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editura@editura.ubbcluj.ro
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Church Endowments and Family Inheritance in 18th-Century Moldavia

Elena Bedreag

Nicolae Iorga Institute of History, 1, Aviatorilor Boulevard, 71261, Bucharest, Romania, elena_bedreag@iini.ro

Abstract. This study analyses the attitudes of and decisions made by those about to die on the basis of a series of published and unpublished sources such as testaments, probate inventories, trial outcomes, sale deeds, and dowries. The manner in which 18th-century individuals chose to manage and distribute their movable and immovable assets is an indication of the place they occupied in family networks and of the ways in which they interacted with their families and communities.

The available documents reveal the types of testamentary discourses used and the legal prescriptions available in the period under consideration, but also showcase an intense religious culture and a constant concern for the salvation of one's souls. Throughout this period, both the state and the church encouraged and endorsed this need for memorialisation through alms-giving and commemorative rites.

The study is structured around a set of questions regarding the evolution of testamentary practices, notably that of who was entitled to inherit the so-called "part of the soul" and of how grantees were to spend these donated resources.

Keywords: testaments, inheritance, family, church, the part of the soul, Moldavia

Old papers kept in archives often tell stories of wealth and well-managed businesses, but also of turmoil and hardship. One day in late October 1787 in the market town of Botoşani, Grigoraş Guşul, sensing that "feeble, old age and, worse, ill health" were creeping up on him (Iorga 1929:8), called the notary [Ro *diac*] Ştefan and dictated his "last and truthful will". Judging from the text of his will, Grigoraş was in anguish. He had two children: a daughter, Catrina, already married, and a younger son, Toader, who had been "under age" at the time of his sister's wedding.

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Keen to secure peace of mind in old age, Grigoraş had dictated written instructions in a signed deed [Ro *zapis*] at his daughter's wedding, the only one of age at the time, leaving her the administration of his assets while the younger son was a minor. After that date, the siblings were to "make arrangements as brother and sister" (Iorga 1929: 8). He had planned on spending his final years quietly in "a small back house" next to the home of his daughter and son-in-law, Eni. However, things did not go as planned. He could not enjoy peace in his old age: his daughter and son-in-law, he narrates, "beat me up many times and threw me out so I had to knock on other people's doors, and I had no protection or comfort from them, as my son-in-law Eni even broke my skull one day" (Iorga 1929: 9).

The deed he signed at his daughter's wedding had left the management of the father's estate in Catrina's hands. However, Grigoraş changed these arrangements once it became apparent that the young couple were bound to treat him badly. Having lived long enough to see his younger son grow up and become of age, the father revised his initial decisions: he left portions of the properties and shops he owned to Toader and nominated him as the one who was supposed to look after him "for the remainder of my life" and perform the "due rites" after his demise: post-mortem commemorations and the dedication of a water well in his name.

In the late 18th century, care for the soul occupied a central place in the economy of succession. But how old were such arrangements and what are the oldest known references to the "part of the soul"?

The discourses of both church and state traditionally endorsed the need and norms for the commemoration of the dead through charitable donations and church rites. Moldavia's ruling Prince Grigore II Ghica (1695–1752) stated in one of his official acts that living human beings had nothing of greater value than charity and that "even stronger than this" were endowments to churches: the prayers and rites thus secured were bound to offer support not just to the living in this world but also "after death succour to all souls and immortal renown in this world" (Caproşu 2001: 281).

The earliest known sources documenting expressions of power as ultimate manifestations of individual will were not testaments as such, but they foreshadowed later, written, testamentary practices: these were 15th-century Moldavian documents of endowments made by individuals at the point of death. Thus, around the year 1419, "as she was about to die", *Doamna* Ana [Lady Anne], the wife of the ruling Prince [Ro *Voievod*] Alexandru, donated a few villages to the Monastery of the Annunciation [Ro *Bunavestire*] (DRH A vol. I: 66). Another available document, dated 4 October 1440, endorsed a

donation made by Oană Porcu who, "being of sound mind and at the point of death, for the salvation of his soul" made an endowment of one village to the Monastery of Bistriţa "of his own will and in his own words" (DRH A vol. I: 294).

In 1554 Grigorie Fierîe, a secretary at the princely court, made a donation to Neamţ Monastery to secure the due commemoration rites for himself, his wife, and his children. The endowment included "a leather-bound volume of the four Gospels with gold lettering and encased in gilded silver, a highly valuable stole […], and two parts of a village with watermills at Pîrîul Alb, so that they duly commemorate me on 25 January, on the feast day of St. Gregory the Theologian, every year as long as God will allow this holy abode to stand […]. And whoever will break our gift and fail to honour our memory, let them be cursed and be placed under oath to take our sins upon themselves and account for them on the day of Christ's fearsome Last Judgment" (Caproşu and Chiaburu 2008: 68).

Whereas previously endowments had been made exclusively to monasteries, documents from the mid-15th century onwards sometimes had a personal touch and mentioned arrangements made for or family affairs involving the deceased person's close kin or members of their circle. Thus, a document dated 13 August 1464 mentions a lawsuit involving a certain sieur [*pan*][1] Mîndre and his family and *pan* Misea over the ownership of the village Tărnauca. The source states that, because "many words had passed" between the two sides, and because Misea wanted to present the princely court with evidence supporting his claims, he produced a "writ signed by Bera". This paper showed that the village had been gifted to the defendant by his uncle Bera "of his own volition, together with the rest of his wealth, upon his death". (DRH A, vol. II: 175). In a separate case, an affidavit dated 25 April 1501 shows that "the late *postelnic* [court superintendent] Dumşa, esquire, upon his death, when lying on his deathbed, of his own volition he willed the village Petricani, on the Başeu river to his servant Paşină from the lands he rightfully possessed" (DIR A, veac XVI, vol. I: 1). In another document, dated 26 February 1547, Moldavia's ruling prince, Iliaş confirmed a donation made to a certain Ion by his brother Ivanco, "upon his death, as he lay dying" (DIR A, veac XVI, vol. I: 546; Székely 1999: 25).

In neighbouring Wallachia, too, the earliest documents of a testamentary nature represented bequests to monasteries in exchange for commemorative rites. On 27 June 1387, Prince Mircea cel Bătrân confirmed

[1] *Pan* was a term borrowed from Polish and designated a high-ranking boyar in medieval Moldavia.

earlier donations made to Tismana Monastery among which "the fourth part of the land at Dăbăceşti that had rightfully belonged to Dimitrie Dăbăcescu and that he had willed to the monastery at his death (DRH B, vol. I: 24). On 20 May 1388 the same ruling prince donated the village Orleşti to Cozia Monastery, his foundation, and confirmed several other donations made by others: "[…] upon his death, master Stanciu Turcul gave his village named Cruşia for the monastery to own" (DRH B, vol. I: 27). In 1493, Prince Vlad Călugărul endorsed the ownership by Tismana Monastery of land at Groşani: "the parts that had belonged to Mareş and Stăit, and when they died they donated the land at Groşani to the holy Monastery of Tismana, to be for their remembrance for ever" (DRH B, vol. I: 383). On 24 March 1495, the hieromonk Macarie gave Govora Monastery a vineyard at Ocne: "And after my death […] they must say prayers for me one day every year" (DRH B, vol. I: 411–412).

The aforementioned documents show that the surviving evidence comprises only indirect testimonies made by third parties in front of witnesses, testimonies which were subsequently endorsed by an official document issued by the ruling prince. Another feature of these sources – and one which I believe to be far from random – is the fact that these early exercises of individual power targeted monastic establishments. It is tempting to reflect that, in the mindset and practices of 15th-century individuals, the concern for the welfare of the soul and the donations made for commemorative rites had priority over practical arrangements for the distribution of property. However, it is quite possible that the survival of documents of this nature in such great numbers is due to the fact that monasteries had a vested interest and needed to archive acts which guaranteed their unhindered ownership of and control over the endowments. In addition, these decrees of endorsement were issued by the princely chancellery, the only institution that had the resources for producing documents likely to be preserved and survive for longer periods.

At the same time, if we look at the period's customary law practices we may conclude that, in fact, endowment documents were the exception rather than the rule. Considering the orality of such practices, it is more likely that the distribution of wealth and inheritance was a natural, tacit process which did not require specific written documentation.

The practice of donation to monasteries continued for centuries: at later stages the donation document started being referred to as *diată* [1. deed of donation; 2. testament].This type of written act was not designed to cover the entire estate of the deceased, just portions of their wealth. It endured over the centuries and was still in use by the early 19th century. In 1804, Şerban

Blănarul [the furrier] wrote and confirmed that "with this truthful deed, let it be known" that he was donating a building plot to the princely church in the town of Bîrlad to ensure that he and his descendants would be commemorated for ever. He used the term *diată* to designate this written act, but he did not intend to use it as a testament proper and distribute his assets to named heirs and direct descendants. The document was simply a certificate of donation made for the benefit of the soul. The concluding paragraph of the document makes this distinction very clear. It implies the existence of direct heirs to whom, presumably, furrier Şerban left goods listed in a separate testament: "and none of my sons, grandchildren [a]nd great-grandchildren are to cause the least discomfiture to that holy church [...]" (Antonovici 1911: 24-25; Barbu 2003:158)[2]

The Part of the Soul (Partea sufletului)

But who benefited from the wealth thus donated and how was it to be used? In religious terms, the "part of the soul" was meant to provide the funds for ensuring the "welfare of the soul", i.e. the "peace" of the dead person's soul (Caterchi 1980: 522). From the juridical perspective, it was a device which guaranteed that a portion of the dead donor's wealth went to the person responsible for the commemoration rites. This portion usually represented one third of the estate, i.e. *trimiria*, when the testator had no direct heirs (Barbu 1998: 70; Georgescu 1966). The phrase "part of the soul" was synonymous with the term *comînd* (Barbu 2003: 90; Caterchi 1980: 522)[3] and included not only funeral expenses, but also money for commemorative rites (to be performed 3, 9,or 40 days, and subsequently 3 months, 6 months, and one year after the funeral) (ASB, Achiziţii Noi, MMDCCXXI/10). It also covered other duties such as the cost of a wooden commemorative panel [Ro *pomelnicul de lemn*][4], of disinterment (Caproşu 2006: 481–482)[5], or the building of a commemorative well (Gorovei 1925: 4).

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[2] In her study of family structures in 17th-century Wallachia, Violeta Barbu talks of the testamentary act of *donatio*: "Testamentary donations were a category of testaments typical especially for the second half of the 17th century, whereby elderly people without living kin had deeds of donation drawn up endowing monasteries in exchange for end-of-life care or a burial plot".

[3] This term originates in the Latin *commendatio*; in Romanian, *comândare* means to "commend oneself" to someone else, to a trusted person, and encompasses both care in old age and the duty of performing commemorative rites after death.

[4] This was a wooden panel which was placed inside the church and listed the names of the living and the dead to be read out by the priest during commemorative services.

[5] In this particular case, the testator, a woman, states that she wants to be disinterred after 3 years.

In his deed of donation, Veniamin Năstasă specified the sums of money to be paid and made a detailed list of the commemorative services to be performed: "150 *lei* to be spent for my interment, 10 *lei* at the rites on the 3rd day, 10 *lei* on the 9th, 20 *lei* on the 20th, 50 *lei* on the 40th, 50 *lei* half a year later, 100 *lei* for the one-year memorial service, and 100 *lei* for 10 prayers at 40 days [Ro *sărindare*]"[6].

Normative Prescriptions in the Law Codices

The "part of the soul" was a portion of the testator's wealth that he or she could use at will to secure care in old age and commemorative rites after death. One of the period's prescriptive texts, *Cartea românească de învăţătură* [the Romanian book of teachings] listed penalties for infringements against this portion of the inheritance and detailed the process whereby the heir could come into its possession. If the testament [*diata*] did not specify the amount of the estate to be allocated for care and commemoration, the claimant had to resort to the professional services of a "legal clerk [Ro *giudeţ*] to determine the portion left for the soul" and was free to "take it out when the master [i.e. the donor] decided in the writ [Ro *zapis*]; and if he was to take it out himself when he deemed fit, he was to forfeit all the income left for the soul of the departed" (*CRÎ*: 78). If the testament specified clearly the sums to be thus allocated ("if bequeathed in the writ" - *CRÎ*: 77), the grantee entered automatically in its possession upon the testator's death. A court hearing in the country's Divan was only necessary if the amount for the "part of the soul" was not clearly earmarked. At the same time, the grantee of this portion was not free to spend it as he wished because there were "instructions to use it to build a church, or a hospital, or an inn, what is called a guesthouse, or a death chamber (vault, crypt), or something of that sort". The law was very specific: if an adulterous woman could have her dowry assets confiscated by her wronged husband, the latter was not authorized to take from her the "portion of the soul" granted to her by a third party even if she committed adultery. There were clauses which said that this sum was to revert to the donor in the event of the grantee's death (*CRÎ*: 112). The testator's widow, too, enjoyed legal protection in case the grantee misused the allocation made for "part of the soul": "Whoever causes injury to the wife of the man who left the portion for the soul at his death, will be pursued in court and will lose that which was given to him" (*CRÎ*: 138).

[6] The testator names the specific churches and monasteries to receive money for commemorative rites: "and prayers to be said 4 times at Saint Sava, once at the burial, once at 40 days, once after half a year, and services at the Metropolitan Church, at Golia [Monastery], and the church at Talpalari, at Biserica Banului [the *Ban*'s Church] and the Church of Saint Paraskevi [Ro Paraschiva], and in the village at Voineşti" (Caproşu 2004: 680).

There were norms regarding the "part of the soul" in the period's three main legal codices: *Manualul juridic al lui Andronache Donici* [The law manual of Andronache Donici], *Codul Calimach* [The Callimachi codex], and *Îndreptarea Legii* [The correction of the law]. (art. [*glava*] 282: 274). They defined the portion of the soul as a debt, as money due by the testator, and not as a part of the dead person's disposable assets (remainder): "Therefore, the sons can only claim their rightful inheritance from what is left after the payment of debts and the allocation for the funeral" (*Manualul juridic al lui Andronache Donici:* 115–116). Section 36, chapter 2 of the same codex specifies the following: an individual will be able to dispose of his wealth freely only after "taking aside the debts and funeral expenses; also to be taken aside is the dowry […] of his spouse" (*Manualul juridic al lui Andronache Donici:* 122–123). The instructions in *Codul Calimach* read as follows: "net worth comprises what is left after deducting debts, and funeral and commemoration costs; a dead persons' wealth is not calculated when the testament is drawn up, but after the testator's death" (*Codul Calimach*: 371).

Even though the law provision of the 18th and early 19th centuries did not mention the portion of the soul by name except as an expense to be considered when the inheritance is distributed, 18th-century testamentary practices substantiate the important role it played in the economy of family succession.

Commemoration Rites and Family Memorialisation

It is an accepted fact that the amount spent on funerals showcased the testator's social status. However, funerals were also meant to place the testator in a family lineage and perpetuate his or her memory via a series of duties and obligations prescribed to descendants. Thus, around the year 1780, Toma Catargiul drew up a testament whereby he left his entire wealth to his wife, but left her strict instruction for the erection of a stone monastery in the town of Iaşi "to perpetuate the memory of all his forebears who have left this world before". To make sure that this request was going to be fulfilled, Toma named in his testament two "custodians", high-ranking boyars and his kin, Vasile Ruset and Filip Catargiul: they were to oversee the realization of this charitable act (Ghibănescu 1914: 289). In his turn, Constantin Feştilă left a sum of 1,000 lei for the construction of a church in stone at Todireşti, which he was going to place under the ecclesiastical authority of Zbiereni Monastery, where he wished to be buried (BAR, Documente istorice, DCXX/117; Rosetti 1906: 112–114). Women testators also willed money and left instructions for the erection of small monasteries called *skethes*. Thus, in her testament dated 9

September 1799, Safta Bogdan[7] left a request for the construction of a *skethe* in a locality called Fundul Orgoeştilor as a redemptive offering for the salvation of her soul (ASI, Documente, 587/1).

Not all testators enjoyed harmonious relations with their descendants, which is why some testaments included provisions for cases when the testators' wishes were not carried out as they wished. For example, the high-ranking boyar [Ro *pitar,* breadmaster] Cîrstea had been involved in a series of disputes with his daughter-in-law Elinca, which he duly recorded in his testament. He left instructions for Elinca to fulfil and pay for a number of commemorative duties after his death: she was to pay 250 *thaler* for prayers and commemorative rites 40 days after death, and donate 50 beehives to the church where he was to be buried. In the event of Elinca not complying with his wishes, Cîrstea added a clause which entailed the confiscation of her landed estate at Dănuţeni and the transfer of ownership to the aforementioned church.

Beside the building of churches and *skethes*, testaments also included provisions for the erection of wells, fountains, and bridges, as well as the liberation of Romany slaves. For example, the testament of Lupaşcu Covrig, the elder of the undertakers' guild [Ro *staroste de ciocli*], included instructions for the building of a fountain alongside commemorative rites 40 days after his demise ((ASI, Documente, 510/9; Caproşu 2005: 71-72). Monk Veniamin in his will expressed his wish that his heirs should spend "50 *lei* to dig up a roadside well with wholesome drinking water, and 40 lei *lei* to erect a bridge over a river in a place deemed suitable (Caproşu 2004: 680). Nicolae Mihai noted that building a well as a commemorative practice became fairly common in Oltenia (southern Wallachia) in the latter half of the 18th century and was meant to memorialize the departed in the *longue durée* (Mihai 2003: 213).

Less frequent were testamentary donations of items such as horses. Carefully selected breeds were offered to ecclesiastical figures or hierarchs, e.g.: "a young bay horse from a good mare to be given to church cantor [Ro *diacon*] Costandin" (BAR, Documente istorice, DCXX/117; Rosetti 1906: 112–114)[8]. In her analysis of testaments of the Transylvanian noble elites, Maria Lupescu Makó identified the horse as a valued item usually bequeathed to the church site or monastic community where the testator was to be interred (Lupescu-

[7] She was the daughter of Ioan Bogdan and sister to Manolache Bogdan, who had been executed on the orders of Prince Constantin Moruzi in 1778. She was married twice, first to Constantin Costachi and later to Enache Jurgea (Sturdza 2004: 582).

[8] A similar testamentary document dated 1612 shows that the nun Gripina instructed her heirs to donate every year a horse to the Dionysiou Monastery at Mount Athos for her remembrance (Ghibănescu 1907: 87; DIR A, veac XVII, vol. III: 101102).

Makó 2005: 134). For Moldavia, the frequency of gifts of horses, their donors, and recipients are still under study.

The Beneficiaries

How was the portion of the soul distributed, who administered it and who was entitled to use this part of a deceased person's estate?

The first to be called upon to preserve the memory of the deceased, and therefore the first to be entitled to this portion of the inheritance were lineal descendants, i.e. the children, and more specifically the youngest son/daughter. There were equally widespread testamentary practices such as mutual husband-and-wife testaments as well as the choice of adopted children as grantees. Usually, nephews and nieces, i.e. collateral kin, were the first choice for adoption and consequently as recipients of the bequest. In rare cases, in the 17th and 18th centuries, testators resorted to direct donations to monasteries. Often testators nominated individuals to mediate the transfer, but there were alternative ways for the distribution of the portions of the soul.

The choice of the last born made sense because these were the youngest, unmarried children, and implicitly the ones who lived with the parents and looked after them in old age. They were also meant to be custodians of their parents' memory after death and therefore were deemed to be entitled to the remaining portions of the family assets. However, as we have already seen in the case study which opened this analysis, the character and behaviour of the would-be grantee were crucial in the decision-making process. Testamentary practices show that the part of the estate which included the parental home were due to the son "chosen" (Caproşu 2004: 46-47) to look after the parents in their old age and after death. Thus, in her testament of 1714, Safta Moţoceasa designated her husband, Gheorghe Moţoc, as the administrator of her funeral ceremony and post-mortem commemoration rites as long as he lived. She added that "in the event of his death, he should choose one of their daughters, the one with the highest compassion and concern for my soul and his" to administer the portion of the soul. In case "none of the daughters showed interest in the welfare of their souls", the testament specified that the part of the soul should be granted to a monastery "of his choice" (ASB, Fond Achiziţii Noi, MMDCXXXIV/5- 6, MMDCLII/4, MMDCXXXIII/4).

In Moldavia, 16th- and 17th-century documents show that adoption was a legal device used as an alternative to the lack of direct heirs and implicitly for designating the person meant to be the curator of commemorative rites. Vasile Scurtu defined adoption as designating descendants who were supposed

to look after prayers and ceremonies of remembrance for the adoptive parent once he or she passed away (Scurtu 1966: 58). Broadly speaking, the main objective of adoption was to ensure that the entire estate or part of the estate passed on to an individual chosen by the testator before death. In most cases, the donation entailed a duty to look after the memory of the donor according to Christian traditions (Székely 1997: 106–107). For example, a document dates 1598 shows that Dumitru, a high court official [Ro *portar*, keeper of the gates] , having been willed a portion of the village Popeşti in Dorohoi county from his mother-in-law Mărica Prăstecoae, his adoptive mother, was expected to fulfil the duty of commemorating her after death (DIR A, vac XVI, vol. IV: 219). Another document, dated 1643, shows that Toader Tăutul left a portion of his lands to his adopted son Pătrăşcan in exchange for "commemorative prayers" (Iorga 1903: 219).

Even couples who had direct descendants (children) of their own sometimes resorted to adoption, either because the children were not able or willing to fulfil these duties, or to make sure that there was a back-up provision. In such cases, alongside adopted sons or daughters, couples nominated nephews or another family member to take care of commemorations. In her testament of 1785, Ruxanda Carp, designated her adopted son Costantin "To look after my memory when I am dead" […] "together with my niece Irina and together to give alms and offer prayers for the souls of the late parents of my spouse and for our own souls" (Boga 1929: 22).

Conclusions

In the early days, last wills and testaments were oral donations, mainly made to monasteries and churches. From those early times onwards, these were acts meant to ensure individuals' wishes and provisions for the welfare of their soul after death, but also, more mundanely, for the economic welfare of their descendants. Testaments, both in their oral and in their written variants, included specific provisions for the costs of funerals and commemorative rites, and these provisions were supported by customary law and the law codices. In the 17th and 18th centuries the choice and nomination of a family member to look after the "care of the soul" of the departed had a prominent role in testamentary practices. In some cases testators had several and alternative choices. For example, Natalia Sturdza, who had no children of her own, picked a nephew, Ştefan, to manage her commemoration rites. He was instructed to pay for 10 successive rites of post-mortem commemoration, "prayers and services to commend my soul, and give alms up to seventy *lei* to the poor and

to deserving places for my soul" (BAR, Documente Istorice, DCXCVI/19). At the same time, she designated another nephew to give alms in her memory from the portion of her bequest she had left him. There was a transition in testamentary practices from direct donation to churches in the 15th and 16th centuries to donations mediated by an heir (the youngest child, the son or daughter "of choice", the adopted son) or by several designated heirs in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Thus, the part of the soul from a testator's estate had a religious and social significance as a means of connecting the departed to the world they left behind and a device of embedding them in the memory of their family and their community.

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Household Forms, Environment and Wealth in 1838 Wallachia. A Case Study of Districts Buzău and Slam-Râmnic

Bogdan Mateescu

Nicolae Iorga Institute of History, 1, Aviatorilor Boulevard, 71261, Bucharest, Romania, bogdanmateescu@iini.ro

Abstract. The research presented in this study focuses on a principality of Eastern Europe that has generally been neglected in the field of historical household demography: Wallachia (nowadays in Romania). We compiled a rural population sample from the country's first general census (1838) and analysed living patterns. In addition, we sought to understand how they related to environment, general economy, and household wealth. Although the Wallachian household was mostly simple, residential arrangements still varied considerably when analysed spatially. Wealth and labour necessity seem to have had a noticeable impact on cross-generational ties, transcending customs and norms that in previous scientific works were considered to apply in a universal manner.

Keywords: household structure, living patterns, 1838 census, Wallachia, historical geography

1. Introduction

The household has been acknowledged as one of the building blocks of society, a setting in which families emerged and developed, values and customs were transmitted, individuals worked and consumed. Households laid at the intersection between wider demographic and social trends, economy, culture and even state policy, influencing them and in turn being influenced by all these domains. Consequently, the household can be studied through multiple frameworks. Historical demography has had a great impact in the last decades, questioning previous paradigm that originated in sociology (particularly in the works of Frederic LePlay).

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The breakthrough came along with the use of statistics applied to historical census-type sources, an approach greatly popularized in the scientific world by historians of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure. Research published in the early 1970s and 1980s, beginning with the 1972 book coordinated by Peter Laslett and Richard Wall (Laslett and Wall 1972), challenged the notions of preindustrial household being large and complex, reinterpreting kinship ties. In the following years and decades, the new paradigm was itself the object of harsh criticism (Kertzer 1991). However, the new approaches survived, methods were refined, and historical demography currently represents one the most important fields in the study of households. Expanding both methodologically and into historical contexts that were previously harder to reach, historical demography can provide a more unified perspective on living patterns across Europe (Szoltysek et al. 2015: 2017).

In Romania, a breakaway from sociology did not take place when debates began in the West. Knowledge on past household forms had for long been credited to the interwar sociological school, coordinated by Dimitrie Gusti. Probably the most cited contribution is that of Henri Stahl, later promoted by his son, Paul Stahl. Their reconstruction of the "Romanian peasant household" can be summarized as follows: households were mostly simple because they formed at marriage, upon endowment and amid partible inheritance customs. Exception was made with the youngest son, who remained in the parental home even after marriage, inheriting the last remaining wealth, in exchange for caretaking (Stahl 1978: 103, 1986: 9; Stahl 1998: 108). A son-in-law would substitute this role, if no male offspring existed (Stahl 1978: 104). Servants were very rare (Stahl 1978: 106, 1986: 11). Therefore, the "Romanian traditional household" fits the type called *stem family* in international historiography. More complex structures were attributed only in regions of Romania inhabited by Slavs (Stahl H. 1986: 11, Stahl 1988: 101-2). Even though this research is complemented by historical inquiries regarding social norms and rural society, the conclusions stated above are strictly the result of contemporary studies (mainly fieldwork in the 1930s). In regards to the possibilities of projecting these findings onto earlier times, Paul and Henri Stahl themselves were cautious and were left guessing as to what historical research could hold:

> "*Vor fi existat, pe vremuri, și familii lărgite, adică în care [toți] copiii căsătoriți continuau a conlocui cu părinții lor*".
> "Joint families, where [all] married children continued to live with their parents may have once existed." (Stahl 1998: 101)

Despite this obvious limitation, international scholars interested in the subject, historians, sociologists and anthropologists alike, turned to Henri or Paul Stahl as main reference, even though their frameworks varied greatly (Todorova 2006: 142; Chirot 1976). The recourse to sociology was inevitable in the absence of an alternative coming from historiography in general, and from historical demography in particular.

Household demography for Romania appeared very late among the interests of historians, and when it did, it was subordinated to other subjects, such as the demography of families and villages (Negruţi 1984 – for Moldavia, Solcan for Transilvania). It is mostly within the last decade that it detached itself and constituted the main focus in different works that covered Transylvania (Pakot 2013, Őri and Pakot 2014, Holom 2014), as well as Wallachia and Moldavia (Mateescu 2014, Szoltysek et al. 2015, 2017). Overall, given the vast number of unused sources, the lack of interdisciplinary approaches, as well as the disconnect between historiographies of different research centres, it is safe to say that a strong field of household demography in Romania is only now starting to take shape.

In the prospects of an expanding historiography, gross generalization from other fields should be less tempting, without undermining the importance of ethnography and sociology. Rather, their legacy should be discussed in a more pragmatic manner, in the spirit of interdisciplinarity. This raises a question for historical demographers: how to connect two fields? Historical sources and methods have their own drawbacks. Censuses are often described as snapshots, as they illustrate communities at a sole moment in time. Events prior to or following the moment of recording are unknown to us, but needed when studying life course events such as household formation or evolution. In turn, sociology failed to incorporate statistics in the study of household structure. The most extensive survey made in the 1930s saw the documentation of some 13,171 households from 37 villages, but the published results only refer to household size (no. of members), by gender of household head (Gusti 1941: 15-31). More in-depth operations were reduced to just several hundreds of units (Cressin 1936: 56-7; Stahl 1939: 301-2), but even they were far from the level of detail later achieved in international historical demography. The methods themselves raise several questions. Often, the

borders between social norms and demographic and social realities were blurred.

Today, these shortcomings present historical demographers not only with the challenge of building a common framework, but also with the opportunity of exploring the unknown. If cited demographic works were centred on Transylvania, this research refers to Wallachia, a principality that in 1859 united with Moldavia to form Romania (map 1). While some general results have been published in a separate paper (Mateescu 2018), here we will expand our presentation, with focus on household classification and the interplay between household, wealth and marital customs.

2. Objectives

Before reigniting major debates regarding the pre-industrial peasant household in Wallachia and Moldavia, what the current state of art calls for most of all is extensive exploratory research. We need to signal and publish sources, discuss source flaws and compatibility between historical information and basic concepts and methods used in household studies. Insofar as generating knowledge about the household itself, we are still in the phase of uncovering basic traits, such as overall structure, size, the relation between conjugal individuals and families, and age-specific patterns. Within the limitations and necessities of the current historiographic stage, the main goals of this paper are in turn of exploratory nature. Our priority was to document the characteristics of the Wallachian household and the patterns related to conjugal living. We planned on doing so by using a sample as large as possible, and by employing the same methods and concepts used in historical household demography, adapting them where necessary. In regards to interpreting the patterns that emerged, we incorporated two key filters in our inquiry: geography and wealth. The general premise is that they could have both influenced demography. This being said, the research presented here had three main objectives:

1. To document the size and structure of households, including by age-specific analysis, in order to include life course patterns;
2. To examine the correlation between these patterns and wealth;
3. To accomplish the previous objectives in a manner that accounts for geographic variation.

The sources used here permit a more complex research, by adding criteria such as ethnicity, occupation and social status. Given editorial constraints, dissemination will only focus on wealth and geography.

3. Source, sample and flaws

We worked with the first country-wide enumeration of all people (including women and children) in Wallachia's history. It was ordered by division III of the Department of Interior, a division charged with official statistics according to the constitutional law, the *Organic Regulation*. The latter was introduced in 1831, under Russian supervision (Wallachia and Moldavia were under Russian occupation and government between 1828 and 1834). The operation was called *statistic,* a term that in the age implied non-fiscal purposes, but also had a global scope in information gathering. A *statistic* was supposed to cover all possible topics, not just population. Indeed, the 1838 census was designed in ten forms, referring to population, land, estates, environment, human habitat, agricultural yield. It was distinct from fiscal censuses of the age (*catagrafii obşteşti*).

Two types of population forms were used: "A" in the province, and "B" in Bucharest. Our population sample originated from type "A", which contained socio-demographic information (marital state, age, ethnicity, status inside the household), fiscal status, occupation, disabilities, as well as a set of columns destined for agriculture. For each person, the census taker had to record the number of plots by category of crops[1], the number of horses, oxen, cows, sheep, goats, pigs, donkeys, mules, hives, mulberry threes, plum trees, and other fruit trees.

The largest surviving material from the census consists of population forms, covering about three quarters of the country and preserved at the National Archives of Romania (henceforth: SANIC), fond Catagrafii. The vast majority of it remains unpublished, with exceptions split between paper and digital format. Several books include the forms for the towns of Brăila, Câmpulung, Piteşti, Ploieşti, Caracal, Cerneţi – authored by Cristocea (2011, 2012), Cristocea and Trâmbaciu (2007), Dedu (2017), Barbu and Comănescu (2018). In 2015, a team of researchers from Brăila published the first volumes dedicated to villages, all from the territory of modern-day Brăila district (Bounegru et al. (2015).

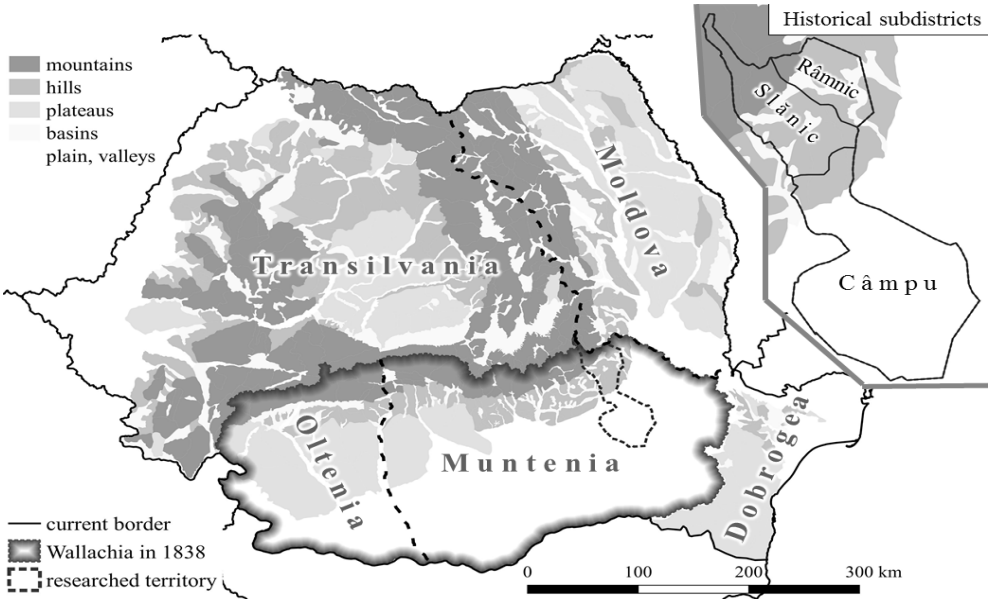
[1] The unit of measurement use was *pogon* (=0.5 ha). Vineyard was recorded in a separate column, but some agents used *rows* as measurement unit, instead of *pogoane*.

Within the same timeframe (2009 – 2015), a population sample was released by the MOSAIC data base, of some 21000 people[2]. As this paper is being written, two other databases are also preparing samples from the same population forms: MAPROM project (University of Södertörns) and the Dem-Ist database (Nicole Iorga Institute of History, Romanian Academy – Mateescu 2020).
Aiming to expand the use of preserved material, this research focuses on a strip of land from Eastern Wallachia. In 1838, the area belonged to districts Buzău and Slam-Râmnic, and was divided between three subdistricts: Râmnic in Slam-Râmnic, Slănic and Câmpu in Buzău[3]. The census forms for each subdistrict were preserved in an individual archival unit, with that of Câmpu being split in two volumes. We chose these three subdistricts because they constitute a territory which, although small (some 3000 square kilometres), covered all major types of landscape present in Wallachia: mountains, hills, and plains. In the North, at the turning point of the Carpathian arch, it met the Moldavian and Austrian border on mountains Giurgiu, Muşa Mică, Muşa Mare and Furu. It expanded across the hills of Bisoca, Pâclele, Blăjani and Buda, ending in the plain called Pogoanele. The most important rivers crossing it are Buzău and Râmnic, followed by secondary courses such as Slănic, Câlnău and Călmăţui (maps 1, 5).

[2] https://censusmosaic.demog.berkeley.edu/data/mosaic-data-files, accessed in September 2020.

[3] We used the term *district* for the Romanian administrative unit called "judeţ", alternatively translated as *county*. It's divisions – subdistricts – were called *plasă* (in the plains and hills) and *plai* (in the mountains).

Map 1. Researched territory (three historical subdistricts) within Wallachia and present-day Romania (and its regions/provinces)



Source: Bogdan Mateescu, GIS data on landscape by Candrea et al. (2008).

Together, these divisions encompassed 108 villages, 8512[4] houses and 38154 recorded inhabitants. The material seems complete and was transcribed in its entirety. The resulting data set was harmonized, by standardizing information referring to gender, age, household status, CFU membership. The methodology of harmonization is similar to the one used for MOSAIC (Gruber 2015) and Dem-Ist (Mateescu 2020) (Henceforth, this data set will be referred to as the Râmnic-Slănic-Câmpu sample).

*

Our source has flaws that are recognizable in other parts of Europe at the time, although some are exacerbated by a combination of factors, ranging from lack of planning and poor administrative practices, to illiteracy among the population and mistrusting the Government. The design of the census fell short of providing accurate instructions to the census agents, who, in filling form type A, had to rely on a model form and a guideline of just 12 points.

[4] 14 houses were excluded from the analysis: some were too ambiguous to be classified at the moment, others were facilities belonging to two posts offices also recorded in the census: Călmăţui and Câlnău.

Some topics were oversimplified, out of these we will elaborate on two that we consider as having the most potential to negatively impact this research. The most significant relates directly to our main focus: the residential space. Census agents were ordered to record *all the souls living in the same house*, without following a definition of the *house* (for published instructions see Mateescu 2015: 81-6, for model forms see also Retegan 1969). This unit of grouping was designated as if it had an universal meaning, understood by all in the exact manner. From a social history perspective and even by the standards those times, this is clearly not the case. If we define house as a building, then one building could contain more than one household, especially in an urban setting. Moreover, one household could see its members in two separate buildings belonging to the same enclosure. During the next general census, of 1859, this became an issue, as some officers requested special instructions on how to deal with households divided between buildings[5]. However, a full set of instructions was not released until the census of 1912 (Colescu 1920: 3-9). Its methodology separated *property*, *building* and *household*. For 1838, we are only left guessing as to how census takers interpreted the *house*. In some circumscriptions we can also suspect that families who lived together were by default separated artificially. According to George Retegan, this would have happened because of a contradiction in instructions that prompted younger couples to be judged as separate units (Retegan 1969: 167). In our view, the instructions were clear on the matter (see quotation above). In any case, an artificial separation is hard to be deducted in the subdistricts analysed in this paper, since they show cases of multiple families, generations or taxpayers within the same unit.

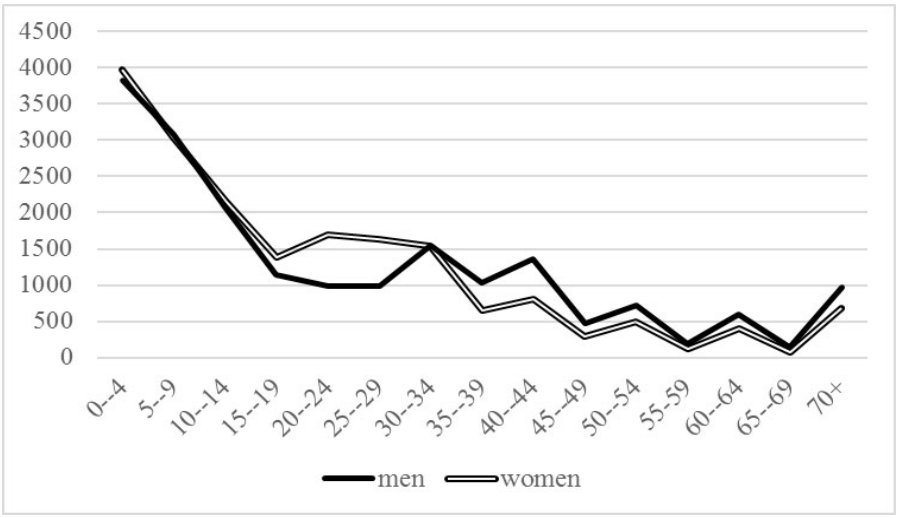
Along the same lines of oversimplification, marital status was reduced to *married* and *widowed* (never-married persons were simply left unmarked). Nuances such as informal union, informal separation, divorce, as well as illegitimacy among children were ignored, left to the decision and discretion of subjects and census takers alike. Extremely few mentions exist of such nuances, mostly in urban settlements.

A different set of flaws was caused by the unwillingness of the population to be recorded. It was no secret to the Government that inhabitants feared censuses and census takers, given the prospects of taxation or various other obligations. Orders demanded that officers fill the forms following direct inspection. The outcome shows that some individuals still evaded being recorded altogether. Like in other countries and later in Romania,

[5] National Archives of Romania, Central Office, Direcţia Generală a Statisticii, *File 67/1859, Census operations in Vlașca district*, p. 29.

the main gap in the age pyramid points towards young men: ages 15-29, as shown by figure 1. The fact that the "U" trend is far less pronounced in the case of women, suggests that most missing men were likely to have been unmarried. Their absence can be interpreted as driven by factors such as mobility, evasion out of fear of military recruitment or taxation.

Figure 1. Number of individuals by gender and age group



Source: Râmnic-Slănic-Câmpu population sample, author's calculations.

Even if individuals were questioned and enumerated, information was still imprecise. When it comes to ages, distortions were most likely unintentional, and came as gross approximations. In fact, this sample exhibits some of the most staggering examples of age heaping in old censuses, with a Whipple index of 384%. Usually, historians compare individuals with ages multiple of 5, to the rest; a disproportionate amount of the former indicates an approximation. In Wallachia, however, the approximation was so great, that ages ending in 1,2,3 and 4 are hardly represented after the age of 30, and the real competition is left between multiples of 5 and 10, with the latter prevailing. This explains the "saw" pattern in the population pyramid: groups containing multiple of 10 stand out, while those multiple of 5 are under-represented.

Unfortunately, none of the major flaws presented here could be corrected, even hypothetically, so the original information was used as it is.

4. Concepts

The core concepts of this research are also those employed by the majority of historical household studies, in particular those inspired from the Cambridge Group for Population Studies. In their 1974 publication, Alexander Hammel and Peter Laslett identify three criteria according to which individuals were joined as a *domestic groups* in historical censuses: *location* (shared space/dwelling), *function* (= shared activities) and *kinship* (whether or not individuals were related, Hammel and Laslett 1974: 77). At the same time, the authors acknowledge in most cases it is unclear how the first two criteria were applied by the persons who compiled the population lists or filled the census form. We simply don't know the characteristics of the living premises, nor the extent to which each member of the household took part in certain activities. Thus, historians are left to make general assumptions.

Working with the 1838 census forms leads to the same methodological conundrum, as anticipated in the previous section. For a practical example, let's take groups 21 and 22 from village Câmpulungeana (subdistrict Slănic) – Table 1. The two heads, Gavrilă and Şărban, share the same family name, indicating that they were brothers, each a "son of Manea". The fact that they were grouped in consecutive units, hints towards spatial proximity between their families. They could have lived in separate buildings of the same enclosure, in separate buildings that were not enclosed at all, or in separate houses, each surrounded by its own enclosure. Either scenario invites historians to experiment with possible concepts or variables in order to account for spatial proximity. The same applies if we hypothesize that the separation of the two families was in fact artificial, according to fiscal or occupational status, as underlined by Péter Őri and Levente Pakot (Őri and Pakot 2014: 7).

Table 1. Wallachian 1838 census form. Partial extract for houses no. 21 and 22, village Câmpulungeanca (Slănic)

21	Gavrilă	sin Manea		35	2 oxen, 1 cow, 5 sheep, 1 pig
	Ana		soţiia lui	26	
22	Şărban	sin Manea		25	
	Mariia		soţiia lui	22	
	Bucur		fii-său	3	

Source: SANIC, Catagrafii, I/57. p. 274v-275.

Similar judgements apply to the topic of functionality. In rare situations, we are provided a narrow insight on kinds of activities: *serves in the yard* ("slujeşte în curte"), *servant in the shop* ("slugă la prăvălie"), *servant in the house* ("slugă la/în casă"). However, these mostly apply to servants. Within the group as a whole, we can only infer who played what role. Occasional circumstances can set us on the path of one or more hypotheses. Table 1 contains the interesting detail of Gavrilă, the older brother, being the only one with recorded livestock. We can therefore wonder: did Şărban depend on his brother's inventory, did the two manage the livestock collectively? Is this a visible case of what Laslett called *intensity of functional association* (Hammel and Laslett 1974: 78)?

The opposite scenario can also occur: families grouped together but with individual possessions, as we see in Table 2. Filip lived with his son-in-law, who appears to have been married to his daughter for a short while. Wealth did not belong solely to the householder (Filip), but also to Iosif, the son-in-law. We can only speculate as to how resource management took place in Padina's house no. 291. Did the two families used their resources separately? The fact that only Filip had recorded crop land (not shown in the table), points towards collective use, at least of oxen. However, assuming that the couples did indeed engage in separate activities, we can ask the question: should they be considered as separate households, despite coresidence? Or, at least, can we formulate distinct variables for such cases?

Table 2. Wallachian 1838 census form. Partial extract for house no. 291, Padina, subdistrict Câmpu (Buzău)

291	Filip Ungureanu				60	2 oxen, 1 cow, 10 sheep, 1 pig
	Ana	soţiia (*wife*)			55	
	Paraschiva				16	
	Ioana	} fete (*girls*)			12	
	Stana				7	
	Iosif Ungureanu	rude (*kin*)	ginere (*son-in-law*)		20	2 oxen, 20 sheep, 1 goat
	Ilinca	}	soţiia (*wife*)		16	

Source: SANIC, Catagrafii, I/92 p. 437v.

Whatever the case and the alternative concepts and variables, they all fall within the realm of hypothetical reconstruction, which is very difficult and time-consuming to code. The current state of research leaves us only with the possibility of applying scientific concepts to the spatial unit as it is – the *house*. However, the international framework used in this research does make a distinction within the members of the same unit, resulting in three main concepts: *household, houseful* and *conjugal family unit*.

Differentiating between *household* and *houseful* represents a minimal attempt to account for functionality. Hammel and Laslett decided to prioritize the members of the domestic group that they deemed most likely to have had the closest social or economic ties. These members were: all persons related to the head, and servants, with the exception of servants who formed their own family. Together, they received the term *household*. It excludes individuals such as lodgers and inmates, who were assumed as having not only a (more) temporary presence, but also (more) separate interests and activities. They could have also inhabited their own quarters (especially in an urban setting), invisible in the historical sources. If we wish to include them in our analysis of the domestic group, then, the authors propose using the term *houseful*, which practically covers all co-dwellers.

Both the houseful and household can be broken down into the family of the head, on one hand, and other families and individuals, on the other. The latter are usually named *coresidents*. Both groups can be structures as conjugal family units, or CFUs. The concept is not equivalent to the general term *family* or *nuclear family*, because in some instances it separates individuals that were directly related. And, as the name implies, the CFU ignores related individuals that lived separately. It is only within the same household that members of the same nuclear family can form a CFU. If an individual is observed as belonging to more than one coresident family (like in a three-generation household), he has to be classified in only one CFU. To do so, the concept prioritizes the relation between partners and between parents and unmarried children. For example, a married person will always be grouped alongside their partner and/or children, even if they live with their parents. In turn, the parents form their own CFU. Sometimes, individuals are recorded without any partner or child. In such instances, they are not classified as belonging to a CFU, but instead will be termed *single individuals* in this paper.

Applying these three concepts to the Wallachian census was fairly easy, with exceptions concerning the interplay between household and houseful. First, there were no persons labelled explicitly as lodgers. Second, there were many cases of individuals without recorded status or relation to the

householder, as well as others specific to Wallachia, such as slaves. Both categories were excluded from the *household*, and included in the houseful, alongside the few journeymen, apprentices, and friends ("tovarăşi"). Subclassification systems will be discussed in the next section.

5. Approach and methods

A. Classifying households and housefuls allows us first to assess their structure, and, second, to infer what role did the domestic group played in certain circumstances. Most used today is the Hammel-Laslett scheme, which divides households into five main categories. The first two comprise households without CFUs: (1) households of one individual, and (2) households of multiple individuals but who did not form a CFU. The third category was reserved for what can be considered the most common form of households: that composed of one CFU only. In literature they are referred to as *simple households, single-family households* or *mononuclear households*. The last two categories (4 and 5) cover what historical demographers sometimes call *complex households*. Category four encompasses cases where a single CFU is found alongside one or more *single individuals*; and is synonymous with the term *extended family / extended-family household.* Lastly, domestic groups belonging to the fifth category are composed or two or more CFUs, with or without additional single individuals, and consequently bear alternative names such as *multiple-family* or *polynuclear households*. A sixth category was reserved for households that were too ambiguous (or ambiguously recorded) to fall into either of the previous five.

Each main category is divided into sub-categories, visible in the Table 3. We will shortly describe subcategories for household types 4 and 5, where coresidents are classified according to their relation to the household head, by generation. Older generations are termed *extended upwards*, or *secondary unit up*, and they include parents, parents-in-law, grandparents, uncles/aunts, etc. Younger generations (like married children, or nieces/nephews, single children-in-law, single grandchildren) are considered units *extended downwards*, or *secondary unit down*. Members of the same generation as the householder comprise units *extended laterally*. A special category was created for families of married siblings, absent of widowed parents: *frérèches*, inspired from French social studies.

Like any system of classification, the Hammel-Laslett scheme proves imperfect when applied across historical contexts. Some subcategories can be considered too general, some too specific, focusing on one cultural space alone – like the case of *frérèches*. Nonetheless, the key principles – combinations of

CFUs, single individuals, by kinship type – offer enough flexibility as to adapt categories and subcategories, if desired, while retaining detail. In the case of Wallachia, we were particularly interested in testing the sociological paradigm on household patterns. This means modelling categories of households that best reflect the social norms postulated by Stahl, and then computing such categories within the historical sample. Assuming that his theory is true and that it applied in the 19th century as well, we can expect to find:

a. A majority of households were simple (single-family households), as they were in the 1930s. By itself, this assessment is not necessary a fundamental contribution of the sociological school. It was a well-known fact at the time, and even previously, and was incorporated by sociologists.
b. Complex households that took two main forms: parent(s) + the family of the youngest son; and parent(s) + the family of one son-in-law. Searching for such cases in the census leads to two blind alleys. First, we can locate arrangements of parents and one married son, but it cannot be currently ascertained whether the latter was indeed the youngest. We can only assume that he was, and, by doing so, obtain a maximum estimate of households that would fit this model. The second problem is that such arrangements (parent(s) + 1 married son) could also be the result of other processes than the transition postulated by Henri and Paul Stahl. Let's take for example a widowed mother living with her married son. We don't know if the cohabitation observed in the census was continuous, starting when both parents were alive and saw their son married; or if it was interrupted by phases of separate living. All offspring could have started their own household immediately after marriage, only for one to be later rejoined by his mother, when old age required caretaking in close quarters. This evolution is referred as *nuclear reincorporation* (Hammel 1995).

There is no clear way to compensate for the limited perspective offered by the census in regards to longitudinal demography. We can only look at living arrangements where the risks caused by missing information are minimal: situations where both couples were alive. Even though it does not cover all phases of household evolution, it is still a better indicator for the early phase of transition. It is very unlikely that both parents would have survived long enough to move in with one of their male offspring, after previously living alone. Therefore, if Stahl's theory applies for 1838, assuming that the married

coresident son is indeed the youngest, we predict that he will be the only son living with both his parents, where such combinations/households existed. The presence of an unmarried brother will contradict this theory.
To reflect this prediction and to best reflect the kinship that was emphasized in Romanian literature in general, we modified the Hammel-Laslett scheme as follows:

- Categories 4a (extended up), 5a (secondary unit up) and 5b (secondary unit down) were divided each by exact coresident kin: parents, parents-in-law, children and children-in-law (Table 3);
- Within subcategories 5a and 5b, each new division was in turn subdivided twofold: by cases consisting only of older married couples, and by presence/absence of any of their never-married sons;
- In the same time, we abandoned the subcategory *frérèches*, merging it within 5c (second unit laterally).

Another point to consider is the residential group as a whole – the houseful. Discussing the impact of the industrial revolution on rural societies, Laslett and Hammel were especially preoccupied with relation between close kin. Less attention was given towards non-kin, who were even excluded from the classification presented above. To compensate, the authors proposed an alternative scheme, in which households of all 5 categories (without subcategories) are classified according the presence of non-kin (Hammel and Laslett 1974: 97). We put forward an alternative houseful classification along the same principles as those of the household: combinations of CFUs and single individuals. The difference is that we include all categories of co-residents, by adding categories specific to the 1838 Wallachian census: *employees*[6], *journeymen and apprentices*, slaves, *friends and persons* of *unspecified status* (possible inmates/lodgers?). Depending on their family structure, the added coresidents will be counted under type 4 or 5: single individuals in type 4, CFU members in type 5 (Table 4 in Appendix).

B. Wealth and household demographics was covered in two main sets of analysis. The basic approach was to relate the amount of wealth per household, by various types of households. This operation shows how much wealth varied according to household structure, but it does not imply that, in *richer* households, inhabitants benefited more from that wealth than individuals

[6] We included in this category servants (*slugă, slujnică*) and farmhands (*argați*). There were few cases of coresident shepherds (*ciobani*), in which the manner of recording suggests that they were employed as shepherds by the householder. They too were coded as employees.

in *poorer* households. A more adequate approach would be to relate wealth to individuals and not just households. Still, even this indicator is imperfect because it disregards differences between individuals. A four-member household can include two married couples, as well as a widowed parent with three children in their teens. It is obvious that the first household had a greater work capacity and consumer needs than the second. To account for such differences we chose to *weigh* persons on a hypothetical scale of consumption needs, following the example of Pakot Levente in his study of Vlăhiţa and Căpâlniţa, in turn inspired by Russian economist Alexander Chayanov, historian Christer Lundh and practices used by the United Nations (Pakot 2013: 34-6). Each person received a score, according to their age and gender. Men ages 15-59 were used as reference unit – 1 – compared to which other population segments were scored lower – for example, children ages 0-1 receive the value 0.2. A duplicate scale exists to evaluate production capacity. Consequently, the resulting indices can be related into a ratio, called the *producer/consumer ratio*. In this paper we will only use the consumer scale in order to generate a *consumer index* (or C index), representing the sum of consumer units for each household. Wealth was then related to this index, in order to convey a more accurate picture of how it was distributed from one household to another. Alternatively, C index can also be used as an aggregate indicator of household size, alongside the average number of individuals (map 4).

C. Spatial analysis. The previous three approaches were designed to be sensitive to geography, and thus employed geographical units of analysis. We divided the studied territory into five *macro-regions*, based on proximity, general landscape and landmarks. In the highlands, we separated two strips of land: one covered by mountains and the hills within their vicinity – named *mountains-hills*; the other by hills only - *hills*. In the lowlands, we used rivers as markings and carved three areas. Two are crossed by rivers Buzău and Călmăţui (named after each river) or include villages that are within short range. The Southern-most tip, however, presents five villages too distant from any river. So, they formed their own unit: *Câmpu-South*.

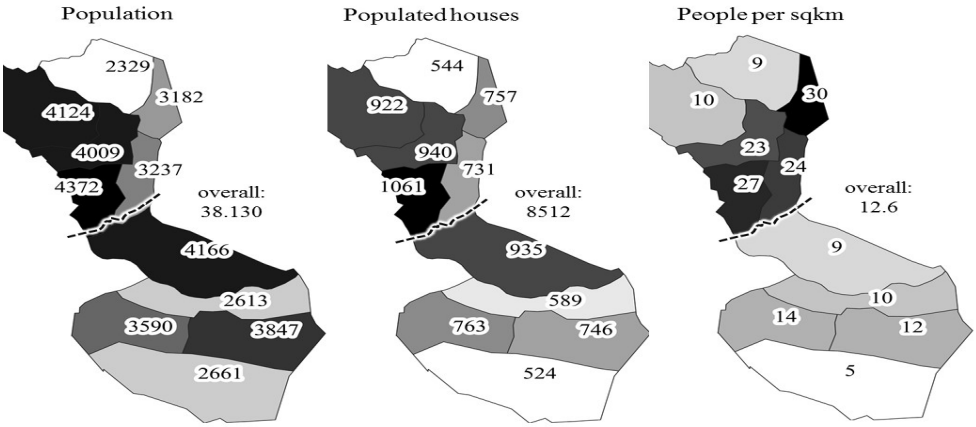
For an even better representation of local trends, each macro-region was further divided into two or more *micro-regions*, 11 in total, named conventionally according to their position or natural markings: *Râmnic-North, -South, Slănic North, -South, -Center, Câlnău, river Buzău – left bank, - right bank, river Călmăţui West, East*. Câmpu-South was too small to divide, thus treated as both a macro- and micro-region (See map 5 in Appendix).

We carried out the analysis described in points 1, 2 and 3 using both sets of geographical units, but results were disseminated mainly by macro-regions.

6. Historical context: rural demography, economy and society

The 38154 recorded inhabitants were far from evenly concentrated, since hilly regions were more than twice as densely populated as mountains and plains, with 23-30 people per square kilometre, compared to just 9-14, and even fewer (map 2). Such a distribution was not unique to Buzău and Slam-Râmnic, as in all of Wallachia hills were more populous, with older and more stable settlements. Historians agree that this was the legacy of medieval and pre-medieval times, when highlands offered more protection in times of turmoil.

Map 2. Researched territory. General demographics, by micro-region



Source: *Râmnic-Slănic-Câmpu population sample*, author's calculations; map made by author.

The majority of villagers were ethnic Romanians – some 94%, followed by Roma, with 6%. Most Roma were still slaves at that time, with the exception of former Crown slaves, who, since 1831, no longer belonged to the prince of Wallachia. According to customary law they were free, and, in 1838 (after the census), a written law proclaimed their freedom. Almost two thirds of slaves from this sample were owned by the Church, the rest by private owners; their status was abolished in 1847 and 1856.

Greeks were present too, as well as "Serbs", the latter representing a term that historians could apply to Bulgarians as well. Many Bulgarians could have refused to divulge their nationality out of fear of being deported South of

the Danube, as Ottoman subjects. In any case, they were very few, below 1% put together, but very prolific in non-agricultural occupations. As in other parts of Wallachia, in towns and villages alike, Greeks were recorded as merchants and administrators; Slavs as artisans and merchants. An important subgroup was the "Ungureni", Romanians who immigrated from Transylvania, as well as their direct descendants. They constituted 4% of the population, with only half working as crop farmers, the rest holding a variety of occupations, out of which domestic servants (*slugă* / *slujnică*) and farmhands (*argat*) was most frequent (some 16%).

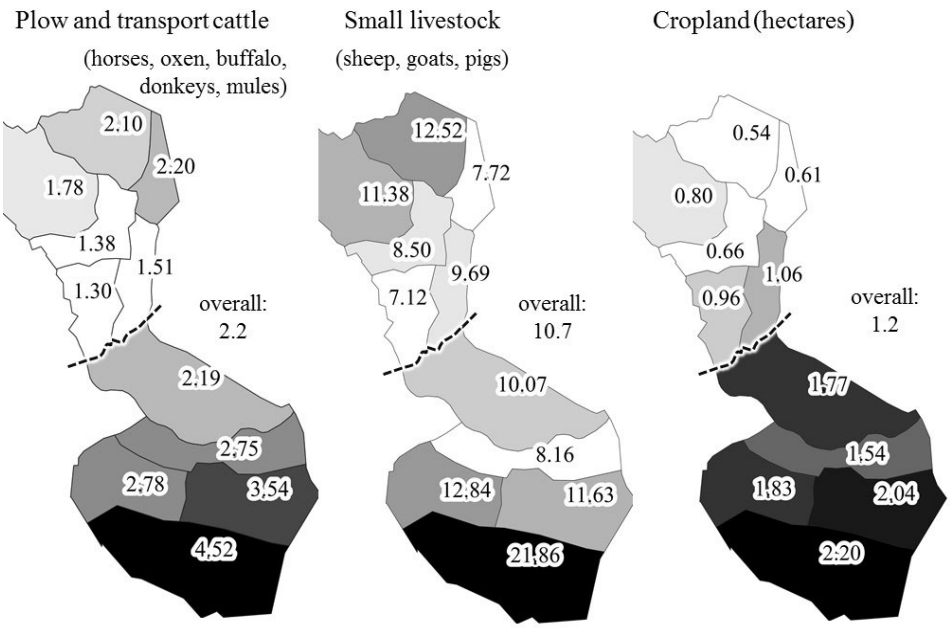
Like in the rest of Walachia, the majority of householders were landless peasants. They were considered land tenants on estates owned by the Church and nobles. Small landowners – yeomen – existed in the highlands, but even there their presence was slim – just 14% of all householders. Land tenure was an important topic in the country's political life, often pining reformers who favoured small tenants, against the legislature, dominated by landed gentry. Whatever the balance of power and the many tensions that characterized the age, "agrarian relations", as they are called, were highly regulated, including in the country's constitutional law – the *Organic Regulation*. Landowners had to provide villagers with plots for house and garden, free of any obligations. In exchange for crop fields and pasture, however, land tenants had to pay tithe, as well as fulfil various labours and tasks. Most historians agree that the amounts owed were harshly disproportionate in relation to the household's means. At the same time the comprehensive work of Ilie Corfus showed that contracts could be quite flexible, varying greatly from legal provisions (Corfus 1969). In our case, it is uncertain how contracts were carried out, as additional research has to be done. What is sure is that these obligations were imposed per family, and not per household. The same applies for taxes owed to both central and local coffers.

Villages closest to the border (Lopătari, Mânzăleşti, Neculele) were subjected to border-guard duties, and this obligation too was imposed per fiscal family. Regulations were far from anything resembling the military border of Austria, and certainly did not regard household composition, as we can hypothesize for Transylvania (Holom 2014: 96-7).

Agricultural practicies varied greatly by geography. The most significant contrast between high- and lowlands can be expressed as the following dichotomy: relative to one another, highland households excelled in tree growth, and lowland households in crop agriculture. Consequently, the latter managed more livestock, particularly large cattle (map 3). When it comes to small livestock, specific to pasture agriculture, the differences were evened-

out. Further nuances can be observed when focusing on local geography. The two micro-regions closest to the mountains tend to show superior indicators than the rest of the highlands when it comes to animals. The lowland micro-regions closest to the hills generally fit the dichotomy presented above, but, as we shift Southwards, the contrast to the highlands sharpens. In micro-regions Călmăţui-West, -East and Câmpu-South crop agriculture was practised to the largest extent (1.8-2.2 ha per household). The most Southern unit stands out in the whole sample as having the wealthiest villagers, with 58% of family heads owning four oxen or more, which made them upper-class peasants ("fruntaşi") by the country's standards. More than just cultivating land, they owned on average more than twice as much sheep, goats and pigs than the amount observed in the highlands. Without doubt, in this this micro-region agriculture was practised most intensely.

Map 3. Resources per house, by micro-regions (dotted line separates high- from lowlands)



Source: *Râmnic-Slănic-Câmpu population sample*, author's calculations; map made by author.

Families formed early, as the sampled population fits very well East of the Hajnal-line. Over 80-90% of men were married by ages 25-29, as were women in the age group 20-24. This applies across the whole research area, although it should be stressed that, in the lowlands, the previous age group (20-24) showed higher shares of married men: 47-70% (depending on the micro-region), compared to just 24 and 44% in the highlands. A far weaker trend in this sense is observed among women at ages 15-19. If gross omissions or distortions did not interfere with these proportions, then, what these figures suggest, is that marriage occurred slightly earlier in the lowlands.

Whatever the case, it was both customary and imposed by written law that parents endow all children of both genders. However, it is still uncertain if and how dowry varied in amount and types of goods. For our sample, we assume that the most important category of transferred property was made up of mobile assets, especially livestock, since we are dealing with a large majority of landless peasants.

7. Household structure

As a general overview, for anyone familiar with the Wallachian census of 1838, the population sample used in this research offered no surprise. The vast majority of households were single-family ones – 87%. Moreover, this share is among the highest found for historical Europe, including for other territories that are now part of Romania. Let us compare it with that from: the Kingdom of Hungary 1869 – 70/74%, including Transylvania – 75% (Őri and Pakot 2014: 23, 30); Vlăhiţa and Căpâlniţa (Transylvania) – 72% (Pakot 2013: 28); Poiana Ilvei (Transilvania) 1864 – 58% (Holom 2014: 95). If we extend the comparison to surrounding lands, we still don't find values this high: Poland-Lithuania in the 18th century: 62% (Szołtysek 2015: 609); Jasenica district (Serbia) in 1863: 43% (Gruber 2009: 242); Northeastern Bulgaria in the 1860s: 67% (Todorva 2006: 104). Only in the Slovenian villages researched by Silvia Sovič – Mislinja and Sencur (Slovenia) 1851/1879 – could we observe percentages close to our own: 83%, 82% (Sovič 2005: 167).

Complex households (cat. 4 and 5) were just 10%, with extended family households (7%) being twice as many as multiple-family ones (3% - Table 3). From these figures alone, even without further analysis, we can safely infer that separation between kin was the norm. If families shared resources and took care of each other, it happened between households (or houses), rather than inside them.

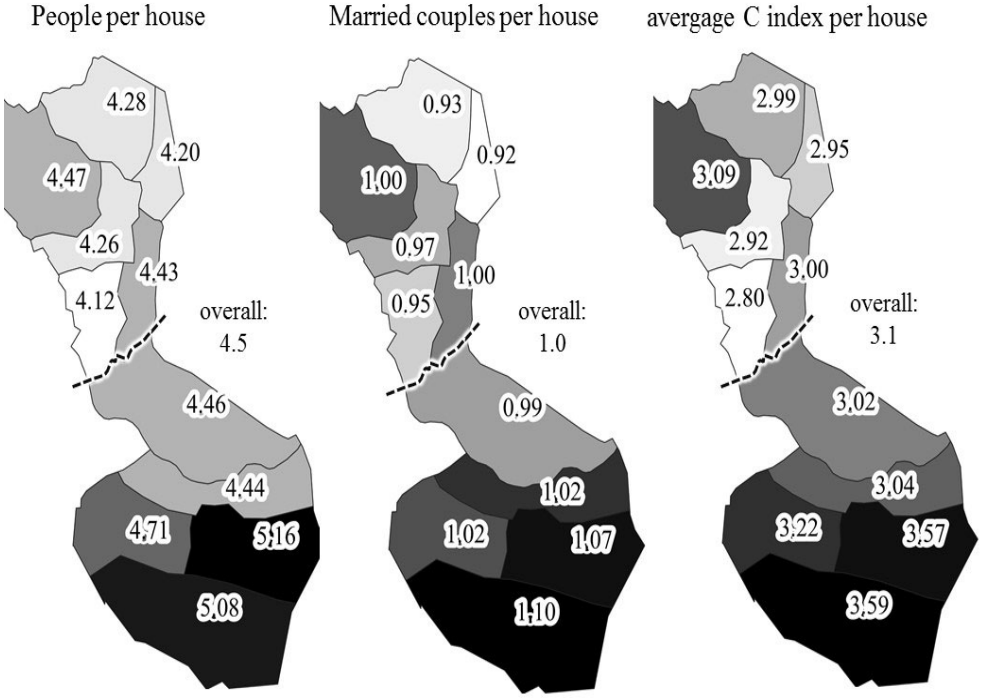
Nuances emerge when disseminating the results by geography. We see that the highlands register a degree of simplicity that is even larger: 90%, with a peak reached in Slănic-North – 91.5%. Moreover, almost half of the remaining households were non-family households (types 1 and 2). Complex arrangements of living (types 4 and 5) only reached about 5.5%. Out of these, the vast majority were extended family households. Otherwise said, in the rare cases that a household hosted someone other than a member of the householder's CFU, it was usually one or more single individuals, not other families.

In the lowlands, the share of single-family households drops to 81%. However, even though complex households rise almost three times, on an European scale, we would still place this territory among the ones with simple structures. Therefore, one might be tempted to disregard the said changes. At the same time, we should also observe that the demographic geography of the plains was not as even as that found in the hills and mountains. Two out of five lowland micro-regions – Câmpu-South and Călmățui East – stand out as territories where the Wallachian household, as previously presented, is less recognizable. They are the only two units where multiple family households and extended-family households reached the threshold of 10%. In Câmpu-South, one in four households was either extended or polynuclear.

So far, the presented results apply only if we consider the *household* as defined by P. Laslett (by excluding non-kin from the domestic group). If we expand our attention to all members of the coresident group, and introduce the *houseful* to the analysis, then the spatial differences tend to accentuate. On one hand, highlands remain overwhelmingly dominated by nuclear patterns, with 87% simple housefuls (88% in mountains-hills; with a peak in Slănic-North – 90%). On the other hand, in the lowlands, complex structures increase far more, to 20-35%.

Aggregate indicators vary according to the same trend: from under 4.5 people in the highlands, to around or over 5 in the lowlands. The same goes for married couples per house or C index (map 4).

Map 4. Researched territory. Indicators of houseful size, per micro-regions

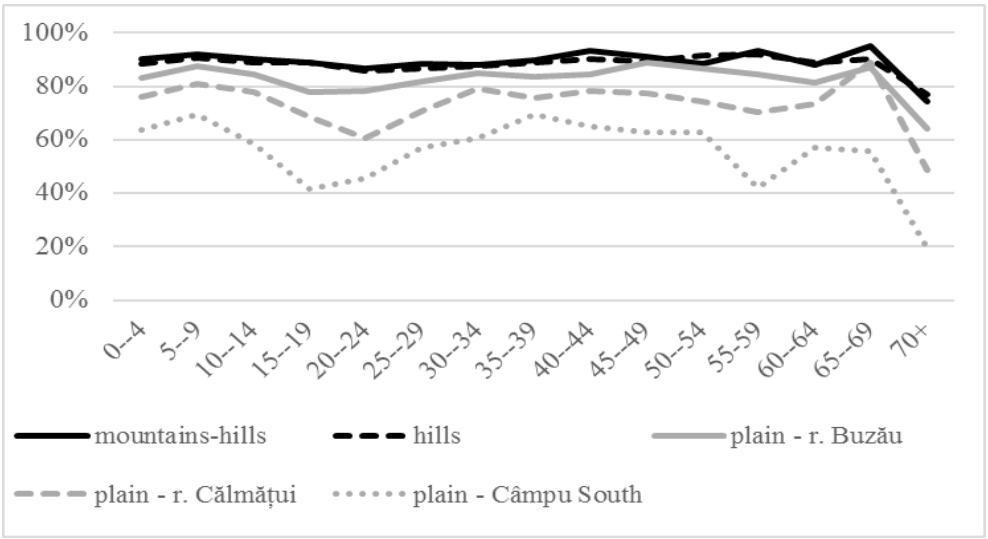


Source: *Râmnic-Slănic-Câmpu population sample*, author's calculations; map made by author.

Life-course analysis performed from an individual's perspective offers us a complete image, in which the spatial differences deepen even still, to a point in which we can discuss distinct patterns. In the North, individuals across all age groups lived either with their nuclear family absent of any coresidents. In fact, the share of such individuals was over 80%, with the sole exception of the oldest, who show a lower percentage, but still not below 70% (figure 2). Therefore, separation from other families seems to have been the rule in all life stages of life. Things shift as we gradually look South. Macro-region *plain-river Buzău* shows little change, instead, *plain-river Călmățui* breaks away from the others. Here, we can finally observe something approaching the results for Hungary and Transylvania from the cited works. At certain life stages shared living space was significantly more frequent. These life stages overlap with households' evolution, indicating that conjugal ties where stronger when one household ended and a new one was formed, or headship was transmitted from the old, to the young generation. In the age group 20-24 and over 70, the

percentage of individuals living simple housefuls drops around 60% or under, far off from values close to 90%, found in the highlands. In Câmpu-South, this tendency is pushed to its maximum levels observed in this sample: around or under half of young adults (ages 20-29) and elder (over 55) lived in complex housefuls.

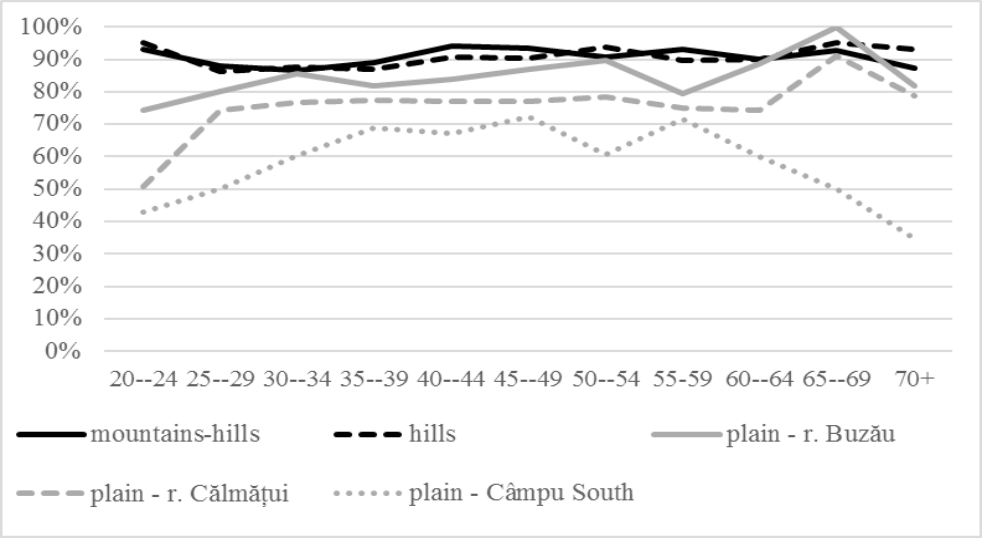
Figure 2. The share of individuals living in simple housefuls or alone, by age group



Source: *Râmnic-Slănic-Câmpu population sample*, author's calculations.

In addition, we can consider examining families, rather than individuals in general. Figure 3 bellow and map 6 in the Appendix show the share of CFUs sharing living space with at least one other CFU or with single individuals (including non-kin). This was the case for only one in ten highland CFUs, with the same variety encountered in the plains: from just 13% to just over 40%, significantly more than in the Northern half. If we employ age-specific analysis, we see that during the crucial phases of household transition, the percentage in Câmpu-South was even higher (over 50%).

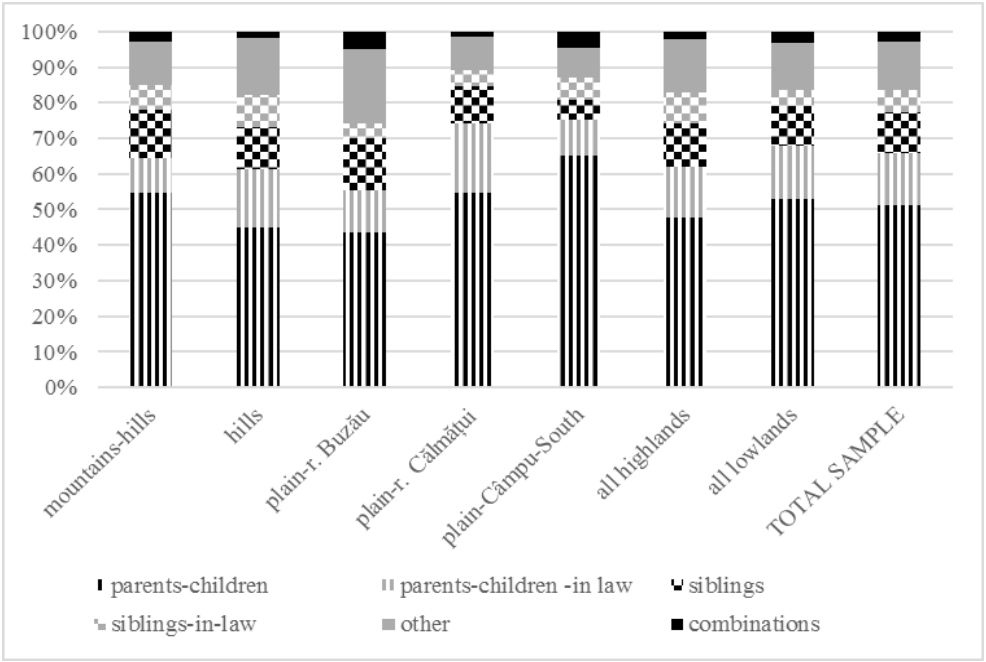
Figure 3. The share of CFUs living in simple housefuls, by age group og CFU head



Source: *Râmnic-Slănic-Câmpu population sample*, author's calculations.

What do these figures tell us about co-habitation and kin relations? Let us first look at what kind of kin shared the living space, where coresidents lived alongside the householder's family. Table 2, disseminating the sample according the Hammel-Laslett scheme, provides enough evidence to confirm our expectations if we chose to generalize the sociological theory, at least in a general sense. The most important subcategories of extended-family and multiple-family households were those involving parents, parents-in-law and married children: 4a, 5a and 5b. To illustrate kinship in a more simplified manner, we disregarded what generation headed the household, and combined all instances of coresidence between generations. The result is figure 4, which shows us that the relation between parents and married children or children-in-law played the main role in the formation and existence of complex households. Nonetheless, they were not universal, and, in some cases, only held a slim majority (like in plain – r. Buzău). The presence of siblings and siblings-in-law was weaker, but not invisible in the charts, with 10-20%.

Figure 4. Share of kinship relations found in complex households (categories 4 and 5), by type and macro-regions



Source: *Râmnic-Slănic-Câmpu population sample*, author's calculations.

If we add non-kin to the picture, then it is harder to speak of a dominant type of coresidence. In Table 4 in Appendix, we see how the numbers of housefuls with employees holds considerable weight, in some macro-regions being almost the second largest category of complex housefuls, after 4a. In micro-regions Râmnic North, South, as well as Câmpu-South, they even exceeded category 4a. In this regard, applying the sociological paradigm to the 19th seems unrealistic. Stahl deemed servants to be very rare, but, since no statistics were used, it is hard to evaluate what precisely "rare" meant. Compared to coresident parents – emphasized by Stahl as the main types of coresidents – servants were by no means absent.

Like all socio-economic indicators, the frequency and intensity with which these ties manifested varied with geography. In the highlands, there were almost no cases of coresident couples, only young couples accompanied by widowed parents or parents-in-law. If we define patriarchy from a conjugal point of view, as parents ruling over married children by holding a superior

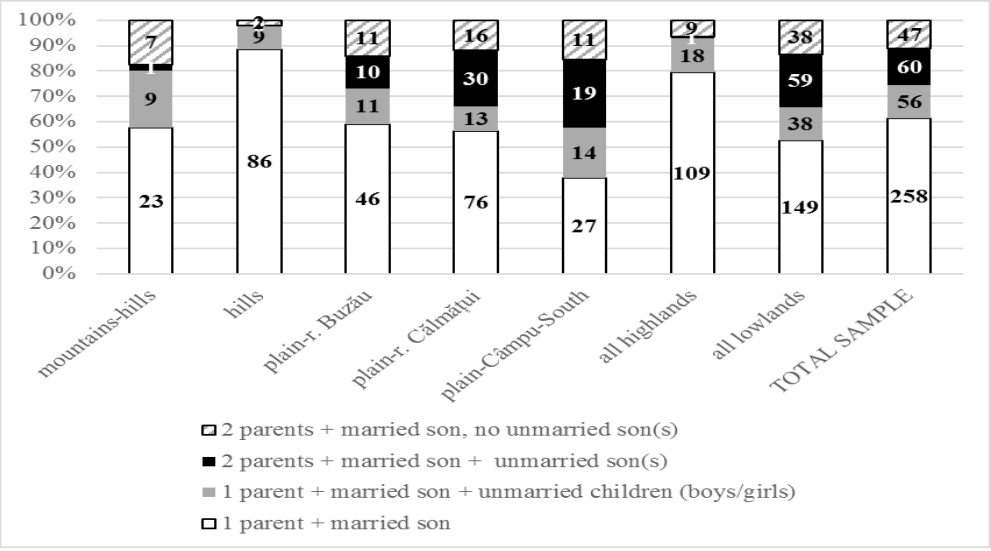
household status, it is safe to admit that the mountains and hills were far from such a reality. In the vast majority of cases, the transfer of any property between generations most likely coincided with the formation of new households, and not inside the same household. Caretaking seems to have been the main driver behind the composition of complex households, involving not only older generations, but also the householder's unmarried siblings and siblings-in-law. From the point of view of Stahl's *ultimogeniture* theory, these findings and hypotheses lead on the following path of interpretation. If indeed it was the youngest son who took the role of caretaker in all of these situations, it only involved one parent, possibly moving in, rather than the other way around (by welcoming their daughter-in-law in the household). Even so, the extreme degree of simple living patterns suggest that many families (the majority?) may not have reached this stage. Many elders in simple households still had with them one or more unmarried sons, meaning that in many cases the transition to a complex household – through the last son's marriage – had to wait a long time to materialize. It is possible that prolonged celibacy, discussed in the previous section could have contributed to this. Many parents died before they could see the respective marriage, which in turn explains the presence of coresident unmarried siblings. Moreover, it is also possible that separation into different households was preferred even when all of the male offspring married within the lifespan of their parents.

The lowlands are harder to interpret because household demographics there were less one-sided. Caretaking was a function fulfilled in many homes, especially in *plain-river Buzău*. However, we do find an important number of multiple family households. Put together, these instances suggest that ties between generations were closer from a residential point of view. It means that cohabitation likely started earlier than in the highlands, when both parents were alive. We can thus assume that the transition from one household form to another took longer, wealth and status were not transmitted at once, but in steps. In a sense, social relations were more patriarchal.

Just as simplicity in the highlands contradicts the *ultimogeniture* theory, the higher complexity encountered in the lowlands doesn't necessary confirm it. In fact, it too adds important nuances that widen our view on household structure and functions. If we consider cases where both parents were alive and lived with a married son, then we observe that an unmarried son was present more than half of the times, in Câmpu-South and plain – river Călmățui (Table 3 in Appendix and Figure 5 – a simplified version, combining all cases from households type 4 and 5). In almost all cases, the son who was married was not the youngest. In the same table we also observe that such

arrangements were prevalent in subcategory 5c, where parents were household heads, and sons were coresidents, not the other way around, like in the highlands. This enables us to imagine an alternative scenario of households' evolution, one in which some sons remained with their parents regardless of birth order. This does not imply that this arrangement was permanent, until the parents' death. It could have been temporary, but, even so, it was still visibly more frequent than in the highlands, and still reflects different realities than from sociological postulations.

Figure 5. Complex households: combinations of parents and married sons (regardless of who headed the household), by number of parents and the presence of unmarried children (from the son's generation)



Source: Râmnic-Slănic-Câmpu population sample, author's calculations.

8. Wealth and household structure

Put together, the two sets of spatial patterns presented in the previous two sections – economy and demographics – depict a positive correlation between household complexity and household wealth. The increase in crop land, large and small cattle from one region to the other, is associated with the increase in share of larger domestic groups. This applies when differentiating highlands from lowlands, as well as within lowlands themselves. Here, the macro-region with the lowest level of household complexity was also the poorest in the aforementioned resources – plain – river Buzău – very similar to the hills and

mountains regarding livestock (map 3). At the opposite end, Câmpu-South was by far the richest, all the while breaking the norms in terms of domestic arrangements, showing the strongest groups composed of multiple families or families and single-individuals. Between the two, on both the demographic and economic scale, we can place plain – river Călmăţui. An alternative way to illustrate this is to calculate the correlation coefficient R (*Pearson*). We chose one variable representing household complexity – the combined share of complex housefuls (categories 4 and 5), and several variables representing resources. Each variable corresponds to a category of resources, but their amount was adjusted per population. We calculated the coefficient R for each combination of complex housefuls and resource category, using villages as units (108 in total). Comparing the results, the best correlation was shown to be between complexity and work cattle (horses, oxen, mules, donkeys, all combined): 63%. It was followed by crop land, with 59%, and small livestock: 40%. We observed that both livestock and agricultural area are well correlated with household complexity, unlike in Serbia (1866), where by far the best correlation was with land (Gruber 2016: 113-114).

Similar results are replicated when examining how wealth was distributed per domestic groups: complex groups had, on average, more wealth than simple groups. What is ambiguous is that the overlap was not perfect: the type of household that, on average, showed the most wealth, alternated between types 4 and 5 (Figure 7 in Appendix), depending on geography.

Unravelling the causalities behind this relation can start by asking two questions: (1) how did the practical use of resources influence living arrangements, and (2) what was the interplay between wealth and social norms?

Pathways to answering both questions have already been drawn through previous remarks. Firstly, we can refer to kind of resources that are best associated with household complexity: large livestock and crop land. It is safe to say that they required the most amount of labour, thus increasing the demand of workers, or *producers*, that a household needed – explaining why lowlands households were more complex. External pressures could also have applied upon the household to farm more land. Since selling grain became a profitable affair after 1829, when international commerce was freed from Ottoman monopoly, landlords could have imposed harsher obligations to land tenants. Extending one's crops was possible due to low population density and the general abundance of flat unforested terrain. The opposite can be assumed when thinking of highlands. Crop agriculture was practised less, because of uneven terrain. Livestock was fewer, probably because of limited pasture

correlated with higher population density. These factors alone reduced demand for work capacity, compared to the lowlands. To add to this, many households tended to tree growth, requiring less man power, possibly employing the effort of women and children. Hence, less labour coincides with simpler households.
Secondly, approaching the issue from the perspective of social relations, we should revisit the example given in Table 2. If we think of polynuclear households in Eastern-Europe, we might picture them as ruled by a patriarch who held the wealth and decision-making powers. House no. 291 in Padina exhibits a situation that can seem unusual: major assets are split between different owners. Such an example leads us to look at the entire sample and divide multiple family households according to the number the such owners. By doing so, and taking livestock as criteria, we observe that such arrangements were not at all uncommon, especially in the plains, where they made up 35-50% of multiple-family households (Figure 9 in Appendix). If we refine the analysis even further, and examine the share of livestock ownership by type of coresidents, we again notice an interesting fact: this share was higher among coresident children (heads of families) than among coresident parents (we emphasize that these were not parents who were household heads). In the plain – r. Buzău and plain – r. Călmăţui, the value of this indicator was 80% and 70%, respectively. Again, in Câmpu-South it was lower – 60%. Instead, only under 10% of coresident parents owned assets. These statistics are indicative of two related customs. On one hand, we assume that the possessions of married children represent their dowry. Thus, we infer their endowment as having taken place at marriage. On the other hand, we can assume that the older generation passed their last possessions upon retiring from the household headship. Nothing contained in the last two phrases should come as any surprise to researchers familiar with Romanian inter-war sociology and ethnography. However, if we combine these figures with previous analysis, what they reveal is that endowment and coresidence were very flexible, customs were limited and bent depending on wealth, which itself depended on geography, and other factors. We propose theorizing this interplay as the following patterns:

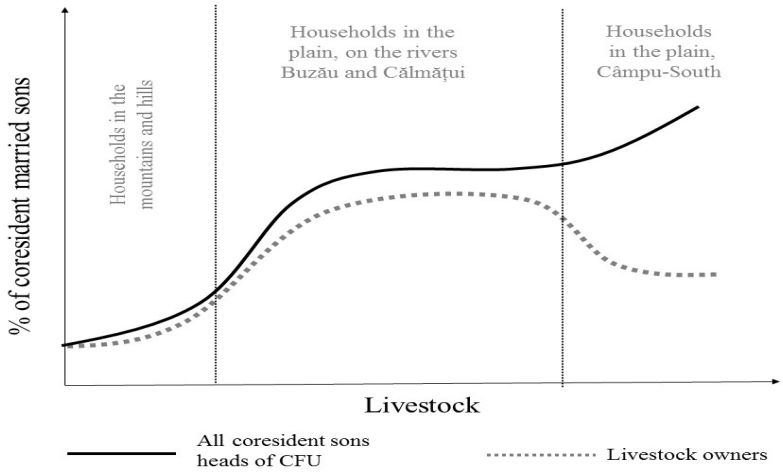
1. The high degree of separation in poorer areas, like in the highlands, can be hypothetically linked to lack of endowment, in a poorer natural environment (from an agricultural point of view). This would have disincentivised children to remain with their parents;
2. Following the same judgement, the higher degree of coresidence in the lowlands was favoured by a higher parental authority, conveyed by

the possibility of granting dowry, in a region that was more favourable to agriculture.

3. Contrary to the previous point, lowlands are also marked by coresidence without endowment, inferred from the cases of coresident married children absent recorded wealth.

Figuratively and in general terms, we can express these patterns as the following x-y axes chart, that traces the change in coresidence according to wealth, distinguishing between all coresident children heads of family, and the ones that were also owners of livestock. The share of both categories was insignificant in the hills and mountains, but it rises in the plain, only to a point. As we move into the upper tier wealth-wise, corresponding to Câmpu-South, the trends splits. Coresidence continues to rise, while livestock ownership among coresidents drops below plain-level (Figure 6).

Figure 6. A relative scale representation of how the share of coresident sons changed according to geography, by ownership of livestock (proxy-indicator for dowry)



Source: *Râmnic-Slănic-Câmpu population sample*, author's calculations.

Therefore, from low to high wealth, coresidence follows a linear upwards trend, while livestock ownership among coresidents resembles a partial bell curve. We can reformulate these observations by saying that, in the plains, more sons remained with their parents, with and without endowment, with and without younger unmarried brothers. We believe that an explanation can be found by again turning to pressures determined by labour intensity and necessity. Taking into account the partible inheritance system, in order to endow their sons and daughters, a householder had to increase, or at least maintain his wealth – thus, avoid splitting it. Farming more land was probably necessary for a part of the crops to be converted into money or goods, later transmitted to children. Along these lines, we can imagine that this pressure also fell on married sons to postpone their departure, in order to help raise their own share of wealth, or that of their siblings. Thus, a compromise would had been reached: the son was endowed, but he still fell under the authority of his parents. This is true only if we assume that two livestock owners who shared a home, also partook in common fieldwork. Or, the parents exercised even more authority and refused endowment. Even if never-married heirs were absent, splitting wealth was probably still more detrimental than in the highlands, since it required more effort for the elderly to work land.

What enforces the previous ideas is the distribution of wealth by individuals. The general principle of the inquiry was that more resources per household do not necessary translate into more resources available on average for each individual. So, complementary indicators should be used, like wealth per consumer units (C units), by household. By employing the same category of resources (livestock), we observe in figure 8 in Appendix that polynuclear households were not in fact better off than mono-nuclear ones, with only one exception (macro-region mountains-hills). We can therefore imagine a scenario where, upon a married son leaving the household, the remaining inventory would not be greater than in an "ordinary", simple household. Splitting it again would bring the parental household on the lowest ties of social hierarchy. In an economy where most householders were upper-class farmers and where expanding crops was possible, the solution was shared management of resources.

9. Conclusions

Commonly, Romanian household in the past is often imagined as a large and complex group. In scientific literature, Romanian and international, it's the opposite, generally described as formed out of a single family. My analysis confirmed that the latter was true, but, as more recent progress in the field showed, proving that this majority existed does little to uncover the nature between conjugal ties. The percentage of polynuclear households, although slim overall, still varied spatially. Moreover, as households evolved over the life course of their members, their structure changed. In this sense, the present results serve to point towards even a more pronounced geographical variation, from mountains and hills, to plain, across the remote region of Eastern Wallachia.

In the Northern half of the researched area, residential separation between generations was pushed to extreme levels, some of the highest observed in field of historical demography. Only around 10% of families shared the living space with other families or single individuals. Here, the main function of coresidence seems to have been caretaking. The plains were more complex but also more divers, with the same indicator ranging from 13% to just over 40%. Households here were more patriarchal, seeing far more examples of younger couples living as coresidents under the headship of parents and parents-in-law. Servants also had a more noticeable presence.

We hypothesized these differences as being the result of a combination of factors. Environment and population density allowed for more resources to be used in the plains, thus putting more pressure on the household. More cattle and crop land meant higher demand for labour and farmhands. Thus, wealth and local economy most likely impacted social strategies concerning residence and household formation. In an environment with fewer agricultural resources and limited means of providing a healthy dowry, the separation from parents at marriage appears as the preferred norm, almost universally. This is not to say that ties were severed once the children married, but rather that they were not strong enough to lead to shared living. In most cases this applied to all sons and daughters, regardless of birth order.

On the other hand, in the richer and labour-intensive plains, the necessity to work more and produce more for future endowments (of unmarried siblings or children) prioritized to a greater degree the sharing of resources in large households. In most cases, this overruled the overlap between marriage and spatial separation, between spatial separation and birth order, and even between marriage and endowment. When complex

cohabitation did not involve the combination of parents and married children, servants were not an uncommon sight.

At the same time, it should be noted the most pronounced spatial dichotomies involved only a small lowland region that stood out for its complexity (micro-regions Câmpu-South and Călmătui-East, to some extent Călmăţui-West). The lowlands were actually a diverse demographic-wise landscape, some similar to the hills and mountains.

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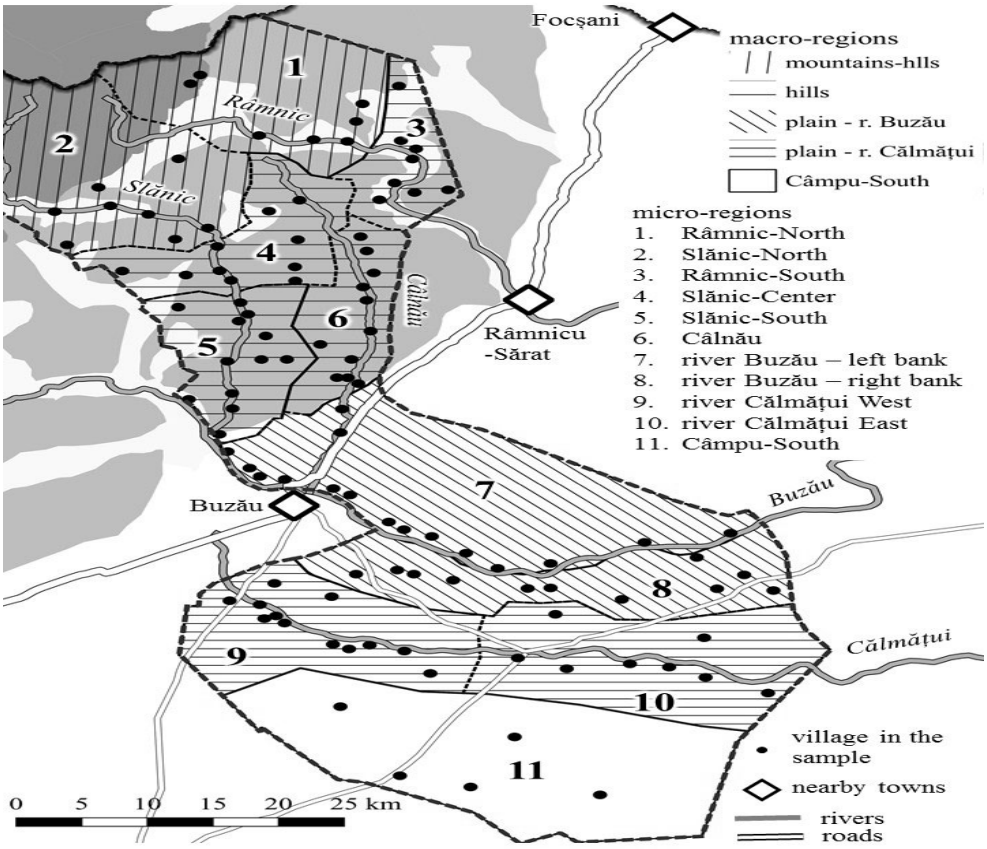
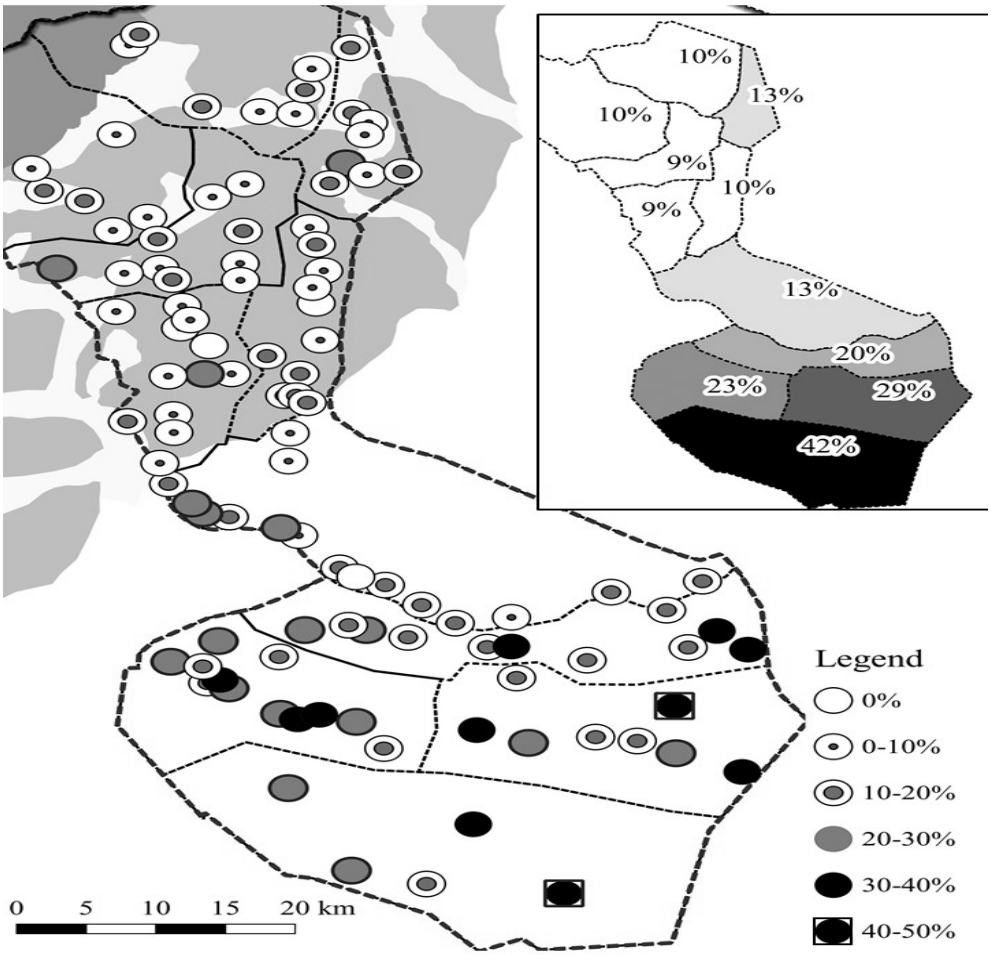
Appendix

Map 5. Researched territory and geographic units of analysis: macro- and micro-regions



Source: Bogdan Mateescu, GIS data on landscape by Candrea et al. (2008).

Map 6. Share of CFUs sharing the same house with other CFUs and/or single individuals, by village and micro-region



Source: Râmnic-Slănic-Câmpu population sample, author's calculations; map made by author using GIS data on landscape by Candrea et al. (2008).

Table 3 . The number of households by categories, subcategories and macro-regions

Households: categories and subcategories	macro-regions					TOTAL SAMPLE
	mountains-hills	hills	plain - r. Buzău	plain - r. Călmățui	Câmpu-South	
1. Solitaires						
1a widowers	44	107	18	9	1	179
1b single / unknown status	5	42	16	9	6	78
TOTAL no	49	149	34	18	7	257
TOTAL %	*3.3%*	*4.3%*	*2.20%*	*1.2%*	*1.3%*	*3.0%*
2. No family						
2a siblings	2	3	1	2	0	8
2b other relatives	5	6	2	1	2	16
TOTAL no	7	9	3	3	2	24
TOTAL %	*0.5%*	*0.3%*	*0.2%*	*0.2%*	*0.4%*	*0.3%*
3. Simple family households						
3a married couples alone	189	402	144	103	48	886
3b married couples with child(ren)	1049	2425	1061	1071	340	5946
3c widowers with children	36	95	42	23	8	204
3d widows with children	63	191	56	40	9	359
TOTAL no	1337	3113	1303	1237	405	7395
TOTAL %	*91.2%*	*89.3%*	*85.8%*	*82.2%*	*77.4%*	*87.0%*
4. Extended family households						
4a extended upwards, including	29	117	68	115	36	365
coresident parent	*23*	*86*	*46*	*76*	*27*	*258*
coresident parent-in-law	*6*	*30*	*16*	*37*	*6*	*95*
4b extended downwards	8	28	24	11	3	74
4c extended laterally	14	46	34	32	9	135
4c bis extended - kin status unclear	1	3	5	3	2	14
4d combinations of previous	2	4	9	3	2	20
TOTAL no	54	198	140	164	52	608
TOTAL %	*3.7%*	*5.7%*	*9.2%*	*10.9%*	*9.9%*	*7.2%*

5. multiple family households						
5a secondary units up, including	17	15	17	31	25	105
coresident parents, including	*16*	*10*	*13*	*26*	*21*	*86*
couple with unmarried son	*1*	*0*	*1*	*3*	*2*	*7*
couple without unmarried son	*6*	*1*	*3*	*11*	*8*	*29*
coresident parents-in-law, including	*1*	*5*	*4*	*5*	*4*	*19*
couple with unmarried son	*0*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*1*
couple without unmarried son	*1*	*1*	*1*	*2*	*1*	*6*
5b secondary unit down, including	1	1	20	39	24	85
children living with both parents and	*1*	*1*	*19*	*33*	*23*	*77*
unmarried brother(s)	*0*	*0*	*9*	*27*	*17*	*53*
no unmarried brother(s)	*1*	*1*	*8*	*5*	*3*	*18*
children-in-law, living with both parents-in-law and	*0*	*0*	*1*	*6*	*1*	*8*
unmarried brother(s)-in-law and	*0*	*0*	*0*	*4*	*0*	*4*
no unmarried brother(s)-in-law	*0*	*0*	*1*	*2*	*1*	*4*
5c secondary unit laterally	1	1	2	7	4	15
5c-bis unit of unclear kinship	0	0	0	1	3	4
5d combinations of previous	0	0	0	4	1	5
TOTAL no	19	17	39	82	57	214
TOTAL %	*1%*	*0%*	*3%*	*5%*	*11%*	*3%*
TOTAL GENERAL no.	1466	3486	1519	1504	523	8498

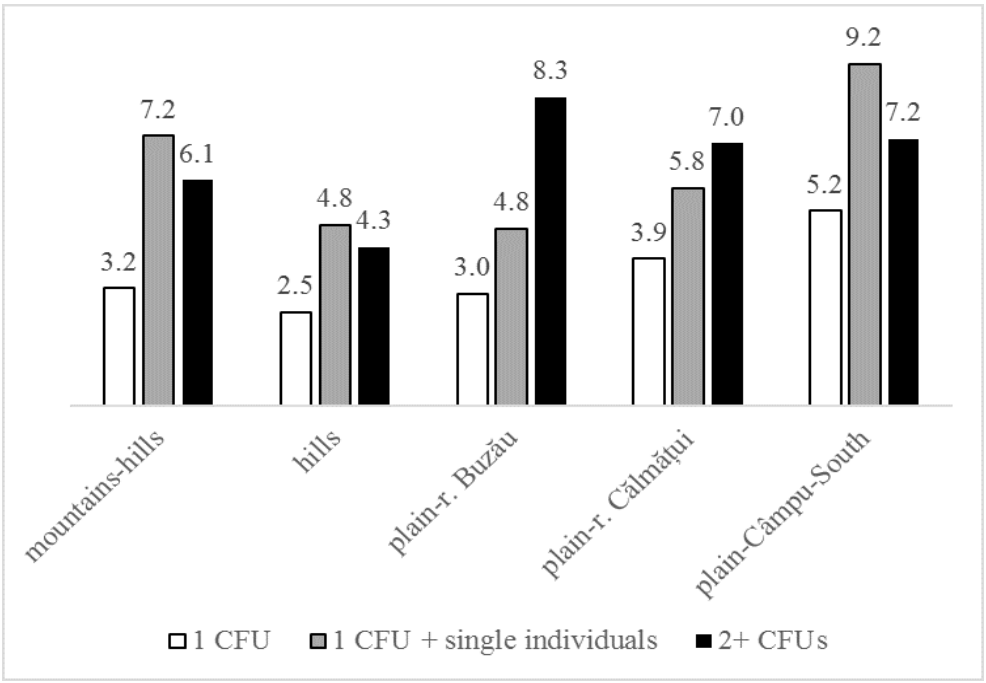
Source: Râmnic-Slănic-Câmpu population sample, author's calculations.

Table 4 . The number of housefuls, by categories, subcategories and macro-regions

Households: categories and subcategories	macro-regions					TOTAL SAMPLE
	mountains-hills	hills	plain - r. Buzău	plain - r. Călmățui	Câmpu-South	
1. Solitaires	47	146	33	17	4	247
	3.2%	*4.2%*	*2.2%*	*1.1%*	*0.8%*	*2.9%*
2. No family	6	11	3	4	5	29
	0.4%	0.3%	0.2%	0.3%	1.0%	0.3%
3. 1 CFU	1289	3020	1282	1164	331	7086
	88.0%	*86.6%*	*84.4%*	*77.3%*	*63.4%*	*83.4%*
4. 1 CFU + single individual(s), who were:						
kin, extended upwards	25	111	66	109	29	340
kin, extended downwards	8	26	23	10	1	68
kin, extended laterally	14	41	33	30	9	127
kin, unclear relation	1	3	5	3	0	12
employees	38	77	17	60	65	257
unspecified status	10	12	3	9	6	40
journeymen/apprentices	0	1	1	0	0	2
slaves?	0	0	0	0	0	0
friends	0	0	0	0	0	0
combinations of previous	6	18	13	13	12	62
TOTAL no	102	289	161	234	122	908
TOTAL %	*7.0%*	*8.3%*	*10.6%*	*15.5%*	*23.4%*	*10.7%*
5. 2 or more CFUs (+/- single individual(s)), the coresident CFU composed of:						
kin, extended upwards	17	14	17	32	25	105
kin, extended downwards	1	1	20	39	24	85
kin, extended laterally	1	1	2	7	4	15
kin, unclear relation	0	0	0	4	1	5
employees	0	1	0	1	1	3
unspecified status	1	1	0	2	2	6
journeymen/apprentices	0	0	0	0	0	0
slaves?	0	1	0	0	0	1
friends	0	0	0	0	0	0
combinations of previous	0	1	1	1	3	6
TOTAL no	20	20	40	86	60	226
TOTAL %	*1.4%*	*0.6%*	*2.6%*	*5.7%*	*11.5%*	*2.7%*
TOTAL GENERAL	1464	3486	1519	1505	522	8496

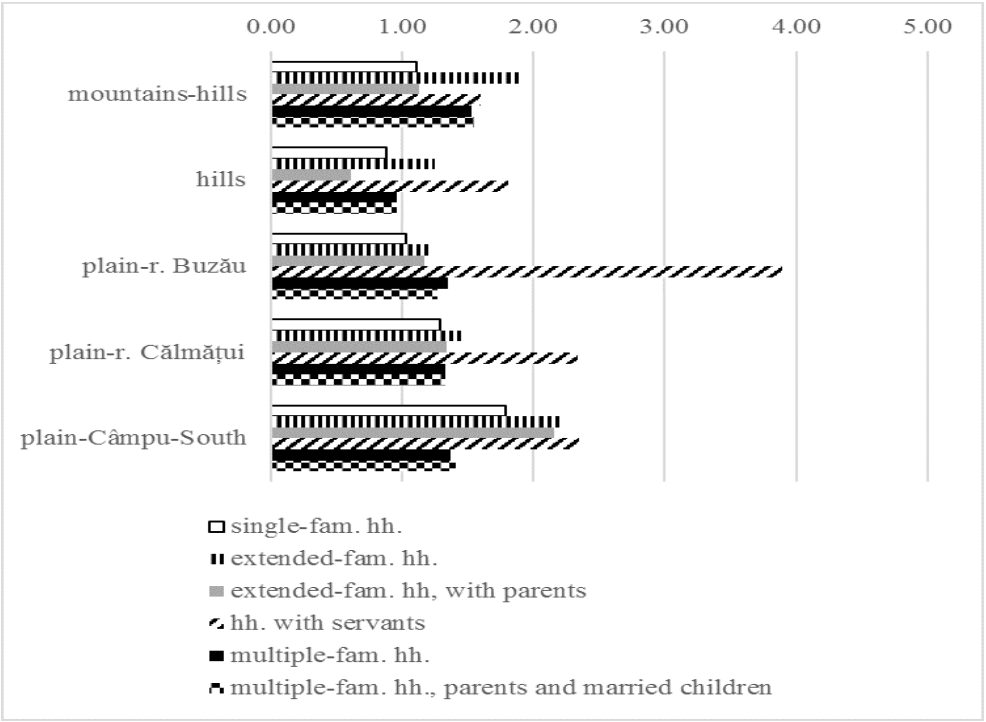
Source: Râmnic-Slănic-Câmpu population sample, author's calculations.

Figure 7. Number of large livestock per houseful, by structure



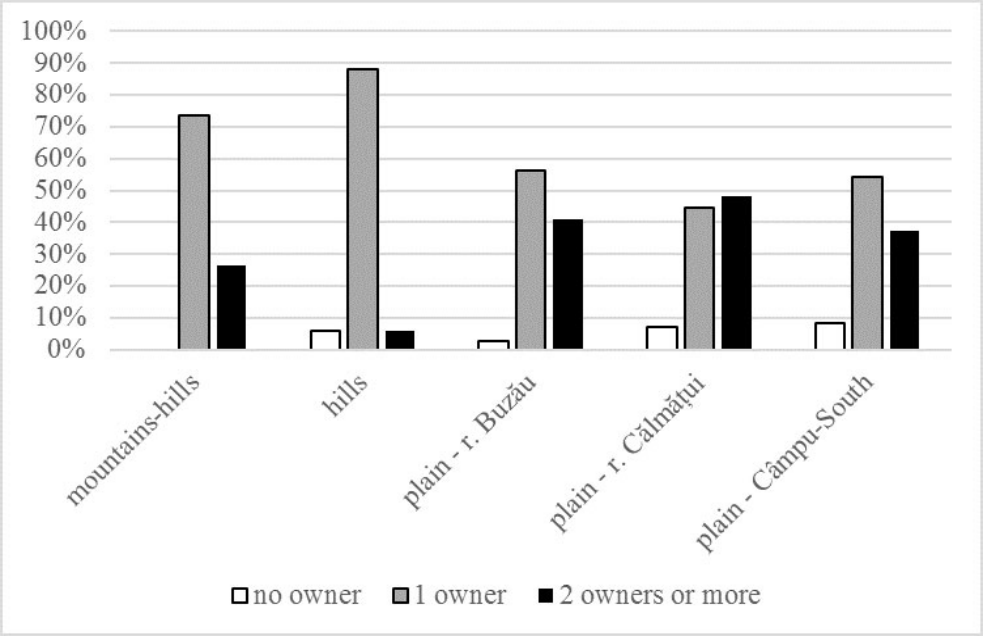
Source: Râmnic-Slănic-Câmpu population sample, author's calculations.

Figure 8. Number of large livestock per consumer unit, by type of household



Source: Râmnic-Slănic-Câmpu population sample, author's calculations.

Figure 9. The share of multiple family housefuls by number of large livestock owners



Source: Râmnic-Slănic-Câmpu population sample, author's calculations.

The Human Costs of the First World War for the Romanians from Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, Sătmar and Maramureş

Ioan Popa

The "Samuel von Brukenthal" National College, Albert Huet Square 5, 550182, Sibiu, Romania, ioanpopasb@yahoo.de

Abstract. Through the magnitude and the complexity of the investigation, the inquiry realized in 1922 by the Transylvanian Association for the Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People (Astra) represents a major analytical and documentary landmark in researching the human costs of the First World War. The involvement of the provincial and local authorities made it possible to obtain a coverage percentage of 99.56% among the ranks of the Romanian population from Hungary/Transleithania, which became part of Romania in 1918. At the level of the communes, the coverage percentage amounts to 90.76%, the area which was not investigated according to Astra's methodology having a very low weight in the Romanian population or lacking Romanians altogether. The high degree of the population's coverage and of validation for the completed questionnaires, entitled "Nominal boards", allowed the obtaining of certain relevant coefficients for the variables "Involvement in the movements enforced by the war", "The fate endured during the war" and "The impact of the war upon the family". The general results published for the first time in 1923, without a critical processing of the documentary material, generated, naturally, objections concerning their value, the partial character of the data being imputed in the first place. The recent approach of the inquiry based on a sociological methodology demonstrated the scientific credibility of the documentary material (2019). The strong points of the inquiry are the fields "Mobilized persons" and "Dead and missing persons". The results can be valuable from different perspectives, as for instance for the assessment of the report between the rural and the urban areas in what concerns the vulnerability and the benefits or for depicting the Romanians from Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, Sătmar and Maramureş in wider contexts.

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The rural-urban ratio confirms the higher degree of exposure to danger and suffering for the agrarian work segment. The comparison of the Romanian environment with the Transylvanian-Saxon one highlights the importance of the relationship with the power structures, along certain temporary segments with a centuries-old value.

Keywords: Astra, 1922, First World War, Transylvania, Romanian.

1. Historiographic tendencies and endeavours

The issue of the human costs generated by the First World War was solved by the historical research, at an *estimative* level, for the combatant states (Torrey 2014: 360). The situation of certain ethnic groups comprised within the imperialist statal constructions, such as Austria-Hungary, remained faithful to the assimilationist practices promoted by the politically dominant group/groups. In these cases, the credibility level of the estimations oscillates on a more ample scale. The work edited in 2014 by Helmut Rumpler and Anatol Schmied-Kowarzik, documented within the war archives from Vienna and Budapest, does not allow the an estimation of balances based on ethnic criteria (Rumpler and Schmied-Kowarzik 2014), confirming the statement made, 15 years earlier, by Paul Lendvai in relation with the existence of such statistical concerns of the Habsburg military authorities (Lendvai 2013: 369). Nevertheless, the historiographical attempts to absolutize certain data were not missing, such as the ones referring to the dimensions of the mobilization in the space of Transylvania (Vesa 2016: 469; Maior 2016: 192). In this context, of clichéd reproduction of certain data that were lent credibility by the authority of certain researchers, a particular note is granted to the results of the investigations carried out by Teodor Păcăţian, in 1922, by means of the Transylvanian Association for the Romanian Literature and Culture of the Romanian People (Astra), concerning exclusively the Romanian environment from Transleithania, attached to the Kingdom of Romania in 1918.

Realized as an inquiry, the Astra's investigation used only two work instruments: a standardized questionnaire - "Nominal Board" - with 19 columns, referring to the situation of the Romanians involved directly in the events generated by the First World War (through the mobilization on the front/behind the front, arresting/deportation, refuge in the Kingdom of Romania) and an interview guide - "Report"- consisting of four questions, the first two attempting to quantify the material, benevolent or forced costs of the war and the last two attempting to capture the dimension of the social phenomena and the national manifestations occurring in Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, Sătmar and Maramureş at the end of the war. T. Păcăţian's wish to offer the results of his investigation as soon as possible to the general public made him waive the critical processing of the immense material provided by

the communal authorities, through the means of the county prefectures. Păcăţian returned to the simple integration of the data, using one single control key: the numbers in the categories "Took part in the movements imposed by the war" (1), "The fate endured during the war" (2), and "According to the social classes, they took part in the movements imposed by the war" (3) had to be identical. The 1923 publication of the data from the "Nominal Boards", summarized by counties (Păcățian 1923: 51), gave satisfaction to the momentary interest, but it pushed, in an undeserved manner, the vast documentary material in a cone of shadow, which lead the later researchers to invoke, mainly, *the partiality* of the data (Bolovan 2015: 44).

2. The scientific credibility of the "Nominal boards"

The critical analysis performed recently (Popa 2019) of the "Nominal boards" filled in by the communal authorities and of the county summaries prepared by T. Păcăţian highlighted the existence of three types of errors committed during the organization and the conduct of the inquiry: 1) errors relating to the construction of the "Nominal board"; 2) errors in filling out the "Nominal board" and the county summaries and 3) errors of calculation. From the first type of errors, most inconveniences were created by the formula "The fate endured *during* the war". Some of the local operators of the inquiry interpreted the status allocations in a very strict sense, so that the soldiers who died shortly after returning home or after the end of the war, be it due to the injuries, or due to the diseases, were registered as "invalids", "injured/ill" or even "healthy", being, however, associated with "widows" and/or "orphans" or their death at home, as a result of the injuries/illnesses recorded in the "Observations" column. The organizer of the inquiry could have avoided this situation by using the extension *and as a result of it.* The second type of error affected especially the categories "Widows" and „Orphans", either by the defective completion (for instance, the widows who remarried between 1918-1922 were never accounted for in the category of "Widows"), either by waiving the completion of the two categories or of the final amounts thereof, 82 "Nominal boards" being in this situation. The central inquiry operator (T. Păcăţian) can be charged with the non-critical or even erroneous takeovers of the data offered by the "Nominal Boards", recording the same commune twice (4 cases) or not recording some communes in the county summaries (14 cases). A minimal curiosity would have obliged, for instance, to check the "Nominal Board" of the commune Răcăşdia, *plasa*[1] Iam, Caraş-Severin county, which records 68 deaths/missing persons, 76 orphans and 0 widows. Errors of calculation were committed when the "Nominal Boards" were prepared and

[1] *Plasa* was an administrative-territorial unit, located between a commune and a county; it was later transformed into a *raion*; it was similar to a *hundred* from the Anglo-Saxon culture.

when the county data was centralized, in the last case 30 errors were produced, the most affected ones being the categories of "The Romanian people", "Widows" and "Orphans". While these errors did not significantly affect the final results of the inquiry due to the very high level of coverage for the Romanian population, they nevertheless affected historians' perception about the documentary value of the inquiry.

The sociological approach of Astra's inquiry constituted the key to its credibility and valorisation. From a methodological perspective, variables, scale categories and coefficients were employed. The importance of the inquiry is not conferred by the absolute value of the data, but by the coefficients generated at the level of the variables and which allow certain estimations with a very low margin of error. The entire documentary material is kept at the Sibiu County Service of the National Archives (SJSAN, Astra fund, inventory no. 453, files 1-15), with the exception of the "Nominal Boards" shipped from the Arad county, which are currently yet to be identified. The data were ordered into counties, *plăși*[2] and communes, according to the administrative-territorial structure valid in 1910, the year when the last census was performed before the First World War. Recording the mother tongue but not the ethnic identity of the inhabitants allowed the government from Budapest to obtain a percentage of "Hungarians" beyond the level of the ethnic-demographic realities. The confessional identity served, in exchange, in many cases, as a determining witness of the ethnic and identity profile, a fact that allowed the calibration of the results of the investigation. Five control keys managed to identify a series of errors and to increase the accuracy of the data: 1) the amount of the variables of "Involvement in the movements imposed by the war", "The fate endured during the war" and "The occupation of the persons involved in the war" had to be identical; 2) The number of the deaths and of the missing persons had to be higher or at least equal with the number of the widows; 3) Recording a number higher than 5 orphans without any widows 4) The recording of a number which is higher than 5 dead/missing soldiers without any widows; 5) The mobilization percentage on the front exceeds 30% of the number of Romanians (Popa 2019: 15).

Sampling represented an important step in managing the data of the inquiry. In 1910, in the space investigated by Astra, 2,830,101 native speakers of Romanian were registered, of which 2,709,172 in the rural environment (95.73%) and 120,929 in the urban area (4.27%) (Vargha 1912). In 1922, the inquiry covered 3,750 rural (3,709) and urban (41) communes, representing 90.76% from the total of the rural and urban communes form the investigated area (4,132). 382 rural communes remained uninvestigated, of which 17 sent the "Nominal boards" which were invalidated because they did not comply

[2] Plural form of *plasa*.

with the methodology of the inquiry (Popa 2019, 16-18). From the perspective of the number of the inhabitants, the sample reaches a degree of coverage of 99.56%, representing 2,817,696 of Romanians, of which 2,696,767 from the rural area (99.54%) and 120,929 from the urban area (100%). At the level of the sample, the rural-urban ratio is of 95.71 to 4.29, almost identical with the ratio existing in 1910. The calibration of the ethnic-demographic characteristics of the sample does not bring any major modifications in the urban-rural ratio. 95.57 to 4.43, in absolute values, 2,729,740 of Romanians in the rural environment and 126,556 Romanians in the urban area.

The 382 rural communes that were not included in the statistical analysis had, in 1910, 12,405 Romanians, the average of 32.47 Romanians per locality showing that, in general, these were small-sized Romanian communities, part of mixed localities. The statistical analyses differentiated according to provinces show that in Transylvania only the smallest Romanian communities remained uninvestigated, the average of the Romanians per locality being that of 10.95 (2,902 Romanians/265 communes). In turn, the average number reached 93.09 in Banat (7,447 of Romanians/80 communes), a result of frontier rectifications after 1922. which had added to Romania localities with a large Romanian population, such as Beba Veche, from the Torontal county (1,809 Romanians in 1910).

According to the data offered by the validated "Nominal Boards", 484,728 Romanians from the analysed sample were involved in the war events, the entire sample comprising 2,817,696 Romanians, according to the 1910 census, or 2,856,296, according to the calibration made by us. Since the estimations which are operational at a European level refer to the results of the censuses organized under the patronage of the government, with all the inconveniences that appeared on the occasion of certain measurements of such magnitude, in the comparative analyses we shall use, as a reference system, the census from 1910. The 484,728 Romanians nominated by the Astra inquiry constitute a share of 96.75% from the rural area (484,959), respectively 3.25% from the urban area (15,769). The 1% difference as opposed to the characteristics of the sample has two explanations: 1) increased vulnerability of the rural area, weakly qualified from a professional viewpoint and, as such, easy to replace, as workforce within the productive mechanisms that directly concern the empowering of the army and 2) the issues of registration concerning the local operators of the inquiry in the urban area.

Having these data available, we can approximate the dimensions of the *partiality* imputed to Astra's inquiry. For the rural area, we shall use the involvement coefficient of 17.39% (468,959 of Romanians involved/2,696,767 of Romanians covered by the inquiry) over the 12,405 Romanians that are not covered by the inquiry. The result of 2,157.19, rounded at 2,157 Romanians involved in the events of the war, but which are not included in the "Nominal Boards", has a minimal value and expresses the level of the mobilizations with much higher accuracy. The categories of "Arrested/admitted", respectively those of "Refugees in the Kingdom of Romania" remain uncovered due both to the horizontal mobilization of the persons who can be included into these categories, as well as to the reticence of the association with such a status, a phenomenon catalogued by the sociologists as "social desirability" (Rotariu and Iluț 1999: 115). For the urban area, having covered all the localities and, implicitly, the entire Romanian population, the deficient character of the "Nominal boards", highlighted by the local inquiry operators, can be exceeded by operating a higher coefficient of involvement, ranging between 13.04-17.39, which reflects the difference between the urban area (13.04%: 15.769 Romanians involved, according to the inquiry; 120.929 Romanians registered by the census in urban area) and the rural one (17.39%) concerning the involvement in the events of the war, according to the data of the inquiry. According to this formula of calculation, having as landmark the 120.929 Romanians from urban area, the number of those involved in the events of the war can be estimated between 15.769 (13.04%) and 21.030 (17.39%). Taking into account the different attitude of the military authorities towards the recruiting environment, an attitude that was unfavourable for the world of the village (Bolovan 2015: 59), the maximal value cannot be taken into account. The lower segment of the range cannot be validated either, because of the mentions of the local inquiry operators. Using average values seems reasonable in order to reconcile both trends. Using the average coefficient of 15.22% for the involvement of Romanians from urban area in the events of the war, we obtain 18,405 persons, which means a surplus of 2,636 persons compared with the number offered by the "Nominal Boards" from the inquiry (18,405 compared with 15,769). With an estimation of 2,157 Romanians from the rural area which were not comprised within the "Nominal Boards", the total of those from the rural area would add up to 471,116 involved in the war events.

At the level of the entire Romanian population from Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, Sătmar and Maramureş, based on these calculations, a number of 489,521 persons involved in the events from the First World War (96.24% from the rural area, 3.76% from the urban area) is recorded, 484,728 being registered in the "Nominal Boards" validated by Astra's inquiry, the rest of 4,793 persons (45% from the rural area, 55% from the urban area) constituting the estimation of the losses registered by the inquiry.

3. "Involvement in the movements imposed by the war"

Within this variable, Astra's inquiry took into consideration four categories: "Mobilized on the frontlines", "Mobilized behind the frontlines", "Arrested/admitted" and "Refugees in the Kingdom of Romania", the local operators having to register each person under only one of the four categories, more exactly in the one that defined best the statute of the person in the years of the conflagration. In order to record secondary statuses, the local operators were allotted the column "Observation". The situations wherein multiple statuses were recorded were by no means few: for instance, persons were registered as being mobilized, although they also underwent political repression. Including certain soldiers in the category of "Mobilized behind the front" was sometimes performed erroneously by the local operators, a fact that was highlighted especially when they were associated with the status of "Dead on the battlefield". In order to avoid the inconveniences produced by this erroneous manner of status allocation, much more relevant is the reporting of the total number of mobilized persons.

Table 1. "Involvement in the movements imposed by the war": reported to the size of the sample

Area	No. of Romanians covered by the inquiry	Mobilized on the front and behind the front (%)	Arrested/ Admitted (%)	Refugees (%)	Total persons involved in the events of the war
Rural	2,696,767	464,015 (17.21)	1,651 (0.06)	3,293 (0.12)	468,959
Urban	120,929	15,554 (12.86)	77 (0.06)	138 (0.11)	15,769
Total	2,817,696	479,569 (17.02)	1,728 (0.06)	3,431 0.12	484,728

Source: Astra's Inquiry. Sibiu County Service of National Archives, Astra fond, 453, file. 1b-15b.

Table 2. Mobilized on the frontlines and behind the frontlines: reported to the size of the sample

Area	No. of Romanians covered by the inquiry	Mobilized on the front (%)	Mobilized behind the front (%)
Rural	2,696,767	431,806 (16.01)	32,209 (1.19)
Urban	120,929	14,091 (11.65)	1,463 (1.21)
Total	2,817,696	445,897 (15.82)	33,672 (1.20)

Source: Astra's Inquiry. Sibiu County Service of National Archives, Astra fond, 453, file. 1b-15b.

Table 3. "Involvement in the movements imposed by the war": reported to the total of those involved

Area	Total Romanians involved	Mobilized on the front (%)	Mobilized behind the front (%)	Arrested/Admitted (%)	Refugees (%)
Rural	468,959	431,806 (92.08)	32,209 (6.87)	1,651 (0.35)	3,293 (0.70)
Urban	15,769	14,091 (89.36)	1,463 (9.28)	77 (0.49)	138 (0.88)
Total	484,728	445,897 (91.99)	33,672 (6.95)	1,728 (0.36)	3,431 (0.71)

Source: Astra's Inquiry. Sibiu County Service of National Archives, Astra fond, 453, file. 1b-15b.

Establishing the inter-category coefficients, obtained by reporting to the total number of the persons involved in the events of the First World War, allows us to estimate the dimensions of the mobilizations, of the political repression, respectively those of the refuge of the Romanians from Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, Sătmar and Maramureş. (Table 4).

Table 4. "Involvement in the movements imposed by the war": the estimated sizes of the categories

Area	Total Romanians involved	Mobilized on the front (%)	Mobilized behind the front (%)	Arrested/ Admitted (%)	Refugees (%)
Rural	471,116	433,792 (92.08)	32,357 (6.87)	1,659 (0.35)	3,308 (0.70)
Urban	18,405	16,446 (89.36)	1,708 (9.28)	90 (0.49)	161 (0.88)
Total	489,521	450,306 (91.99)	34,005 (6.95)	1,745 (0.36)	3,465 (0.71)

Source: Astra's Inquiry. Sibiu County Service of National Archives, Astra fond, 453, file. 1b-15b.

In conclusion, Astra's inquiry allows us to estimate, with a reduced margin of error, the mobilization on the front and behind the front of a number of 484.311 of Romanians. The difference as opposed to the numbers advanced by the current Romanian historiography, 484,924 or 484,374 of mobilized persons (Bolovan 2015: 23; Vesa 2016: 469; Maior 2016: 192; respectively Ignat Kisanovici 2015: 129), is insignificant (613/63 persons), a fact that demonstrates, on the one hand, the documentary value of Astra's inquiry and the pertinence of the current historiographic vision upon the subject matter, on the other hand. The categories of "Arrested/admitted" and "Refugees" remain vulnerable, however for the comparative analyses referring to the inclusion within the significant combating forces, there are the categories of "Mobilized on the front" and "Mobilized behind the front".

Table 5. The level of the Romanian mobilization, depending on the demographic reference category

Item no.	The reference demographic category	Total	Coverage coefficient	Mobilized on the front (%)	Mobilized on the front and behind the front (%)
1	Romanian population in 1910	2,830,101	1.00	450,306 (15.91)	484,311 (17.11)
2	Romanian population covered by the inquiry	2,817,696	1.00	445,897 (15.82)	479,569 (17.02)
3	Male Romanian population (1910).	1,473,091	0.96	445,897 (31.48)	479,569 (33.86)

Item no.	The reference demographic category	Total	Coverage coefficient	Mobilized on the front (%)	Mobilized on the front and behind the front (%)
4	Male Romanian population of 15-19 years of age	931,332	0,96	445,897 (49.79)	479,569 (53.55)
5	Male Romanian population of 15-59 years of age	843,130	0.96	445,897 (55.00)	479,569 (59.15)
6	Male Romanian population of 17-55 years of age	730,713	0.96	445,897 (63.46)	479,569 (68.26)

Source: Astra's Inquiry. Sibiu County Service of National Archives, Astra fond, 453, file. 1b-15b.

For a clearer image of the mobilization levels, it is necessary to compare different demographic categories (Table 5). In the case of the entire population with Romanian listed as mother tongue registered in 1910, we used the estimative data of the Astra inquiry (450,307 mobilized on the front, 484,199 mobilized on the front and behind the front). Establishing the level of the mobilization by reference to gender and age was performed based on the census from 1910, with the mention that in the counties of Mureş-Turda, Odorhei, Arad, Caraş-Severin, Timiş, Bihor, Maramureş and Satu Mare differences between the statistics according to mother tongue and confession, published in 1912 (Vargha 1912) and the one according to gender and mother tongue, published in 1916, were registered. Thus, the total number of Romanian in the counties concerned by Astra's inquiry rises to 2,928,716 (Vargha 1916: 208-209). By eliminating the inconvenience created by this difference which appeared in the data of the census, as well as between the area covered by the inquiry, respectively the one reflected by the census, which reports the data at the county level, we introduced a coverage coefficient calculated for each county in part, as a ratio between the number of Romanians form the statistics according to gender/mother tongue (1910) and the number of Romanians covered by Astra's inquiry (1922). For the entire area surveyed, the coefficient is of 1.04 (2,928,716 Romanians counted/2,817,696 Romanians covered by the inquiry). The mobilization at the level of the active masculine population falls within 53.55% and 59.15%. Due to the relative character of the concept of "active population" (Ferréol 1998: 164-165), it seems reasonable to use the average of 56.35%. From the Romanians comprised within the concerned mobilization range, 17-55 years, almost 70% were mobilized.

4. Human losses

The variable "Fate endured during the war" is contained six categories: "Dead on the battlefield"(1) "Dead in the dungeon, in transit, in the hospital, as a result of illnesses or injuries" (2) "Returned home": "As invalids"(3), "Injured, ill, but at present healthy" (4) or "Fully healthy"(5) and "Missing" (6). Just like in the case of the persons mobilized on the frontlines and behind the frontlines, due to the low inter-category thresholds, in the current situation, the sum of the deaths on the front, respectively of those gone missing were regarded as more relevant. In order to reconstitute the image of the human costs of the wars, we shall also examine the category of the "Invalids". The variable "The direct impact of the war upon the family" operates with two categories, namely "Widows" and "Orphans". The detailed part of the calculations having been published recently (Popa 2019) in this study, we shall highlight and detail the most significant aspects.

Table 6. Dead and invalids in relation to the size of the sample

Area	No. of Romanians covered by the inquiry	Dead/missing (%)	Invalids (%)
Rural	2,696,767	80,304 (2.98)	23,986 (0.89)
Urban	120,929	1,921 (1.59)	1,183 (0.98)
Total	2,817,696	82,225 (2.92)	25,169 (0.89)

Source: Astra's Inquiry. Sibiu County Service of National Archives, Astra fond, 453, file. 1b-15b.

According to Astra's inquiry, the variable "Involvement in the movements imposed by the war" included four categories: "Mobilized on the frontlines", "Mobilized behind the frontlines", "Arrested/admitted" and "Refugees in the Kingdom of Romania". Keeping in mind that the organizers asked the local operators to ascribe only one status to each person, specifically the one that better captured the impact on the war at individual level, and that dead or missing persons were registered under the last two categories, a more detailed look at the number or deaths and invalids is required. In Table 7, deaths and invalids are related to the total persons involved in the events of the war, for a clearer link between the variable "Involvement in the movements imposed by the war" and "The fate endured during the war ". In Table 8, deaths and invalids are related only to those mobilized on and behind the frontlines

Table 7. Deaths and invalids related to the total persons involved in the events of the war

Area	Total involved	Dead/missing (%)	Invalids (%)
Rural	468,847	80,304 (17.13)	23,986 (5.12)
Urban	15,769	1,921 (12.18)	1,183 (7.50)
Total	484,616	82,225 (16.97)	25,169 (5.19)

Source: Astra's Inquiry. Sibiu County Service of National Archives, Astra fond, 453, file. 1b-15b.

Table 8. Dead and invalids in relation to the total of the mobilized persons

Area	Total mobilized	Dead/missing (%)	Invalids (%)
Rural	464,015	80,304 (17.31)	23,986 (5.17)
Urban	15,554	1,921 (12.35)	1,183 (7.61)
Total	479,569	82,225 (17.15)	25,169 (5.25)

Source: Astra's Inquiry. Sibiu County Service of National Archives, Astra fond, 453, file. 1b-15b.

Table 9. Dead and invalids: the estimated sizes of the categories

Area	Total involved	Dead/missing (%)	Invalids (%)
Rural	471,004	80,673 (17.13)	24,096 (5.12)
Urban	18,405	2,242 (12.18)	1,381 (7.50)
Total	489,409	83,038 (16.97)	25,418 (5.19)

Source: Astra's Inquiry. Sibiu County Service of National Archives, Astra fond, 453, file. 1b-15b.

Table 10. The size of the human costs, depending on the demographic reference category

Item no.	The reference demographic category	Total	Coverage coefficient	Dead and missing (%)	Invalids (%)
1	Romanian population in 1910*	2,830,101	*1.00*	83,038 (2.92)	25,418 (0.89)
2	Romanian population covered by the inquiry	2,817,696	1.00	82,225 (2.92)	25,169 (0.89)
3	Male Romanian population (1910).	1,473,091	1.04	82,225 (5.80)	25,169 (1.78)
4	Male Romanian population of 15-69 years of age	931,332	1.04	82,225 (9.18)	25,169 (2.81)
5	Male Romanian population of 15-59 years of age	843,130	1.04	82,225 (10.14)	25,169 (3.10)
6	Male Romanian population of 17-55 years of age	730,713	1.04	82,225 (11.70)	25,169 (3.58)
7	Total mobilized persons - sample	479,569	1.00	82,225 (17.15)	25,169 (5.25)
8	Total mobilized persons - estimation	484,199	1.00	83,038 (17.15)	25,418 (5.25)

Source: Astra's Inquiry. Sibiu County Service of National Archives, Astra fond, 453, file. 1b-15b.
Note: * In the case of the estimation of the dead and missing persons by reference to the entire population having the Romanian language as mother tongue, registered by the census pf 1910, in the area concerned by Astra's inquiry, the coverage coefficient was calculated as a report between the population covered and the one that is counted (2,817,696 of Romanians covered by the inquiry/2,830,101 Romanians counted).

Astra's inquiry provides the extent of the human costs, with an insignificant margin of error. It may thus be stated that through the events of the First World War, 3% of the Romanians from Transilvania, Banat, Crişana, Sătmar and Maramureş lost their lives: almost 6% from the Romanian male population, almost 10% from the active masculine population (9.66% is the average of the age categories of 15-69 years of age, respectively 15-59 years of age) and almost 1 of 5 Romanians were mobilized. What is more, the war affected the productive and maintenance capacity, due to the different degrees of invalidity, for almost 1% from the Romanians from the area mentioned, almost 2% from the Romanian male population, 3% from the active male population (2.96% is the average of the age categories of 15-69 years of age, respectively 15-59 years of age) and a little above 5% of the persons mobilized. By cumulating the losses of human lives with the invalidity, we note that the active male population diminished by approximately 15% in the case

of the Romanians from Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, Sătmar and Maramureş, while almost a quarter of the individuals mobilized lost their lives or suffered a certain degree of invalidity. Comparing the rural area with the urban one demonstrates in this manner as well the vulnerability of the first one, the higher degree of exposure to danger/the sacrifice of the peasantry, as a workforce that was easy to replace. The increased level of invalidity, captured in the urban area, demonstrates the higher capacity of the townsmen to adapt, to create opportunities with a preservative purpose. It is difficult to ascertain the percentage of invalidities that were traded. Evidently, the phenomenon is not specific to the Romanian world, but has a general human character.

The losses of human lives and the invalidities produced a lot of suffering to the family milieu, especially when the injured party was the head of a household, and thus the main person responsible for procuring the means of subsistence, according to the economic behaviours of the time. Thus, we reach an area of the inquiry with a slight deficit in information: the categories of "Widows" and "Orphans". The values expressed by the statistical analyses represent the minimal level of the phenomenon.

Table 11. Widows and orphans: in relation to the size of the sample

Area	Total involved	Widows	No of persons involved/ widows	Orphans	No. of persons involved/ orphans	No. of orphans widows
Rural	468,959	37904	2,37	76,634	6.12	2.02
Urban	15,769	1,057	14.92	2,236	7.05	2.12
Total	484,728	38,961	12.44	78,870	6.15	2.02

Source: Astra's Inquiry. Sibiu County Service of National Archives, Astra fond, 453, file. 1b-15b.

One of 15 townsmen and one of 12 villagers involved in the war events left behind a widow. The number of the orphans is double than that of widows. At this time, we do not have a record of the Romanians who were "Arrested/admitted" or about the "Refugees in the Kingdom of Romania" who lost their lives/were declared missing. However, we can estimate the number of these cases as being limited (several hundred from the total of the approximately 39,000 widows, according to the 12.44/12.31 ratio; tables 11-12) by relating the number of the widows and orphans to the number of the individuals mobilized on or behind the frontlines.

Table 12. Widows and orphans compared to the number of persons mobilized on the front and behind the front lines

Area	Total mobilized persons	Widows	No. of mobilized persons widows	Orphans	No. of mobilized persons Orphans
Rural	464,015	37,904	12.24	76,634	6.05
Urban	15,554	1,057	14.72	2,236	6.96
Total	479,569	38,961	12.31	78,870	6.08

Source: Astra's Inquiry. Sibiu County Service of National Archives, Astra fond, 453, file. 1b-15b.

Table 13. Widows and orphans compared to the number of dead and missing persons

Area	Total dead and missing	Widows	Married dead and missing (%)	Orphans	No. dead and missing/ orphan	Average orphan / dead/missing
Rural	80,304	37,904	47.20	76,634	1.05	0.95
Urban	1,921	1,057	55.02	2,236	0.86	1.16
Total	82,225	38,961	47.38	78,870	1.04	0.96

Source: Astra's Inquiry. Sibiu County Service of National Archives, Astra fond, 453, file. 1b-15b.

The data from table 13 reveals certain dimensions of the war's impact upon family, but also the differences in the nuptial and natal behaviours between the rural and the urban areas. Almost half of the Romanians from Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, Sătmar and Maramureş who lost their lives in the First World War or who were declared missing after more than three years after the end of the conflagration left behind a widow and, on average, two orphans. In the case of the widows, the difference of almost seven percent between the rural and the urban area shows an increased level of legal legitimacy of the matrimonial ties in the world of the city, an area characterized by social control mechanisms that are much more efficient. In the rural "Nominal Boards", the cases of association of the dead/missing persons with the orphan(s), without a mention of the widow, are not uncommon, due to the relationship of concubinage. In pre-war Transylvania, the percentage of illegitimate births varied between 6-8%, with great differences between the rural and the urban area and inside each of these areas (Pop and Bolovan 2013: 229-230). A statistical analysis according to ethnicity would most likely reflect a higher level

of illegitimacy in the Romanian rural area, in comparison with the urban area of this ethnicity.

On average, one villager out of six mobilized ones, respectively a townsman out of seven mobilized ones were associated to one orphan. The average number of orphans per dead or missing person is 0.95 in the rural area and 1.16 in the urban area. The deficit of information evidently affects the dimension of the war trauma in the rural family. In 56 of the rural "Nominal boards", cumulating 1,034 deaths and missing persons and, from an urban "Nominal Board" (Zalău, Sălaj County), with 10 dead persons, the widows and the orphans were not registered. The aggregate figures in Astra's inquiry offer us an image of an increased mortality in the rural area, but one of greater trauma in the case of the town-dwelling Romanian family. Subtracting the number of deaths and missing persons from the "Nominal Boards" that did not fill in the columns of "Widows" and "Orphans" does not change the situation much. The conclusion of the higher rate of fertility in the urban area as compared with the Romanian rural area cannot be ignored. The demographic behaviours highlighted by Traian Rotariu for the entire population from Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, Sătmar and Maramureş in the first decade of the 19th century can be found in the data of Astra's inquiry, referring to the Romanian population segment. It is validated the negative relation between the natality rate and the percentage of the illegitimate births (Rotariu 2010: 136), as well as the determinant character of the cultural influence, exceeding the importance of the negative relation between the natality rate and the size of the locality. The argument concerning the low fertility rate in the German influence area (Rotariu 2010: 134) is captured within Tables 12-16. In Transylvania, the average of these areas (of Saxon influence) is similar with the one from the urban area.

Table 14. Widows and orphans compared to the number of dead and missing persons (calibration)

Area	Total dead and missing (Without those from the "Boards" with the uncompleted columns of "Widows" and "Orphans")	Widows	Married dead and missing (%)	Orphans	No. dead and missing/ orphan
Rural	*79,270*	37,904	47.82	76,634	1.03
Urban	*1,911*	1,057	55.31	2,236	0.85
Total	*81,181*	38,961	47.99	78,870	1.03

Source: Astra's Inquiry. Sibiu County Service of National Archives, Astra fond, 453, file. 1b-15b.

Table 15. Orphans from the counties in the German (Saxon) cultural sphere of influence

The county	Total involved	Orphans	Total involved/orphans
Braşov (without the city of Braşov)	3,932	577	6.81
Hunedoara	44,195	6,102	7.24
Sibiu	18,000	2,306	7.81
Târnava Mare	11,954	1,842	6.49
Târnava Mică	11,954	1,842	6.49
Total	90,035	12,669	7.11
*Transylvania**	*279,059*	*45,786*	*6.09*

Source: Astra's Inquiry. Sibiu County Service of National Archives, Astra fond, 453, file. 1b-15b.
Note: * The concept of Transylvania, in this study, includes 16 counties: Alba de Jos, Bistriţa-Năsăud, Braşov, Ciuc, Cluj-Cojocna, Făgăraş, Hunedoara, Mureş-Turda, Odorhei, Sălaj, Sibiu, Solnoc-Dăbâca, Târnava Mare, Târnava Mică, Trei Scaune and Turda-Arieş.

Table 16. Orphans from the counties under German influence: Saxon in Transylvania and Swabians in Banat

Province	Total involved	Orphans	Total involved/orphans
Transylvania	279,059	45,786	6.09
Banat	129,616	18,448	7.03
Crişana	44,885	8,571	5.24
Sătmar-Maramureş	31,168	6,065	5.14
Total	484,728	78,870	6.15

Source: Astra's Inquiry. Sibiu County Service of National Archives, Astra fond, 453, file. 1b-15b.

5. Comparative analyses

Having at one's disposal data and coefficients with a high level of credibility, we can compare the situation of the Romanians from Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, Sătmar and Maramureş with the situation of other groups of population, both inside the Habsburg monarchy, as well as outside it. For the ethnic and cultural groups from the area concerned by Astra's inquiry, the Transylvanian Saxons prepared, just like the Romanians, statistics concerning the impact of the First World war upon their own communities. Published by the evangelical bishop Fr. Teutsch (Abrudan 2015: 90-92; Gündisch 2019: 38), in 1926, the data indicate lower degrees of exposure to danger in comparison with the Romanian population (Table 17). If the level of the Saxons' mobilization reaches 95% of the level of the Romanians' mobilization, the

level of deaths reaches only 71.92%, in comparison to the entire population and 75.34% compared to the number of the mobilized persons. On the other hand, the number of invalids amounts to a share of 70.79%. The natural conclusions are that: 1) the Saxons succeeded to a larger extant than the Romanians to avoid mobilization (on the front), respectively to seem to a greater extent to be unavailable to the administrative-economic mechanisms for supporting the war effort; 2) on the front, the Saxons had a level of exposure to danger which was lower than that of the Romanians. Sextil Puşcariu's statements concerning the enthusiasm of the Saxons regarding the outbreak of the war, followed by the haste of some in what regards their attempts in avoiding to be sent on the front, under the pretence of illnesses or of their usefulness behind the front lines (Puşcariu 1978: 11-12) find their confirmation within the statistical data or, at a qualitative level, in the confessions of certain Saxon personalities, such as those of Sibiu's mayor, Albert Dörr:

> "*How beautiful our country is! Should one wonder that the gentlemen neighbors would gladly put their hands on her? [...] our elder son [...] is in military service here, at the division's Tribunal; his other two brothers are, however gone, one as a military physician during the war, and the other as officer of pioneers.*" (Dörr 2019: 12-13)

Table 17. Mobilization, death and invalidity in the Romanians and the Saxons in the First World War

Reference group	Total population, 1910	Mobilized persons (%)	Dead and missing total population (%)	Dead and missing/ total mobilized persons (%)	Invalids/total population (%)
Romanians	2,830,101	484,311 (17.11)	83,038 (2.92)	17.15	25,418 (0.89)
Saxons	230,697	37,533 (16.27)	4,850 (2.10)	12,92	1,449 (0.63)

Source: Astra's Inquiry. Sibiu County Service of National Archives, Astra fond, 453, file. 1b-15b.

Table 18. The impact of the war upon the Romanian and Saxon familial environment

Reference group	Total mobilized persons	Total Dead and missing	Widows	Mobilized persons/ widows	Dead and missing/ widows	Orphans	Mobilized persons/ orphans	Dead and missing/ orphans	Orphans/ widows
Romanians (sample)	479,569	83,038	38,961	12.31	2.13	78,870	6.08	1.05	2.02
Saxons	37,533	4,850	1,865	20.12	2.60	4,346	8.64	1.12	2,33

Source: Astra's Inquiry. Sibiu County Service of National Archives, Astra fond, 453, file. 1b-15b.

The data concerning the impact of the war upon the familial environment confirms the above statements concerning the demographic behaviours from the cultural environment of German influence: the decreased fertility rate is associated with a higher rate of illegitimate births. One of two dead or missing Romanians left behind a widow and two orphans, and one of (almost) three Saxons left behind a widow and (a little over) two orphans, in the conditions in which a widow was left for every 12 Romanians, respectively for 20 mobilized Saxons and one orphan for 6 Romanians, respectively in (almost) 9 mobilized Saxons.

In conclusion, comparing the Romanian environment with the Transylvania Saxon one demonstrates a perpetuation, in the conditions of the modern war, of the existential landmarks that are unswerving over the course of the medieval centuries, the "tolerated" subjects, the Romanians, being more exposed to the danger and the suffering than the "privileged" subjects, the Saxons. The dawn of the Romanians' emancipation, of the national revolution is seen ahead, however, in attitudes such as that of the journalist Octavian Tăslăuanu, an officer in the 23rd Nagyszeben (Sibiu) Honvéd Infantry Regiment, passed in the Kingdom of Romania, in April 1915. His notes published in the same year, in Bucharest, offers important explanations concerning the fate of the Romanians in the Austrian-Hungarian army: facing problems of understanding the command language, Hungarian or German (1), humiliated and ill-treated by their non-Romanian superior (2), weakly represented in the military body, unlike the Saxons, who provided the last chief of the major state of the Austrian-Hungarian Army, Artur Arz von Straussenburg from Sibiu (Popa 2020: 78) (3), with reduced possibilities to avoid the perils of the war, in comparison with the potential of the ethnic groups that were favoured by the political power (4).

> "*When I saw that Sibiu was flowing with malingerer officers, especially active officers, I was convinced that an army with such officers is meant to lose. All of them were limping and courting women. I had also found in the chancelleries more than 20 officers, all of them advanced, who had not even seen the battlefield. They were of the kind with money and protections. They were looking at us with a certain compassion, the naives who put our lives in danger for the country. The officers were Hungarians, Jews and Armenians. [...] I had long decided not to fight under a foreign flag anymore and for a cause that was damaging to our national interests.*" (Tăslăuanu 1916: 345).

Extending the comparative analyses to the level of the Austrian-Hungarian state and of the main combating states proposes a series of risks, caused by the difficulty to synchronize the statistical witnesses. The migratory phenomenon which affected the Austrian-Hungarian population in the years 1911-1914 (Bolovan 2000: 52-77) does not reach, however, proportions that generate substantial modifications (increasing ones) of the percentage of mobilized citizens in the First World War. The level of the Austro-Hungarian mobilization is placed between 8 million (Bérenger 2000: 499) and 9 million men (Carpentier and Lebrun 1997: 493). Unfortunately, H. Rumpler şi Schmied-Kowarzik, who used the military Austrian-Hungarian archives, provide only the number of the civilians mobilized in the years 1914-1918 (Rumpler and Schmied-Kowarzik 2014: 146). In order to learn the dimensions of the Austrian-Hungarian troops, one must take into account the active soldiers and the civilians who were performing their military service form the previous years (1911-1914). The percentage of 17.51% mobilized persons from the total of Austria-Hungary's population obtained by taking into account a number of 9 million mobilized persons cannot be accepted, having in view the lower mobilization coefficients registered in the regions with a much more pronounced agrarian character (Hungary, Transylvania) of the Habsburg monarchy. Due to the massive involvements on the frontlines, France and Germany reached the highest quotas of mobilization, exceeding at least 20% of the entire population.

In the case of Romania, the percentage of 15% of mobilized persons from the entire population is taken into account by C. Kirițescu, respectively by I. Agrigoroaiei and A. Iordache. However, the numbers of the reported mobilized persons differ - 1,083,000 (Kirițescu 1989, I: 207), 1,249,758 (Agrigoroaiei and Iordache 2015: 691)-, thus leading to different percentages, when compared to the number of persons registered in the 1912 census: 15.12%, respectively 17.45%. The percentage of 17.45% of mobilized persons, even if it represents the maximal value for Romania, reflects the proportions

of the mobilization in a more realistic manner. Rounding the number of the mobilized persons to 1,200,000 produces a percentage of 16.76%, probably the closest to reality.

The estimations concerning the dead and the missing persons register the highest amplitude of oscillations, in the case of Romania. This falls between 220,000 million (Kiriţescu 1989, II: 496) and 339,117 (Popa 1979: 468), with reference only to the number of the dead. G. Torrey avoids approaching the subject matter, mentioning only 250,000 "victims", without any other mentions, for the campaign from 1916 (Torrey 2014). Operating with a number of 339,117 dead persons, without taking into account the missing ones, leads to a percentage that is more difficult to accept, of 27.13% dead persons from the maximum number of mobilized persons - 1,249,758. In the absence of indications concerning the primary resources that lead to determining the number of 339,117 dead persons, this is a variant that we cannot take into consideration. On a European level, a number of 8 million dead/missing soldiers, 4-4.25 million widows (2/1.88 dead and missing persons per widow) and 8 million orphans (2/1.88 orphans per widow) is estimated, in other words, a degree of affectation of the family that is close to the one registered by Astra's inquiry for the Romanians from Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, Sătmar and Maramureş.

Table 19. Human Costs of the First World War; Comparative analyses

Territorial/demographic unit of reference	Total population, 1910/*1912*/ 1913	Mobilized persons	Mobilized persons %	Total dead and missing	Dead and missing/ Total population %	Dead and missing/ Total mobilized persons %
Austria-Hungary	51,390,649[1]	8,000,000[5]	15,57	1,216,669[8]	2.37	15.21
Hungary	20,886,487[1]	3,400,000[6]	16.28	530,000[6]	2.54	15.59
Transylvanian Saxons	230,697[2]	37,533[2]	16.27	4,850[2]	2.10	12.92
Romanians (Astra)	2,830,101	484,311	17.11	83,038	2.92	17.15
Romania	*7,160,682*[3]	1,249,758[7]	17.45	250,000[9]	3.49	20.00
France	39,600,000[4]	8,500,000[4]	21.46	1,385,000[9]	3.50	16.29
Germany	64,900,000[4]	13,250,000[4]	20.42	1,808,500[9]	2.79	13.65

Source: Astra's Inquiry. Sibiu County Service of National Archives, Astra fond, 453, file. 1b-15b.; [1]Rumpler and Schmied-Kowarzik 2014: 19, 59; [2]Abrudan 2015: 90-92; [3]Iacob 2015: 243; [4]Carpentier and Lebrun 1997: 493; [5]Bérenger 2000: 499; [6]Lendvai 2013: 369; [7]Agrigoroaiei and Iordache 2015: 691; [8]Rumpler and Schmied-Kowarzik 2014: 189; [9]Kinder, Hilgemann and Hergt 2008: 404.

6. Conclusions

The inquiry organized by Astra in 1922 represents a particularly precious documentary source for understanding the impact of the First World War upon the Romanians from Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, Sătmar and Maramureş. The comparative analyses demonstrate the vulnerability of the population that was poorly qualified from a professional standpoint, and that of the agrarian sector in the first place. The exposure to risks is correlated with the agrarian character of the population/province/state. The Romanians from Hungary registered larger human losses than the average of the state, which, in its turn, is higher than the average of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, the Western part of the dual monarchy having a higher level of industrialization. In 1910, 53% from Hungary's active population was living from agriculture, while in Transylvania, the percentage reached 71.3% (Bolovan 2000: 233-234). In Romania, in 1912, the agrarian work sector represented 79.2% from the active population (Bolovan 2000: 234), a fact that did not offer any alternatives to the military authorities. The first place held by Romania in the loss of human lives from the ranks of the mobilized persons, especially given that Romania partook part in the conflict for only one year was due, to a great extent, to the following factors: the Romanian soldiers' lack of experience, at the beginning of the war, compared to the adverse combating forces, who had already had a two-year seniority on the battlefield (1), to the deficient endowment with weaponry and modern military materials, due to the dependence on such imports from the countries that were more strongly industrialized (2) and the precarious conditions of hygiene and sanitation (3). The combative capacity of the Romanian army reached impressive heights in the summer of 1917, when experience and endowment were no longer an issue. The Romanians from Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, Sătmar and Maramureş, more exposed to mobilization and being sent to the battlefield, in comparison with other ethnic groups from Austria-Hungary, reached a mortality level among the ranks of the mobilized persons that was higher than the one registered by the Saxons from Transylvania, or Hungary, Austria-Hungary, France or Germany. This was a consequence of the centuries-old discrimination of the Romanians from the respective lands, the attitudinal reflexes not being able to be modified by the power factors, in the conditions of the First World War. It was the drop that filled the cup of discontent. In the revolutionary context from the fall of 1918, the Romanians from Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, Sătmar and Maramureş opted for the national solution of social change.

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Grandparental Role in Romanian Transnational Families

Mihaela Hărăguş*, Ionuţ Földes**

**Babeş-Bolyai University, Centre for Population Studies, 68 Avram Iancu St, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, mihaela.haragus@ubbcluj.ro*
*** Babeş-Bolyai University, Faculty of Sociology and Social Work, 28, 21 Decembrie 1989 Bvd, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, ionut.foldes@ubbcluj.ro*

Abstract. Based on a survey of Romanian older parents (aged 60+ years) with migrant adult children, we investigate how grandchild care is provided in a transnational context. We acknowledge that such downward support can be provided with copresence in a destination country, involving parents' mobility, or in a home country, providing care to grandchildren whose parent(s) migrated. We adopt the solidarity paradigm, which guides most of the research into the parent–adult child dyad, and investigate how factors at individual, familial and societal levels influence the provision of grandchild care. Characteristics at the individual level (such as younger age and good health of the grandparent and a more stable situation of the migrant) and at the familial level (such as competing family obligations in the home country and contact between grandparents and migrant adult children) are among the most important aspects that shape the provision of grandchild care in transnational families.

Keywords: intergenerational solidarity, grandchild care, transnational families, mobility, Romania

1. Introduction

Demographic developments in previous decades — fertility decline, as well as an increase in the duration of life — have led to population ageing, which concerns an increase in the share of elderly persons (aged 65+ years) in the population. Beyond the usually negative connotations associated therewith, in terms of the pressure that a larger share of older people would put on the pension or health systems, the increasing number of the elderly calls for the reconsideration of intergenerational relations.

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The young are growing in societies wherein they are a numerical minority and have several generations of family members above them (Dykstra and Komter 2012). The elderly nowadays live longer than in the past, which means that more generations coexist at the same time, and individuals are embedded in a complex web of vertical and horizontal ties (Dykstra and Komter 2012). More years of shared lives mean more opportunities for intergenerational relations across more than only two adjacent generations (parents–children). The decline in adult mortality has led to a dramatic historical increase in the "supply of grandparents" (Hagestad 2006: 319). Individuals now have more opportunities for intergenerational relations (interaction, support, and mutual influence), as well as new patterns of relations across family generations (Hagestad 2006). Scholars believe that multigenerational bonds are becoming more important than nuclear family ties for well-being and support over the course of individuals' lives (Bengtson 2001; Mabry et al. 2004).

The solidarity paradigm sees mutual interaction and bonds between family generations stretching throughout the life course, with both downward and upward support (Bengtson and Roberts 1991; Bengtson 2001; Szydlik 2016). One notable reconfiguration of intergenerational solidarity in transnational context is that upward transfers, from migrant adult children to (elderly) parents in home country become the predominant pattern, while in national contexts, research has shown that the downward direction of transfers (from parents to adult children) is generalised, no matter the level of generosity of the welfare state (Attias-Donfut and Cook 2017). However, elderly parents in home country have an active role in transnational family relations, too, becoming providers of support from a distance or through their own mobility (e.g. prolonged visits to their migrant adult children) (Zickgraf 2017; King et al.. 2014; King et al. 2016; Hărăguş et al. 2018; Nedelcu 2017; Nedelcu and Wyss 2019). One of the main forms of downward intergenerational care performed in transnational families is grandparenting, in migration or home country. Research has focused on the role of grandparents as childcare providers, in connection with fertility decisions and mothers' labour force participation (Hank and Buber 2009; Jappens and Van Bavel 2012; Aassve et al. 2012). As for informal childcare, grandparents are by far the most important childcare providers. This important caring role continues to be performed even when family members live at a large geographical distance from one another, across national borders, as is the case in transnational families. By travelling abroad for longer time periods and taking care of grandchildren in a migration country, grandparents play an important part in

supporting migrants' strategies of labour force participation (Bastia 2009; King et al. 2014; Hărăguş et al.. 2018).

In the next section we discuss the solidarity paradigm, which guides most of the research into the parent–adult child dyad and which may be applied to the study of grandparents' role, too. We add the specificities of transnational families to the picture in our attempt to see how different factors shape the provision of grandchild care in conditions of geographical distance. Then we present our research hypotheses and the data on which we work: a survey from the project entitled *Intergenerational solidarity in the context of work migration abroad. The situation of elderly left at home.* Our quantitative approach allows us to test the association between different factors at individual, familial and societal levels and the provision of grandchild care and to acquire a larger perspective on the provision of grandchild care in the context of migration. Our conclusion is that characteristics at the individual level, such as younger age and good health of the (grand)parent and a more stable situation of the migrant, and at the familial level, such as competing family obligations in the home country and contact between (grand)parents and migrant adult children, are among the most important aspects that shape downward intergenerational solidarity in transnational families, in its particular form of grandchild care.

2. Grandchild care as a form of intergenerational solidarity

2.1. Intergenerational solidarity paradigm

The theoretical construct of intergenerational solidarity is used "as a means to characterize the behavioural and emotional dimensions of interaction, cohesion, sentiment and support between parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren, over the course of long-term relationships" (Bengtson 2001: 8). The original model of intergenerational solidarity contains six dimensions, five of which refer to behavioural, affective and cognitive aspects of the parents–children relation: associational (common activities), affective (emotional closeness), consensual (similarity or agreement in beliefs and values), functional (exchange of support in various forms), and normative (perceptions of obligations and expectations in respect of intergenerational connections). The sixth dimension, structural solidarity, refers to opportunities for transfers between parents and children (Bengtson and Roberts 1991). A recent adaptation of Bengtson's conceptualization was proposed by Szydlik (2016), who considers that not only structural solidarity but also normative and consensual dimensions reflect the potential for intergenerational solidarity, while functional, affectual and associational dimensions reflect actual solidarity.

Functional solidarity comprises monetary transfers (financial assistance), assistance in the form of time, and coresidence (sharing the same household) (Szydlik 2016). Assistance in the form of time may take various forms, from offering advice and practical help around the household to providing personal care to the frail elderly. Affectual solidarity describes emotional bonds or emotional closeness of the relationship. Associational solidarity refers to shared activities and interaction, with meeting in person being the closest form of contact.

Grandparents can fulfil all three dimensions of actual intergenerational solidarity. However, their role in providing grandchild care, which concerns functional solidarity, is shown to be particularly relevant, sustaining mothers' participation in the labour force. In this respect, grandparents are considered by far the most important childcare providers (Jappens and Van Bavel 2012 for Europe; Mabry et al.. 2004 for the US). This form of intergenerational solidarity is the focus of our investigation.

2.2. Grandchild care in transnational families

Events and transitions in the life course of the parental generation have profound implications for the evolution of grandparenting roles. Changes in family composition and household structure may limit or enhance opportunities for social interaction between grandparents and grandchildren (Silverstein et al. 1998). Migration is such an event that, through geographical distance, it may negatively influence the interaction between generations. Comparative research into the grandparental role in European countries shows that increasing geographical distance between the older and younger generations decreases the likelihood of grandchild care, particularly if regular care is considered (Hank and Buber 2009). However, research into transnational families has shown that families that live some or most of the time separated from one another continue to "hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely 'familyhood', even across national borders" (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002: 3). Studies show that members of multi-sited families are involved in the same types of kin relationships as those of families whose members are in spatial proximity (Baldassar et al. 2007; Wilding 2006). The link between geographical distance and support is not to be considered dichotomous, but rather more complex due to other related factors such as the complexity of tasks or constraints and limits determined by own country-specific regulations. The current migratory context, characterised by free movement within EU borders,

provides both transnational migrants and family members 'back home' with better opportunities to get in touch and to support each other.

Communication and travel technologies play a critical role in solidarity across borders (Baldassar 2014; Merla 2014). In the digital society of today, migrants' parents invent new grandparental practices (Nedelcu 2017). Through a sense of copresence from a distance (Baldassar et al. 2016; Nedelcu and Wyss 2016) or ordinary copresence routines (Nedelcu and Wyss 2016), grandparents are able to perform their role from a distance. In terms of dimensions of intergenerational solidarity, they involve themselves in associational and affectual solidarity from a distance.

On the other hand, the provision of childcare requires physical copresence, which can be acquired in two situations: visits of grandparents abroad or taking care of the grandchildren left in the home country. In the first situation, when elderly members of transnational families get involved in international mobility so as to care for their grandchildren, they become the "zero generation of migration" (Nedelcu 2017). Studies show that grandmothers in particular involve themselves in transnational downward care, as childcare providers and as socialisation agents for their grandchildren, as well (King et al.. 2014; Zickgraf 2017; Nedelcu and Wyss,2019). The instance of "flying grandmothers" (Baldassar and Wilding 2014) is characteristic especially in the case of grandchildren born after migration (Da 2003). King et al. (2014) show that through international mobility of the zero generation, they regain the grandparenting role, which is crucial for their emotional well-being. However, the international mobility of grandmothers is restricted by their care responsibilities in home countries (Zickgraf 2017), and once abroad, they are usually dependent on their migrant children in terms of finance, housing, and social life (King et al.. 2014).

2.3. Factors influencing the intensity of grandchild care

We approach grandchild care in this study as a form of functional solidarity (assistance in the form of time) offered to adult children. There are a considerable number of factors that are discussed in the literature as having an influence on the frequency and intensity of intergenerational exchanges, be they in intranational or transnational contexts, and different classifications of these factors exist. Albertini et al. (2007) distinguish between micro (individual and family) and macro (anything above) levels only, and for each level, between three broad categories of factors: structural, institutional and cultural (Albertini et al.. 2007). Szydlik (2016) discusses four conditional factors for solidarity: opportunity, needs, family and cultural-contextual structures. At the individual

level, opportunity structures refer to the opportunities or resources for intergenerational solidarity, such as the residential proximity of family members, occupational status (availability of time to offer support) or economic status (availability of financial resources). The needs structure indicates the need for intergenerational solidarity, which can be a result of health, financial or emotional problems. At the familial level, the history of life events (such as divorce) may shape intergenerational solidarity, as well as family composition (the number of siblings) or family norms. Cultural-contextual structures refer to the societal conditions in which intergenerational relations take place, such as the economic and tax system, welfare state, and labour and housing market.

In a similar manner, transnational families studies show that care arrangements are influenced by individual resources, family configurations, and institutional contexts (Baldassar et al.. 2007; Nedelcu 2017). Acknowledging that there are various ways of exchanging care in transnational families — direct with physical copresence or from a distance, coordination, and delegation (Kilkey and Merla 2014) — scholars identify different constellations of factors. Direct provision with physical copresence, as is the case of grandchild care in a destination country, requires the following resources: mobility (ability to travel to provide or receive care), time allocation (capacity to take time to engage in care), finance (financial resources to invest in providing care), education and knowledge (ability to master communication technologies and the local language, as well as having one's qualification recognised), social relations (access to a social network of mutual support in the host and home countries), and appropriate housing (important for family members who travel to provide care) (Kilkey and Merla 2014). In addition, as these authors argue, TNF caregiving arrangements are situated in particular institutional contexts (migration, welfare, gendered care and working-time regimes, transport and communication policies).

Existing studies on the grandparental role in intranational families show the influence of factors at individual, familial and societal levels on the frequency and intensity of grandchild care. Grandparental resources — being healthier and younger, having a partner — have a positive effect on the likelihood of providing grandchild care, as well as the age of the youngest grandchild, as an indicator of the needs structure of the adult child (Hank and Buber 2009). Igel and Szydlik (2011) argue that this form of intergenerational support — in contrast to physical care of older persons — is influenced more by the opportunity structure of the provider (grandparent) and less by the needs structure of the recipient (adult child). For family-level factors, the same

researchers found that the strongest help dyad is that of the grandmother and daughter and the likelihood of grandchild care increases when there are fewer potential recipients of the time transfer (adult child has fewer siblings).

With regard to institutional contexts, scholars have identified consistent country patterns in the likelihood and intensity of intergenerational transfers, which vary across welfare regimes (Albertini et al. 2007). Comparative research into European countries shows that intergenerational exchanges are less frequent but more intense in Southern European countries than in Nordic countries, with Continental European countries being somewhere in between the two (Albertini et al. 2007; Szydlik 2016). The provision of grandchild care follows the same pattern: grandparents in Southern Europe engage less often but more intensively in childcare, while grandchild care is provided more often but much less intensively in Northern Europe (Igel and Szydlik 2011). In other words, these results show that "public expenditures for families and on childcare infrastructures 'crowd in' the occurrence of grandchild care and 'crowd out' its intensity" (Igel and Szydlik 2011: 221). Bordone et al. (2017) show that the 'early care gap' and the availability of part-time jobs lead to different intensities of grandparental involvement in childcare: in countries with a high 'early care gap' and low availability of part-time jobs (Southern European countries and Poland), grandparents provide childcare on a daily basis, while in countries with a low 'early care gap' (Northern European countries and France), grandparents have a secondary role, intervening when needed. Western European countries occupy an intermediate position, with grandparental involvement in childcare being usually on a weekly basis.

The role of macro-level factors becomes more complex when we investigate grandchild care in a transnational context. Firstly, there are the migration and welfare regimes in the destination country, which regulate migrants' entitlement to benefits and services in areas related to health, income, housing and education, and to the portability of social entitlements across borders (Kilkey and Merla 2014: 217; Merla 2014). Intergenerational responsibilities are divided between the state and the family, which, in connection with the typology of welfare regimes, leads to different regimes of intergenerational solidarity (Saraceno and Keck 2010). On the continuum of familialism - defamilialisation, the proposed typology distinguishes between (1) familialism by default (where the care of the vulnerable persons is entirely the family's responsibility, with no financial support for family care or publicly provided alternatives); (2) supported familialism (where families are financially compensated for caring responsibilities); (3) defamilialisation (that reduces family responsibilities and dependencies), and (4) optional familialism (an

option between supported familialism and de-familialisation) (Saraceno and Keck 2010).

Secondly, the preferred destinations for Romanian migrants reveal certain particularities of migration, among which employment profiles of migrants are of most interest for the present topic. Research shows that the typical temporary Romanian migrant from rural communities is a medium-skilled constructor, if a man, or a domestic worker, if a woman, while the typical migrant from urban areas is working in the service sector as a medium-skilled worker (Sandu 2017: 169). Based on different forms of capital of the origin communities, Sandu (2017) identifies seven transnational fields of Romanian migration: Italy, Spain (plus Greece and Cyprus), France (plus Belgium and Portugal), Germany (plus Austria), the United Kingdom (plus Ireland, the USA and Canada), Nordic European countries, and Hungary. In terms of occupation, medium-skilled constructors migrate mainly in Italy, followed by France, Spain and the UK. Unskilled constructors prefer France, Italy and Spain. Agricultural workers (unskilled or medium-skilled) migrate mainly towards Spain, Germany, and Nordic countries. For unskilled domestic workers, the main destinations are Italy, France and Spain. Higher-educated migrants are oriented mainly towards Nordic countries, the UK and the USA (Sandu 2017).

The country of destination incorporates multiple features that shape transnational intergenerational relations through the welfare provisions, working relations and regulations of migrants' access to childcare benefits and services.

3. Research hypotheses

In our investigation, we approach grandchild care as a form of functional intergenerational solidarity and observe how factors at individual, familial and societal levels shape the provision of such support in transnational families. For individual-level characteristics, as proposed by Szydlik (2016), we consider the opportunity structure of the grandparent (support provider) and the needs structure of the migrant adult child (support receiver). At the familial level, we address the family composition of both the parent and the adult child, as well as interaction between members of the dyad and family norms. At the societal level, we consider the country of destination.

3.1. Individual-level factors

When we address grandchild care with physical copresence in a destination country, we expect *better opportunities of grandparents* (such as younger age, good health, and more resources) to favour visits abroad and childcare during visits. We also expect *higher needs amongst migrant children* (expressed mainly through occupational status, where being employed means less time available for childcare) to increase the likelihood of grandchild care provision. When grandchild care is taking place in homeland and not abroad, we also expect grandparents' opportunities (related mostly to their health status) to favour care of their grandchildren whose parents had migrated.

3.2. Family-level factors

Regarding the *family structure*, we expect a lower likelihood of grandchild care abroad when the family structure in Romania signals competing demands for the time of the care provider (existence of a partner or other (adult) children in the home country), and a greater likelihood when the family structure of the migrant child signals a greater need for support (the lack of a partner). In terms of gender, we expect maternal grandmothers to be most likely involved in transnational grandparenting.

Compared to the parenting role, the grandparenting role is characterized by normative ambiguity: grandparenthood has very loose normative regulations and is rarely incorporated into a society's laws (Hagestad 2006). There are few normatively explicit expectations regarding the role behaviour of grandparents and the appropriate type and level of familial involvement of grandparents is often a matter of negotiation (Silverstein et al. 1998). However, different national surveys have revealed that Romanians have a powerful sense of duty towards their family members: they strongly rely on family support in the form of grandparents taking care of the grandchildren, of parents' financial help offered to their adult children or even of parents' adaptation of their own life to help their children, when the latter need it (Dorbritz et al. 2005; United Nations Population Fund 2007). We believe that the sense of duty towards their adult children survives in the transnational context, and expect that the stronger the parental responsibility, the more likely it is for the elderly to provide grandchild care.

Besides the increased importance of family norms, studies on Romanian transnational families mention the increased importance of frequent contact between adult migrants and non-migrant parents when support is provided in home country (Hărăguş and Telegdi-Csetri 2018). Accordingly, we expect a close relationship between regular grandchild care and often ICT contact.

3.3. Society-level factors

Regarding the country of destination, we have seen in the previous section that it embraces multiple aspects, from available childcare benefits and services to migration characteristics and employment profiles of migrants. Given these arguments, we expect grandparents to travel and provide grandchild care in countries with both low childcare services and unregulated jobs. In other words, we expect this form of support to be most likely for migrant children in Italy and Spain.

Temporary or circulatory migration is common for rural settlements (Sandu 2005; Anghel 2009). It is triggered by financial reasons and family members of migrants in rural settlements rely on remittances (Anghel 2009). Given these arguments, we consider residents of rural areas to have fewer resources for travelling abroad and expect them to be less likely to visit their migrant children, let alone providing grandchild care during visits.

4. Method

4.1. Data

We work with the data collected through a national survey of 1,506 persons aged 60 years and over with at least one child abroad, which was conducted under the project entitled *Intergenerational solidarity in the context of work migration abroad. The situation of elderly left at home*. The sample was stratified by the development region and the size of the settlement; inside each stratum, localities were randomly selected. To identify possible respondents in selected localities, we used local informants. The survey was conducted during July–October 2016. Worth to mention is that the empirical evidence relies only on the parents' perspective and on their information about the personal characteristics of their children. This may raise the issue of parental bias, but no information directly from the adult children is available to control for possible errors. However, we only requested rather general information describing personal characteristics of the emigrated children.

4.2. Indicators

The dependent variable for grandchild care in the migration country is constructed through combining the frequency of visits of the parent abroad and the provision of grandchild care during these visits, resulting in three categories: the older parent visits the migrant child and offers grandchild care; the older parent visits the migrant child and does not offer grandchild care; and the older parent does not visit the migrant child. The reference variable for grandchild care without transnational mobility has four categories: regular provision of grandchild care; some support, but not regular; grandchild care during vacations; and no provision of grandchild care.

The independent variables that we use are indicators of the conditional factors for intergenerational solidarity, organised into three levels: individual, familial and societal.

At the *individual level*, opportunities of the parents are indicated through their self-rated health status (bad, fair, good) and their age (below 65 years, 65–69 years, and above 70 years). We include here the type of settlement of the parent in Romania (big urban, small urban, rural), viewing it as an indicator of parent's resources.

For the needs structure of the migrant child, we consider his/her position in the labour market, related to the ability to find childcare arrangements: occupational status (working, not working). Given that the survey adopted parent's perspective, there are situations when the parent does not know this information on the migrant child. The duration of migration is included here, too, considering the longer the period, the more resources possessed by the migrant.

At the *familial level*, we have indicators of the family structure of the parent: the living arrangements (alone, with a partner only, another situation) and whether all children are migrants or others remained in Romania, as well as of the migrant child: the partnership status (with or without a coresident partner). Gender combinations have four categories: mother–daughter, mother–son, father–daughter, and father–son. At this level we also introduce the frequency of contact between parents in Romania and the migrant child (via the phone or Internet) (often, rarely, never).

For family norms, we constructed a variable measuring parental responsibility as the expression of a mean value based on six different items: a) Grandparents should provide child-rearing if parents are not able to do so; b) Parents should provide financial assistance to adult children when they are economically insecure; c) If needed, parents should adapt their own life in order to help their adult children; d) Parents' duty is to do whatever is needed

for the sake of their children, even at the expense of their own well-being; e) Grandparents' duty towards grandchildren is to be available to offer support in case of difficult times (divorce or illness); and f) Grandparents' duty is to offer support for child-rearing. The five-point Likert scale ranges from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". Reliability analysis and principal components analysis show that these six items belong to the same theoretical dimension and that there are no other latent factors that can explain the total variance.

At the *societal level*, we used the country of destination as an indicator. Since country embraces diverse realities that may influence the provision of grandchild care, different groupings of countries would have been possible. Because it is built on the characteristics of Romanian migration, we chose the classification of destination countries according to the transnational fields as identified by Sandu (2017). The grouping acknowledges different intergenerational solidarity regimes, too. We grouped destination countries in our sample into six groups: Italy, Spain (plus Greece and Cyprus), France (plus Belgium and Portugal), Germany (plus Austria), the United Kingdom (plus Ireland, the USA and Canada), and Other. There were few cases of migrants in the Nordic field and in Hungary and we included them in Other category.

4.3. Analytic approach

The questionnaire registered intergenerational solidarity between the parent in Romania and every migrant child. Seventy per cent of the respondents have only one migrant child. For the remainder, we chose only one child for the analysis, namely the one with whom intergenerational solidarity is the most intense (while considering both upward and downward functional and emotional solidarity). The reasoning behind this methodological approach is based on Finch's theoretical perspective on family relationships as products of negotiation (Finch and Mason 1993). Beginning with the idea of reciprocity, the concept of negotiated commitments considers an individual to be "actively working out his or her own course of action, and doing so with reference to other people" (Finch and Mason 1993: 59). Being active agents of transnational kin-strengthening practices, middle-aged migrant children who are most committed to extended family members provide more analytical opportunities. We are aware that in this way we have overestimated the existing intergenerational exchanges, but we consider this not to alter the aim of our investigation, which concerns how factors at individual, familial and societal levels shape the existing intergenerational solidarity, particularly in the form of grandchild care.

For the analysis of transnational grandchild care with mobility, we selected older parents who have grandchildren abroad and we had 784 respondents remaining, of whom 749 had valid data for all of the variables involved. This is our working sample. We conducted our investigation by means of multinomial logistic regression.

For the analysis of transnational grandchild care without mobility, we selected older parents who declared that their migrant child had left underage children in Romania when they migrated. We had 201 cases, of which 184 had valid information on all variables involved. As the number of cases was reduced, we employed an alternative multivariate analysis instead of logistic regression, i.e. Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA). This is a statistical procedure which quantifies categorical data in order to create homogeneous groups displayed in a graphical manner. Besides the reference variable in which we are interested (grandchild care), we used the same variables as in the case of grandchild care in the migration country.

5. Results

5.1. Grandchild care in the migration country (with mobility of the provider)

Almost a third of our sample provided grandchild care during visits to their migrant adult children, while a quarter visited them but did not look after their grandchildren (Table 1).

Table 1. Grandchild care provision, with mobility of the provider

	Count	%
visits + help	240	32.0
visits, no help	189	25.2
no visits	320	42.7
Total	749	100

Source: Database *Intergenerational solidarity in the context of work migration abroad. The situation of elderly left at home*, authors' calculations

For multivariate analysis, we present the results of the multinomial logistic regression as marginal effects, which allow the comparison of probabilities of different outcomes (provision of childcare during visits, visits without provision of childcare, no visits) for each independent variable (Table 2).

5.1.1. Individual-level factors

Our results show that for grandchild care in transnational families, similar to findings in national contexts, opportunities of grandparents for the provision of such support matter more than do adult children's needs. Good health and younger age are associated with the provision of grandchild care in the migration country and they become more important in the transnational context when travelling abroad is involved.

Occupational status of the migrant, linked with the accessibility of childcare benefits and services, does not show any effect. The situation of parents not knowing the working status of the migrant child increases the probability of no visits and decreases the probability of offering transnational grandchild care. However, this acts as an indicator of weak ties between parents and their migrant children, and not of occupational related needs or opportunities. More detailed information on children's occupation and its link with the duration of migration and the welfare regime in the destination country might have shed more light on the role of children's needs in transnational grandchild care. The higher the duration of migration, the more likely the visits are, with or without the provision of childcare. We might interpret that visits are associated with a certain stability in the destination country that migrants acquire in time.

We can see in Table 2 that grandparents from rural areas show higher probabilities of not visiting their migrant children and, consequently, lower probabilities of providing grandchild care abroad. (Grand)parents living in rural areas have fewer resources with which to fulfil their role as a childcare provider abroad. Not only fewer financial resources but also fewer social resources would make them highly dependent on migrant children once abroad (e.g. knowledge of a foreign language and the ability to make new contacts).

Our hypothesis regarding elderly parents' opportunities is confirmed, while that concerning the migrant child's needs is not. However, besides the migrant's needs for support, the migrant's opportunity structure becomes important when receiving childcare involves expenses that might be covered by the migrant, such as airplane tickets, and the provision of accommodation for the (grand)parents.

5.1.2. Family-level factors

In terms of the family structure, our results in Table 2 confirm the gendered nature of transnational care. Grandmothers are more likely to travel for childcare than are grandfathers, and mothers are more likely to help their daughters than their sons with childcare.

Grandparents whose children are all migrants are more likely to travel and provide grandchild care, while those with more complex living arrangements in the home country show a higher probability of no visits abroad. It appears that competing demands for (grand)parents' time in the home country decrease the provision of transnational grandchild care that involves mobility. Referring to the adult child's family structure, the absence of a coresident partner decreases the probability of parents' visits. The absence of a partner may indicate a later stage in the migrant's life, when (grand)children are older and, consequently, needs for support are lower. Unfortunately, we have limited information on the life course of migrant children to be able to confirm this.

Similar to individual-level factors, the hypothesis regarding the family structure of the support provider is confirmed, while effects of adult children's family structure are opposite as expected.

In a previous work, we showed that the overlapping of different forms of solidarity becomes more straightforward in transnational families and, consequently, associational solidarity (contact) in transnational families stands out through its potential for other forms of solidarity (Hărăguş and Telegdi-Csetri 2018). Our results confirm this finding: the lesser the contact between parents and their migrant children, the lower the probability of the provision of grandchild care during visits and the higher the probability of no visits abroad. The index of parental responsibility has the expected effect: the higher the index, the more likely it is for the parent to provide grandchild care abroad.

Table 2. Results of the multinomial regression models (marginal effects)

		Count	%	Visits + help dy/dx	Visits, no help dy/dx	No visits dy/dx
Individual-level						
Opportunities of the provider (grandparent)						
Health	Good	216	28.8%	**0.1141** ***	**-0.0877** *	-0.0264
	Fair	335	44.70%	**0.1206** ***	**-0.1028** ***	-0.0178
	Bad (ref.)	198	26.4%			
Age group	Below 65	261	34.8%	**0.1347** ***	**-0.0735** *	-0.0612
	65-69	188	25.1%	**0.1416** ***	**-0.0736** *	-0.0680
	70+ (ref.)	300	40.1%			
Needs of the recipient (migrant adult child)						
Occupational status of the migrant	Not working	39	5.2%	-0.0839	-0.0026	0.0865
	Parent does not know the status	176	23.5%	**-0.1343** ***	-0.0172	**0.1515** ***
	Working (ref.)	534	71.3%			
Duration of migration				**0.0094** ***	**0.0073** ***	**-0.0167** ***
Family-level						
Family structure of the grandparent						
Migrant children	All children are migrant	254	33.9%	**0.0701** **	-0.0210	-0.0491
	Other children in Romania (ref.)	495	66.1%			
Living arrangement of the parent	Alone (ref)	236	31.5%			
	With a partner only	330	44.1%	0.0421	-0.0288	-0.0132
	Other	183	24.4%	-0.0493	-0.0487	**0.0981** **
Family structure of the migrant						
Partner status of the migrant	Without a coresident partner	51	6.8%	-0.0295	**-0.1158** **	**0.1453** **
	With a coresident partner (ref.)	698	93.2%			

Gender combination						
	Father–daughter	157	21.0%	-0.0470	0.0050	0.0420
	Father–son	139	18.6%	**-0.0986** **	0.0178	0.0808
	Mother–daughter	254	33.9%	**0.1094** **	-0.0282	**-0.0812** *
	Mother–son (ref.)	199	26.6%			
Frequency of contact in the last month						
	Never	25	3.3%	**-0.1880** **	-0.0510	**0.2390** **
	Rarely	341	45.5%	**-0.0574** *	-0.0464	**0.1038** ***
	Often	383	51.1%			
Index of parental responsibility				**0.0775** ***	-0.0356	-0.0418
Society-level						
Type of settlement in Romania	Rural	346	46.2%	**-0.1068** ***	-0.0306	**0.1374** ***
	Small urban	182	24.3%	0.0015	0.0061	-0.0076
	Big urban (ref.)	221	29.5%			
Migration country	Italy (ref.)	177	23.6%			
	Spain (+ Greece and Cyprus)	173	23.1%	0.0051	0.0632	-0.0683
	France (+ Belgium and Portugal)	64	8.5%	**-0.1082** *	**0.1676** **	-0.0594
	Germany (+ Austria)	128	17.1%	-0.0676	**0.1374** ***	-0.0698
	UK (+ Ireland. USA and Canada).	147	19.6%	-0.0327	-0.0195	0.0523
	Other	60	8.0%	0.0227	0.0103	-0.03

Source: Database *Intergenerational solidarity in the context of work migration abroad. The situation of elderly left at home*, authors' calculations
Note: * p≤ 0.1, ** p≤ 0.05, ***p≤0.0.

5.1.3. Society-level factors

Society-level characteristics also shape the provision of grandchild care in transnational families. In terms of the destination country, associated with available childcare benefits and services and with the employment profile of migrants, migrants in Italy appear to attract more grandchild care than do migrants in other countries. We connect these results with the unregulated jobs of Romanian migrants and the low childcare provisions in Italy.

Compared with the reference category of Italy, grandparents with migrant children in France (and Belgium and Portugal) are more likely to visit their children without providing grandchild care during their stay. A similar pattern was found for Germany (and Austria). We can see that the hypothesis regarding the society-level factors is confirmed.

5.2. Grandchild care in the home country (without mobility of the provider)

We can see from Table 3 that only a minority of grandparents do not involve themselves in the care of their grandchildren following their parents' migration, while the remainder provide rather regular support.

Table 3. Grandchild care provision, without mobility of the provider

	Count	%
No	42	22.8
On vacations	19	10.3
Sometimes, but not regular	17	9.2
Regular	106	57.6
Total	184	100

Source: Database *Intergenerational solidarity in the context of work migration abroad. The situation of elderly left at home*, authors' calculations

For multivariate analysis, as shown in Table 4, variables included in the model can be grouped into two dimensions. The first dimension accounts for 21% of all variance in the data, while the second dimension accounts for 18% of the variance. Grandchild care, the frequency of contact between the parent and migrant adult child, and the parent's living arrangements have visibly higher values in the first dimension and lower values in the second. Individual- or family-level variables have higher values in the second dimension and much lower values in the first. The partnership status of the migrant child and the

gender combination do not discriminate at all in the two dimensions and the working status has decreased values in the two dimensions. In other words, grandchild care, our reference variable, is mostly related to the frequency of contact between the parent and migrant adult child and the parent's living arrangements (whether the parent lives alone, with a partner or with other family members). Furthermore, these three variables together explain most of the variance in the MCA model.

Table 4. Discrimination measures for the dimensions of Multiple Correspondence Analysis

	MCA dimensions	
	1	2
Grandchild care	**0.548**	0.177
Contact	**0.509**	0.058
Gender combination	0.100	0.005
Migrant children	0.028	0.383
Partnership status of the adult child	0.100	0.010
Occupational status of the migrant	0.185	0.044
Country of destination	0.050	0.223
Type of settlement in Romania	0.060	0.308
Parents' health condition	0.139	0.337
Parents' age	0.082	0.291
Parents' living arrangement	**0.491**	0.196
Cronbach's Alpha[1]	0.620	0.558
Eigenvalue	2.292	2.030
Inertia	0.208(20.837%)	0.185(18.454%)

Source: Database *Intergenerational solidarity in the context of work migration abroad. The situation of elderly left at home*, authors' calculations

Figure 1 shows all categories of each variable included in the analysis in respect of each of the two dimensions. Categories of grandchild care are spread along the first dimension, apart from the outlier "during holidays". "No support" and "sometimes but not regular" categories are in proximity to rare contact between the parent and adult child and to the category of parents living alone. Conversely, there are grandparents offering regular assistance to their grandchildren, in proximity to categories of frequent contact and elderly

[1] Even though the generally accepted lower level of Cronbach's Alpha is 0.7, lower scores similar to those presented above are acceptable in exploratory research. Considering the large number of variables and categories used in our analysis, a small alpha and Inertia can be caused by the increased heterogeneity between groups and reduced correlation.

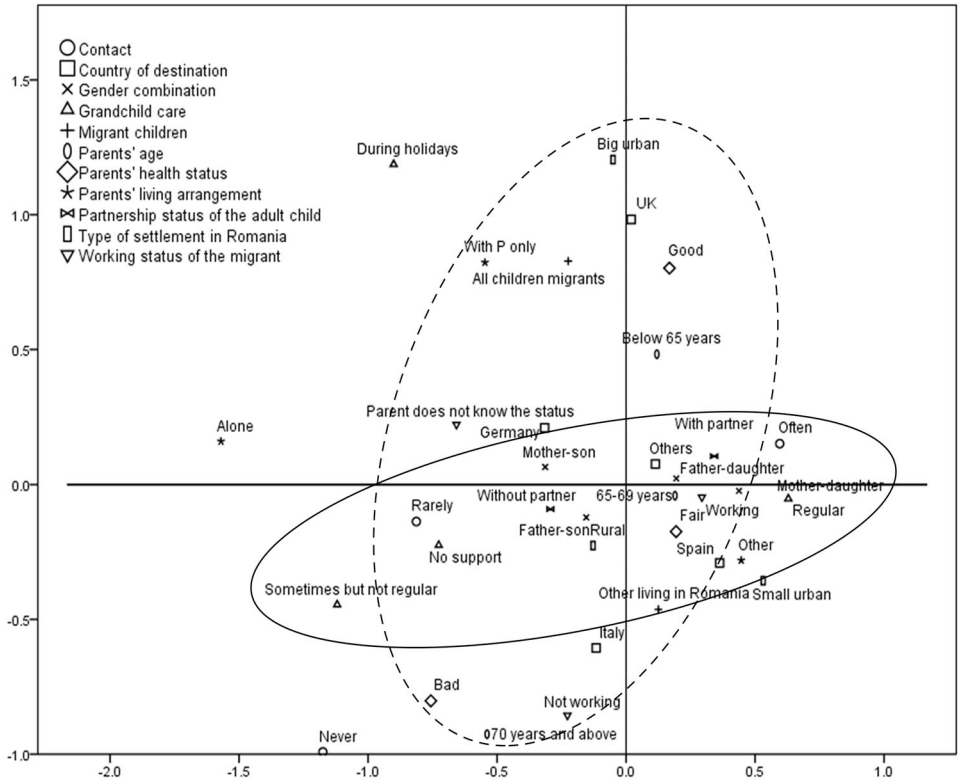
parents residing with other family members. This provides strong evidence to confirm our hypothesis about the importance of frequent contact when support is provided from a distance.

Moreover, here we encounter several categories describing personal characteristics of the grandparents and the country of destination. Therefore, persons aged 65–69 years, those with a fair health condition and those with adult children living in Spain or other countries (except for Italy, Germany and the UK) have great similarities to those grandparents offering regular support. Present result gives important reasons to agree with our hypothesis regarding grandchild care in homeland being offered when grandparents have better opportunities among grandparents to provide support.

Even though the gender combination and partnership status of the migrant child make little contribution to MCA dimensions, we should mention the proximity between the categories "mother–daughter", "with a (coresident) partner", and having an employed migrant child, on the one hand, and regular grandchild care, on the other hand. In proximity to grandparents who provide childcare during holidays only are the categories corresponding to the younger and healthy elderly, living in large cities, being with a partner only, those whose children are all migrants, and the UK as a destination country.

Examining the second dimension, we can easily observe the variation within variables measuring the health condition of the parent and the age group. At the top of the figure we can see younger parents and those with good health, while at the bottom we can see the categories of parents with poor health and those who are very old. At the same time, categories of "no" and "not regular" grandchild support are close to the last-mentioned group. Taking into account the exploratory nature of our empirical evidence based on MCA, there is no doubt that further research is needed in order to assess the specificities of grandchild care in Romania among transnational families in particular and grandparents in general.

Figure 1. Joint plot of category points



Source: Database *Intergenerational solidarity in the context of work migration abroad. The situation of elderly left at home*, authors' calculations

6. Conclusions

Although migration is most often a strategy aimed at helping family members in the home country, flows of support are not exclusively from migrants. An important form of downward support that elderly parents continue to provide, even in conditions of geographical distance, is grandchild care. Studies on intranational families have shown that grandchild care sustains women's participation in the labour market. It plays a similar role in the transnational context, too: either travelling abroad or in the home country, grandparents ease the labour force participation of their migrant adult children.

The frequency and intensity of intergenerational solidarity depend on a variety of factors at individual, familial and societal levels. We investigated in this article how these factors operate on an important form of downward

functional solidarity — grandchild care — in the transnational context. In our investigation, we acknowledged that such support can be provided with copresence in the destination country, involving the parent's mobility, or in the home country, providing care to grandchildren whose parent(s) migrated. Explicative models in the solidarity paradigm can be applied to intergenerational transfers in transnational families in general, and to grandchild care in particular. However, more nuances need to be captured. One is the opportunity structure of the migrants, since they need to provide accommodation and sometimes cover certain travel costs for the (grand)parents. Another refers to the interconnections between forms of intergenerational solidarity, such as associational solidarity (contact) and functional solidarity (grandchild care), which becomes clearer in transnational families.

As other studies have shown, migration does not disrupt intergenerational relations and, even if they suffer certain mutations, they remain mutual and multidirectional (Baldassar et al. 2007). Downward intergenerational solidarity continues to exist, with transnational grandchild care being a main form. The physical ability to travel appears to be essential for providing grandchild care in the destination country, while other family- or society-level characteristics play a role, too. The importance of health status draws attention to future developments of transnational intergenerational exchanges of support: at some point in their life course, grandparents will no longer provide transnational care and will need to be cared for. The constellation of individual-, family- and society-level factors will influence and configure the care that migrants provide, be it in situations of copresence during visits to the home country, from a distance or through coordination or delegation to a third person, most probably another family member.

There are several aspects that differentiate our approach from other studies on Romanian transnational families: we brought the transnational element into the study of intergenerational solidarity, focused on older parents in the home country, approached downward solidarity in the transnational context, and brought the quantitative approach into the study of transnational families. Having older parents' perspective, we have limited information on migrant children's circumstances and consequently limited results on the role of their needs and opportunities. However, the quantitative approach allowed us to test the association between different characteristics at individual, familial and societal levels and the provision of grandchild care, be it with or without transnational mobility of the provider. Thus, we acquired a larger perspective on the provision of grandchild care in the context of migration.

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BOOK REVIEW

Mensch im Mittelpunkt. Bevölkerung – Ökonomie – Erinnerung. Festschrift für Peter Teibenbacher zum 65. Geburtstag (2019). Michaela Hohenwarter, Walter M. Iber, Thomas Kreutzer (Eds). Lit Verlag GmbH & Co KG in 2019, 388 p. ISBN 978-3-643-50927-7.

The book "*Mensch im Mittelpunkt. Bevölkerung – Ökonomie – Erinnerung. Festschrift für Peter Teibenbacher zum 65. Geburtstag*" is dedicated to Professor Peter Teibenbacher on the occasion of his 65th birthday, celebrated in April 2019. The book is the fruit of the work of many authors, collected in three large thematic chapters: Historical Demography *(Historische Demografie)*, Economy and Politics *(Ökonomie und Politik)* and Memory, Identity, Society *(Erinnerung, Identität, Gesellschaft)*. The preface *(Vorworte)* to the book was written by: Martin Polaschek, Thomas Foscht, Heinz Königsmeier, Michaela Hohenwarter, Walter M. Iber, Thomas Krautzer and Doris Wünschl. The authors familiarize the reader with the scientific profile of the Jubilee (pp. 9–40).

Professor Peter Teibenbacher is professionally connected with the Social and Economy Faculty of the Karl-Franz University in Graz (Sozial und Wirtschaftswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Karl-Franzens Universität Graz), Austria, where he obtained his academic degrees and titles, and where he taught students for years in, among others, contemporary history, economic and social history, and historical demography. He was the supervisor of numerous master's theses and doctoral dissertations in the field of history. In his scientific work, Professor Teibenchaher focused mostly on historical demography. His scientific activity is reflected in books, monographs and articles published in domestic and foreign journals, and lectures delivered at universities and international congresses. Professor Teibenbacher's research on the demographic dynamics of the Austrian population, with particular emphasis on the region of Styria from the period of the18th century to the beginning of the 20th centuries, has gained an international reputation. The Professor has chaired and worked for the University in many university committees. Students remember him as an open, kind and extremely helpful person, while his lectures as an unforgettable and exciting experience. The Professor's contribution to science, scientific nurturing of students and young staff, and to the development of the university are exceptionally highly valued.

The first chapter of the book *("*Historische Demografie"*)* is devoted to a variety of issues in the field of historical demography: life cycle and household position of Hungarian women in the preindustrial period (Tamás Faragó), the problem of illegitimacy as a cultural phenomenon and changes in marital fertility (Jan Kok, Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, Siegried Gruber), broadly understood demographic transition in Prussia, Austrian Silesia and North-East Moravia (Rolf Gehrmann, Lumir Dokoupil, Ludmila Nesládková and Radek Lipovski, Andreas Weigl) and/ or the need to establish databases and the use of the statistics for description of local populations (Ioan Bolovan und Luminița Dumănescu, Werner Drobesch).

Tamás Faragó's work entitled "Life cycle and household position of women in rural Hungary during the pre-industrial period" is first chapter of the book (pp. 43–56). The author has focused on life cycle and household position of women from rural regions of 18th-century Hungary (the pre-industrial period) and compared this with the socio-economic and demographic position of women from western European societies, described using the model proposed by Sölvi Sogner (1991). The author – referring to 8 characteristics about family / married couple / woman's position in the West, as given by Sogner (p. 47) – sees discrepancies in both the social situation and demographic characteristics of women from agricultural areas of Hungary in the period studied as compared to their western counterparts. Faragó lists these differences, giving an apt description of rural society from this period. In the 18th century Hungarian households were "the productive unit except for the landless loss where it served only as a customer unit" (p. 47), and until the introduction of Austrian civil law in the mid-19th century, the system of inheritance of property preferred men. The author also points to the surplus of men over women, which is explained by the effect of mass immigration in the 18th century after expulsion by the Turks. The age at marriage was low until the beginning of the 20th century, and was between 22–24 years in the case of men and 19–22 years for women. There were also differences in the age at marriage according to the size of the centre of residence (higher in cities than in villages), ethnicity (higher among population of German origin than among other nationalities), or region (earlier in eastern and central regions than western and northern ones), although it was difficult for the author to clearly answer why there was an age difference between women and men at the time of entering into matrimony. In the case of German immigrant peasants to Hungary in the 18th century the spouses' age was similar (near-to-west model). But the author gives also examples of large differences between the ages of partners at the time of marriage. Fertility rates were moderate at the beginning

of the 19th century, but because of the early age of marriage, the number of births per marriage was slightly higher than the rates provided by Sogner (1991), at 5–6 children per pair. Until the introduction of civil marriage in 1895 divorces were virtually unknown in Hungary.

The importance of statistics and databases in creating a description of human groups is emphasized by Werner Drobesch in the work "Ohne Statistik geht es nich (mehr)...". In this work the author characterizes Austrian society of the Vörmarz period (English: pre-March) in the framework of Joseph Hain's statistics (pp. 57–70). The need for statistics and, especially, large databases were taken up by Bolovan and Dumănescu in the chapter "*The Historical Population Database of Transylvania - A Story of a work in Progress*"(pp. 133–146). A few years earlier both had written and then worked on a project whose aim was to establish the first database for the historical population of Transylvania, covering the period 1850–1914. The creation of The Historical Population Database of Transylvania (HPDT) was made possible by the funding of a large project by the SEE-Norwegian mechanism in 2014–2017, and implemented at the Centre for Population Studies Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca in cooperation with Norwegian Historical Data Centre, University of Tromsø. The authors point out many problems and scientific challenges they had encountered while creating HPDT: a lack of a unified way of keeping registers in Transylvania, deficiencies in registration, double-registration, registration conducted in many languages by followers of Orthodox, Greek-Catholics, Catholics, Reformed, Lutherans or Jewish, different spelling of names, etc. The building of HPDT was an enormous undertaking, attended not only by CPS employees, but also by collective workers and volunteers. Bolovan and Dumănescu highlight the wide range of potential users of the database: researchers and scholars to genealogy enthusiasts. As the authors write, "HPDT became a valid instrument for Romanian historical research" (p. 137). The Historical Population Database of Transylvania provides many opportunities to study of multicultural population of Transylvania in the 19th and early 20th centuries. It is a powerful source of information for historians, demographers, sociologists, economists, linguistics and medical historians. It allows one to conduct research on fertility decline, urbanization processes, household composition, and socio-economic structure of inhabitants, changes in health and disease profile over time.

Jan Kok in "Deconstructing Illegitimacy" (pp. 71–79) underlines the importance of the phenomenon of illegitimate births in studies of fertility in historic Europe. In some regions of Austria, the level of illegitimate births around 1900 was one of the highest in Europe. This phenomenon was treated in many European countries as being too marginal and not warranting of too much attention. Kok emphasizes that Peter Teibenbacher was the researcher who highlighted the problem of illegitimate births and the need to set this phenomenon in the complicated historical and socio-economic context of the region. Teibenbacher studied the Wald parish located in the alpine region of Styria between 1880–1939 and compared single Catholic and Protestant mothers in terms of their age, number of illegitimate children, social and moral norms, tolerance or social structure, and relationships between professional groups in the region, e.g. high share of servants and farmhands in the region "for whom household formation and marriage was difficult (…) or took a lot of time" (p. 71). According to Kok, Peter Teibenbacher showed mutual interactions between socio-economic and cultural factors as interacting with each other "to produce local levels and perhaps local traditions of illegitimacy" (p. 72).

Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux also deals with the problem of lonely motherhood in historic Europe ("Lone Motherhood in Past Europe"…, pp. 81–100). The author mentions "models of lone motherhood" and sets them in the context of economic and social conditions in various European regions. She indicates to what extent illegitimacy could be related / determined by the principles of non-egalitarian transmission of family assets and values, as a single-heir strategy. Fauve-Chamoux gave attention to the fact that high rates of lone mothers were reported in some areas of Europe. This was related to their early employment, usually in domestic service. The author also emphasizes changes in the approach to illegitimate children in Europe over the 19^{th}– 21^{st} centuries, which is associated with "family strategies had disappeared" and an increase in relationships without marriages (families without matrimonies; p. 99).

The problem of demographic transition in Germany and its causative factors was discussed by Rolf Gehrmann ("Die demographische Transition in Deutschland in historischer Perspektive"; pp. 101–114). The author points to limitations around fertility tests, especially in the first half of the 19th century. These limitations result from the lack of data about the number of women (and married women) per age groups for calculation indexes of overall fertility I_f and of marital fertility I_g, especially before 1867. In the case of Prussia, the author shows how to overcome this inconvenience by using data on the

number of women aged 14–44 recorded in censuses conducted in Prussia every three years (p. 105). Rolf Gehrmann realizes that it is not possible to find a one-way causal relationship between mortality and a decrease in fertility, so he proposes searching for explanations that go beyond the theory of demographic transition, narrowed only to hypotheses concerning the causes of birth decline (p. 112).

Stillbirths have not yet been adequately addressed in historical demographic research, mainly because of incomplete registration, ambiguous legal regulations related to their definition or difficulties in correctly identifying still births. Stillborn children were buried in specially separated, un-consecrated places in cemeteries. Since stillborn children were not baptised, their souls wandered like "will-o'-the-wisps, never achieving eternal salvation" (see also: Kemkes-Grottenthaler 2003b; Liczbińska 2009a, b, 2015; van Poppel 1992; Ward 2003). In many cases, parents desperately urged midwifes to baptize a child who earlier had been born without signs of life, because „according to folk tradition the souls of unbaptized infants became ghost" (p. 115). Lumir Dokoupil, Ludmila Nesládková and Radek Lipovski in their paper "Stillbirth rates from 1881 to 1913 in Austrian Silesia and North-East Moravia" (pp. 115–132) document the state of research on stillbirths in the city of Opava (Troppau) – the main centre of Austrian Silesia, in the light of which the number of infants born without signs of life – and suddenly baptised – was almost identical in the first half of the 19th century as in the second half. Re-examination of cases of such births tends to recognize them as dead just after birth, i.e. as cases of perinatal deaths. The authors also emphasize the differences in tolerance for stillbirths between regions, which have their own deep cultural conditions/traditions(?) (religious, national, etc.).

Andreas Weigl addressed the problem of migration in the Habsburg monarchy in the context of the first demographic transition and the industrial revolution in Central Europe "Migration während des Ersten Demographischen Überganges in Mitteleuropa (…)" (pp. 147– 163). The author emphasizes the importance of such factors as the development of new transport technologies, change in social contexts (stable working conditions, increase in life expectancy, and decrease in family size) or political (nationalist) conditions in driving or decelerating migration movements from the second half of the 19th century to the pre-war period.

Siegfried Gruber, in "Eheliche Fertilität in Albanien vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg" (pp. 165–174), paid attention to the fact that Albania, next to Kosovo, was the last country in Europe in which there was a transition of fertility rates from high and variable to low and stable. After the Second World

War the value of TFR was 6 children per woman, and even up until 1960, –7 children per woman. In 2002 this rate was already high at 2.2 children per woman. Age-specific fertility rates in Albania before WWII were characterized by relatively low fertility of young married women and an increase in fertility at the age of about 30 years. Large urban centres, e.g. Tirana, differed from this model. In this urban environment, high fertility was replaced early by a low one before WWII, while in the rest of the country these changes were only seen in the 1950s. Gruber writes that such a fertility pattern could have been a consequence of the low marital age of women and the low status of a young wife in a strongly patriarchal society (p. 174).

The second chapter of the book dedicated to Professor Peter Teibenbacher is entitled *Economy and Politics (Ökonomie und Politik)*. This chapter opens with a paper by Stefan Karner on the state of the Russian economy several years before the outbreak of the First World War ("Die Russische Wirtschaft in den Jahrzehnten vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg (…)"; pp. 177–190). Karner focused on analysing the growth of industrial production (coal, steel, cotton or machine construction), export revenues, including grain, compares Russia's Gross Domestic Product in 1897–1913 and, in turn, compares them to other great powers: France, Germany, the USA, Austria and Great Britain. The author embeds the fluctuating economy of the country against the background of economic and social unrest, and later the political one, especially after 1920.

In "Hope and Reality *(…)*" Dornik puts forward hypotheses regarding the exploitation of the Ukrainian economy and its relationship with the delayed collapse of the Habsburg Empire (pp. 191–201).

The chapter *Ökonomie und Politik* is a collection of essays on political and economic matters of contemporary history. This is represented, for example, by the essay of Thomas Krautzer "Von der Regionalstudie Obersteiermark zur Gründung der SFG (…)" (pp. 203–220). The author asks questions about the sense of regional policy and answers that regional efforts – as well as national and international ones – lead to economic improvement and to an overall increase in prosperity ("region matters"; p. 205). Walter M. Iber also poses questions about the sense of regional policy in his essay "Region matters". Den "Schuldenkanzler" relativieren? (…)" (pp. 221–235), while Karl Farmer asks "Warum Protektionismus in den USA wieder salonfähig ist"? (pp. 237–249). In turn, Rudolf Dujmovits in "Familienbesteuerung in Österreich (…)", presents the controversy surrounding family policy in Austria (251–268). Michaela Hohenwarter, in "Umbrüche in der österreichischen Universitätsfinanzierung am Bespiel, Studienerfolg" (pp. 269–277), answers

questions on how policies through education management influence the current development of Austrian universities and how the current legal framework controls university management in the short, medium and long term.

The chapter *Memory, Identity, Society* (*Erinnerung, Identität, Gesellschaft*) opens with the Gerald Schöpfer's essay entitled "Das oral History-Archiv am Institut für Wirtschafts-, Sozial Und Unternehmensgeschichte der Karl-Franzens- Universität Graz" (pp. 281–291). The author emphasizes the importance of archiving accounts of witnesses or memories in the reconstruction and documentation of historical events. In the Oral-History Archiv des Institutes für Wirtschafts-, Sozial- und Unternehmensgeschichte, Karl-Franzens-Universität in Graz, systematic collection of this type of data was started in 1984. Schöpfer emphasizes the huge contribution of Peter Teibenbacher in creating this archive, conducting countless interviews, as well as using the oral history method in his scientific work. The role of the Peter Teibenbacher's research using oral history is also highlighted by Martin Haidinger in "*Austriakische Splitter. Identität, Erinnerung, und was Peter Teibenbacher damit zu tun hat*" (pp. 293–303).

Other matters raised in the chapter *Erinnerung, Identität, Gesellschaft* focus on the issue of financing social welfare and treatment (Carlos Watzka in "Vertragsbeziehungen zwischen Gewerbegenossenschaften und Ordenskrankenanstalten im konfessionalisierten Österreich (…)" (pp. 305–320), paths from the monarchy to the creation of the first republic (Helmut Konrad in "…der Rest is Österreich" (pp. 321–339), and the peaceful ideas of Bertha von Suttner, Alfred Fried and Richard N. Coudenhove-Kalergi (Anita Ziegerhofer in "Bertha von Suttner, Alfred Fried und Richard Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi. Drei österreichische Pazifisten" und deren „Europa-Ideen" (pp. 341–355), appeals to populist ideals (Leopold Neuhold in "Vox Populi - Vox Dei? Populismus als Verwechslung des Vorfindlichen mit dem Richtigen"; pp. 357–372) or the problem of data processing in historical research (Diether Kramer, "Der Nutzen von „prädiktive Analytics" am Beispiel einer individuelle Delir-Prognose im klinischen Alltag"(pp. 373–382).

In summary, "Mensch im Mittelpunkt. Bevölkerung – Ökonomie – Erinnerung. Festschrift für Peter Teibenbacher zum 65. Geburtstag" is not only an ordinary book "about the professor" and "for the professor". It is a book with very rich content, giving deep insights into the demography, economy, social stratification and politics of multi-cultural Europe between the 18th and the beginning of the 21st centuries. The book is highly recommended for experts (researchers and scholars) and followers/devotees/adherents of

historical demography and economic and political history, as well as students. The idea of compiling and writing such a cardinal and valuable work, the engagement and work of the editors, authors of individual chapters and editorial staff all deserves high recognition.

Finally, allow me a bit of private indulgence. I met Professor Peter Teibenbacher in Cluj Napoca in July 2014. At the time I was a participant in EHPS-Net International Summer School in Historical Demography – Introductory course, Second Edition, organized by "Babeș-Bolyai" University, Cluj-Napoca. The Professor taught me historical demography. Later I met him several times, among others at the ESSHC and War Hecatomb congresses in Lisbon (2017) and Cluj-Napoca (2018). I am extremely happy and fortunate to have met such a fantastic teacher and researcher, who truly is an amazing man, a source of positive energy and possessing a wonderful sense of humour!

Reviewed by Grażyna Liczbińska
Institute of Human Biology and Evolution , Faculty of Biology Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland
Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Science, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic
grazyna@amu.edu.pl

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Centre for Population Studies
Avram Iancu St, No. 68, 3rd floor
400083 Cluj-Napoca, Romania
rjps@ubbcluj.ro