, thus bringing the number of columns to 102. Essentially, all the columns included in this table can also be found in the Marriage table, as it is a duplicate of the same information. For these reasons it was decided by the data administrators that while the data will continue to be transcribed for this event, the information should not be used for the next steps, like standardization and linkage. However, the already recorded data can be used as a backup for the marriage events during the standardization process, since it duplicates the information extracted from the same community.

Another major event in the individual life is marriage (*Tmarriages*). *Tmarriages* is the largest table of the database, having from the beginning more than 100 columns. Like the previous tables, this table also contains fields for free text (bride and groom names, parents' names, witnesses' names, wedding place, and residence of the participants).

There are also standardized values that can be chosen from a drop-down list: this was the case for denomination, marital status or dispensation type. The priest that officiated the marriage is registered in a different table (*Tpriests*) and can be selected from a drop-down list and an autocomplete search box. As was the case with the baptism, the number of weddings officiated by the same priests can be large, especially if their careers span over several decades: the same clergyman could even perform over 400 weddings, such as the Calvinist priest Jancsó&Iancsó Lajos from Ocna Mures, who officiated 435 weddings between 1881 and 1912.

Just as for the other vital events, the dates were split into three fields corresponding to day, month, and year. The database accurately follows the sources, even for the many events where the dates were partially recorded or were missing completely in the source. However, during the standardization process, some dates can be inferred, e.g.: if the priest has registered the year of the marriage only for the first entry on the page, but skipped it for the rest of the entries on the same page, we can safely assume that the subsequent events on the page occurred in the same year, provided that the dates are posterior to the first registered marriage.

In the case of paper degradation, illegible text or blank entries in certain columns, the same coding system of negative numbers is used as that mentioned for the *Tbirths* table.

Because the data entry process needed to accommodate all the information present for the different denominations in modern Transylvania, the table *Tmarriages* grew in the second version with more than 70 columns. New fields were added, such as the second and third occupation (increasingly common for more urban settlements), ethnicity for each individual present at the event, a new set of individuals that were witnesses to the betrothal. Fields for comments were also added: personal remarks of the data entry operator and the observations made by the priest in the primary source. Everything was recorded following the primary source faithfully with all the errors or inconsistencies, while the large free text field of observations can be used as an explanation box.

In the case of marriage godparents, the large number of pairs present at one event – six pairs in one instance – made it necessary to undertake the same migration to a separate table as in the case of birth events. Every pair of marriage godparents is linked to the event by the ID of the marriage they sponsored.

In last version *Tmarriages* table has increased to 178 columns. In order to ensure that the source-oriented model is kept to accommodate every last piece of information, we had to bend some of the rules of the database normalization.

This inordinately large number of columns makes it increasingly difficult to navigate through all the information, both for the database administrator, and for the researchers and data entry operators. Therefore, for the fourth version of development the table is going to be restructured. After recording more than 15000 marriage events, we realized that the information regarding the witnesses can be transposed to an independent table in the same manner as the godparents table. As there are a maximum of seven sets of witnesses for marriage and betrothal (each with several fields allotted), the creation of a new table will reduce the redundancy of information significantly, while at the same time maintaining the source-oriented aspect of the database.

The last large table that corresponds to another major event in the religious life of an individual is *Tdeaths,* which contains information on burials. The first version had a structure of 53 columns. It contained information about the deceased (name, occupation, residence, birth date, death date, cause of death, and burial date). It also contained information about the family of the deceased – parents (names, occupation, and residence), spouse (name, occupation, residence). As is the case with the other tables, there are text boxes for free filling, but also fields where a pre-set value can be selected from a list.

In the second version, new fields were added to faithfully follow the written source: ethnicity of the individuals mentioned for the burial event, legitimacy if the deceased was a child or an infant, thus bringing the total amount of columns to 98.

In the taxonomy of a relational database, in addition to the main tables there are several complementary tables. Every one of these tables is related to the other by a corresponding column in order to handle complex queries, to search and find data in a logic manner, and to eliminate redundancy. The logical connection between the tables is made by the foreign key: a field that is a match to another field from another table (http://www.mysqltutorial.org/mysql-foreign-key/). In this way the integrity of the database is maintained, and it ensures that the data are consistent within

the database. Constraints are added to the foreign keys, or functions that make sure the database will never have orphaned records in child table (e.g. denomination that was deleted from the denomination table, but still exists attached to some individuals in the main tables). A constraint means that if the operator wants to delete a row from the denomination table, it is not possible without first deleting all the instances from the main table where that denomination appears.

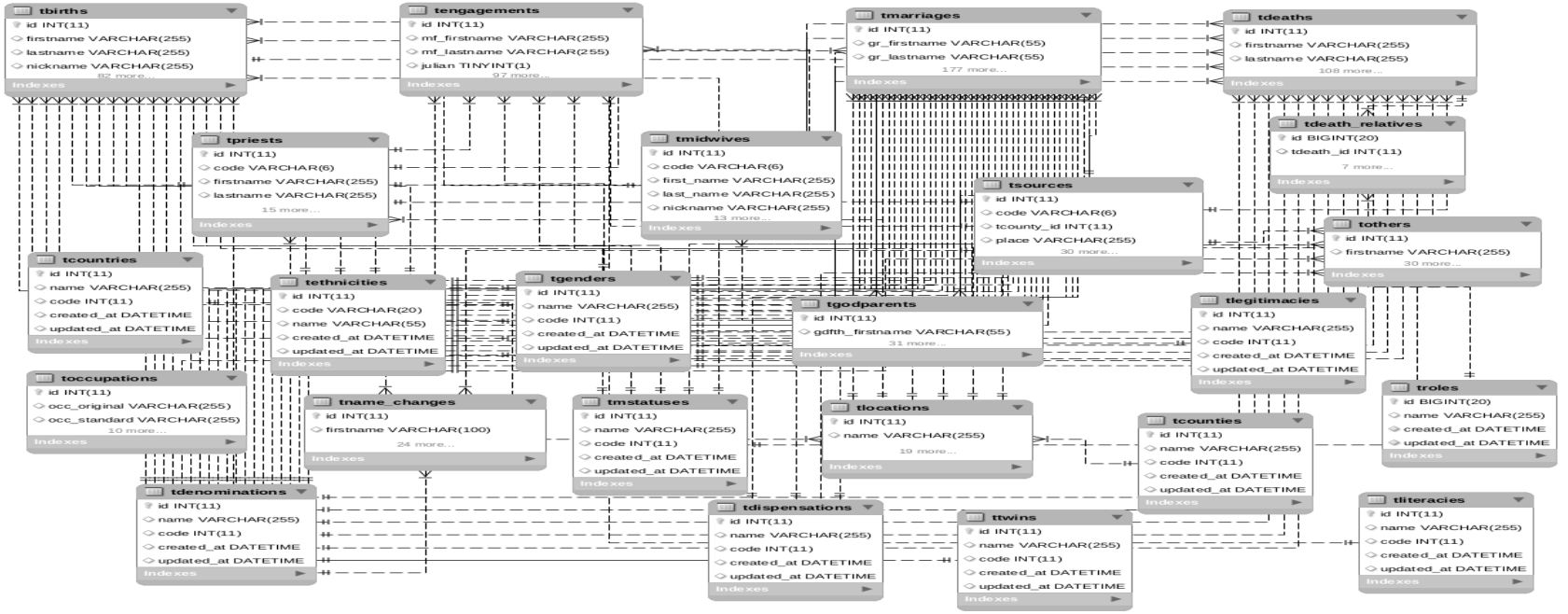
All the additional tables are related to one or all four of the main tables by one or several columns. Everything can be traced, and the primary source can be rebuilt in a digital form. All the events from the register are linked to the original source. There is a table that documents the original source (*Tsource*): where can it be found, the language used, the alphabet, the parish and denomination, the date of the first and last record. A photo of the original written register can also be attached.

As noted earlier, in order to ensure the appropriate functioning of the database and to reduce redundancy, the fields for recording the godparents in the Baptism and Marriage tables were moved to another table *Tgodparents*. The table is linked to both tables by foreign keys – *tbirth_id* for Baptism and *tmarriage_id* for Marriage. Thus, several pairs of godparents can be added without affecting the structure of the database. It also incorporates the godparents present at the Confirmation event and the witnesses participating in the Jewish Baptism. The same method is used for the witness table and is linked by Marriage table by *tmarriage_id*.

To keep in balance the principles of best practices in historical databases (Mandemakers and Dillon 2004) and the principles of a good relational database (Harrington 2009), tables for major roles in vital events - Priests and Midwives - were created. The priests were present and had an active role in every major event in the individual life. Just one priest could be officiating thousands of rites. To eliminate redundancy (Harrington 2009), the table *Tpriests* has recorded the priests just once and it is linked to the tables of major events by a foreign key – *priest_id*. Thus, we eliminated the recording of the same priest in thousands of rows. This also follows the best practices of a historical database – the names of the priests are recorded as they were written in the primary source even though in some cases it is clear that we are dealing with the same person. But this aspect will be addressed in the following steps – standardization and Record Linkage.

The table for midwives is constructed in the same manner – *Tmidwives*. The table is linked to the Baptism table by a foreign key – *tmidwife_id*.

Figure 1. HPDT source database diagram



The database does not have a static form. It can be modified and expanded as needed. If new fields are required during the transcription, they can be integrated to the database. New functionalities can be provided, making it easy to use and a very good tool for research. The relations maintain the good structure of the database. Every piece of information can be found following the inter-related tables. The diagram of the source database (Figure 1) shows a series of 22 tables heavily connected by many relationships in order to ensure that the information can be retrieved.

5. The Standard Database

In order to have a better quality of the Record Linkage process, the recorded information was first standardized. What follows after the transcription is the proofreading process. This was done in pairs by some of the data entry operators: one read aloud from the written source and the second read through the transcribed data. If any errors in transcription occurred, they were corrected at this stage. By logical inference, the operator also filled in the empty columns that were left blank because they were not filled in the written source.

The inferences are clearly marked by "$" signs at the beginning and at the end of the logical inference. Priests did not always do a good job of completing all the tabs in the register: in many cases the priest registered the year of the event only for the first record on the page but left the year column on the rest of the page empty. By logical inference, the operator can add the year because the events are in chronological order.

The last name of the baptised child is almost never mentioned but can be completed with the last name of the father, or the one of mother if the child is illegitimate. These inferences can be added manually or by a series of automated Sql queries. Moreover, for the standard database, all the negative codes were cleared, in order not to interfere with Sql queries, because the program treats a negative in the same manner as a name and gives it the same value all over the table.

Figure 2. Table Tnames

ID	Original name	Type	Name ro	Name hu
29	%M% Ileana	1	Elena	
505	Ilanaa!!	1	Elena	
506	Ilarie	1	Ilarie	
507	Ilariu	1	Ilarie	
508	Ilean??	1	Elena	
509	Ileana	1	Elena	
512	Ileana??	1	Elena	
513	Ileane	1	Elena	
510	Ileaná	1	Elena	
511	Ileană	1	Elena	
514	Ilena	1	Elena	
2083	Ilenczfalvi Nagy	2		Ilencfalvi
2084	Ilia	2		Ilea
2085	Ilia	2	Ilea	
515	Iliana	1	Elena	
516	Ilianá	1	Elena	

For the standardization process several tables have been created. The most important one is the table for names (*Tnames*). The advantage of using standardized names has been proven in the process of Record Linkage in Norway (Vick & Huynh, 2011) and Sweden (Wisselgren et al. 2014). Standardization has been done for first name, last name and nickname. The table contains a column which encodes the types: 1 = first name, 2 = last name, 3 = nickname.

As stated before, one of the most important features of Transylvania is the use of several languages: Romanian, Hungarian, German, and Latin. In the first version of standardization two categories were created: Romanian standard names and Hungarian standard names (see above *Figure 2*). The dividing factor was the denomination – Romanian standard names were used for Orthodox and Greek Catholics, while the Catholics and Calvinists were standardized using Hungarian names. The Romanian individuals found in registers considered of Hungarian denomination were standardized in Hungarian language. The Hungarian individuals found in Romanian registers were standardized in Romanian language.

Thus, names like Ana, Anna, Annica, Annike were standardized in Ana (Romanian) and Anna (Hungarian). The name Ioan has more than 20 variants just for the Romanian language: Iuoan, Iuonu, Iuon, Iuan were all standardized in just one variant. In the first version 3825 names were standardized. A second version contained more than 14000 names. A third standard will be added for German language.

A second independent table is *Tlocation*. It contains all the localities mentioned in the database with the standard correspondent. For standardization an encoding of 21 characters was used. The code was formed by country code + commune code + street code + house number. If the information does not exist (e.g. house number) a string of '00' characters is added. The encoding was created following the local administrative unit (LAU), method largely used within the European Union (see http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/nuts/local-administrative-units)

Another standard table is the occupation table – *Toccupation*. All the occupations mentioned in the database were added to a table and encoded using the Historical International Classification of Occupations (HISCO). Unfortunately, the occupation could not be used as a criterion for Record Linkage as in many cases it was not present in the registers. It can be used though as a method of control, to check whether the automatic process of linkage was correctly done.

For the standard version of the database a copy of the original source database was created. To this copy the standard tables of *Tnames*, *Tlocation and Toccupation* were added. Three events were included in this process: Baptism, Marriage and Burial. In the corresponding tables, new fields were created: fields for standard names (*sfirstname, slastname, snickname)* for all participants to the event, and fields for location. Using a series of stored procedures written in MySQL (http://dev.mysql.com/doc/refman/5.7/en/create-procedure.html) all the original names from the three major tables received a standard equivalent based on the standard table *Tnames*. The standard locations were filled in the same manner.

The procedure used just for filling the standard first name is shown in the example below. As we mentioned before, we had to distinguish between the denominations as different languages were used. This procedure was applied 39 times to include all the names. For location the procedure was applied 13 times (e.g. procedure for adding standard location to deceased residence).

A problem was extracting the birth date from age. Generally, either an individual's birth date or their age was mentioned, and very rarely were both recorded in the same entry. The birth date is very important in Record Linkage process as it offers a *terminus post quem* time frame. The first problem that needed to be solved was that the Orthodox registers were using a different type of calendar – the Julian calendar – which was 14 days behind the Gregorian calendar used by the other denominations. A table was created with the corresponding dates between Julian calendar and the Gregorian calendar.

With this table we were able to match all the dates from the Julian calendar, and to achieve uniformity in dates.

Extracting the birth date from age was a difficult process. We also had to take into account the calendar used. With a series of excel formulas the extraction was done with a margin error of 10%. The excel table was recreated in a MySQL table and then added to the standard tables of *Tbirths, Tmarriages* and *Tdeaths*.

With the standardization finished we were able to proceed to the next level: the Record Linkage process.

6. Record Linkage

Record Linkage is the process of finding datasets that refer to the same entity across multiple sources, to find double records, and finally to merge them. Thus, every piece of information about the entity is bound together in order to have a complete record of that entity. It is a method of standardizing information which can be found scattered throughout sources that do not share a common denominator (id, national identification number, social security number etc.)

For sociological and historical demographic research, Record Linkage is used for recreating individual life courses, making deep level analyses possible. It is an important method, especially when the datasets stem from different sources like old census records, parish registers or civil registers. Worldwide, it has been used intensively in Norway, Sweden, Netherlands, US (Goeken et al. 2011), and even on censuses from the Roman Empire (Hin et al. 2016).

In Romania, the Record Linkage process was never used for historical research, as until the creation of the HPDT, there was no database for historical population large enough to permit this kind of research. The building of HPDT created the necessary structure for trying the methods of Record Linkage.

For the first attempt of automated Record Linkage we extracted from HPDT a sample from the village of Călăraşi, Cluj County. All the information from the sample was previously standardized. This sample contains the four major denominations from Transylvania (Orthodox, Greek Catholic, Catholic and Calvinist). It also contains recordings of the Baptism, Marriage and Burial events. In total the first sample comprised 2497 baptisms, 1020 marriages and 2577 burials.

In order to apply the automated Record Linkage a new table was created – *Individuals*. The table was populated with data extracted from the three event tables for the sample. The secondary individuals (godparents,

witnesses, priests, midwives, etc.) were not included in the table, since there was not enough information about them. From the original tables only those columns that offer relevant information for Record Linkage were extracted. The table *Individuals* contains original names, standard names, location (birth place, residence, wedding place), gender, birth year, the event year (when the individual is mentioned), wedding year, death year, the event type (B – baptism, M – marriage, D – death), the role played by the individual within the event (C – child, M – mother, F – father, G – groom, B – bride, D – deceased, S – spouse). The id of the original event and the code of the original source were also kept (Figure 3, in red circle). This way the links with the original sources and the source database are maintained. Each individual can be traced to the written sources of the registers. A total of 1311 individuals were inserted. The time frame ranges between 1770 (first event) and 1914 (last event). On this table, the automated method of Record Linkage was applied for the first time in Romania.

Figure 3. Table Individuals

firstname	firstname_s1	lastname	lastname_s1	nickname	nickname_s1	sex	birth_place	birth_year	wed_year	residence	death_year	type_event	source_id	event_id	event_year	role
Eva	Éva	Lázár	Lázár			2	NULL	NULL	NULL		NULL	B	14	16960	1830	M
Clara	Klára	Szél	Szél			2	NULL	NULL	NULL		NULL	B	14	16961	1830	M
Maria	Mária	Her%sz...	Herki			2	NULL	NULL	NULL	642000...	NULL	B	14	16962	1830	M
Catharin.	Katalin	Rátz	Rátz			2	NULL	NULL	NULL	642000...	NULL	B	14	16963	1830	M
Borbara	Borbála	Tirtsi	Tircsi			2	NULL	NULL	NULL	642000...	NULL	B	14	16964	1830	M
Susanna	Zsuzsánna	Tötöri	Tötöri			2	NULL	NULL	NULL	642000...	NULL	B	14	16965	1830	M
Rosalia	Rozália	Hoka	Hoka			2	NULL	NULL	NULL	642000...	NULL	B	14	16966	1830	M
Anna	Anna	Bothár	Botár			2	NULL	NULL	NULL	642000...	NULL	B	14	16967	1830	M
Julianna	Juliánna	Szilágyi	Szilágyi			2	NULL	NULL	NULL	642000...	NULL	B	14	16968	1830	M
Julianna	Juliánna	Komaro...	Komáromi			2	NULL	NULL	NULL	642000...	NULL	B	14	16969	1831	M
Miklos	Miklós	Szél	Szél			1	NULL	NULL	NULL	642000...	NULL	B	20	15	1858	F
Iosiv	Iosif	Ratz	Raț	-1		1	9950000...	NULL	NULL	995000...	NULL	B	12	18	1851	F
Iuón	Ioan	Pás	Pascu	-1		1	9950000...	NULL	NULL	995000...	NULL	B	12	19	1851	F
Mikulae	Nicolae	Serban	Șerban	-1		1	9950000...	NULL	NULL	995000...	NULL	B	12	20	1851	F
Maxim	Maxim	Buksa	Bucșa	-1		1	9950000...	NULL	NULL	995000...	NULL	B	12	21	1851	F
Pavel	Pavel	Tufa	Tufă	-1		1	9950000...	NULL	NULL	995000...	NULL	B	12	22	1852	F
Gligorie	Grigore	Urkan	Urcan	-1		1	9950000...	NULL	NULL	995000...	NULL	B	12	23	1852	F
Kifor	Chifor	Muresan	Mureșan	-1		1	9950000...	NULL	NULL	995000...	NULL	B	12	24	1852	F

The computer program is based on the mathematical formula of calculating the Jaro-Winkler distance. This formula measures the similarities between two strings of characters (names, places, occupations etc.). If the strings don't match (e.g. comparison between Grigore and Nicolae) then the result of the measurement is 0 (zero). If the strings do match perfectly (e.g. Maria and Maria) then the result score is 1 (one). Depending on the similarities of the

strings the score can be lower (improbable match) or higher (probable match). For example, a comparison between Elena and Elnea gives a result of 0.94 (probable match). The program uses three levels of the result score:

- level 1 – score **0.96** (most probable match)
- level 2 – score **0.90** (probable match)
- level 3 – score **0.80** (possible match)

After tests we decided that we are going to use only level one on standard names, therefore focusing on names that are a 96 % match.

The routine that runs the procedures of individual identification is written in Ruby, a dynamic open source programming language. It was developed at the Arctic University of Norway, Tromsø (Thorvaldsen et al. 2015) and adapted to the realities of Transylvania. The routine strategy is based on checking the couples by event type. A Sql query searches for individuals with similar names based on the Jaro-Winkler distance chosen by the user, employing as search variables first name (standard or original), last name (standard or original), sex, role. If these variables match one person, then the program checks the partner. If the partner also matches these criteria, then the person is considered to be the same individual.

The user can establish the conditions of the search routine by a string of four arguments. The first argument is the event type – b (birth), m (marriage), d (deaths). The operator can choose between these events to run the program against the *Individual* table. The second argument is the name type – original name (n) or standard name (s). If there is no standardization of the names, we can always choose the original name. The third argument is the level of Jaro-Winkler distance that the program can run – 1, 2 or 3. For level 1 (highly probable match) the routine writes directly in the MySQL table and gives the same code for identified individuals. For level 2 and 3 the program asks for confirmation before rewriting in the *Individual* table. The last argument is the year from which the search of common individuals begins. Optionally, a fifth argument can be added (f) which writes everything to a file instead of modifying the Sql table.

All the links created by the program are written in a log file. As an example, in Table 1 we have extracted one matching couple with all the instances that the program found. The operator can inspect the links and verify if the Linkage is correct.

Table 1. Log file with created links

id_i	id	sfname	ofname	slname	olname	year	event	role
4999	2001	Ana	Ana	Raţiu		1886	B	M
4999	2180	Ana	Anna	Raţiu		1888	B	M
4999	2392	Ana	Anică	Raţiu		1890	B	M
4999	2504	Ana	Anică	Raţiu		1892	B	M
4999	2565	Ana	Anică	Raţiu		1893	B	M
4999	2607	Ana	Anică	Raţiu		1895	B	M
4999	2819	Ana	Anica	Raţiu		1898	B	M
4999	2945	Ana	Anica	Raţiu		1903	B	M
9094	2001	Ioan	Ioan	Raţiu	Ratiu	1886	B	F
9094	2180	Ioan	Ioan	Raţiu	Raţiu	1888	B	F
9094	2392	Ioan	Ioan	Raţiu	Ratiu	1890	B	F
9094	2504	Ioan	Ioan	Raţiu	Ratiu	1892	B	F
9094	2565	Ioan	Ioan	Raţiu	Ratiu	1893	B	F
9094	2607	Ioan	Ioan	Raţiu	Ratiu	1895	B	F
9094	2819	Ioan	Ioan	Raţiu	Ratiu	1898	B	F
9094	2945	Ioan	Ioan	Raţiu	Ratiu	1903	B	F
12355	117	Ioan	Ioan	Raţiu	Ratiu	1906	M	G
13378	117	Ana	Anica	Raţiu	Muntean	1906	M	B

At the first stage we started by identifying the parents with multiple children born. After running the program and checking the results in the log file we discovered that a large proportion of the population from Orthodox and Greek Catholic denominations is missing. The problem was that in these registers the last names of the female individuals are not generally recorded.

The ethnic and denominational diversity of the selected area did not make it possible to establish a unique model to standardize the last name of the female population. While the Hungarian women kept their maiden name after the marriage and the priests filled their last names in the registers, for the Romanian women it seems that there was no rule regarding the bride's last name after the marriage. Since the columns mentioning the females' last names were left blank, we inferred that they have the same name as their husbands.

In order to improve the Record Linkage process, we proceeded to variable construction. This method was also used in Sweden for Record Linkage (Wisselgren et al. 2014). Based on the legitimacy of the child a last name was added. If the legitimacy was true or there was no mention of it, the female took the last name of the partner. If the child is clearly specified as illegitimate the

last name of the mother was left blank. The last name of the child was added following the same principle.

The next stage was to check the marriage couples against the parents from the baptism event. Since we inferred previously that for Orthodox and Greek Catholic denominations the women changed their last name after the marriage, then brides would have had different names at the marriage event and at the baptism event. The solution was to add a new field - *maiden* - that contains the maiden names of the brides. The last name was filled with the name that the women took after the marriage – the partner's last name.

The last stage was the identification of individuals in the burial event. This stage proved to be the most problematic. For the deceased children the names of both parents were missing in most cases (e.g. id 600, Vaslie - standardized Vasilie -, a 12 days old infant, missing any family references whatsoever, because the priests failed to fill the burial register in the proper manner). In some burial cases involving infants or children, only the father is mentioned (896 cases) or mother (477 cases). In the case of adults, when the deceased was male, the name of the spouse was not usually mentioned.

As we explained above, the routine strategy is based on checking the couples. In the case of individuals mentioned in the Burial registers the program did not function within the normal parameters, as there were too many missing variables. Thus we applied a series of queries and Sql routines (http://dev.mysql.com/doc/refman/5.7/en/select.html), building a semi-automated method of Record Linkage. This method is generally used when the information is scarce with few variables that can be used (Hin et al. 2016).

For example, we executed a query for mothers found in the Baptism event (b) and mothers mentioned in the Burial event (d). Verification was made using variables such as first name, last name, maiden name, sex, and role. As a further check, the query also uses the partner last name and first name.

After running the automated program of Record Linkage, we concluded that the results depended very much on the quality of the sources. If the information present in the sources is complete, then the chances to have a good quality of Record Linkage are higher. In the chosen sample the lack of necessary information led to creation of a system of variables based on inferences. This made the process of execution and verification quite difficult. Another characteristic of Transylvania, the diverse number of denominations, led to heterogeneous information: each denomination had its own types of records that changed over the time. By combining the automatic program with the semi-automated method, we have reached a 40-50% link ratio. This percentage is quite high given the challenges of the Transylvanian sources.

For the second attempt of Record Linkage we chose a region which was more developed – the town of Ocna-Mureş and its surrounding area. Having the experience of the first Record Linkage process this region was specifically selected in order to ensure the quality of the data. The records were verified and checked for conformity against the original historical source, thus eliminating potential transcription mistakes. At the same time, the task of adding inferred information whenever it was possible was also carried out. Based on previous experience last names were added to children registered in baptism records, thus assigning them the last names of the fathers. This time, the quality of the sources was much higher, as women's last names were generally mentioned so that there was no need to undertake extensive revisions of this field.

Unfortunately, the name standardization process went very slowly. The pool of names was much larger than the previous attempt – more than 14000 names to be standardized compared to initial 3825 names. The name standardization was done manually and in three languages (Romanian, Hungarian and German) depending on the denomination of the written source. The operator has first to establish to which denomination the person belongs to, and then to standardize accordingly. This implies that the operator is familiar with all three languages and with Onomastics.

Nonetheless we tried to apply the Record Linkage routine using the original names. We extracted individuals from the baptism event assigning them the roles – C – child, M – mother, F – father. This time the godparents were included – GM – godmother and GF – godfather. The id of the original event and the source code were also included in order to keep a connection with the source database. For this type of event only, the number of individuals gathered was 18163. The automated Record Linkage was applied using just the original names and we also lowered the level of Jaro-Winkler distance to 2 (score result 0.90). We altered the program in order for the computer to write directly into Sql sequence for both level 1 and 2 of Jaro-Winkler distance. Every change was documented into the log file.

The results were similar to the previous linkage – 45-50%, but this time without the standard version. When the standard names will be used the proportion of the linkage will be significantly increased.

7. Conclusions

Designing and building a database, especially when using a Source- oriented approach, is a time-consuming task. When working with complex sources with heterogeneous information, the task will prove extremely challenging for the

database architect and its administrators. But in the end the historian will be more than satisfied when it comes to the data analyses, new research approaches, data handling especially with large bodies of data (Holom et al. 2018). Although the HPDT experience has again revealed that no database is perfect from the beginning, it nevertheless remains an invaluable tool, that allows historians to answering the various questions that were the basis of starting the design of the database in the first place (https://port.sas.ac.uk/mod/book/tool/print/index.php?id=75). Its invaluable character is also due to the fact that it is a highly adaptable tool: the relational model of database it is a dynamic program, and the researcher can always add questions and modify the focus of the enquiry.

What is more, the Record Linkage process is an attempt to replace one of the tasks of the historian: that of locating and putting together all the records relevant to historical individuals. This is very useful when it comes to thousands of individuals scattered across many sources. When done automatically, this task saves a great deal of time for data analyses (Winchester 1992). In Transylvania, the HPDT currently has more than 500000 individuals recorded, so undertaking a manual linkage would prove very difficult. It also saves up a lot of space, previously occupied by images of sources, as the database itself occupies less than 100 Mb. Just as important is the fact that the database can be accessed from all over the world by the interested specialists, because the data from the sources has been properly transcribed into the tables.

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A Chapter of Student Migration History: Romanians at the University of Munich before Second World War*

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Abstract. There never was a main cultural center in Germany, as it was, for example, the city of Paris in France. In the case of Germany, especially the cultural and academic life was characterized by decentralization. Rather than having a Sorbonne, like France had, Germany had very specialized institutions of higher education and their prestige was given by their achievements in a certain field of study or another.

However, Munich can be considered a great German cultural center. First, it housed three major institutions of higher education: Ludwig-Maximilian University, the Technical University and the Academy of Arts. Secondly, there were many other cultural institutions to be found in Munich. And thirdly, it was one of the favourite cities of the foreigners who studied in Germany.

This article aims to establish Munich's place in the international cultural cooperation and especially in the students' exchanges during the interwar period. Thus, we focused on the presence of foreign students at Ludwig-Maximilian University, emphasizing on the situation of the students coming from Romania.

Keywords: student migration, cultural policies, higher education, Munich, Germany

1. Foreign students in interwar Germany

At the turn of the century, French and German universities attracted the largest number of foreign students, especially from Eastern Europe. In the case of Germany, this situation changed in the years after the First World War.

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Blamed for the outbreak of the war, Germany found itself isolated, politically and culturally, in the 1920s, by the other European countries.

As a consequence, starting with the mid 1920s, the authorities of the Weimar Republic took steps in order to counter-act the descendant trend regarding the number of foreign students at German universities (Bodó 2003: 19-22). In this context, the "political education" of the foreign students, as well as their potential to play a role in the "cultural propaganda" of the host country, became increasingly important to the German authorities. This interest was expressed by preferential financial measures. Any foreigner who received a fellowship from the German state or from any German foundation was exempted from paying the university fees. Moreover, those studying in the Weimar republic without a stipendium received the so-called "advantageous currency". The foreign students also benefited from cheaper transport fares, and, some of them, from cheap accommodation in dormitories. The *Akademische Auslandstellen* were responsible with helping them in any administrative issue, while the universities organised special classes – of German language and culture -, summer schools and study trips for them (PAAAB, *AAFB*, file 138).

In these circumstances, it is no wonder that, despite initial isolation, Germany managed to attract again, by the mid 20s, the same amount of foreign students as before the outbreak of the war (Nastasă-Matei 2013: 499-514). Thus, if in 1914 about 8000 foreigners were studying in Germany, in 1925 their number had risen again to almost 8000 (7946 in summer semester 1925). Most of the foreign students enrolled at German higher education institutions came from Europe (around 80%), 6% from Asia, and also about 6% from North, Central and South America. Most of the European foreign students were coming from Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic states, Scandinavia or Danzig[1].

After 1933, the Nazis developed a special focus on education, in their attempt to radically transform the German society and to create the so-called "new man". Higher education became the tool used to shape characters in the Nazi way and to promote the Nazi doctrine and the "Nazi science".

The Third Reich's authorities had the same interests towards the foreign students. They were selected and managed so as to be - or become - loyal to the Nazy Germany and to serve its propaganda goals both during their study in the Reich, and after returning home. Especially the young people from Central and Eastern Europe were targeted by this policy, since it was in this region that the Nazis had economic and strategic interests. Therefore, mostly

[1] See *Deutsche Hochschulstatistik* (1920-1934) for the period between 1920 and 1934.

the foreign students who showed their devotion, or at least symphaty, toward the far right were the ones receiving the scholarships and other facilities offered by the German state (Nastasă-Matei 2016).

On the other hand, 1933 saw a sharp decrease in the number of foreign students enrolled at German universities. Many of them, fearing the political violence associated with the Nazi regime, either returned to their home country, or enrolled at universities in other European countries. Also the measures aimed at expelling the Jewish students from the German higher education lead to a significant reduction of students from Russia and Southeastern Europe. Many European countries, disturbed by the totalitarian nature of the new German regime, cut off their political and cultural relations with this country, which also meant that the young people from these countries were no longer encouraged nor received any financing or visas to study in the Third Reich.

While the major Western powers - like France and Britain - expressed themselves openly against the Nazi regime, and, therefore, drastically reduced the quotas of students attending German universities, the countries in Central and Southeastern Europe – having themselves fragile democracies, weak economical and military power, and their own nationalist and antisemitic movements similar to the Nazi one – appeared to be rather tolerant with the Third Reich's politics. Also, with the radicalization of the political life in this region, and the economic and political orientation of these countries towards Nazi Germany, some of these Eastern European countries became Third Reich's military allies during the Second World War. Thus, although the number of young people from this region enrolled at German universities diminished in the first years after Hitler's rise to power, by the end of the thirties, however - with the radicalization of the political climate here and the coming to power of radical, extreme right political groups -, the situation reversed: the number of students from central and eastern Europe at German universities increased, and this student migration was encouraged by both the country of origin, and by Nazi Germany[2].

2. Munich as a great German cultural centre during the interwar period

During the interwar period Munich housed several institutions aiming to support the cultural cooperation and the exchange of students between Germany and other countries, including Romania. All three institutions of higher education in this Bavarian city - Ludwig-Maximilian University, the

[2] For numbers and statistics regarding the high number of Romanian students in Nazi Germany's universities see NAB, *MEDHE*), file 801/1938: 263.

Technical University and the Academy of Arts - enjoyed the presence of large numbers of foreign students, a significant procentage of them coming from Romania. In terms of logistics and organization, they were supported by both the universities and the *Deutsche Akademische Auslandstelle* - established in 1927 -, who had branches in several cultural centres in Germany - Heidelberg, Leipzig, Cologne, Jena, Frankfurt, Tübingen, Bonn, Hamburg, Königsberg, Marburg, Würzburg, Berlin-Charlottenburg, Dresden, Karlsruhe and Darmstadt - including, of course, Munich.

This academic centre attracted foreign students from various parts of the world. In 1925, for instance, the German Ministry of Education provided financial support to students from different countries enrolled at the University of Munich - to one from each of the countries: Georgia, Latvia, Luxembourg, Austria, Azerbaidjan, Egypt, India, Norway, Sweden and Hungary, to 4 from Russia, 3 from Poland, 4 from Greece, 17 from Bulgaria and 5 from Romania, offering them scholarships of 50 - 140 marks per month. Romanians were the second largest group of foreign students at the Bavarian university, after the Bulgarians. Moreover, from the amounts granted by the Ministry of Education to the university in order to support foreigners, 2165 marks were intended for the Bulgarians, 755 marks for the Romanians, 520 marks for the Greeks, 425 marks for the Poles, 400 marks for the Russians and 125 marks for the Hungarians (*LMU Archiv München,* folder I-I-19, file 770).

One of the main objectives of the Germany's cultural policy was to promote the German language. Therefore, it was expected from the foreign students either to have - or to acquire - a good knowledge of this language. The young people from abroad who were about to start their studies in Germany, but did not master the language of this country, were invited to attend language classes for several months prior to the beginning of their professional study in Germany. In addition, the language was further promoted by organizing language summer schools for foreigners in Germany. In this respect, Munich was one of the most important centres of German studies. Here resided the most active institution which aimed to teach and promote the German language abroad during the interwar period: *Deutsche Akademie München*. Ludwig-Maximilian University also provided German language courses, but only for students who intended to continue their studies at this university. Therefore, during the 1920s and 1930s, Munich became the most important academic centre in Germany to teach German to foreigners (*LMU Archiv München,* folder G XIII: kiste 5, Bd. 1-2; file 0366 a/06-07, Bd. 2).

Similar courses were also offered during this period by the universities of Berlin, Leipzig, Tübingen, Freiburg or Heidelberg.

In these circumstances, Munich was one of the focal points within the international academic cooperation during the interwar period. It attracted a large number of foreign students and already had, since long, a strong associative culture that determined the existence of many student fraternities, especially fraternities built on the basis of the students' country of origin. There were organizations of the students from Bulgaria, Romania, South America or even China, which initiated specific national events here (*LMU Archiv München,* Folder G-XV: Kiste 3; 0366/03; Folder St-II: Kiste 5, 0030/11.), turning Munich into an active and very cosmopolitan cultural centre. Perhaps this is why the countries having a close collaboration with Germany opened cultural and academic institutes not only in the capital – Berlin -, but also here, in Munich.

A German-Romanian cultural institute was founded in Munich in 1938, under the direction of Professor Virgil Tempeanu - the Romanian language lecturer here - and Professor Eduard Hartl - prominent expert in German and Romanian studies - under the official name of *Deutsch-Rumänische Kulturinstitut* in Munich (PA, *AAFK*, file R61322). However, this institute functioned only on paper, its only activity being the constituent meeting (PA, *AAFK*, R61279, R61322).

3. Ludwig-Maximilian University during the interwar period

Ludwig-Maximilian University was founded in 1472 and operated in Ingolstadt until 1802, moved then to Landshut and finally, in 1826, in the Bavarian capital, Munich. It has been one of the most important German universities, both in terms of the number of students it attracted, and in terms of the cultural and scientific personalities who worked as professors here.

In the interwar period, the University of Munich had ten faculties: theology – abolished by the Nazis since 1938/1939 -, law, economics, forestry, medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine, philosophy 1 (humanities), philosophy 2 (natural sciences, physics, chemistry, mathematics) and pharmacy.

If we try to quantify the value of each of these faculties, we could conclude that the Department of Physics, together with its affiliated institutes, was the most performant, mostly due to the large number of professors teaching Physics in Munich, who either won the Nobel Prize, or at least contributed greatly to the evolutions in the field during the 1930s. But, if we take into account the faculties which attracted the largest number of students, the situation is slightly different. By analyzing the number of students enrolled in different fields of study, we found out that, during 1919-1933, most of the students were studying medicine and humanities (literature and philosophy),

while many were also studying law in the mid 1920s, the faculty of law having the biggest percentage of students in the academic year 1925-1926[3]. At the same time, the Munich departments least frequented by students were theology, pharmacy, veterinary medicine and, since the 1930s, forestry. It thus appears that, overall, the students' preferences remained constant over this period.

Even after 1933, with the establishment of the Nazi regime, the students' options do not change much. The only significant difference is that, before 1933, despite the popularity of the Faculty of Medicine, there still was a balance in the distribution of students per faculty, while since 1934/1935, the number of people studying medicine increased to 3336 from a total of 8065 students, which meant almost 40% of the student population at the University of Munich. And this trend amplified in the following years, 4170 students being enrolled at the Faculty of Medicine in the first quarter of 1940 (from a total of 6734), while the other faculties were frequented only by some hundred students. The reason is clear: in times of economical crisis (such as that from 1929-1933) or during wartime, the profile of the educational investments changes; people start to choose professions which are transportable anywhere and are economically profitable in any circumstances, such as the profession of physician.

During the interwar period, the evolution, in terms of total number of students at the Ludwig-Maximilian University, is quite spectacular. There were around 6500 people anually enrolled at this university throughout the 1920s, their number increasing to 8000 during the academic year 1930/1934. Then, suddenly, their number decreased in the summer semester 1935 at under 5500 (5480) - mainly due to the exclusion of Jewish students –, mantaining to about 4000 yearly during 1936-1939 and then suffering another drastic decrease – to only 2991 students – after the begining of the war, in 1940 (Table 1).

[3] See *Personalstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* for the period 1919-1940.

Table 1. Students at Ludwig-Maximilian University in Munich between 1919-1940

Semester	Total number of students	Women	Unregistered listeners	Foreign students	Students from Romania
I 1919/1920	6213	699	1257	240	0
I 1925/1926	6665	898	483	463 (44 ethnic Germans)	29
I 1930/1931	8753	1666	487	456 (33 ethnic Germans)	30
II 1931	8489	1551	383	426 (35 ethnic Germans)	31
I 1931/1932	8356	1561	387	463 (15 ethnic Germans)	19
II 1932	8279	1547	292	384 (20 ethnic Germans)	20
I 1932/1933	8696	1763	349	485 (23 ethnic Germans)	24
II 1933	8137	1572	257	395 (14 ethnic Germans)	21
I 1933/1934	8870	1845	290	340 (16 ethnic Germans)	30
II 1934	7307	1317	241	322 (20 ethnic Germans)	19
I 1934/1935	8065	1558	291	325 (16 ethnic Germans)	16
II 1935	5480	1016	207	307 (11 ethnic Germans)	14
I 1935/1936	5222	942	366	379 (17 ethnic Germans)	16
II 1936	4702	857	179	334 (11 ethnic Germans)	11
I 1936/1937	5025	929	257	375 (11 ethnic Germans)	16
I 1938/1939	4725	769	183	372 (15 ethnic Germans)	23
II 1939	4057	672	99	295 (11 ethnic Germans)	22
III 1939	6734	1198	199	188 (25 ethnic Germans)	20
II 1940	2991	914	193	175 (17 ethnic Germans)	15

Source: *Personalstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* (1920).Winterhalbjahr 1919/20: 143-148; *Personalstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* (1926). Winterhalbjahr 1925/26: 163-167; *Personalstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* (1931). Winterhalbjahr 1930/31: 145-149; *Personalstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* (1931). Sommer-Semester 1931: 144-148; *Personalstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* (1932). Winterhalbjahr 1931/32: 143-147; *Personalstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* (1932). Sommer-Semester 1932: 143-147; *Personalstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* (1933). Winterhalbjahr 1932/33: 150-154; *Personalstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* (1933). Sommer-Semester 1933: 151-155; *Personalstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* (1934). Winterhalbjahr 1933/34: 156-160; *Personalstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* (1934). Sommer-Semester 1934: 148-152; *Personalstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* (1935). Winterhalbjahr 1934/35: 155-159; *Personalstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* (1935). Sommer-Semester 1935: 142-147; *Personalstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* (1936). Winterhalbjahr 1935/36: 177-182; *Personen-und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* (1937). Winterhalbjahr 1936/37: 146-150; *Personen- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* (1937). Sommer- Semester 1937: 145-149; *Personen- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* (1939). Sommer-Semester 1939: 139-143; *Personen- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* (1940). Winterhalbjahr 1939/40: 142-146; *Personen- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Ludwig-Maximilians- Universität München* (1940). I Trimester 1940. München: 131-135; *Personen- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Ludwig- Maximilians-Universität München* (1940). III Trimester 1940: 136-140.

Despite the fact that the Nazis, after 1933, purged the universities of some of the most important professors, either because they were racially "inferior", refused to cooperate with Hitler's regime or refused to become members of the NSDAP, many German cultural and scientific personalities continued to be active at the University of Munich. In what follows, we present some cases of professors favoured by the regime, of others "tolerated" because of their great professional value, but also of some excluded from the German academia.

In order to subordinate the German higher educational system, one of the first measures taken after 1933 was to place academics who were loyal to the new regime in leading positions at German universities. Such was the case at the University of Munich, where the rector from the previous year, Leo von Zumbusch, professor at the Faculty of Medicine (who continued to teach even after 1933, but was met with some doubt by the Nazi authorities because he preferred to keep aside from political issues), was replaced in 1933-34 by Leopold Karl Escherich, professor of Forestry and one of the few academics enrolled in the Hitler's movement since its beginnings: 1921. Escherich even took part in Hitler's putsch from 1923 (Rubner 1997: 57, Kraus & Körner 2006, Böhm 1995). After the Nazis' rise to power, be became increasingly disappointed by their ruling methods. Therefore, although he had never openly expressed himself against the regime, he refused to actively collaborate with it, prefering to keep a low profile. He kept though his position as Rector of the university until 1936.

Since 1936-1937, the position of Rector at the University of Munich was held by another member of the NSDAP, Leopold Kölbl. Born in Austria, a geologist, he enrolled into the National Socialist Party in 1932, not so much out of conviction but, like many others, driven by the desire to achieve an university career. He served as a Rector for three years, until 1939, when both his academic and political career ended, being excluded from academia and arrested as a result of his sexual orientation, drastically punishable during the Third Reich (Böhm 1995: 539).

Another interesting professor at Ludwig-Maximilian University was Wilhelm Kisch, dean of the Faculty of Law during the academic year 1932-1933. He managed to keep his position as a professor along four political regimes: starting with the Wilhelminian period, then during the Weimar regime, to the Third Reich, continuing to teach at the University of Munich after World War II. Although he has never been a member of the NSDAP, he is considered to have collaborated with the Nazi regime through the position of vice-president he held at the German Law Academy and by being a key figure

in the collaboration between this academy and the Munich university during the Nazi rule (Klee 2005: 311).

Of all the professors from the Munich University after 1933, the most devoted to Hitler's regime was Oswald Bumke, professor of Psychiatry at the Faculty of Medicine since 1924 and director of the psychiatric clinic here (Munich being, at the time, the centre of German psychiatry), and also Rector of the university between 1928-1929. After Hitler's rise to power, Bumke became member of the Union of National Socialist Professors and S.S. member, working, since 1940, as a military psychiatrist in southern Bavaria, while continuing to teach at the university. He was the only professor here to be suspended, in 1946, because of his actions during the Nazi regime, but was shortly after re-hired, being recognized as one of the most important German psychiatrists (Klee 2005: 84-85).

There also were professors who continued to teach at the university despite the refusal to collaborate with the Nazi regime. The reason they were kept in office was that they were so valuable as scientists that the regime could not afford to dismiss them. One such example is that of Arnold Sommerfeld, one of the greatest specialists in quantum physics. He served as professor at the University of Munich for 32 years, even during the Nazi regime, despite his refusal to join the Nazi party or to get involved in party actions. Many of his students contributed to the development of quantum mechanics and he was famous for his impressive lectures. At most classes, he used to teach the topics on which he was working at the time, so that his students were the first to learn about Sommerfeld's new discoveries before he published them.

Another example is that of Werner Heisenberg. After 1933, he opposed his colleagues, most of them supporters of the German physics", a fact that prevented his appointment as Sommerfeld's successor at the University of Munich, a matter that sparked heated talks in the era and remained known as the „Heisenberg affair" (Beyerchen 1977, Hentschel, K. & Hentschel, A. M. (ed.) (1996). Thanks to his scientific achievements, however, he was rehabilitated by the Third Reich's scientific community.

On the other hand, despite the support of the German academia towards the Nazi regime, a certain opposition came from within, even if not always openly. At the University of Munich, the students were the ones taking the most radical attitude against Hitler's regime. Between June 1942 and February 1943, a group of university students from Munich called Die Weisse Rose (the White Rose), together with their philosophy professor Kurt Huber, distributed brochures in which they called for active resistance against the Nazis and their crimes (Hanser, 1979, Sachs 2002-2005).

4. Romanian students at the University of Munich

After Berlin - the city preferred by most foreign students[4] -, the second largest German university centre attended by foreign students was Munich. At Ludwig-Maximilian University and at the Munich Polytechnics were registered app. 10-15% of the foreign students. In addition, there was also an Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, which was highly appreciated throughout the world.

Table 2. Foreign students at several German institutions of higher education during 1928-1932

	IInd Sem. 1928	IInd Sem. 1929	IInd Sem. 1930	IInd Sem. 1931	IInd Sem. 1932
U. Berlin	994	1031	1077	1302	1091
U.Frankfurt	159	163	175	177	188
U. Cologne	105	103	113	93	110
U. Munich	495	438	493	562	484
U. Leipzig	473	425	441	442	398
U. Freiburg	138	145	142	139	171
U. Jena	123	111	104	91	72
TU. Berlin	647	673	640	709	602
TU.Munich	354	335	327	424	351
TU. Dresden	209	275	319	308	245

Source: *Deutsche Hochschulstatistik (1928)*. Sommerhalbjahr 1928: unnumbered; *Deutsche Hochschulstatistik (1929)*. Sommerhalbjahr 1929: unnumbered; *Deutsche Hochschulstatistik (1930)*. Sommerhalbjahr 1930: 110*-113*, 102, 124, 132, 194; *Deutsche Hochschulstatistik (1931)*. Sommerhalbjahr 1931: p.82*-85*; *Deutsche Hochschulstatistik (1932)*. Sommerhalbjahr 1932: 53*, 172-174.

[4]About 20-25% from the total amount of foreign students.

Table 3. Foreign students (from Europe) at German universities (summer semester 1928)

	Austria	Bulgaria	Greece	Hungary	Poland	Romania	Russia	Czechoslovakia	Others	Total
Berlin	43	54	28	48	115	58	31	41	321	739
Bonn	5	1	2	-	7	5	-	4	62	86
Breslau	6	2	-	5	69	4	2	13	48	149
Erlangen	6	-	-	1	4	1	3	5	13	33
Frankfurt a. M.	20	9	3	10	22	9	4	15	45	137
Freiburg i. B.	3	1	2	5	9	13	4	3	61	101
Giessen	1	2	-	1	8	11	2	-	22	47
Göttingen	7	1	1	3	9	4	3	1	44	73
Greifswald	-	1	-	2	6	1	-	2	72	84
Halle	-	-	4	1	11	7	-	9	19	51
Hamburg	8	5	9	2	5	2	2	5	61	99
Heidelberg	9	3	1	6	14	8	8	6	65	120
Jena	3	3	1	2	16	4	3	1	67	100
Kiel	7	4	3	4	4	17	-	2	62	103
Cologne	9	-	-	1	15	7	2	6	51	91
Königsberg	1	-	-	-	10	4	-	1	140	156
Leipzig	15	52	32	33	44	41	9	32	144	402
Marburg	4	1	-	3	7	13	2	5	72	107
Munich	42	60	39	14	24	30	2	22	186	419
Münster	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	13	18
Rostok	2	3	-	-	2	2	1	2	40	52
Tübingen	3	-	-	4	4	11	2	3	47	74
Würzburg	3	14	-	15	5	4	1	2	62	106
Total	199	216	125	162	410	256	81	181	1717	3347

Source: «Statistique des étudiants étrangers en Allemagne, aux États-Unis, en France et en Grande-Bretagne». (1929).

Ludwig-Maximilian University was attended by a significant number of foreign students, especially since the 19th century and their number rised constantly in the first decades of the 20th century, reaching the peak between 1925-1933. With the establishment of the Nazi regime, the number of foreign students in Germany began to decline, despite the favourable measures taken by the German state in an attempt to attract as many of them as possible. The main reason for this decline was the negative international image of the Nazi regime and its political violence.

Thus, if between 1925-1933, about 400-500 foreigners per year were studying in Germany, their share decreased gradually to app. 300-350/year until the outbreak of the war, and under 200 after 1939. At the same time, the general number of students decreased drastically, to 1/3 (Table 2) after 1939, mostly because the German students were mobilized on the front.

The majority of foreign students at the University of Munich came from Europe: in the summer semester of 1928, for example, out of the 484 foreign students (Table 2), 419 were Europeans, mostly from Bulgaria, but also from Austria, Greece, Romania, Poland or Czechoslovakia (Table 3). The countries sending the largest number of students at Ludwig-Maximilian University were Switzerland, Bulgaria, Greece and Romania, while, on the opposite, there were very few students from Skandinavia, France or Hungary.

The relationship between the Munich University and the Romanian students developed gradually: if during the academic year 1919/1920 no Romanian was to be found here - explicable in the immediate post-war conditions - we already find 29 in 1925/1926, and 30 in 1930/1931. Moreover, despite the fluctuations in the total number of students or in the number of foreign students that characterised the pre-WW2 period, the share of Romanians studying in Munich remained relatively constant, of app. 15-20 per year. Based on the statistics, we can conclude that the Romanian students made up between 5% and 10% of all foreign students enrolled at the Bavarian University (Table 4). These numbers and percentages are relevant especially if we analyse them from a comparative perspective. If we take into consideration two neighbouring countries with a strong tradition of sending their youth to study abroad, Bulgaria and Hungary, we notice the possitive trend regarding Romanian's presence in the Bavarian academic millieu, as well as the tendency of the Romanian students to be among the biggest groups of foreign students at the University of Munich, especially after 1933 (Table 4).

Table 4. Students from Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania at the University of Munich, 1919-1940

Semester	Hungary	Bulgaria	Romania
I 1919/1920	15	59	0
I 1925/1926	15	66	29
I 1930/1931	9	73	30
I 1931	10	71	31
I 1931/1932	8	72	19
II 1932	11	55	20
I 1932/1933	7	47	24
II 1933	4	36	21
I 1933/1934	1	33	30
II 1934	1	32	19
I 1934/1935	3	23	16
II 1935	6	16	14
I 1935/1936	2	18	16
II 1936	2	15	11
I 1936/1937	7	18	16
I 1938/1939	5	54	23
II 1939	9	49	22
III 1939	3	43	20
II 1940	2	42	15

*Source: Personalstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1920).*Winterhalbjahr 1919/20: 143-148; *Personalstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München(1926)*. Winterhalbjahr 1925/26: 163-167; *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1931)*. Winterhalbjahr 1930/31: 145-149; *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1931)*. Sommer-Semester 1931: 144-148; *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1932)*. Winterhalbjahr 1931/32: 143-147; *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1932)*. Sommer-Semester 1932: 143-147; *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1933)*. Winterhalbjahr 1932/33:150-154; *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1933)*. Sommer- Semester 1933: 151-155; *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1934)*. Winterhalbjah 1933/34: 156-160; *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1934)*. Sommer-Semester 1934: 148-152; *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1935)*. Winterhalbjahr 1934/35: 155-159; *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1935)*. Sommer-Semester 1935: 142-147; *Personen- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Ludwig-Maximilians- Universität München (1936)*. Winterhalbjahr 1935/36:177-182; *Personen- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1937)*. Winterhalbjahr 1936/37: 146-150; *Personen- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1937)*. Sommer-Semester 1937: 145-149; *Personen- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1939)*. Sommer-Semester 1939: 139-143; *Personen- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Ludwig-Maximilians- Universität München (1940)*. Winterhalbjahr 1939/40:142-146; *Personen- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1940)*. I Trimester 1940. München: 131-135; *Personen- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1940)*. III Trimester 1940: 136-140.

In addition, a comparative perspective regarding the German universities attended by Romanians reveals that the University of Munich was one of Romanians' favourites. More precisely, the Bavarian university was the third most attended German higher education institution, after the University of Berlin and the University of Leipzig (Table 5).

Table 5. Students from Romania at several German institutions of higher education

	IInd Sem. 1928	IInd Sem. 1929	IInd Sem. 1930	IInd Sem. 1931	IInd Sem. 1932
U. Berlin	58	77	72	74	59
U. Frankfurt	9	5	9	10	8
U. Cologne	7	5	5	7	7
U. Munich	30	28	45	33	21
U. Leipzig	41	37	36	44	47
U. Freiburg	13	17	13	10	8
U. Jena	4	8	5	5	3
TU Berlin	114	126	122	134	113
TU Munich	39	55	51	51	39
TU Dresden	34	48	47	50	35

Source: Deutsche Hochschulstatistik (1928). Sommerhalbjahr 1928: unnumbered; *Deutsche Hochschulstatistik,* Sommerhalbjahr 1929: unnumbered; *Deutsche Hochschulstatistik (1930).* Sommerhalbjahr 1930: 110*-112*; *Deutsche Hochschulstatistik (1931).* Sommerhalbjahr 1931: 82*-84*; *Deutsche Hochschulstatistik (1932).* Sommerhalbjahr 1932: 53*, 172-174.

Between one third and one half of the Romanian students at the University of Munich attended the Faculty of Medicine. Many of the other Romanians were studying in Munich veterinary medicine, forestry and humanities, especially the first two being in full development in Romania at that moment and having a great need of specialists educated abroad, at prestigious universities. However, apart from the constant preference for the study of medicine, the Romanians' presence at other faculties was not constant, changing from year to year, in the context of Romanians' general habit of attending not one, but several German universities, since they could easily transfer their credits from one university to another. Not too many Romanian students, on the other hand, were enrolled at the faculties of theology, law or pharmacy, for obvious reasons: theology was Protestant, while they were mostly Orthodox Christians; the Romanian legal system was based on the French model; and the pharmacy was attended especially by the Jews, who, after Hitler's rise to power, moved to similar faculties in France and Italy (Table 6).

Table 6. Romanian students at different faculties of the University of Munich, 1919-1940

Semester	Theology	Law	Economy	Forestry	Medicine	Dentistry	Veterinary medicine	Philosophy I	Philosophy II	Pharmacy	Total
I 1919/1920	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
I 1925/1926	-	-	-	4	14	5	4	1	1	-	29
I 1930/1931	-	-	1	3	8	3	3	8	-	4	30
II 1931	-	-	2	4	8	2	2	9	4	-	31
I 1931/1932	-	-	2	5	6	-	2	4	-	-	19
II 1932	-	-	1	5	6	-	2	5	1	-	20
I 1932/1933	-	-	-	3	9	-	8	4	-	-	24
II 1933	-	-	-	2	7	-	6	5	1	-	21
I 1933/1934	5	-	1	4	8	-	6	4	2	-	30
II 1934	-	1	1	2	8	-	2	4	1	-	19
I 1934/1935	-	-	1	1	10	-	-	2	2	-	16
II 1935	-	-	1	1	9	-	1	-	2	-	14
I 1935/1936	-	-	1	1	10	2	1	-	1	-	16
II 1936	1	-	1	2	5	1	-	-	1	-	11
I 1936/1937	-	-	2	-	7	1	3	2	1	-	16
I 1938/1939	1	2	1	4	9	-	2	2	1	1	23
II 1939	-	1	1	3	8	-	4	4	-	1	22
III 1939	-	-	2	1	11	3	-	2	-	1	20
II 1940	-	1	2	1	7	1	-	3	-	-	15

Source: *Source*: *Personalstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* (*1920)*. Winterhalbjahr 1919/20: 143-148; *Personalstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1926)*. Winterhalbjahr 1925/26: 163-167; *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1931)*. Winterhalbjahr 1930/31: 145-149; *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1931)*. Sommer- Semester 1931: 144-148; *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1932)*. Winterhalbjahr 1931/32: 143-147; *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1932)*. Sommer-Semester 1932: 143-147; *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1933)*. Winterhalbjahr 1932/33:150-154; *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1933)*. Sommer-Semester 1933: 151-155; *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1934)*. Winterhalbjah 1933/34: 156-160; *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1934)*. Sommer-Semester 1934: 148-152; *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1935)*. Winterhalbjahr 1934/35: 155-159; *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximilians- Universität München (1935)*. Sommer-Semester 1935: 142-147; *Personen- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1936)*. Winterhalbjahr 1935/36:177-182; *Personen- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1937)*. Winterhalbjahr 1936/37: 146-150; *Personen- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1937)*. Sommer-Semester1937: 145-149; *Personen- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1939)*. Sommer-Semester 1939: 139-143; *Personen- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1940)*. Winterhalbjahr 1939/40: 142-146; *Personen- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1940)*. I Trimester 1940. München: 131-135; *Personen- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1940)*. III Trimester.

Most of the Hungarian students also attended the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Munich, the Faculty of Humanities being second in their options, while about half of the Bulgarian students were enrolled at the Faculty of Dentistry.

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Without claiming to approach also the qualitative aspect of the Romanian presence at the University of Munich during the interwar period, instead of conclusions, our article offers some examples of Romanians who studied there.

Iordache Făcăoaru, the most radical eugenicist from the Institute of Social Hygiene in Cluj, gained his doctorate in anthropology and racial hygiene in 1931 at the University of Munich. His doctoral thesis was profoundly influenced by the racist theories – that will become public policies in Germany only two years later, with Hitler's rise to power in Germany -, linking the heredity to the temperament, character, intelligence or degree of violence of individuals and ethnic groups (*LMU Archiv München*, Folder Doktorprüfungen, file O-Np-1931, Iordache Făcăoaru).

After 1933, Dionisie Ghermani studied in Munich. Member of the Romanian far-right movement "the Iron Guard", he remained in Germany after the Legionary rebellion of January 1941, becoming a professor of this university and establishing in Munich in 1987 an Institute of Romanian studies; Petru Dumitriu, famous Romanian writer, studied philosophy in Munich between 1941-1944, as fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. He emigrated to Germany in 1960 and settled in Frankfurt am Main, in order to avoid the censure to which his writings were subjected; Alexandru Dima, important literary critic and historian, attended courses of aesthetics, ethnography, German and Romanic literature at the University of Munich, as well as in Berlin and Vienna, during 1936-1939; and Emil Cioran, also a Humboldt fellow in Germany between 1933-1935, was enrolled at the University of Munich during the summer semester of 1933/1934 (*Personalstand der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* (1934). Sommer-Halbjahr 1934: 97).

For all these young Romanians, as for many more, the experience as students at the University of Munich was determinant for their future development and for their establishment as leading intellectuals and scholars, in Romania or abroad.

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Informal Social Networks of Ukrainian Migrant Women as a Tool of Resistance Against Precarities of Migrancy

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Abstract: The paper sets out to conceptualize informal social networks of Ukrainian migrant women as a tool of resistance to the precarities of migration, meaning primarily the unpredictability and indefiniteness of this dynamic and fluid process. To address the specificity of social networks among post-socialist Ukrainian labour migrants the paper offers the analytical framework drawing on the concept of *collectivist connectivity* that reflects on connectedness of individuals with each other and is indicative of the Soviet collectivist identity pertaining to the generation of post-soviet Ukrainian women who currently constitute the core of female migratory flows from Ukraine. The study draws on a multi-cited field research and the analysis of secondary theoretical sources. The results of the research showed that social networks of Ukrainian migrant women play a decisive role in their efforts for social inclusion at all stages of the migratory cycle, their skills of "collectivist connectivity" being indispensable for that matter. This is the "good facet" of informal social networking. Some women, especially of the younger generation, lack the sense of "collectivist connectivity" of their Soviet foremothers and thus have poor networking skills that entails higher socio-cultural risks in target economies. Its "ugly side" is that the principles of trust and group solidarity constituting social networks are not always used for altruistic purposes, being aimed at reaching selfish interests of some individual member of migrants' networks. This leads to transformations of "collectivist connectivity" in the migratory setting.

Keywords: Ukrainian female migration, informal social networks, collectivist connectivity

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1. Research problem, social relevance and goal of the study

There is an opinion that the effective units of migration are neither individuals nor households, but networks of people linked by acquaintance, kinship, and work experience (Tilly 1990). Addressed in the vein of transnational migration, networks are defined as "sets of international ties that connect migrants, former migrants, non-migrants in origin and destination areas through bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin" (Massey et al. 1993: 448). The nature of such networks depends on migrants' placement within the labour market, their cultural capital, immigration category, family and economic status (Akkaymak 2016).

A body of scholarship shows that migrants' informal social networks have both positive, negative and "ugly" facets. The good ones are numerous. Thus, Portes defined migrants' networks as "social bridges" (Portes 1995) and Faist–as "a crucial meso link" (Faist 2000) of the migratory processes, interlocking the individual with macro structures of society and providing a constantly expanding social infrastructure to potential migrants. For migrants, they play as "plausibility structures" (Berger and Luckman 1967) and conduits of helpful information on wages, jobs and business prospects (Massey et al. 1987; Erickson 2001) as well as transmitters of values and cultural perceptions (Curran and Saguy 2001). They are crucial for finding jobs and accommodation, circulating goods and services, as well as psychological support and continuous social and economic information (Vertovec 2002). The fluidity of these networks and the fast information exchange within them enables its members with no regular status to escape the control by police (Kokkali 2011: 87). In the circumjacent social vacuum in the countries of destination, the involvement in social networks, especially for new arrivals, is a precondition for the acquisition of a starting social capital as a collective value of all social networks (Putnam et al. 1993) that may influence migration decisions, settlement patterns, and social incorporation (Elliot 1997; Tacoli 1995). According to Portes, norms of trust, obligation, and reciprocity are the crux of social networks and are established through membership in them (Portes 1995; Light and Gold 2000; Marger 2001; Christou 2004).

Meantime, a rich vein of scholarship shows that the effect of migrant social networks may have some limitations that have adverse repercussions on migrants' social and emotional well-being. Their "bad side" suggests that while enabling a privileged access to resources, networks also set limits to personal freedom and exercise control over migrants' behaviour and possibilities for agency (Hellermann 2006). Recruitment channels through informal contacts are identified as a key mechanism pushing migrants into low-status jobs (Piore

1979; Fellini et al. 2007; Krings et al. 2011). Strong dependence on social networks can isolate migrants from the native population and from the organizations and institutions in the society of destination that leads to segregation and ghettoization (Cutler et al. 2005). This complies with the claim that social networks deepen inequalities (Krawczyk and Smyk 2015: 2). Social networks of women migrating alone may exercise control on their behaviour and their possibilities of agency leading to their distancing from existing networks, thus lacking support and facing loneliness (Hellermann 2006). Hence, social networks may not only enhance but also hamper the integration of migrants (Patel and Vella 2007). The "ugly dimension" of social networking consists in the fact that the exploitative hiring from gastarbeiters enclaves by unscrupulous employers may have unfavourable consequences for migrant workers (Boyd and Nowak 2012). The principles of trust and group solidarity serving as integratory factors for migrant ethnic-driven community may sometimes be undermined given that the pursuit of access to resources may generate misinformation, deception and competition (Elsner et al. 2013; Acemoglu et al. 2010). That is, informal social networks may have variegated implications for migrants' daily lives and, therefore, a more nuanced understanding of their operation is necessary at present.

In migration scholarship there is a variety of theoretical and empirical approaches to the study of social networks. Some of them focus on the role of informal interpersonal ties in the constitution and continuation of migration flows across time and space (Chort et al. 2012). Others scrutinize migrant constructions of social networks that focus on the individual as an "active-actor" who shapes and is shaped by a "politics of identity" within hybridized notions of belongingness (Christou 2004). A body of scholarship addresses the role of migrants' social capital in building up social networks (Øien 2006; Fuglerud and Engebrigtsen 2006; Hellermann 2006). Some theories develop conceptual frameworks to identify the "nonpeople linkages" in various international migration systems (Fawcett 1989). A number of studies place emphasis on a gender dimension of migrants' networks (Hagan 1998; Pessar 1999; Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003; Curran and Saguy 2001; Marchetti 2017). Even so, with a few exceptions (Hellermann 2006; Rohde 2012: 121; Fonseca et al. 2014), there is little engagement with the specificities of gendered networks in the context of post-soviet migration circuits despite their increasing feminization and inherently collectivist nature. This is an unwarranted neglect given that post-soviet women as a group exhibit some important characteristics that differentiate them from other migrant women, especially the long-established groups originating in Latin America and the

Philippines (Cvajner 2012: 188). As well, Boyd notes that existing models of migrants' networks are generally too static, emphasizing mainly their operation and persistence, but paying little attention to their transformations over time, particularly the conditions under which they weaken or erode (Boyd 1989: 655). Additionally, as Castles posits, research in this area is focused mainly on recipient societies, whereas the perspective of the sending states is heavily understudied (Castles 2010). Meanwhile, the migratory strategies of guest workers are not -one-directional but may entail geographically diverse trajectories that span across borders of a few target economies. Respectively, the strategies of migrants' social integration are also pinned on possibilities for transmigration rather than being linked to one society alone. These intricate strategies of social integration of post-soviet labour migrants across the background of the dynamics of social networks did not yet attract the attention of researchers. This paper aims to fill this gap using female labour migration from Ukraine as a source of empirical data. The main goal of this study is to problematize informal social networks of Ukrainian migrant women as a tool of resistance to precarities of what Engbersen and Snel (2013) identify as "liquid migration", meaning primarily the unpredictability and indefiniteness of this process, and to conceptualize them as a tool of social inclusion into recipient societies. The primary focus in this endeavour has been to make sense of the emphasis on forms of self-organization of Ukrainian migrant women through personal networking.

2. Conceptual framework of the research

A useful analytical concept to address the instrumentality of migrants' social networks is the notion of "connectivity" offered by Suad Joseph, an American cultural anthropologist and a scholar in Arab family and gender, to reflect on connectedness of individuals with each other (Joseph 1993). This concept characterizes the social production of relational selves with diffuse boundaries who require continuous interaction with significant others for a sense of completion by building myriads of connective relationships. According to Joseph, connectivity entails socio-cultural constructs and structural relations in which the security, identity, integrity, dignity and self-worth of one is tied to actions of others.

As a ramification of the notion of "connectivity" occurs in George's concept of "connective autonomy", which is especially useful for the analysis of networks of migrant females as it suggests that although migration increases financial and social independence of women, they experience this autonomy only within a set of relationships and obligations (George 2005: 40).

In this vein, informal migrant networks acquire for them the modality of "networks of obligation" (Curran and Saguy 2001: 59-66) that link migrants and non-migrants through shared understandings of kinship and friendship. Whereas Joseph employs connectivity in the context of Arabic patriarchal culture, where as she posits, family is valued over and above the individual in contrast to "individuation", "autonomy" and "separateness" of Western cultures (Joseph 1999: 122), I approach "connectivity" as indicative of the "Soviet collectivist identity" that valued a collective and the society over and above an individual and where mutual trust and supportiveness were key social values. I assume that such an ethos of *collectivist connectivity,* as quintessentially different from Joseph's "patriarchal connectivity", is specific to the generation of post-soviet Ukrainian women who had their personhood shaped during the Soviet era and who currently constitute the core of female migratory flows from Ukraine (see more in Tolstokorova 2013c). My argument in this paper is that this sense of *collectivist connectivity* as a definitive ethos of Ukrainian women's social networks enabled the first generation of post-soviet women to maintain the bonds of "strategic sisterhood" (Nyhagen Predelli et al. 2012) that allowed them to support each other first during the years of shock therapy in early 1990-s when the outflow of labour force only started, and then in conditions of a foreign milieu after emigration.

3. Research design and methodology of the study

In designing the methodology for this study my point of departure was Christou's observation that qualitative methods, such as participant observation, focus groups discussions, in-depth interviews and narratives, proved better suited than quantitative methods to explore social networks. These techniques allow to address the role of agency, insinuations and connotations that underlie the dynamics of migrant networks as well as meanings, processes and experiences in individuals' lives that are not easily quantifiable (Christou 2004). Drawing on this observation, the primary data for this project were gathered by means of qualitative methods.

This paper is a part of a larger multi-staged and multi-cited transdisciplinary project with an overarching theme of gendered aspects of Ukrainian labour migration and international mobility implemented throughout 2007 and 2014. The responders encompassed 44 persons (31 women and 13 men), including labour migrants, members of their families and extended migrants' networks mainly in urban communities (neighbours, relatives, co-workers). Among our responders were both current migrants and returnees. Additionally, the group of responders included women who were

involved in *au-pair* work in Austria and Germany. Interviews were made under the condition that real identities of the responders would not be disclosed in order to maintain their privacy. It was necessary because the experience showed that many migrants were reluctant to discuss issues related to their own personal life, or that of their family members, in the fear that the confidential information might be disclosed to outsiders. Therefore, in search for adequate methodology, sensitive to confidentiality requirements of our responders, ICT was extensively employed as a tool of field research, enabling respect to ethical considerations in information gathering, for instance, via telephone, SKYPE and e-mail messaging. These means provided to responders a greater freedom for expressing personal opinions and sharing intimate experiences than at a face to face interviewing, while at the same time enabling them to preserve relative anonymity. Additionally, two focus groups were organized with members of transnational families, including both migrants who came home visiting and their relatives staying behind. Interviewing was of a semi-informal character, aimed to cover different stages of the migration cycle and to reflect on the gendered experiences of migrants. The interviewing process started with existing contacts with migrants and their families and in many cases followed with a snowball sampling method whereby new respondents were contacted through preceding respondents. Occasional meetings with potential responders were also welcome.

Interviewing of experts in issues of migration, gender and social policy was carried out in 2008 in Kyiv and Lviv. It was organized together with British and Italian scholars within a program "Care-work and welfare internationalization. Transnational scenarios for the welfare of the future" governed by the Centre for International Policy Studies (CheSPI) based in Rome, Italy. In-depth interviews and two focus group discussions covered 25 experts all in all, including NGO activists, journalists, researchers at research institutions and think-tanks, policy-makers at ministries, municipalities, employment centres, embassies, and representatives of international organizations, like IOM, Amnesty International etc.

Non-participant observation (see more in Liu and Maitlis 2010) covered members of various social groups directly or indirectly related to migrant social networks: representatives of educational and municipal administrations, businessmen, owners of local retail networks and other members of local communities who have direct contacts with migrants and their families. The data of field-work were supplemented by the analysis of secondary theoretical sources and an overview of media materials.

The analysis in this paper is designed in the following format: first I cast light on socio-economic underpinnings for the outmigration of female labour from Ukraine, then I analyse the importance of informal social networks and the significance of "collectivist connectivity" at mainstages of the migratory cycle. Then I look at limitations of migrant network structures and at occasional transformations of "collectivist connectivity" in the migration context.

4. Ladies next: independent female migration from Ukraine and its underpinnings

In 1990s, when the construction industry was the principal job placement for Ukrainian workers abroad, migratory flows were composed mainly by males. In late 1990s, however, a wave of female migration started. It was facilitated by the social acceptability of autonomous female migration in postindustrial European countries of the former USSR, unlike in more traditionalist Central Asian societies where independent female travelling is unwelcome (Kasymova 2010). That was why women figured prominently, at 53.6% (Libanova and Poznyak 2002: 84), among those for whom the so-called *shuttle trade*[1] abroad became the only available survival strategy after the dismantling of the USSR. Throughout the years of economic reforms female migration chains became common in Ukraine, sometimes involving even a few generations of women in one and the same family and leading to the formation of "migratory dynasties", wherefore migration acquired a character of not only a socially acceptable life-style but even of a "quasi-profession" with its own unwritten rules, norms, traditions and social networks (see more in Tolstokorova 2012a).

Interviews with experts showed that the augmentation in the volume and proportion of independent female migration since the late 1990s was preconditioned by such push factors as financial constraints in family management, lack of employment opportunities in Ukraine and by a common belief in *migration miracle* that can provide feasible solutions to these challenges. In their interviews, experts suggested that the mass outflow of females primarily from West Ukrainian regions owed mainly to women's church networks, insofar as Galician women traditionally have a strong Greek Catholic attainment and are rallied around churches. Even so, the results of my non-participant observation and an overview of media resources suggest that the key trigger behind women's travels for earnings abroad were their commercial social networks. They developed throughout the 1990s at petty-trade markets

[1] Shuttle trade refers to the activity in which individual entrepreneurs buy goods abroad and import them for resale in street markets or small shops. Often the goods are imported without full declaration in order to avoid import duties (see OECD 2002).

that accommodated women who had lost their jobs after the collapse of state socialism. Trade markets played multiple roles: they enabled the experience of informal incomes, generated novel social values and interests and served as sites for new identity formation. I argue that it is the sense of *collectivist connectivity* generated by women's social networks deployed at these markets that has set the stage for a phenomenon of "zarobitchanstvo" – a post-socialist wave of external labour migration that for women became both "a strategy of biography management" (Beck-Gernsheim 2011: 62), "a radical experience of independence" (Bredníkova and Tkach 2010: 188) and an "emancipatory project" (Ünsal 2007). I contend that for Ukrainian women it also defines a new stage of their "spatial emancipation" (Tolstokorova 2012b) that in new conditions of globalization secures its own specificities and thus tangibly differs from the first stage of this process by way of mass academic migration of Ukrainian women to West European universities in late 19th–early 20th centuries (Tolstokorova 2015).

5. United we stand…: Positive effects of informal social networks at different stages of the migratory cycle

Informal social networks are at play at all the stages of migratory cycle, starting with the decision to seek a job abroad till the decision about the termination of foreign earnings and leaving at home. For Tamara, the rationale behind her decision to set off for a job search to Italy was the information picked up from her co-labourer at a hospital where she worked a nurse:

> *"I was offered to go for earnings abroad many times, but I was not sure if I can cope with this endeavour, if I am well fit for it. I'd suggest that the "expertise" in using mobs and clouts would not suffice to find work there. Most probably one had to know more than that. And at my work there was a woman, you know, a loser type, she failed to do whatever she was doing. They say that such people have their hands growing from a wrong place. And one day I hear that she quit her job at my hospital and now works as a nurse in Italy. Oh, Gosh! So, I thought to myself: look, if such folks as this one could find a job there, why shouldn't I try it too? And off I went."* (Tamara, a domestic worker in Rome).

This narrative concurs with the argument that the initial associated high-risk decreases for individuals as more of their family and friends migrate (Curran and Saguy 2001: 60). This owes to the fact that denser migrant networks supply to prospective migrants increasingly reliable information regarding risks and

opportunities at the place of destination and the migration process overall (DaVanzo 1978; Stark and Lucas 1988). According to Tacoli, this incites migratory intentions, "making migration progressively more likely and in turn, changes the profile of migrants from that of innovating risk-taking youth to more typical individuals" (Tacoli 1995: 203).

As follows from interviews, informal social networks may trigger the decision to assume undocumented employment abroad even among those who initially had no intention to do so. Thus, an informant Ivanna left for Israel in 1990-s to pay a visit to her old friend and intended to stay there only for a while. The decision to stay slightly longer to earn some money to defray the costs of her international travel was spontaneous and was prompted by Ivanna's numerous Israeli friends, the emigrants from her native town in Ukraine whom she had met in that country. They advised Ivanna to try to solve her financial constraints by a short-term clandestine employment in domestic service and helped her to find a job at a young well-off family. Ivanna was hired as a child-minder but then had to shoulder the responsibilities of a cleaner too and eventually ended up managing the whole household with no additional remuneration. As a result, her "short-term" contract stretched off to three years. It is noteworthy that whereas before this experience Ivanna, an ex-college lecturer in Russian who had lost her job after Ukrainian independence, has never even fancied working as a domestic servant, after returning from Israel she made domestic caring work her main occupation and an acceptable life scenario.

Social networks play a pivotal role for newcomers upon arrival to the place of destination where they find themselves socially excluded from the macro-context of the recipient society and rely on migrant networks as a tool of inclusion into the micro-milieu of ethnic and diasporic communities who enable their further incorporation into hosting society on a larger scale. Personal social networks are particularly important for new arrivals in their search for the access to economic and material resources, primarily in what concerns employment and housing. This is exemplified by female guest workers in Naples observed by Harney: "In the context of the social, cultural and spatial dislocations that accompany migration, Ukrainian migrants as a whole, have constituted social networks for knowledge distribution. They have demonstrated a capacity to negotiate the difficulties of life in Naples over the last decade, to the degree that pre-established co-ethnic social networks and aligned Neapolitans now are the predominant means through which new arrivals find work, housing and opportunity…" (Harney 2012: 6).

Some authors suggest that the quality of the job a migrant can find strongly depends on the quantity and quality of the members of his/her personal network (Calvó-Armengol and Jackson 2004). Indeed, social networks play a dual role as a channel for information and a substitute for specific skills needed in the host country – such as the language or the knowledge of institutions – which immigrants, and especially those who have recently arrived, might lack. Whether immigrants are able to find good jobs is an important measure of their successful integration into a society (Giulietti et al. 2013). This is illustrated by the story of Inga, a radio journalist with a degree in English and German who went to Germany through an *au-pair* program[2] aiming to secure a first-hand experience in German language and culture necessary for her professional promotion at home. Yet, instead of mastering linguistic skills and learning cultural legacy she was asked to do all kinds of household chores including cleaning, cooking, pet and cattle care, gardening and even harvesting, wherefore she had to get in command of truck driving skills. For all her work, she practically had no remuneration. This situation did not match Inga's academic objectives and she tried to make a better use of her language skills and networking competences by establishing connections among both locals and other post-soviets aiming to secure better conditions for her linguistic practicum. She made an acquaintance with a woman who gave her an address of an Austrian family who were looking for a governess for their children. The workload in the hosting family in Austria, supposedly, had to be tangibly lower than in Germany, and additionally, she could practice German with her two minor clients. Just as important, she was offered a decent wage for her services of a governess, and Inga made a decision in favour of Austria. On one occasion, her Austrian employer requested Inga to serve at a birthday party in her hosting family where she made acquaintance with her employer's brother and engaged into a philosophical conversation with him. The man intimated[3] that he was so impressed by the servant's erudition and perfect manners of a descendant from a University professor's family that after a fortnight they were already married. Now Inga lives with her husband in Austria and travels to Ukraine occasionally to let her two sons socialize with their Ukrainian

[2] German *au pair* scheme was designed for young foreigners between the ages of 18 and 24 years requiring a first-hand experience in Germany for career purposes by applying to work in a German household to assist the family with babysitting and light household tasks for six to twelve months (see Rohde 2012). This said, there are grounds to contend that this scheme is currently reinventing itself into an employment domain on the labour market of domestic care work. Indicative of this is a recent trend of hiring retired women for *aux-pair* positions in Germany and some other European countries (see Paterson 2011 and Kavanagh 2011).

[3] The interview was taken from this couple during their visit to Kyiv.

grandparents. That is, Inga's networking skills served as tool of resistance to precarity of migrancy that enabled the success of her migratory project.

In relation to the housing issue, migrant women-domestics intimated in their narratives that the functionality of social networks correlates with a residential status they succeed to acquire. Those accommodated in the employer's house discovered that they retained the sense of security only at the initial stage of their employment. Soon they realized that if they lost their job, they would also lose the housing and the social networks they had acquired, making the search for another job more complicated. Those living independently, however, initially confronted greater risks involving housing in particular, but their personal connections acquired during the work abroad enabled a sort of stabilization:

> *"Yes, of course, living in the family has certain benefits, especially at the beginning. First of all, it is cheaper and more secure if you have a place to live and don't have to pay for room and board. But after a while you start feeling uncomfortable. You know, it's hard to be looked at 24 hours a day and be at your best all the time. Sometimes you don't feel well and don't want anybody to see you that way. Being a live-in caregiver, you don't belong to yourself. You live as if in a hostel and belong to your employer. After two years of "hostel life", I realized that I was ready for a change. I had made some contacts by that time and they helped me to find employment in cleaning with the same income as in care for the elderly. Of course, it was more expensive because I had to pay rent and buy my own food, but by that time I could afford it. What mattered was that it allowed me to have my own space. Now, when I go to work in the morning, I feel more like a human being, not a servant, and I think to myself: I don't belong to anyone anymore; I am master of my own life."* (Olga, domestic worker in Italy).

Social networks were indispensable to migrant women also at later stages of their migratory cycle. They allowed the escape from a precarious work situation for Nadezhda, a former music teacher who went to Greece aiming to earn money to cover the fee for her son's university studies but then moved to Italy, where she was employed as a live-out caregiver for the elderly. In Greece she worked as a live-in domestic in the home of a Ukrainian emigrant business woman who had secured a work permit for Greece to Nadezhda. My informant decided to leave the job after her employer's business had collapsed which had dire consequences for her emotional health and the situation at home:

> *"At the beginning it was quite all right for me, because I didn't know the language and had problems looking for a job and housing. Living with someone from home meant having all the problems solved at one time – she spoke Russian and I had my job and a place to live. But after a year my employer had problems in her business. She began to keep me waiting for my money, started drinking, had guys coming over every other night for parties, followed by hangovers, fights, squabbles. It was no longer safe to stay there. I had to escape. I could speak some Greek by that time and had developed connections. I met a Ukrainian woman who had been working in Italy. She gave me the address of her Italian ex-employers, and I contacted them. So here I am in Milan, a music teacher and jazz singer, washing asses of old Italian duffers... But at least I am not dependent on anyone here, and it's me who decides what to do in my life. If I decide to leave, I will leave".* (Nadezhda, a former teacher of music and an ex-singer, working as a domestic in Greece and Italy).

This interview confirms the observation with regard to Ukrainian women working in Greece, namely that sufficient time of residence in the country is a factor that serves to improve their situation. Over time women become more familiar with the society, acquire better knowledge of the language, establish stable working relations with their employers and build up their social capital, making friends and extending their social networks (Tastsoglou and Hadjicostandi 2003; Kaurinkoski 2009: 47). For Nadezhda, social networks were helpful not for the improvement of an unfavorable working environment, but for fleeing it to secure a new employment with more favorable conditions. Her networking skills were also instrumental for her adaptation to the new work site in Italy. After her arrival to Milan, Nadezhda lived in the employer's house where she worked as an elder-carer. A well-educated person and a musician with high cultural standards, she spent her free time site-seeing, attending museums and art exhibitions, going to concerts and theatre performances. This allowed her to meet and make friends with Milan bohemians. Her colleagues among musicians helped her to organize a few benefit concerts which were important for her career at home. Nadezhda became popular in this narrow circle and was invited by her new friends to pay them visits at home. This social capital earned due to her "collectivist connectivity" allowed Nadezhda to develop her linguistic skills in Italian, to get better incorporated into the artistic milieu in Milan and to glean a support group among the locals. The latter assisted her in securing a financial capital

necessary to hire her own apartment, offering moonlighting in child- or elderly-care in families of their friends or kin. This enabled Nadezhda's relative autonomy from her employer.

This story exemplifies Harney's argument that while in Italy, Ukrainian women as a highly educated migrant cohort develop the necessary knowledge, skills and aspirations for auto-organizational activity. Class knowledge of social networking, and how bureaucracies and institutions function, prepared them well for negotiating the Italian social and political terrain once they had developed a sense of the system and were able to overcome some of the social psychological challenges of migration (Harney 2012: 12). To put otherwise, "collectivist connectivity" of Ukrainian female guest workers is a key factor that allows them to counteract the challenges of their migratory experience.

Interviews showed that Nadezhda's trajectory of moving away from "hostel life" and to "solo-living"[4] was quite common among women guest workers. Although it requires a higher degree of responsibility and self-organization, "solo-living" is free from the spatial limitations and emotional discomforts of cohabitation with employers and allows for more individual freedom and personal autonomy while at the same requiring stronger social inclusion into a local milieu. As well, it enables the freedom of choice and control over one's own life.

The above stories are indicative of the fact that cooperative behaviour through social interaction in informal networks enables migrants' higher flexibility on the labour market that eventually leads to a better access to resources and to a more successful social inclusion into the local context. It can also be interpreted in terms of Lee's and Li Puma's "culture of circulation" theory (Lee and Li Puma 2002). This "culture" emerges with movements of people and exchanges of value in migration by means of practices of evaluation, constraint, consociality and resubjectivation. In the above stories it was the exchange of valuable information between co-ethnics that made them the actors of this "culture of circulation".

In the meantime, research findings evidence that the better women are integrated into social networks of the hosting society, the weaker are their networks and ties with original communities that can even be disrupted altogether (Brednikova and Tkach 2010). As international migration becomes institutionalized through the formation and elaboration of networks, it becomes progressively independent of the factors that originally caused it, be they structural or individual (Massey et al. 1993: 450). As an informant Ivanna has framed it:

[4] The concept „solo-living" designates working age adults living alone (see Smith et al. 2005).

> *"I have quite a few friends abroad. But when they come back here for a visit, at first they are very happy: "Oh, at last I am at home! It is so good to be at home!" But after a while they start whining, they start recalling their Denmark, their Germany, and then they start grumbling: "How come there is no hot water? What a shame" This is wrong and that is wrong too and everything is wrong for them. And then you hear: "It's high time to go home! Home, sweet home!" Because their home is already there, not here.*" (Ivanna, a domestic worker in Israel).

This sentiment was echoed in interviews with Ukrainian experts:

> *"It is a sad fact, but most migrants who live abroad for a long time, they will never come back, and their relatives realize that. Maybe until 2005*[5] *they had some hopes for this [i.e. for return], but we at CMA, we came to this conclusion maybe a year ago and it seems that they will stay there, since this is not their Motherland any more. They are citizens of Ukraine, but life has changed a lot here since their departure to another country."* (Representative of a Centre for Migrants Advise (CMA), Lviv).

Hence, a greater degree of incorporation on later stages of the migratory cycle creates conditions for a decrease in migration costs for gastarbeiters leading to the weakening of their networks with the homeland.

My research showed that informal social networks that migrant women deploy in the countries of work together with their traditional female "culinary capital" in the form of cooking skills secured at home (Tolstokorova 2018) allows women to secure new social capital among locals and serves as Bourdieu's "symbolic capital" (Bourdieu 1984) that paves the way to "carers' careers" (Tolstokorova 2013b: 105-106) in hosting societies. This was the case with Olga, who moved from the position of a chief engineer at the municipality in her native town in Ukraine to employment in cleaning at the municipal service in Moscow, where her income was substantially higher. In one of the houses where she worked, she was invited to assist in fixing a dinner at a family party for additional remuneration. Olga, an ardent cook with tangible experience of home-making, willingly accepted this proposal. For her, it was not only an occasion to increase her income, but primarily a sort of professional and cultural advancement as in her words it was "a clean and easy job" in a narrow circle of Russian *beaux monde*. Additionally, it was an

[5] The year 2005 was benchmarked by the "First Ukrainian Majdan" or "Orange Revolution", also known as "The Revolution of faded hopes" (see Gillingham and Tupy 2005).

opportunity to expose her talents, wits and her *entrepreneurial self,* and to *work for the soul* and not merely for the income. Olga impressed the guests by her *culinary wonders,* which they admired. They set off to recommend her as an exquisite cook to other people of their circle and after a while Olga made cooking at festive gatherings her principle source of income.

Marina, a college lecturer in her fifties who worked for two years in Berlin to financially ensure herself after retirement, had a similar experience in Germany. She was employed as a care-giver at a public nursing home for the elderly and had occasional income from moonlighting in cleaning at private houses. In one such house, the employers asked her to cook Ukrainian ethnic cuisine. She managed to please her hosting family so much that from then on, she was invited to fix "borsch" on weekends. Additionally, Marina was recommended as a skilled worker and a smart person to other residents in the neighbourhood. This allowed her to develop her social capital through new acquaintances among Berliners, who offered her additional income not only as a cleaner and a cook, but even as a dress-maker, an interpreter, and a translator. Marina's *collectivist connectivity* thus enabled her integration into the local community that in turn enabled the conversion of her Ukrainian "culinary capital" into financial capital in Germany.

6. … Divided we fall: Disjunctions of group solidarity in migrants' informal social networks

The interviews showed that in some instances the functionality of social networks may come to grips with altruistic principles of group solidarity and mutual support. It is well documented that members of social networks, say in an organization, may deceive each other for strategic reasons. For example, they may manipulate the information they send to each other so that executive decisions will be in their favour. Thus, in the course of my non-participant observation members of migrant networks stated that some people from migrant quarters or enclaves, after they had managed to secure a documented status, could whistle-blow to police on their undocumented neighbours aiming to oust them from a highly competitive labour market of migrant work.

Interviews with women and an overview of media sources evidence that sometimes, social networks may serve against the interests of some members. Thus, they may be used as a mediator of gossips, as a tool of exploitation of those who are in a quandary or as a mechanism of competition on the labour market. For instance, migrants who intend to move to another job or want to retain their job when they leave home to Ukraine for vacations may sell their working place to newcomers who are without connections and

seeking employment or to other Ukrainians who had lost their jobs and are in a precarious financial situation. Migrants themselves recounted not least positive but also negative experiences of social networking. This is how it was with Tatyana, a care-worker in Italy interviewed by Lena Näre (2007):

> *"I didn't know anyone here. (...) I did not know the language, I had no information. I bought a job here – I mean – I was sold a work – we call this a 'work of wheel' (lavoro di ruota). This means you go to work with an old person and then after two, three days arrive the sons or nephews and they throw you out and you will lose the 300 dollars you paid for your work. Then you have to get another job and pay another 300 dollars. I have many testimonies of these things, of these bad persons who earn money on our behalf."* (interview of Tatyana from Ukraine, 15.9.2004)

As well, there are scammers who cheat newcomers promising to arrange legal papers or work permits or meaningful investments of their savings for a substantial remuneration. People trust them and give them all their savings, but then stay penniless and with no promised services. This was intimated by a Ukrainian man working in Spain:

> "*It's a shame, but our countrymen do no support each other. <…>Say, I go to Catalonia Square, where our people meet, and tell them that I need a handyman. Soon someone brings me an "electrician" for whom it takes four days to fix an electric bulb. It turns out that the proxy guy charged him a good sum to arrange employment and brought him to me"* (Kosynska 2008).

The aforementioned Nadezhda recalled that when she worked as a domestic in Italy, she established connections with Milano musicians, looking forward to finding an opportunity for her professional development as a singer. She began to study Italian language placing special emphasis on respective professional vocabulary that could help her to find common language with Italian colleagues. Yet, when her co-workers and room-mates in the barrack where she lived noticed that she was drilling Italian, they started teasing Nadezhda for her professional ambitions:

> *"Now, you ask about the relationships with the locals and with Ukrainians here. I tell you, it is sometimes easier to find a common language with Italians than with our co-ethnics. I have many friends among Italians who helped me a lot with both a job and housing and with other issues, whereas some of our people will grudge you snow in the middle of winter. Italians supported me,*

> *they helped me to arrange solo concerts, they arranged all kinds of sight-seeing for me, they brought me to contact with various VIPs, while ours sometimes even try to get you down. Our "babes", when they learned that I study Italian, started nagging me: «Look, she's studying these high matters! Ha-ha! Think you'll need them here? Who are you? Who might need you here? You think too high of yourself. You're no more than a "baby-sitter" here and must learn what you ought to know: a mob, a clout, a bucket, a sweeper! This is what is yours, and not all those solfeggios". This is what kind of people they are."* (Nadezhda, a former teacher of music and an ex-singer, working as a domestic in Greece and Italy).

This interview goes in line with the observation that the exposure to new networks with different beliefs may serve to challenge one's established world-view and offer alternative value systems (Curran and Saguy 2001: 59). Across the context of this interview, it is no wonder then, as Näre observed in her study, that the interviewed Ukrainians had weaker social networks than Poles who already knew people working in Naples. Without social ties[6], Ukrainians had to pay for the first job:

> *"We all have paid when we come here. My friend knows a person who takes 4-8 of us Ukrainian women to sleep in their place and they find you work, and you have to pay for them.* (Interview of45-year old Ukrainian Natasha, 01.02.2004) (Näre 2007: 3)

The claim of week social ties among Ukrainian guest workers complies with the finding of British scholars who found out that "… very few immigrants – only around 20% - agreed that their neighbourhoods are places where people help each other, with Albanians and Ukrainians in particular much more likely to say that people "go their own way" (Markova and Black 2007: xii).

For Ekaterina, an ex-engineer who worked in domestic service at the municipal service in Moscow, the lack of mutual understanding with her Ukrainian co-residents in a hired apartment entailed numerous collisions and had a ponderous effect on her emotional well-being that eventually induced her to leave home:

[6] The lack of coherence among Ukrainians is not a common phenomenon. For instance, Mansoor and Quillin (2006: 89-90) note that Ukrainian and Moldovan networks in Russia are more consolidated than teams from Asian countries that are much more structured and regimented.

> *"<…>To make a long story short, we failed to find a common language and were coming to grips now and again. In the end of the road, I was so frustrated that I began to write to my children back home: "My dear children! Please take me away from here! I can't stand it anymore!"* (Ekaterina, an ex-engineer who worked in domestic service at the municipal service in Moscow)

Hence, the principle of "generalized trust" (Uslaner 2002) as a key component of social capital (Putnam et al. 1993) in conditions of migrancy is not always respected.

7. Lack of networking skills: transgressing the "care of the self" principle

Despite the vital role of informal social networks throughout all the stages of the migratory cycle, not all women rely on personal contacts in building up their migratory strategies. This was the observation made by an informant (Yana) who stayed in Germany through the *au-pair* program. She was looking forward to benefit by *au-pairing* to enter a university given that this program provides references for its participants in securing higher education in Germany. Before she set off to this country, she had made a good job of equipping herself with the knowledge about the country, linguistic skills and necessary contacts to ensure her safe trip and the successful realization of her objectives. As first, she completed a training course in language and culture at Goethe Institute in her native town in Ukraine. Secondly, she contacted her brother who had already received a degree in Germany and even managed to secure a job there, to help her to get in touch with the prospective hosting family for her aux-pair sojourn and to negotiate the contract.

Despite being well prepared for her journey, Yana could not avoid collisions with employers on some provisions of her contract that according to the latter she misinterpreted because of her "poor language skills". That is why Yana was disconcerted to discover that many of her female co-applicants to the aux-pair program neither attempted to master at least the basics of German, nor tried to establish connections in Germany or among aux-pairs networks, nor made any attempts to reach the hosting family to learn about the terms of reference. She found that such an attitude of her colleagues to their own lives was not only risk-taking but also irresponsible. For her, it signified the lack of will to take care of themselves and the clue as to why so many young Ukrainian females face serious risks while abroad, including instances of labour slavery and sex trafficking. In Foucauldian terms this experience may be

conceived as the transgression of the principle of "care of the self" (Foucault 1997) that implies first and foremost the creation and governing of self and allows a realistic sense of one's own surroundings.

This said, my impression was that the aux-pairs Yana talked about, were mainly inexperienced young women from small towns and villages who originated from disadvantaged families and had never had any experience of long-distance travels or being away from family and kin. In their situation, the transgression of the principle of "care for the self" was obviously inadvertent and resulted primarily from the dearth of social capital which is generally regarded as a pool of resources that allow network partners to cooperate with each other (Faist 2000). Meanwhile, it is known that for the success in migration simply being as a part of a social network (say, an *au-pair* community) is insufficient as one must have social capital as well (Bartram et al. 2014). Due to that these young women had no clue to how to organize their voyage in a more secure way and there was probably no one around to advise or assist them in their endeavor. This may be the key to week social networks of some young Ukrainian women in the aforementioned study by Näre.

8. Summary

The findings of current research comply with the observation that social networks serve as "organizing elements of migration" (Kokkali 2011: 88). They are instrumental throughout all the stages of the migratory cycle, starting with the mitigation of uncertainty upon arrival to the place of destination until tackling the most serious challenges of adaptation to a foreign milieu abroad, as for instance, for securing employment and housing. The "collectivist connectivity" as a hallmark of a generation of migrant women educated in the socialist vein enables them not only to find their own place in a new surrounding but also to build intricate *trajectories of integration* into hosting communities whereby a high degree of social inclusion leads to augmenting possibilities for individual autonomy. That is, due to their resilience and agency Ukrainian migrant women are able take care of themselves and improve their life situations even in the foreign setting.

At the same time informal networks of Ukrainian labour migrants that Haidinger posits as "solidarity networks" (Haidinger 2008: 132), have their own bottlenecks whereby "collectivist connectivity" fails. Thus, the principles of generalized trust, supportiveness, cooperative behaviour and group solidarity understood as the willingness to transcend self-interest (Faist 2000), are sometimes neglected in favour of selfish aspirations of some indecent individuals. This is partly due to the fact that being "market idea missioners,

entrepreneurship idea bearers, pioneers on the foreign labour markets"[7],migrants are the first to absorb social values of "Faustian Civilization" that according to Spengler on the one hand, fosters the responsibility of the self, freedom of choice and rationality, but on the other, breeds individualism, pragmatism, mercantile and manipulative attitude to interpersonal relations (Spengler 1991). That is, at least among some migrant groups the moral tenets of Western individualism are taking over the collectivist ethics of the socialist society governed by the motto "A person to a person is a friend, a comrade and a brother/sister".

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BOOK REVIEW

Translocal Childhoods and Family Mobility in East and North Europe (2018). Assmuth L., Hakkarainen M., Lulle A., Siim P.M. (Eds). London: Palgrave Macmillan. 978-3-319-89733-2 (hardcover)/978-3-319-89734-9 (eBook), 271 pages.

The summer of 2018 has provided us with a special encounter with the volume 'Translocal Childhoods and Family Mobility in East and North Europe,' coordinated by Assmuth et al., published by Palgrave Macmillan, a part of Springer Nature.

I have followed the book with the joy of a fascinating read offered by ethnographic research; with the enthusiasm for a topic of such importance that has not yet been sufficiently covered, that of children growing up under the impact of mobility between their families' country of origin and the one they live in, as well as with the curiosity awakened by the new perspectives the authoresses chose in analysing the experiences of these children - such as the role of **social and material infrastructure**; the active role of these children in their own personal existence and development, the authors highlighting **children's agency** therein, as well as other focal points through which childhood is presented as an **embodiment process**: materiality; name; food etc.

For researchers interested in the topic of children under the impact of migration, the book offers reflections on the issue beyond the classical paradigm of care towards these children - the one that most research is focused on.

The contributing authors- Laura Assmuth (University of Eastern Finland), Marta Balode (independent researcher, Riga), Agnese Bankovska (University of Helsinki), Anca Enache (University of Helsinki), Marina Hakkarainen (European University at St. Petersburg), Aija Lulle (Loughborough University), Airi Markkanen (independent researcher, Helsinki) and Pihla Maria Siim (University of Tartu) present in the book at hand their results mainly based on four research projects, unfolded/unfolding during 2012-2019, which reflected on mobility among various origin and destination countries: 'from Estonia and Latvia to Finland; from Latvia to the UK; from Russia to Finland, and cyclical mobility by the Roma between Romania and Finland' (p.14).

Through selecting these multiple directions of mobility, the authors offer us the opportunity to encounter, within a single read, a variety in geographical positioning, such as Finland as a destination country for migrants from different countries, and Latvia as a country of origin for migrants in various countries.

Through expounding the researchers' own personal experiences with fieldwork, the text becomes more emotionally laden and carries a warmth that few academic works do.

The book is structured into five parts, part I constituting an introductory chapter signed by the editors, and part V, a concluding chapter signed by the majority of the chapters' authors. The unusually close collaboration among the researchers whose results the book presents can be clearly felt throughout the entire book. The remaining three parts are centred around three key concepts of the book: Embodiment (Part II: chapters 2. 3, 4), Infrastructure (Part III: chapters 5, 6, 7) and Agency (Part IV: chapters 8, 9, 10).

In what follows, I will briefly highlight several interesting features from each chapter in order to stir up even more the interest of potential readers in this book.

The introductory chapter 1: "Children in Translocal Families" by Assmuth, Hakkarainen, Lulle and Siim draws attention to a new tendency in recent research on families and migration, namely, that of using the term of "translocal" instead of "transnational": "a translocal approach does not oppose internal and international migration/mobility and analyses everyday practices as experienced and narrated by both mobile and immobile family members" (p .7). Translocality tries to avoid the trap that transnationality fell into, especially in transnational family research, being extensively used to grasp only the relations between nuclear family members departed from one specific country to another, and those at home, hence slipping into a methodological nationalism and seemingly forgetting the classical definitions of transnational families that did include members in a number of countries.

Chapter 2: "And so the Journey Begins: An Embodied Approach to Children's Translocal Materialities" (Bankovska and Siim) presents an important aspect from the life of children in these mobile families: the summer holiday trips the children make to the countries of origin of these mobile families. The authors capture all the ritual surrounding these journeys, from the long voyage by car, ship or plane, the play of the changing landscape, up to the different taste of food, associated by the children with their being in one country or another.

Chapter 3: "Doing Translocal Families through Children's Names" (Balode and Lulle) deals with a topic that is entirely novel within the study of family practices under the impact of migration, namely, the name-giving toward children born 'abroad'. The topic is often used in the analysis of mixed/bi-national families in the national context or associated with migration, the choice of children's names being an essential element in displaying or masking the difference in identity in the case of these families. Indeed, as the authors show in the case of ethnically homogeneous families as well, the practices of name giving for children become a challenge when these children are born and raised in the context of their families' international mobility.

Chapter 4: "Sensitive Ethnography: A Researcher's Journey with Translocal Roma Families" (Markkanen) tells us "a Roma family story" in Finland and back home in Romania using novel research tools, such as participative ethnography engaged in by the researcher and art as a mediator between researchers and children sharing no common language.

Chapter 5: "Summer Spaces: Infrastructures, People and Animals in the Baltic Summers" (Lulle and Siim) brings us again into the context of summer vacations of these families' children. In this chapter, beside the importance of materialities, the authors highlight the role played by social infrastructure within these vacations, emphasizing the idea of "people as infrastructure" (p. 125), such as "summer friends" and extended family as they appear in the summer experiences of these children. Here she reminds us that domestic animals also play an important role in these experiences, as well as that we often encounter situations of "multidirectional summer spaces", the children of these families spending their summer vacations not only in different geographical areas in the countries of origin (where different family members live), but even in different countries where the members of the extended family live.

Chapter 6: "Experiencing Inequality: Children Shaping Their Economic Worlds in a Translocal Context" (Hakkarainen) pictures the special impact that moving into a new, superior economic space as compared to the one they come from, has upon the children. They often feel the new world to be "festival-like", but they also feel the pressure of economic integration into that society and that of not being left out in what concerns consumption practices (e.g. food consumed; celebrating Christmas together at the same time with others - even for families coming from Russia) and the desire to achieve material success in life.

Chapter 7: "School as Institution and as Symbol in Estonian Migrant Families' Lives in Finland" (Assmuth and Siim) presents an interesting comparison between the perception of the Finnish and Estonian educational systems by the Estonian mothers-children dyad in Finland. The competitive and high-performance educational system becomes a symbol of Estonian pride for these families, when compared with the more relaxed Finnish school system. Nonetheless, many families admit the advantages of the latter, and extend their stay in Finland in order to allow the children to finish school, since they would not be able to adapt to the former, more competitive system anymore.

Chapter 8: "Children's Agency in Translocal Roma Families" (Enache) shows us, through multiple research methods, how Roma children participate in translocal family practices in Finland and Romania. Here, we can also discover aspects less known by the larger audience, such as the central role of girls in raising younger brothers, and the fact that when they go to Finland, Roma families tend to leave younger children at home, due to fear of social assistance services.

Chapter 9: "'Becoming Better' Through Education: Russian-Speaking Youngsters Narrate Their Childhood Agency in Finland" (Hakkarainen) brings us once again a comparison between two educational systems: the Finnish and the Russian, but now as seen through the memories of young adults concerning the way they were detached from the Russian educational system and managed to integrate into the Finnish. In the article, the authors show that the educational system is a point of interaction among mobile families, cultures and states, and that children caught in the process of mobility project their futures depending on the impact that moving among these systems has upon them.

Chapter 10: "Age Matters: Encountering the Dynamism of a Child's Agency from Cradle to Emerging Adulthood" (Lulle) presents, through examples from various age groups, how the temporality of growth along childhood influences the way the experience of mobility is perceived.

The conclusive Chapter 11: "The Journey Continues" (Assmuth, Enache, Hakkarainen, Lulle, Markkanen and Siim) shows how the authors of the book, even though granting the perspective of children an important role, orient their research to respond to the expectation of de-centric children's perspective and present how "the broader realms of materiality; the natural world, animals and infrastructures matter in children's lives across borders" (p. 261).

Translocal Childhoods and Family Mobility in East and North Europe includes many innovative analyses, with most interesting results - ranging from the details of participants' experiences to important conceptual developments - that place it among the inevitable reads for researchers wishing to develop their studies on mobility, childhood and families.

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