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Ploughmen's society. A prosopography of an agrarian community from Transylvania on the eve of modernity

Razvan Ioan Dumitru

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SORBONNE UNIVERSITÉ

ÉCOLE DOCTORALE II
Centre Roland Mousnier
Histoire moderne et contemporaine
et

DURHAM UNIVERSITY

T H È S E

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Răzvan-Ioan DUMITRU

Le : 4 septembre 2023

LA SOCIÉTÉ DES LABOUREURS
UNE PROSOPOGRAPHIE D'UNE COMMUNAUTÉ
AGRAIRE DE TRANSYLVANIE À LA VEILLE DE LA
MODERNITÉ

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PLOUGHMEN'S SOCIETY

A PROSOPOGRAPHY OF AN AGRARIAN COMMUNITY

FROM TRANSYLVANIA ON THE EVE OF MODERNITY

LA SOCIÉTÉ DES LABOUREURS

UNE PROSOPOGRAPHIE D'UNE COMMUNAUTÉ AGRAIRE

DE TRANSYLVANIE À LA VEILLE DE LA MODERNITÉ

Răzvan Ioan Dumitru

A dissertation submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History

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He remembers those vanished years,
As though looking through a dusty window pane,
The past is something he could see, but not touch
And everything he sees is blurred and indistinct.
He has been yearning everything of the past.
If only he could break through that dusty window,
He could have gone back into the vanished years.

Wong Kar-Wai

In the mood for love

花樣年華

To my parents,

and to Messrs. Cohen, Dylan and Knopfler

who kept me company for too many nights

Abstract

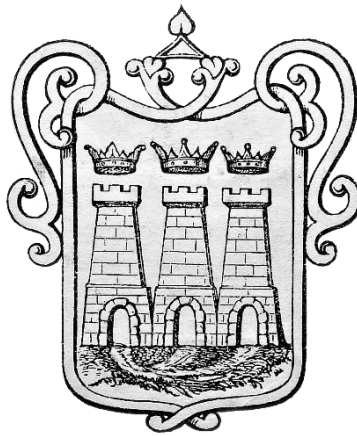
The East Central European peasantry, caught in the inescapability of history, actively participated in the major events that defined this space during the modern period. In the complex rural society of the Transylvanian Romanian ploughmen, which makes the subject of this work, the outside world was both a mirage and a mundane experience. Treated as homogenous assembles, as unitary masses, and often reproduced by the grand historiographical narratives of the past century from the perspective of a class struggle, the peasantry was repeatedly unjustifiably martyred. Even when this was not the case, the interest showed to the Transylvanian village remained dominated by specific themes questioning the development of the institutions rather than of the population that upheld them. Constructing on these previous historiographical efforts, the main questions addressed in this research aim to discover who the members of this rural society are and what drove them to adapt and accept novelty in the face of the constant challenges of history. Requiring a permanent balance between accessing personal stories and connecting those stories to the significant historical events that were taking place in Transylvania and Europe in general, mixed-method research was employed using townhall records, parish records and correspondence, civil status records, newspapers and periodicals, oral history interviews and a series of ego documents such as photography and memoirs. Revealing individualities whose acceptance of tradition was constructed in accordance with their pragmatic desideratum, the members of this agrarian society, that dominated the Transylvanian social landscape until the twentieth century, embraced change as a perquisite of survival, resulting in surprisingly original answers.

Keywords: Family history, rural history, local institutions, modern period, Transylvania

Résumé

Prise dans le caractère incontournable de l'histoire, la paysannerie d'Europe centrale a participé activement aux grands événements qui définissent cet espace entre la fin de l'époque moderne et le milieu du 20e siècle. Dans la société rurale complexe des laboureurs roumains de Transylvanie, qui fait l'objet de ce travail, le monde extérieur était à la fois un mirage et une expérience banale. Traitée comme des assemblées homogènes, comme des masses unitaires, et souvent représentée par les grands récits historiographiques du siècle passé selon une perspective de lutte des classes, la paysannerie a été maintes fois martyrisée de manière injustifiée. Même quand ce n'était pas le cas, l'intérêt pour le village de Transylvanie restait tributaire de thèmes spécifiques interrogeant le développement des institutions plutôt que celui de la population qui les faisait respecter. S'appuyant sur ces efforts historiographiques antérieurs, les principales questions abordées dans cette recherche visent à savoir qui sont les membres de cette société rurale et ce qui les a poussés à s'adapter et à accepter la nouveauté face aux défis constants de l'histoire. Nécessitant un équilibre permanent entre l'accès aux histoires privées et la connexion de ces histoires aux événements historiques plus importants qui se déroulaient en Transylvanie et en Europe en général, la recherche a adopté une méthodologie plurielle utilisant des registres d'état civil, des journaux et des périodiques, des entretiens d'histoire orale et une série d'ego documents tels que des photographies et des mémoires. Révélateurs d'individualités dont l'acceptation de la tradition s'est construite en accord avec leur desideratum pragmatique, les membres de cette société agraire, qui a dominé le paysage social transylvanien jusqu'au XXe siècle, ont embrassé le changement comme condition de survie, ce qui a donné des réponses originales.

Mots-clés: Histoire de la famille, histoire rurale, institutions locales, histoire contemporaine, Transylvanie



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Préface

Présentation générale

Cette thèse se concentre sur le développement historique de la communauté roumaine de Transylvanie dans la Terre Royale (Lat. Fundus Regius, Ger. Königsboden), en focalisant son regard sur le bourg de Rupea. La recherche explore la formation d'une communauté roumaine distincte à Rupea et son intégration face aux transformations sociales et économiques plus larges, qui ont caractérisées cette région. En analysant les structures familiales, l'économie des ménages et les institutions locales, l'étude démontre comment la paysannerie roumaine s'est adaptée aux circonstances changeantes et a participé au processus de modernisation. La thèse soutient que, malgré son enracinement dans une société agraire, le monde rural des Roumains de Transylvanie a connu des transformations continues, entraînant le passage d'une société précapitaliste à une société proto-capitaliste. En examinant le contexte historique, les structures sociales et les interactions des différents acteurs au sein de la société des laboureurs, la recherche éclaire les dynamiques complexes de la modernisation dans l'espace rural.

Le développement institutionnel spécifique de la Terre Royale remonte à la période médiévale lorsque les colons germanophones s'installèrent dans cette région sur l'invitation des rois de Hongrie et obtinrent d'eux une série de privilèges. Leur situation politique se consolida au lendemain de la révolte de 1324 contre le voïvode de Transylvanie, et se traduisit par une réorganisation administrative du territoire qu'ils occupent. C'est dans ce contexte que Rupea – ou, comme on l'appelait à l'époque, Kuholm – a été mentionnée pour la première fois dans des documents. Par la suite, après l'écrasement de la révolte, le territoire

habité par les Saxons a été réorganisé et divisé en petites unités administratives appelées sièges. Rupea est devenue le centre d'un siège connu sous le nom de Sedes Rupensis ou Sedes Kozdensis, attirant les villages voisins qui se sont regroupés autour de ce bourg. Au fil des siècles, l'activité économique de la population saxonne locale permit le développement d'un important secteur artisanal à Rupea. Parallèlement au processus de transition d'une partie de la population saxonne locale de l'agriculture vers le secteur manufacturier, une communauté roumaine a émergé à Rupea, qui s'est ainsi occupée des activités agricoles précédemment exercées par les familles des habitants saxons.

L'identification de la présence de familles roumaines à Rupea avant la période de la principauté (1541-1699) est d'une moindre importance pour l'effort historiographique actuel. Au lieu de cela, l'accent est mis sur la formation d'une communauté stable qui pourrait être identifiée dans ce bourg. Fondée sur le concept de *Gemeinschaft*, qui fait référence à un groupe de personnes interagissant au sein d'une structure spatiale définie et maintenant des relations sociales basées sur des solidarités culturelles et économiques, cette thèse cherche à explorer le développement de la communauté roumaine de Rupea, que l'on peut retracer dès le XVIIe siècle.

Cette recherche s'inscrit dans le cadre historiographique de l'école des Annales et adopte la méthode de l'histoire totale pour examiner la communauté roumaine de Rupea. L'analyse combine toutes les sources qualitatives et quantitatives, ainsi qu'une revue de littérature existante couvrant des sources en anglais, français, roumain, allemand, hongrois, latin et, exceptionnellement, en italien et espagnol. Les sources primaires comprennent des documents d'archives, des registres paroissiaux, des recensements, des journaux locaux et des témoignages oraux. Ces sources sont complétées par des sources secondaires provenant d'études sur l'histoire de cette région et sur l'histoire de la famille, du monde rural et des

institutions en Europe. L'utilisation de sources variées permet une approche holistique de l'histoire de la communauté roumaine de Rupea, en prenant en compte à la fois les aspects quantitatifs et qualitatifs de son développement.

L'objectif de cette recherche est de mettre en lumière la manière dont la modernisation s'est déroulée dans cette société et d'identifier les principaux facteurs qui ont contribué à ce processus. En analysant un éventail d'institutions et de structures internes et externes, la thèse révèle la nature dynamique du paysage rural roumain et remet en question les idées reçues sur la stagnation et l'immobilité associées à l'Ancien Régime.

La société rurale roumaine de Transylvanie durant l'entre-deux-guerres se caractérise par un ensemble de réalités économiques, technologiques et institutionnelles qui reflétaient celles de l'Ancien Régime. Cependant, cette thèse démontre que cette société a connu des changements et des développements significatifs depuis l'arrivée des Habsbourg jusqu'à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, qui témoignent d'une société en constante évolution. Les structures familiales, économiques, administratives et culturelles au sein du groupe professionnel des paysans n'étaient pas figées, mais étaient davantage des constructions dynamiques qui se sont en permanence adaptées aux défis produits par les mutations historiques en cours. La survie et la prospérité du ménage sont devenues la force motrice des actions de développement et des adaptations des paysans.

Un moment clé dans la formation de la société des laboureurs sur la Terre Royale a été la privatisation des terres arables pendant la période de la principauté, qui s'est produite environ deux cents ans avant l'abolition du servage dans les comtés au moment de la Révolution de 1848. Ainsi, sur la Terre Royale, les laboureurs ont commencé, environ deux siècles avant leurs pairs du reste de la Transylvanie, à adopter un nouveau système économique qui a introduit des hiérarchies sociales fondées sur la propriété foncière privée, la

terre devenant un facteur déterminant du statut social. Les laboureurs, dont l'identité était étroitement liée à la terre dont ils dépendaient, ont pris des mesures considérables pour protéger leur existence. La propriété foncière est devenue l'élément central autour duquel la société des laboureurs s'est construite, et cette possession a agi comme force motrice qui a propulsé la modernisation institutionnelle au sein du monde rural.

En se concentrant sur la population roumaine de Rupea comme étude de cas, les conclusions sont destinées à avoir une application plus large à différents niveaux géographiques, sociaux et politiques, ainsi qu'à des discours plus vastes dans les espaces ruraux de l'ancienne monarchie des Habsbourg et de la paysannerie européenne. La thèse adopte une approche globale en examinant non seulement les laboureurs eux-mêmes, mais aussi les structures et les acteurs interconnectés qui définissent la société des laboureurs. L'objectif est d'explorer comment chacun d'entre eux a contribué au processus de modernisation plus largement et de comprendre leur interconnexion. La recherche remet en question le concept d'appartenance à la société des laboureurs, mettant en évidence l'influence à la fois des facteurs géographiques et structurels qui rapprochent ou séparent les individus et les communautés. À travers la thèse, je soutiens que les familles roumaines de Transylvanie, façonnées par leur situation économique, leur statut juridique et leurs expériences culturelles spécifiques, ont développé des institutions qui reflétaient les réalités sociales locales de leur territoire. Motivés par des nécessités pragmatiques, les paysans se sont adaptés à des circonstances nouvelles afin de garantir la survie de leurs ménages. Ces adaptations ont eu des effets structurels profonds sur la société rurale, dissipant l'idée de stagnation et révélant un processus continu de modernisation interne.

Résumé des chapitres

Organisés autour de trois thèmes centraux – structures familiales, économie domestique et institutions locales – les cinq chapitres de cette thèse proposent une exploration cohérente mais distincte du processus de modernisation dans le monde rural. Ceux qui s'engageront dans une lecture complète acquerront une compréhension approfondie des diverses manifestations de la modernisation, tandis que ceux intéressés par des thèmes spécifiques pourront se concentrer sur certains chapitres plus pertinents pour leur recherche afin d'obtenir une vue d'ensemble du travail.

Le premier chapitre pose les fondations de l'ensemble du travail en offrant une perspective démographique et généalogique sur le développement de la communauté roumaine à Rupea. Il utilise la démographie historique et l'anthroponymie pour définir cette population, en consacrant une partie importante à l'exploration des hiérarchies locales façonnées par la dynamique familiale.

La formation d'une communauté roumaine à Rupea semble avoir eu lieu au cours du XVIIe siècle lorsqu'un certain nombre de familles s'installe définitivement dans ce bourg. Arrivant pour la plupart des villages de la partie sud de Rupea Seat, ces familles constituent le noyau de la communauté roumaine jusqu'à la première partie du XXe siècle. Les futures vagues d'implantation jusqu'au milieu du XIXe siècle contribueront à ce fonds originel de familles, qui se sont rapidement intégrées dans la communauté en devenir. La croissance démographique qui caractérise la province sous les Habsbourg se manifeste également à Rupea et se traduit par le développement d'un système de parenté. Cette institution complexe impose des hiérarchies bien déterminées qui servent d'outil pour manipuler les aspirations sociales et économiques de la famille. Utilisant l'histoire orale comme méthode d'enquête, les

membres des familles révèlent sous diverses formes l'importance et le but des constructions d'identité de parenté.

La deuxième partie du chapitre est construite sous la forme de trois études de cas qui offrent trois perspectives différentes sur l'évolution sociale de la parenté et son importance dans la communauté. La première est une enquête généalogique sur l'une des plus anciennes familles roumaines de Rupea, qui n'a cependant jamais réussi à développer une structure de parenté mais qui est restée très influente dans la vie communautaire. La deuxième enquête porte sur la formation et la valeur symbolique du concept de parenté dans l'un des plus grands systèmes de parenté patrilinéaire rencontrés dans la communauté roumaine de Rupea. Utilisant l'histoire orale pour déterminer les formes d'autoreprésentation, l'étude identifie divers éléments qui positionnent la parenté dans une hiérarchie sociale locale.

La dernière étude de cas porte sur le système de parenté des familles de prêtres locaux. Ce groupe professionnel se distingue par l'implantation au sein du monde rural d'un système semblable à celui d'une caste. Cette étude porte sur sept familles différentes de prêtres qui ont vécu à Rupea entre le XVIIIe et le XXe siècle et met en évidence le réseau conjugal complexe ainsi que d'autres éléments qui renforcent cette situation particulière.

Le deuxième chapitre étudie les pratiques matrimoniales de la population roumaine de Rupea en se concentrant sur la période austro-hongroise. Facteur déterminant de la formation de la parenté, les institutions du mariage servent à cette population à une série de finalités sociales et économiques. Dans une société où le capital n'est pas ou peu disponible, le mariage représentait la seule possibilité d'augmenter sa fortune. Pour cette raison, pour les laboureurs roumains de Rupea qui valorisaient la terre arable avant toute autre chose, le mariage était considéré comme un moment de passage symbolique qui permettait la préservation et de préférence l'extension de son domaine.

Dans la première partie du chapitre est présenté un aperçu des divers actes législatifs entrés en fonction entre le XVIIIe et le XIXe siècle qui ont directement ou indirectement influencé les pratiques matrimoniales. L'introduction du service militaire obligatoire à la fin du XVIIIe siècle par les Habsbourg ou l'introduction du Code civil en 1894 ne sont que quelques-uns des moments les plus importants qui ont marqué une série de schémas matrimoniaux dans la population de la province.

Le reste du chapitre analyse les implications socio-économiques de quatre situations matrimoniales, le premier mariage, le remariage, le concubinage et le divorce. À l'aide de méthodes quantitatives, les quatre situations sont explorées du point de vue de la population roumaine de Rupea en mettant en évidence l'évolution de l'âge des mariages, leur saisonnalité mais surtout, les caractéristiques des trois types d'endogamie – géographique, culturelle et sociale – qui définissent le système local de normes.

L'examen des quatre situations révèle comment les institutions du mariage imposent une série de normes locales qui correspondent aux intérêts économiques et sociaux de la paysannerie. L'importance de préserver et d'étendre le patrimoine familial a en grande partie dicté les stratégies conjugales suivies par les individus et leurs familles. Si cette nécessité de se marier n'annule pas l'importance, ni le poids du sacrement de mariage, l'entrée de la société rurale de Transylvanie dans un cycle capitaliste aboutit, surtout après 1848, à ajouter une nouvelle dimension davantage pragmatique à cette institution.

Le troisième chapitre, qui est le seul chapitre dans la deuxième partie de la thèse, étudie le développement de la société rurale du point de vue de l'agriculture et de l'économie des ménages. Organisé en trois parties, les deux premières explorent les liens entre l'économie domestique, l'agriculture et l'impact de la mobilité temporaire. La troisième partie

est une étude de cas sur la situation économique d'une famille de laboureurs de Rupea entre le dernier quart du XIXe siècle et le milieu du XXe siècle.

Dans la première partie de ce chapitre est présentée l'évolution historique de la propriété privée en Terre Royale, en mettant l'accent sur la situation de la population roumaine. Ce territoire étant sous administration saxonne, la population roumaine se trouvant en Terre Royale ne bénéficie pas des mêmes privilèges dont jouissent les Saxons. La transition vers la propriété privée, qui s'accélère au cours du XVIIe siècle, marginalise la population roumaine qui devient majoritairement locataire des terres possédées par les Saxons. Malgré la transition de la population des bourgs vers l'artisanat et le commerce, impliquant qu'une plus petite partie des Saxons travaille dans l'agriculture, ce groupe reste de facto propriétaire des terres arables exploitées par la population roumaine. Cette situation se prolonge au XXe siècle, et a de graves répercussions sur le développement économique de la population rurale roumaine qui pratiquait en grande majorité une agriculture de subsistance.

Après la Première Guerre mondiale, l'État procède à la mise en œuvre d'une réforme agraire très attendue. Le processus de mettre en œuvre la réforme, qui s'étend sur toute la période de l'entre-deux-guerres, contribue à faire des Roumains le plus grand groupe de propriétaires terriens de Rupea. Même dans cette situation, une analyse de la possession des terres dans ce bourg pendant cette période révèle que 89 % de la population pratiquait l'agriculture. Néanmoins, la propriété foncière par famille montre que les Roumains avaient encore la moyenne la plus basse. Compte tenu d'un manque général d'investissement dans les outils agricoles et d'éducation agraire, la majeure partie de la population rurale roumaine n'est pas devenue une unité de production effective envisagée par l'État.

Dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle, les nouvelles possibilités de mobilité ont créé pour les laboureurs roumains la possibilité de compléter leurs revenus en pratiquant

temporairement d'autres occupations que l'agriculture. Ce sujet, qui correspond à la deuxième partie de ce chapitre, traite de trois types de migrations temporaires et de leurs implications pour l'économie des ménages. La migration temporaire est étroitement liée au développement des infrastructures de communication et notamment à l'ouverture des premières lignes de train dans cette partie de l'Europe. Ainsi, après la connexion de Rupea à la ligne de train orientale (Oradea-Braşov) qui reliait le sud-est de la Transylvanie à l'Europe centrale, les laboureurs devaient pratiquer pendant la période de repos agricole une forme de commerce itinérant. En pratique, ils achetaient des marchandises directement auprès des usines des zones industrialisées telles que la Bohême et la Silésie et revendaient les produits dans les villages de montagne de ces régions. Ce revenu supplémentaire fournissait suffisamment de capital pour pouvoir acquérir des biens mobiliers et autres nécessités pour les familles.

Vers la même période, l'ouverture de la ligne de train entre Braşov et Bucarest a facilité l'accès au travail pour les laboureurs roumains de Transylvanie. Comme il ne s'agissait pas d'un centre industriel, la population se rendait dans la capitale roumaine pour chercher du travail en tant que domestiques ou gardiens. Pratiqué principalement par des jeunes célibataires désireux d'épargner avant le mariage, environ 15% de la population de la région de Rupea a utilisé ce type de mobilité pendant l'entre-deux-guerres.

Enfin, vers la fin du siècle, les Européens de l'Est deviennent la principale source d'émigration vers les États-Unis, et les laboureurs roumains de Transylvanie ne font pas exception. Promettant une amélioration rapide de leurs conditions économiques, la migration temporaire vers les États-Unis était dominée par les hommes qui travaillaient dans les centres industriels. Le sacrifice de renoncer à la main-d'œuvre la plus importante de la famille était accepté par ceux qui pouvaient se permettre les frais de déplacement. Utilisant l'argent pour acheter des terres et construire de nouvelles maisons la plupart du temps, le voyage américain

promettait, à leur retour, une vie meilleure. Bien que cette promesse n'ait pas toujours été tenue, l'afflux d'argent liquide entré en Transylvanie a contribué, au moins temporairement, à une amélioration du niveau de vie.

Les effets sociaux et économiques des migrations temporaires sont multiples, passant des comportements sociaux au paysage. Leur importance s'inscrit dans la modernisation plus large du monde rural entre la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle et la première moitié du XXe siècle.

L'étude de cas dans la troisième partie, sert à la fois de conclusion pour les deux premières parties mais examine aussi les changements qui ont lieu dans un ménage de laboureurs. Après avoir dressé un panorama historique du paysage rural où se trouvait la maison familiale, l'étude analyse la situation économique d'une famille et les événements qui l'ont impactée sur quatre générations. Passant des pratiques d'héritage à des événements historiques plus larges tels que l'émigration et les changements de régime politique, cette approche offre une perspective de longue durée sur la situation socio-économique des familles de laboureurs.

Le quatrième chapitre inaugure la troisième et dernière grande partie de la recherche, qui explore les institutions locales. Dans ce chapitre est étudié le développement des institutions religieuses du point de vue des structures familiales et de la situation économique de la population roumaine multiconfessionnelle de Rupea. Le chapitre couvre une période entre le XVIIIe siècle et 1948, qui suit les réalités locales de l'évolution institutionnelle de l'Église gréco-catholique et orthodoxe et les relations entre les membres de ces deux confessions.

Divisée en deux parties inégales, la première sert également d'introduction au climat confessionnel, du sud-est de la Transylvanie jusqu'à l'établissement de la paroisse de Rupea.

En l'absence de preuves précises pouvant fournir une évaluation plus approfondie de la situation à Rupea, le troisième quart du XVIIIe siècle dans la région est analysé sous l'angle de la contre-réponse plus large des orthodoxes de la frontière sud de la province à l'avancement de l'Église gréco-catholique. La période est caractérisée comme instable d'un point de vue institutionnel pour les deux confessions, qui poursuivent des réorganisations administratives constantes. L'État, en tant que défenseur de la foi catholique, agit parfois violemment en prenant des mesures drastiques pour combattre la résistance orthodoxe, comme en témoigne la destruction en 1761 par le général von Buccow des nombreux ermitages et monastères alignés sur la frontière sud de la province. Cette situation tendue qui caractérise le XVIIIe siècle commencera à s'aplanir après que les Habsbourg auront reconnu la confession orthodoxe en 1791.

La création de la première paroisse de Rupea en 1788 qui desservait la population orthodoxe dominante et la construction d'une église en pierre dans les années 1790 marquent le début d'une nouvelle phase dans l'histoire confessionnelle de la communauté roumaine. Malgré une conversion massive de la population au catholicisme grec dans les années 1820 qui ne laisse que quelques familles orthodoxes, le patrimoine des deux églises continue de se développer, particulièrement dans la seconde moitié du siècle. La restauration d'une paroisse orthodoxe cinq décennies plus tard marque l'entrée dans une période de cohabitation entre les deux Églises et une normalisation des relations. Avec la montée en puissance économique des deux communautés confessionnelles locales, le dernier quart du XIXe siècle voit naître une forme de concurrence entre familles et groupes de population. Durant cette période sont construits une nouvelle église orthodoxe, des écoles confessionnelles et des monuments religieux publics, tandis que des particuliers font diverses donations pour enrichir le patrimoine des deux églises.

La deuxième partie du chapitre étudie l'évolution des relations entre les membres des deux confessions au cours de la première partie du XXe siècle jusqu'à la dissolution de l'Église gréco-catholique par les communistes en 1948. Dans le climat politique tendu des dernières années de la monarchie austro-hongroise, le discours national devient la force première derrière les intérêts des populations qui habitent cet espace. Pour les Roumains, ce n'est pas une exception. Le nombre élevé de mariages interconfessionnels confirme que la religion n'est qu'une considération secondaire, tandis que l'économie et l'identité nationale deviennent primordiales.

Passant de la sphère religieuse aux institutions laïques, le cinquième chapitre adopte une approche comparative, en mettant l'accent sur la communauté saxonne et ses processus de modernisation préexistants. Le chapitre est introduit par un aperçu du développement des institutions d'enseignement laïques et présente une généalogie intellectuelle de la population roumaine en Transylvanie. Cette étude examine l'évolution distincte de l'élite laïque roumaine dans la province, mettant en évidence ses divergences par rapport à ses pairs saxons et hongrois. L'évolution de l'élite roumaine peut être attribuée à la fois à la tradition culturelle byzantine de la population roumaine et à l'exclusion des Roumains de la vie politique de la province après la quatrième croisade. La recherche se concentre sur la partie sud de la province, mettant en évidence l'influence de divers facteurs politiques, économiques et géographiques sur l'évolution de l'élite laïque roumaine locale dans cette région. La proximité avec la principauté de Valachie, la situation politique spécifique des Roumains dans le pays de Făgăraș et les conditions économiques des communautés orthodoxes de Brașov et de Sibiu sont parmi les raisons qui contribuent à la formation d'une élite laïque.

Un tournant majeur dans l'évolution de la société roumaine en Transylvanie a été la création de l'Église gréco-catholique au début du XVIIIe siècle. Cet événement a joué un rôle

crucial dans l'intégration des normes éducatives occidentales aux élites roumaines. De plus, l'adoption de cette nouvelle confession par une partie de la population roumaine a eu de multiples effets sur la société transylvaine. Par exemple, vers les années 1760, les Roumains représentaient déjà environ 1 employé sur 10 dans l'administration provinciale, ce qui témoigne les changements rapides qui se produisaient au sein de ce groupe de population.

L'émergence d'institutions éducatives laïques au cours de la première moitié du XIXe siècle, telles que la première école de commerce roumaine en 1834 et le gymnase latin-allemand en 1837, tous deux situés à Braşov, a prouvé la maturité de la société roumaine et sa capacité à former une élite laïque locale. Pendant l'Empire austro-hongrois, la diversification des programmes d'études et la représentation substantielle des Roumains de la province dans 82 universités européennes ont démontré leur rattrapage des retards historiques causés par des facteurs politiques spécifiques.

Après cette section introductive, l'étude présente deux profils biographiques d'intellectuels laïques roumains de Rupea afin d'observer la transition locale des groupes d'élite religieux à laïcs et la naissance d'une bourgeoisie locale. Ces profils mettent en évidence leurs origines rurales et fournissent des informations sur la structure sociale complexe de l'élite laïque basée sur le milieu rural. Aurel Bănuţ et Ioan Iosif représentent une catégorie de paysans roumains de la fin du siècle qui ont réussi à poursuivre des études supérieures dans des universités européennes prestigieuses. Après avoir terminé leurs études, ils ont apporté diverses contributions au développement de leur communauté. L'émergence tardive, vers la fin du XIXe siècle, d'une élite locale est le résultat d'une série de réalités économiques locales profondément enracinées dans la société locale. Ayant étudié à Berlin, Budapest, Paris et Lausanne, Bănuţ et Iosif ont occupé, pendant l'entre-deux-guerres, différentes positions politiques et culturelles exerçant différents degrés d'influence sur la

population roumaine de Rupea. Malgré leurs aspirations et l'abandon d'un mode de vie agraire depuis leur enfance, ils sont restés attachés à la communauté des paysans locaux, assumant un rôle de modernisateurs mais aussi de dirigeants politiques.

Dans la deuxième partie, le chapitre examine la modernisation des institutions laïques communautaires, en soulignant le phénomène de l'associativité comme réponse aux besoins sociaux, économiques et culturels de la société rurale au XIXe et au début du XXe siècle. Après un aperçu de la situation des institutions laïques locales parmi la population roumaine en Transylvanie avant le XIXe siècle, telles que celle du juge du village (Lat. *judex pagi*), du *vilicus* (Lat. *vilicus*) et du conseil des anciens, les premières institutions étudiées, dont les origines remontent au sud-est de la Transylvanie au XVe siècle, est le Voisinage (Ger. *Nachbarschaften*). Fonctionnant à Rupea depuis au moins le début du XVIIe siècle, ces institutions administratives de quartier ont rempli une série de fonctions au fil des siècles. Certaines des fonctions les plus durables comprenaient la prévention des incendies, le soutien mutuel à la construction de maisons, l'aide funéraire, la régulation des périodes de pâturage et, surtout, l'intermédiation entre les habitants et les autorités locales.

En parallèle avec le Voisinage, et parfois en chevauchant ses attributs, au cours de la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle, la population roumaine a adopté un modèle d'association différent correspondant aux changements sociaux plus vastes vécus par la société d'Europe centrale. Parmi la population roumaine de Rupea, certains des exemples les plus représentatifs sont la Société des Paysans de Rupea (Ro. *Societatea plugarilor români Rupeni-Cohalm*), fondée en 1888, la Société du Prince Michael, établie en 1918 sous le nom de Société américaine, ainsi que deux banques de crédit, *Cetatea* et *Economia*, dont le but principal était de financer les paysans et les entrepreneurs roumains pour le développement de leurs foyers et de leurs entreprises. Ces nouvelles institutions qui ont émergé en raison de

l'augmentation du niveau d'éducation et de la mobilité de la population partagent un caractère national commun. Ce caractère reflète la situation politique prédominante dans cette région particulière du continent.

Les résultats préliminaires de cette recherche indiquent qu'avec le temps la communauté roumaine de Rupea a été fortement influencée par les structures sociales et économiques environnantes. Les familles roumaines, en tant qu'unités économiques et sociales, étaient intégrées à un réseau de relations complexes au sein de la société de la région. Aussi, sur toute la période étudiée, les activités économiques des familles roumaines étaient étroitement liées à l'agriculture, qui restait la source de revenus la plus stable et assurait sinon le bien-être du moins la survie. La recherche met également en évidence le rôle des institutions locales, laïques ou religieuses dans la régulation des activités économiques et sociales des familles roumaines. Ces institutions ont joué un rôle clé dans la formation d'une identité communautaire et ont contribué à l'intégration de la communauté roumaine dans le tissu social de Rupea.

En conclusion, la thèse démontre que la société roumaine de Transylvanie dans la Terre Royale a connu une certaine continuité historique mais était loin d'être une société statique. La paysannerie roumaine a fait preuve d'adaptations dynamiques aux changements sociaux, motivée par la nécessité pragmatique de survie. L'évolution des structures familiales, des économies domestiques et des institutions locales reflétait l'interconnexion de la société des laboureurs. La recherche met en lumière le processus de modernisation dans le monde rural, remettant en question les conceptions conventionnelles des sociétés paysannes et mettant en évidence l'agence et la résilience de la communauté roumaine de Transylvanie. En explorant les développements historiques de la population roumaine à Rupea, cette thèse

contribue à une meilleure compréhension des transformations sociales, économiques et culturelles qui ont façonné la société rurale d'Europe centrale.

Motivations personnelles

Cette thèse est le résultat d'une combinaison de rencontres personnelles, d'expériences académiques et d'immersions culturelles. Bien qu'une revue exhaustive de toutes ces influences nécessiterait un travail à part entière, je me concentrerai sur quelques expériences qui ont directement inspiré et guidé l'écriture de ma thèse. Parmi la myriade d'influences, le cinéma se distingue comme une source d'inspiration particulièrement significative, avec le film *Novecento* (1976) de Bernardo Bertolucci résonnant profondément tant au niveau des thèmes que de la structure.

Dans *Novecento*, la première partie de l'Acte I rend hommage à la société rurale italienne, symbolisant une époque d'innocence à travers le jeune âge des principaux protagonistes. La représentation réaliste et visuellement vibrante de Bertolucci de la société agraire de Val Padana, en Émilie-Romagne, au début du XXe siècle, a trouvé un écho dans ma construction de la paysannerie transylvanienne. Le scénario captivant du film a influencé mon projet de recherche initial, qui se concentrait sur une période fixe de 1900 à 1948, englobant les dernières années de l'Empire austro-hongrois, la monarchie en Roumanie et le début de la collectivisation sous le régime communiste. Alors que Bertolucci commence sa narration en l'an 1900 comme date symbolique du nouveau siècle qui s'annonçait, ma structure originale a choisi cette date en fonction de l'année de naissance d'un laboureur local de Rupea. Si son œuvre s'est terminée en 1945, jour de la Libération, qui marque la fin du fascisme en Italie, ma narration s'est terminée en 1948 avec la mort de cet homme, date qui

correspondait aussi à la proclamation de la République populaire roumaine qui avait eu lieu quelques semaines plus tôt et au début de la collectivisation.

Outre *Novecento*, cette thèse accorde une attention particulière à divers thèmes qui ont servi d'inspiration dans une certaine mesure. Ces thèmes incluent le monde rural, les sociétés traditionnelles et la marginalité, explorés dans des films comme *L'Albero degli Zoccoli* d'Ermanno Olmi (1978) et *The Field* de Jim Sheridan (1990). De plus, plusieurs exemples peuvent être trouvés tout au long de la thèse qui partagent des similitudes stylistiques ou thématiques. Ces exemples incluent des films tels que *Los Olvidados* (1950) de Luis Buñuel, *Még kér a nép* (1972) de Miklós Jancsó, *My Childhood* (1972) de Bill Douglas, *Akenfield* (1974) de Peter Hall, *O Θίασος* (1975) de Theodoros Angelopoulos, *Harlan County U.S.A.* (1976) de Barbara Kopple, *The Children of Sanchez* (1978) de Hall Bartlett, *Days of Heaven* (1978) de Terrence Malick, *Too Early/Too Late* (1981) de Danièle Huillet et Jean-Marie Straub, *Los Santos Inocentes* (1984) de Mario Camus, *Vacas* (1992) de Julio Medem, *Angela's Ashes* (1999) d'Alan Parker, *Les glaneurs et la glaneuse* (2000) d'Agnès Varda, *Τριλογία: Το λιβάδι που δακρύζει* (2004) de Theodoros Angelopoulos, *Aferim!* (2015) de Radu Jude et *Moromeții 2* (2018) de Stere Gulea.

L'approche adoptée par Bertolucci dans *Novecento* et le récit de première main de la vie rurale présenté dans *Le Cheval d'orgueil : Mémoires d'un Breton du pays bigouden* (1975) de Pêr-Jakez Heliáz ont influencé mon intention de reconstruire la vie d'un individu afin d'explorer le contexte historique plus large. Gheorghe Magdun, un membre d'une vieille famille roumaine de Rupea, a connu, durant sa courte vie, trois changements politiques importants, passant de l'Empire austro-hongrois au Royaume de Roumanie, puis à la République populaire roumaine, tout en vivant les tourments de deux guerres mondiales et une immigration temporaire aux États-Unis. La succession des chefs d'État auxquels il a été

soumis - de l'empereur François-Joseph qui accède au trône en 1848 à Constantin Ion Parhon, président du Présidium provisoire de la République populaire roumaine et entre eux, trois des quatre rois de Roumanie – témoigne des bouleversements profonds que la Transylvanie a connus en l'espace de moins d'un demi-siècle.

Initialement, l'utilisation de sources orales comme méthode d'enquête a joué un rôle important dans la recherche. Inspiré par des œuvres telles que *Akenfield* de Ronald Blythe, *Il mondo dei vinti* de Nuto Revelli et *Children of Sanchez* d'Oscar Lewis, l'utilisation de l'histoire orale visait à fournir une interprétation plus personnelle du monde rural. En me concentrant sur les sources orales, mon objectif était de construire une histoire d'en bas, explorant la fin d'une longue époque pendant les années d'après-guerre, lorsque le régime communiste a pris le pouvoir en Roumanie. Ce thème résonne avec le roman de Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa *Il Gattopardo*, qui explore la réaction de l'ordre établi face au changement radical.

Tandis que conservant de nombreuses caractéristiques originales, le projet de ma thèse a subi de nombreuses reformulations, la chronologie est devenue plus fluide et la portée a été élargie pour englober un réseau complexe d'histoires de vie entremêlées. À l'instar de la prémisses de *Novecento*, la thèse visait à explorer les derniers représentants d'une société traditionnelle, nés dans les deux premières décennies du XXe siècle. Cependant, cette projection a été modifiée, car la thèse a révélé l'impact profond des processus antérieurs, entraînant la perte de ces générations dans un récit historique plus vaste.

Méthode

Les méthodes utilisées pour effectuer cette recherche d'histoire de la famille et histoire rurale avaient pour objectif d'explorer la théorie de la modernisation institutionnelle dans le contexte de la paysannerie roumaine de Transylvanie sur une période d'environ deux siècles. Plutôt que d'examiner uniquement les causes et les conséquences des changements au sein de ce groupe et leurs impacts sur leur vie, j'ai cherché à approfondir l'idée que la modernisation, bien qu'elle soit contrainte par divers facteurs internes et externes, est motivée par la nécessité pragmatique de s'adapter aux récits historiques dominants dans un espace géographique donné. S'inscrivant dans la tradition de l'histoire sociale, l'étude s'est inspirée de l'approche de l'anthropologie historique d'Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie qui représente à bien des égards le modèle historiographique le plus important.

Bien que dans ma thèse, je me sois concentré sur le bourg de Rupea, les résultats obtenus lors de mes recherches peuvent être appliqués à d'autres espaces géographiques, ayant des caractéristiques politiques et sociales plus ou moins différentes. Le premier niveau fait référence à la population roumaine vivant dans la région sud de la province, en particulier dans la zone de cohabitation mixte saxonne-roumaine connue sous le nom de Terre Royale. Le deuxième niveau étend l'aire géographique et culturelle pour inclure la population rurale roumaine de toute la Transylvanie, puis la population rurale de la province sans distinction culturelle. Enfin, les développements observés au sein de cette population sont reliés et intégrés à de plus vastes récits dans l'espace rural de l'ancienne monarchie des Habsbourg en Europe centrale, et dans une certaine mesure, au sein de la paysannerie européenne en général.

S'inspirant des fondateurs de l'École des Annales, Lucien Febvre et Marc Bloch, ainsi que du modèle d'enquête de l'histoire totale proposé par Fernand Braudel dans son œuvre

majeure *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, cette thèse visait à recueillir toutes les sources disponibles sur le sujet afin de produire des connaissances approfondies. La plupart des sources ont été interprétées en fonction de leur valeur qualitative, bien qu'une enquête quantitative ait été sélectivement utilisée pour certains types de sources, ce qui a débouché sur une méthodologie mixte. Étant donné l'ampleur considérable des sources utilisées, des recherches sur le terrain ont été menées à la fois dans des institutions de recherche spécialisées et dans des environnements réels, constituant ainsi un élément clé de ce projet.

Les méthodes utilisées dans cette thèse visent à explorer la théorie de la modernisation institutionnelle à travers une étude longitudinale des paysans roumains de Transylvanie. En examinant le besoin pragmatique d'adaptation aux récits historiques dominants dans un espace géographique donné, la recherche a contribué à la compréhension des processus de modernisation dans les contextes ruraux.

La diversification des sources est un processus continu né d'une nécessité pragmatique de répondre à l'objectif déclaré de cette recherche - celui de reconstruire une société. Alors que la plupart des sources ont été collectées au cours de la première année de doctorat, dans une compréhension plus large du processus, la collecte de données a commencé en 2014 et s'est terminée en 2022. Étant donné que cette entreprise est la continuation d'un mémoire qui, à son tour, s'est développé à partir d'un exercice pratique d'histoire orale, les plus anciennes sources collectées qui figurent dans la version finale de ce travail sont une collection d'environ dix heures d'entretiens enregistrés à Rupea entre 2014 et 2017.

Entre ces deux expériences de recherche sur le terrain, quatre-vingt-dix heures d'entretiens d'histoire orale ont été réalisées, la grande majorité au printemps 2019. Au total, environ cinquante entretiens ont été menés auprès de quarante-cinq personnes – descendants

de familles de Rupea – avec pour année de naissance moyenne, 1932. L'ensemble de la collection a été presque entièrement transcrite, ce qui représente environ mille cinq cents pages.

Lors du premier voyage de recherche sur le terrain, lorsque la plupart des entretiens ont été enregistrés, une série de documents de famille a été photocopiée, comprenant des photographies, de la correspondance personnelle, des mémoires et des monographies non publiées. Les photographies collectées pendant la recherche sur le terrain, estimées à environ cinq cents, devaient être corroborées par des sources écrites et compléter les arguments généraux de la thèse. Mettant en évidence divers aspects de la vie des laboureurs et de l'histoire urbaine, cette source visuelle permet une reconstitution plus précise du paysage social, économique et urbain décrit. Les entretiens, les lettres, les mémoires et les monographies – parfois manuscrits et parfois dactylographiés – font partie de la phase initiale des campagnes de recherche sur le terrain.

Pendant le deuxième trimestre de la première année de doctorat, la sélection de journaux contenant des informations pertinentes concernant le sujet de la thèse a commencé, ce qui a abouti à l'indexation d'environ 1 200 articles de journaux sélectionnés à partir de bases de données en ligne couvrant la période des années 1850 aux années 1940. Alors que le premier critère de sélection était purement géographique, en choisissant des articles faisant référence à Rupea, les phases suivantes ont réduit cette plage par une approche qualitative. La transcription de ces articles, qui a été effectuée avant le début de la deuxième année universitaire, représente plus de 150 pages de matériau. Sur les 1 200 articles, environ 14 % sont restés dans la version finale de la thèse, ce qui en fait l'un des types de sources les plus utilisés dans le travail.

La transition vers les sources primaires écrites a été achevée à la fin de la première année de recherche, à la suite d'un travail intensif dans les Archives Nationales. Parmi les sources étudiées, le fonds d'enregistrement civil des paroisses orthodoxes et gréco-catholiques de Rupea, qui couvre les naissances, les mariages et les décès de 1788 à 1917, était particulièrement important. Cette source était disponible à des fins de recherche sous forme numérisée depuis le début du deuxième trimestre en janvier 2019, permettant une enquête approfondie du matériau au cours des trimestres suivants. De plus, des informations spécifiques ont été recueillies à partir de divers registres civils des paroisses du comté de Braşov. Utilisées à la fois à des fins quantitatives et qualitatives, les informations extraites de ces sources ont été cruciales pour la reconstruction des différents processus analysés, et complétées par des données provenant de sources orales et mémorialistes, de périodiques et de matériaux d'archives écrits.

La majeure partie de cette recherche archivistique sur le terrain a été effectuée à la succursale du comté des Archives Nationales de Braşov, où les fonds de la mairie de Rupea ont été examinés en détail. Le fonds d'archives consulté à Braşov couvre uniquement la période de 1921 à 1950, car l'ancien fonds de la mairie de Rupea n'est pas encore catalogué et n'était donc pas disponible pour la recherche. Cette limite a permis un dépouillement plus serré du fonds disponible, avec environ cent cinquante dossiers examinés et partiellement photocopiés, dont quatre-vingt-un ont également été partiellement transcrits, ce qui a donné un index de près de 900 documents, dont environ 13% sont restés dans la version finale de la thèse.

Outre ce matériel trouvé dans les Archives Nationales, lors des deux principaux voyages de recherche sur le terrain effectués au cours de la première année de recherche, une autre source importante a été étudiée : les fonds d'archives de la paroisse de la Sainte-Trinité.

Retrouvées dans un état de dégradation importante, les archives ont été d'abord récupérées, puis une activité de sauvegarde a été entreprise environ six mois plus tard. En raison de contraintes de temps, seuls les fonds couvrant la période 1920-1950 ont été indexés et numérisés intégralement, tandis que les documents plus anciens ont été seulement partiellement photocopiés, entraînant la transcription d'environ 140 documents, dont 35 % ont trouvé leur place dans la version finale. Outre ces grandes campagnes de terrain, de courtes mais fructueuses activités de recherche ont été menées dans les trois villages autour de Rupea, ce qui a permis l'identification de sources intégrées à la version finale. Cet ensemble de sources primaires a été utilisé en combinaison avec une série de volumes publiés de documents historiques édités entre les années 1840 et les années 2000, qui reproduisent des documents essentiels pour l'histoire de Rupea en général et pour ce sujet en particulier.

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Introduction

What is Transylvania? This question fuelled the inquiries of generations of historians who dedicated their work to finding articulated answers.¹ While no response is definitive, as historiography continues to develop and add new layers of knowledge, so does the understanding of this space whose identity is continuously renegotiated.²

The **aim of this work**, which is also stated in the main title – *Ploughmen's Society* – goes beyond the conventional historiographical approach to peasantry as an occupational group. The title serves as a declaration that addresses the complex social structures that define the peasant's world. Challenging the immobile Arcadian landscape, the Transylvanian Romanian ploughmen's rural milieu is dynamic regarding population movement and institutional development.

The ploughmen represent the epicentre of this rural society, yet as the term "society" suggests a broader narrative, this ambitious research aspires to investigate a wider range of interrelated social units that come to be defined under a single identity. Dominated by the

1. See, Ștefan Pascu, *Ce este Transilvania? Civilizația transilvană în cadrul civilizației românești* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1983); Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Transilvania, starea noastră de veghe* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Școala Ardeleană, 2016); Gabriel Moisa, "Preocupări de istorie a Transilvaniei în istoriografia occidentală 1965-1989," *Crisia*, XXXIV (2004): 339-366; Sorin Mitu, *National Identity of Romanians in Transylvania* (Budapest–New York, Central European University Press, 2001); Sorin Mitu, *Transilvania mea. Istorii, mentalități, identități* (Iași, Editura Polirom, 2006); Gábor Egry, "De l'ethnicisation de la nationalité à l'indigénat transnational: migration, citoyenneté, paix de Trianon," *Revue d'Allemagne et de pays de langue allemande*, 52, 2 (2020): 1-22; Gábor Egry, "Navigating the Straits. Changing Borders, Changing Rules and Practices of Ethnicity and Loyalty in Romania after 1918," *Hungarian Historical Review*, 2, No.3 (2013): 449-476; Jeremy King, "The Nationalization of East Central Europe: Ethnicism, Ethnicity, and Beyond," in *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*, eds. Nancy Wingfield and Maria Bucur (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2001); Holly Case, *Between States: The Transylvanian Question and the European Idea during World War II* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009).

2. Cristian Cercel, "Transylvanian Saxon Symbolic Geographies," *Civilisations*, Vol. 60, No.2 (2012): 91, 97-98; Roger Brubaker, Margit Feischmidt, Jon Fox and Liana Grancea, *The Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 56.

ploughmen and their system of norms, a series of secondary actors exist in the orbit of this world through various family and occupational ties who are as important as the main group. While the interaction between the peasantry and these secondary actors may vary in duration and structural form, the peasantry remains virtually omnipresent throughout the work as a core axis of this world. The agent of this symbolic separation might sometimes be geographical, but this research insists that change is often structural and emerges internally – people share the same space but not the same identity. With peasantry omnipresent but not exclusive, the goal is to challenge the concept of belonging to this society by exploring the very limits of belonging.

This exploration is not merely a quest to understand the peasantry but a broader effort to reveal the interplay of various interconnected structures that contributed to the modernisation of the rural world. The process requires the integration of the peasantry into a wider historical context that defines the broader narratives of European history during the modern period. In other words, the aim is to make the peasantry an active participant in the more significant historical developments in this part of Europe to explain how these events altered the institution of the family.

Hence, the **central argument** of the thesis is that the Transylvanian Romanian families from the King's Land, through a specific inherited economic situation, juridic status and cultural experience, develop a series of institutions that reflect the local social realities of the territory in which they live. Driven by pragmatic necessities, the Romanian peasantry must adapt to novelty to ensure their household's survival. This economic determinant has structural effects on a rural society that, far from stagnating, is in a continuous modernisation process. The study of the developments that took place in the peasant families over multiple

generations makes evident the societal changes, especially during the period of transition of the rural world from a pre-capitalist to a proto-capitalist society.

The central argument is formulated around the premise that in the rural world of the Transylvanian Romanians, modernity was not achieved until the establishment of communism, but modernisation is omnipresent. If modernity is understood as the transition from a system where agriculture is the main source of income and wage labour a supplement to one where wage labour becomes the main source of income, modernisation, on the other hand, is seen as the long period of transition from an ancien régime anchored in feudal realities to a “nouveau régime” that radically alters rural society and that in Romania manifested in the form of the communism.

In exploring family and rural history through a longitudinal lens, the thesis strategically navigates the terrain of institutional modernisation theory as a **conceptual framework** for understanding the Transylvanian Romanian ploughmen's experiences over approximately two centuries. The conceptual triad of modernisation, modernity, and post-memory assumes a critical role in deciphering the complexities of the ploughmen's historical journey. The first, modernisation, encapsulates the multifaceted processes of societal transformation, encompassing economic, political, and cultural dimensions. This idea aligns with the theory promoted by the American sociologist Barrington Moore Jr. (1913-2005), who argued that modernisation is a transformative force with profound implications for social structures, resonating with Michel Foucault's analysis of how power relations shape individuals' subjectivities within a given historical context.³ In their pragmatic pursuit of modernisation, the ploughmen face interior and exterior constraints in the complex

3. Barret L. McCormick, “Modernization, Democracy, and Morality: The Work of Barrington Moore Jr.,” *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, Vol.13, No.4 (2000): 595-596, 599, 602; Michel Foucault, “The Subject of Power,” *Critical Inquiry*, Vol.8, No.4 (1982): 780-781; Lawrence Hass, “Discipline and the Constituted Subject: Foucault's Social History,” *symplokē*, Vol.4, No.1/2 (1996): 62-63.

relationship between tradition and change, stagnation and mobility. In its turn, the post-memory concept, reinforced in her work by the Romanian-born Columbia University professor Marianne Hirsch (b.1949), introduces a generational dimension, arguing that the narratives of modernisation are transmitted and negotiated across multiple generations. Hence, modernity goes beyond temporal boundaries and appears to be a dynamic experiential reality.⁴ This lived experience that belongs to those involved in the process echoes the views of theorists like the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (1925-2017) and economic geographer David Harvey (b.1935), who argue for a relational understanding of modernity that resonates with individuals' daily lives within a specific context.⁵ Hence, the research offers an inclusive assessment of modernisation and modernity by defining these concepts and employing them in the thesis structure according to these meanings.

By embracing a more expansive definition of the concepts engaged, this thesis ventures beyond merely exploring historical causality to unravel the intricate experiences of the ploughmen's encounters with the forces of modernity, encapsulating the essence of their collective historical experience. This exploration becomes especially relevant in a region like Transylvania, where cultural identities that are continuously negotiated and contested have shaped local historical experiences.

4. Christian Moraru, "The Global Turn in Critical Theory," *symplokē*, Vol. 9, No.1/2 (2001): 75; Ulrich Beck and Natan Sznaider, "Self-limitation of modernity? The theory of reflexive taboos," *Theory and Society*, Vol. 40, No.4 (2011): 418, 422; Will Atkinson, "Beck's unintended legacy for class analysis," *Employment & Society*, Vol.30, No.5 (2016): 893.

5. Mark Moberg, review of *The Condition of Postmodernity* by David Harvey, *American Ethnologist*, Vol.21, No.4 (1994): 915; Russell Harding, review of *Globalization: The Human Consequences* by Zygmunt Bauman; *In Search of Politics* by Zygmunt Bauman; *Liquid Modernity* by Zygmunt Bauman, *Administrative Theory and Praxis*, Vol.24, No.3 (2002): 620-621; Nicholas Gane, review of *Liquid Modernity* by Zygmunt Bauman; *The Individualized Society* by Zygmunt Bauman; *The Bauman Reader* by Zygmunt Bauman and Peter Beilharz, *Acta Sociologica*, Vol.44, No.3 (2001): 268-269; Zygmunt Bauman, "Living in the Era of Liquid Modernity," *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology*, Vol.22, No.2 (2000/2001): 2.

The **methodological gap** identified, draws close parallels to Eugen Weber's seminal work on French peasantry – *Peasants into Frenchmen*.⁶ The long period of modernisation experienced by the Romanian rural society from Transylvania between the seventeenth and mid-twentieth century finds an antecedent in Weber's work. Nonetheless, Weber is preoccupied with modernisation from the perspective of national identity, while this work is defined as a social history effort constructed in the tradition of the French Annales School.

The identified methodological and literature gap resulted in formulating a set of interconnected research questions to be answered by the current historiographic effort. Questioning how ordinary lives were affected by the larger normative and institutional developments and the causes that determined these developments, this work contributes to better understanding the link between local structures and individuals. These questions aim to eventually explain how modernisation manifests in the East Central European space in the Transylvanian Romanian rural population that lived in the King's Land.

A borderland historical region that developed at the periphery of major political cores, Transylvania, during the modern period, fell into the cultural sphere of Habsburg Central Europe.⁷ From antiquity, when the Roman province Dacia – that roughly corresponds in its superior part with Transylvania – formed the limes of the empire in the second and third centuries, to the twentieth century when it united with the Kingdom of Romania, diverse

6. Caroline Ford, "Into Frenchmen Thirty Years After," *French Politics, Culture & Society*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (2009): 88; See, Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen. The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976).

7. Pieter M. Judson, "Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe. Introduction," in *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe*, eds. Pieter M. Judson and Marsha L. Rozenblit (New York, NY, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2009), 1-2; For other definitions of this space, see Irina Livezeanu and Árpád von Klimó, "Introduction," in *The Routledge History of East Central Europe since 1700*, eds. Irina Livezeanu and Árpád von Klimó (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), 3-7.

peoples coexisted in this region that continuously negotiated its identity.⁸ As a result of the functioning in the province of a particular juridical and political estate system – formed during the thirteenth century of “*nobilibus, Saxonibus, Syculis et Olachis*” – in this space developed different cultural-group identities between the thirteenth and the sixteenth century.⁹ Since this estate system overlapped with the main populations that lived side-by-side – Hungarians, Saxons, Szeklers and Romanians – starting from the modern period, Transylvania became a space contested by the emerging political and cultural identities.¹⁰

During the modern period, which in this work is divided into two historical epochs referred to as the Principality period (1570-1699) and the Habsburg period (1699-1918), the main populations found in this space were the Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Roma, Hungarians, Jews, Romanians, Saxons and Szeklers.¹¹ Nonetheless, from the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, the best-represented groups from a demographic point of view remained the Romanians, Hungarians, Szeklers (the latter adopting the Hungarian language most likely before their settlement in Transylvania), and finally, the Saxons.

The Hungarians are first documented in this territory in the context of the eastward expansion of the Hungarian tribes in the tenth century, when the region also received its name

8. Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, “Introduction. Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Borderlands,” in *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands*, eds. Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2013), 1.

9. Tudor Sălăgean, “The Rise of the Congregational Regime in Transylvania at the End of the Thirteenth Century,” in *Reform and Renewal in Medieval East and Central Europe: Politics, Law and Society*, eds. Suzana Miljan, Éva B. Halás and Alexandru Simon (Cluj-Napoca, Zagreb, London: Romanian Academy, Centre for Transylvanian Studies, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College of London, 2019), 368; Tudor Sălăgean, *În lumea satului transilvănean. Tradiție, istorie, cultură* (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2013), 56; Franz Zimmermann and Carl Werner, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Band 1: 1191 bis 1342 (Hermanstadt: Franz Michaelis, 1892), 177.

10. James Koranyi, *Migrating Memories. Romanian Germans in Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 226, 231-232, 244-245, 253; William Outhwaite, ed., *The Blackwell Dictionary of Modern Social Thought*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2003), 212.

11. Sorin Mitu, “Identități locale din Transilvania în epoca modernă,” *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XXXVI (2014): 44.

– from the Hungarian “erdö elü” which can be understood as “beyond the forest”, and then translated in Latin as “terra Ultrasilvana” that later evolved in “Transilvania”.¹² Then, in the eleventh century, the Szeklers were settled here. A group of peoples of mixed origins used by Hungarians as a vanguard during the conquest of Transylvania, they were found starting from the second half of the twelfth century in the highest density in the south-easternmost part of the region.¹³ Around the same period closely following the arrival of the Szeklers, in the southern part of Transylvania, Germanic and Walloon populations were invited by the kings of Hungary to settle, who were concentrated in the territory that later came to be known as King’s Land (Ger. Königsboden, Lat. Fundus Regius).¹⁴ Originating from various historical regions from present-day Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg and arriving in multiple waves until the fourteenth century, these populations were known as Saxons because the first groups that were colonised in the Kingdom of Hungary originated from Saxony.¹⁵

The fourth major group that lived in Transylvania were the Romanians, who emerged in the province's history after the fall of the Avar Khaganate in the eighth century. With the formation of local political structures during the ninth century, this group directly referred to this territory's political history.¹⁶ Named Vlachs by others, the term is a neologism in

12. Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Românii și maghiarii în secolele IX-XIV. Geneza statului medieval în Transilvania* (Cluj-Napoca: Fundația Culturală Română, 1996), 8.

13. Pop, *Românii și maghiarii*, 105-106.

14. Thomas Năgler, “Transilvania între 900 și 1300,” in *Istoria Transilvaniei vol.I (până la 1541)*, eds. Ioan-Aurel Pop and Thomas Năgler (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2016), 220-221.

15. Octavian Tătar, “Sașii își trag originea din Saxonia. Prolematica originii și numelui sașilor ardeleni în scrieri din secolul al XVI-lea,” *Acta Museu Sabesiensis*, 3 (2011): 354-355.

16. Pop, *Românii și maghiarii*, 93-94; Ștefan Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. III (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1986), 382; Mihai Bărbulescu, “De la romani până la sfârșitul mileniului I,” in *Istoria Transilvaniei vol.I (până la 1541)*, ed. Ioan-Aurel Pop, Thomas Năgler (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2016), 197.

Romanian because these Neo-Latin speakers called themselves “rumâni” or “români”.¹⁷ While the political formations they established survived only partially to the eastward expansion of the Grand Principality of Hungary, the local population that spread around the province was integrated into new administrative structures.¹⁸ The political situation of the Romanians deteriorated starting from the beginning of the thirteenth century and particularly in the next century when the House of Anjou occupied the throne of Hungary.¹⁹ Excluded by the fifteenth century from the political life of Transylvania, some Romanian institutions continued to survive locally in areas with higher Romanian population density, where they benefited from increased autonomy.²⁰

The Romanians living in the Hungarian counties were integrated, starting from the thirteenth century, into the feudal system of serfdom, while those found in the King’s Land remained, in theory, freemen. From a socioeconomic perspective, the Romanian and Saxon populations from the King’s Land lived in separate settlements during the thirteenth century.

17. Ioan-Aurel Pop, “Despre semnificația unor nume: român/vlah și România/Valahia,” *Anuarul Institutului de Cultură al Românilor din Voivodina* (2009): 41-42, 45-46; Adolf Armbruster, *Romanitatea Românilor. Istoria unei idei* (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 1993), 49; Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Din mâinile valahilor schismatici...’: românii și puterea în Regatul Ungariei medievale (secolele XIII-XIV)* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Școala Ardeleană, 2017), 29, 34; Maria Holban, ed., *Călători străini despre țările române*, Vol.1 (București: Editura Științifică, 1968), 322; Alexandru Florin Ciolteț, “Imaginea vlahilor în scrierile străinilor între secolele XI-XIII,” *Revista Transilvania*, 3-4 (2015): 77.

18. Some frontier territories with an important Romanian population continued to be referred to during the medieval Kingdom of Hungary as *terrae* (Ro. țară). For instance, one such case is a *terrae valachorum* mentioned in 1222 that is identified with Făgăraș Land (Ro. Țara Făgărașului or Țara Oltului), a territory on the southern border of Transylvania, which neighbours Bârsa Land to the east, Olt River to the north and west, and the Carpathians in the south. Năgler, “Transilvania,” 229.

19. Ioan-Aurel Pop, “Transilvania în secolul al XIV-lea și în prima jumătate a secolului al XV-lea (cca. 1300-1456),” in *Istoria Transilvaniei vol.I (până la 1541)*, eds. Ioan-Aurel Pop and Thomas Năgler (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2016), 262-264.

20. Until the eighteenth century in Transylvania and in the bordering areas with Romanian population found from the north-western parts (such as Ugocsa County and Bereg County) were nominated between 2,950 and 3,000 voivodes and knyazes (excluding the Făgăraș Land boyars whose institution, similar to that of knyazes, most likely developed from the former in the context of the specific evolution of this space as part of the Principality of Wallachia). Having judicial, administrative, fiscal and military obligations, these institutions were adopted during the period of early Slavic influence situated between the eighth and tenth century when they assumed part of the attributes of the older institution of the *judex*. Pascu, *Voievodatul*, III, 379, 381, 394, 396-397, 399, 401, 561-562; Pop, “Transilvania,” 265.

Yet, the arrival of these settlers resulted in a diminution of the former group's territories.²¹ During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Romanian families that lived in the King's Land continued to be juridically free, but the central authorities stipulated that the Saxon guests (*hospites*) "could and must" collect taxes from the local Romanian population.²² The political and fiscal privileges granted to the Saxons by the kings of Hungary allowed this group to practice agriculture freely and develop an urban culture based on the practice of crafts and trades early on.²³ This situation suggests that the diminution of the agricultural territory of the Romanians pushed the population to engage even further to practice shepherding, which by the fifteenth century contributed to the economy of the Kingdom through a significant tax collected directly by the king from the Romanians, called *quingagesima ovium*.²⁴ These particular agrarian characteristics, taken together with the transition of the Saxon population towards production structures specific to the medieval town, combined with the longer period of political instability and insecurity that characterises the history of Transylvania after the fall of the Kingdom of Hungary under the Ottomans, introduced starting from the seventeenth century a series of new social and economic realities, that prolonged at the level of the rural space until the first part of the twentieth century.

21. Năgler, "Transilvania," 221.

22. Pop, "Transilvania," 251.

23. Pop, "Transilvania," 248.

24. Pop, "Transilvania," 252.

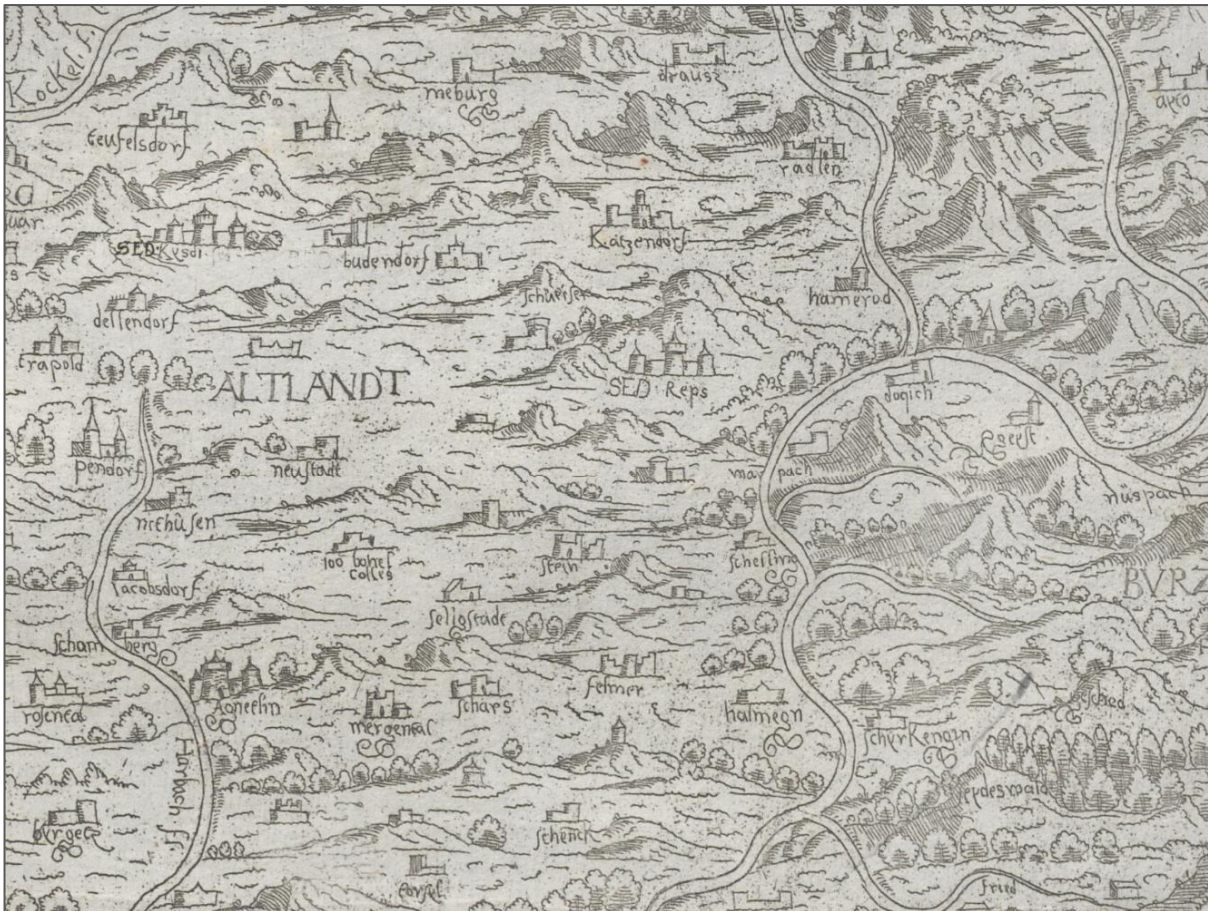


Figure 1. Johannes Honterus, *Transilvania, Sibembürgen*, size 41 x 58 cm, Digitized version, Studienbibliothek Dillingen, X123, No.66, (Vienna: n.p., 1566), detail on Rupea, marked as Sed Reps.

In the land strip found on the King's Land and known to the Saxons as *Altland*, it was mentioned in 1289 a river named Kozd (*rivuli Kozd*).²⁵ On this stream took place in 1324, a major battle from the history of this land, between the revolted Transylvanian Saxons led by Graf Henning against Thomas the Voivode of Transylvania.²⁶ An event with significant repercussions on the administrative organisation of the King's Land, it was in the context of this battle that the earliest mention of the Rupea fortress (*castrum Kuholm*) appeared in

25. Zsigmond Jakó, *Codex Diplomaticus Transsylvanie. Diplomata, epistolae et alia instrumenta litteraria res Transsylvanas illustrantia*, I, 1023-1300 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1997), 280.

26. Pop, "Transilvania," 242; Zimmermann, *Urkundenbuch*, 388.

written history.²⁷ Following the end of the revolt, the territory inhabited by the Saxons was reorganised and divided into small administrative units named seats (*sedes*).²⁸ As head of one of these seats, the settlement became a territorial unit (*Sedes Rupensis* or *Sedes Kozdensis*, figure 1), around which a series of villages from the area started to gravitate.²⁹ Developing as a market town (*oppidum*), the local Saxon population transitioned towards the manufacturing sector over the following centuries. In this process, a Romanian community developed in Rupea that took over the agricultural activities formerly carried by Saxon families.

Identifying the earliest presence of the Romanian families in Rupea before the Principality period is less critical for the current historiographical effort, which directs its attention towards the moment when a stable community takes shape in this market town. In concordance with the concept of *Gemeinschaft*, the community is understood as a group of people, that might be kin or not, that interact within a defined spatial structure and maintain social relationships based on shared cultural and economic solidarities.³⁰ As closed networks, the membership in these communities is conditioned by various layers, including linguistic, spatial, and religious solidarities, cultivating over time a community identity that sets them apart from other geographically adjacent communities that share similar cultural traits.³¹

27. Georgii Fejér, *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, Tom. VIII, Vol. II, *Ab Anno Christi 1317-1325* (Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Hungariae, 1852), 589-590.

28. Pop, "Transilvania," 242.

29. Lucas Jósef Marienburg, *Geographie des Großfürstenthums Siebenbürgen*, 2 (Hermanstadt: Hochmeister, 1813), 288-294.

30. Paul S. Adler, "Community and Innovation: From Tönnies to Marx," *Organization Studies*, Vol.36, No. 4 (2015): 447.

31. Antoine Follain, "Les communautés rurales en France. Définitions et problèmes (XVe-XIXe siècle)," *Histoire & Sociétés Rurales*, No. 12 (1999): 12, 21-24.

For instance, starting from the eighteenth century, there was a Romanian community in Rupea that was defined in opposition with the Saxon community, a Romanian community that was defined in opposition with other Romanian communities living in the villages from the proximity, and equally within the Romanian community from Rupea, a local Orthodox community defined in opposition with the local Greek-Catholic community. Following this structure, the establishment of a distinct Romanian community in Rupea can be traced back to the late Principality period when a series of Romanian families from the villages located south of Rupea formed the basis of the ploughmen's society.



Figure 2. Johann Michael Ackner, *Der Hermannstädter Stuhl im Großfürstenthum Siebenbürgen. Land der Sachsen* (Wien: Müller, 1840), a graphic representation of Romanians from the Sibiu area on the left of the picture and the Saxons on the right.

While Rupea was one of the original Saxon seats and home to one of Transylvania's most renowned cattle markets, it failed to draw the deserved scholarly attention similar to the

Romanian rural population living in the King's Land that, with few exceptions, was also left outside the mainstream historiographical discourse.³² The explanation for this situation might resort to the preoccupation of post-war Romanian historiography with the problem of feudalism. Prompted by a form of a postcolonial theory constructed on older historiographical discourses of national oppression, serfdom became a core subject in Romanian historical writing. Reformulated during communism from a Marxist perspective, as class oppression, the interest for the Romanian population that experienced serfdom remained at the core of this narrative until the beginning of the twenty-first century.³³ By marginalising the history of the Romanian free tenants, this situation produced a gap in the literature regarding Romanian society in general and the Transylvanian peasantry in particular. When placed in the specific context of the history of the East Central European peasantry, the formulation of a history from below that looks to connect the peasant families with the larger structural evolutions that define this space remains equally under-researched in comparison with similar historiographical contributions set in the western part of the continent.

The first **historiographical** efforts to look into the past of the distinct space that was the King's Land came from the Saxon scholars who, during the nineteenth century, began an intensive activity that covered a wide timeframe from antiquity up to their age. A testament to the German academic milieu in general and Göttingen's school of history in particular, at their return home from studies, major figures of the Transylvanian Saxons' public life such as

32. Thomas Năgler, *România și sașii până la 1848* (Sibiu: Thausib, 1997), 72; "Serbările culturale dela Cohalm," *Tribuna*, Noiembrie 8/21, 1907. The renowned explorer Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682) who accompanied the Ottoman troops in Transylvania in the context of the Ottoman–Habsburg wars, provides an account of the products traded in Rupea market. Evliya Çelebi, "Seyâhatnâme [Cartea de călătorii]," in *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, Vol. 6, eds. Mustafa Ali Mehmet, Nicolae Stoicescu and Aurel Decei (București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1976), 605; *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Neue Folge, Band 36, Heft 3 (Hermanstadt: In Kommission bei Franz Michaelis, 1909), 319.

33. Șerban Papacostea, "Romanian Historiography under Communist Rule," *European History Quarterly*, 26 (1996): 186.

Georg Daniel Teutsch (1817-1893) and Albert Amlacher (1847-1939) devoted to the writing of the history of their nation – of their *Volk*.³⁴ To these individual historiographical accomplishments can be added the publication *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*. Published between 1845 and 1944, this periodical followed in the tradition of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, another colossal collection of documents (of almost 300 volumes) initiated by the University of Göttingen alumni Heinrich Friedrich Karl vom und zum Stein (1757-1831).³⁵ Nonetheless, despite the rich input of the Saxon historiography, their specific interests in the history of the Transylvanian Saxons and fascination with the urban culture marginalised or even ignored the presence of the Romanian element in the King's Land, leaving this task on the shoulders of the Romanian historiography.

Represented in Transylvania by the Cluj School of history, which emerged during the Interwar period, the first generation of Romanian historiographers from that milieu was embodied by preeminent figures such as the professors Ioan Lupaş (1880-1967) – who, together with Alexandru I. Lapedatu founded in 1920 the Institute of National History from Cluj – and Silviu Dragomir (1888-1962).³⁶ Turning their attention during the 1930s towards

34. See, Georg Daniel Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk*, 1 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1874); Georg Daniel Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk*, 2 (Kronstadt: Druck und Verlag von Johann Gött, 1852); Georg Daniel Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk*, 3 (Kronstadt: Druck und Verlag von Johann Gött, 1853); Georg Daniel Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk*, 4 (Kronstadt: Druck und Verlag von Johann Gött, 1856); Georg Daniel Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk*, 5 (Kronstadt: Druck und Verlag von Johann Gött, 1858); Georg Daniel Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk*, 6 (Kronstadt: Druck und Verlag von Johann Gött, 1858); Albert Amlacher, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Stadt und des Stuhles Broos bis zum Uebergang. Siebenbürgens unter Erbfürsten aus dem Hause Oesterreich (1690)* (Hermannstadt: Gedruckt in der Buchdruckerei der v. Closius'schen Erbin, 1879).

35. William Miller Thomas Gamble, "The Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Its Antecedents and Motives," *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol.10, No.2 (1924): 219-220.

36. Ştefan, Ştefănescu ed., *Enciclopedia istoriografiei româneşti* (Bucureşti: Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1978), 129-130, 202. See, Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria dezrobirii religioase a românilor din Ardeal în sec. XVIII*, vol. I (Sibiu: n.p., 1920); Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria dezrobirii religioase a românilor din Ardeal în sec. XVIII*, vol. II (Sibiu: n.p., 1930); Silviu Dragomir, "Românii din Transilvania şi unirea cu biserica Romei," *SMIN*, 3 (1959): 329-339; Silviu Dragomir, *Correspondenţa episcopului Adamovici şi mişcarea de emancipare a clerului şi poporului românesc în anul 1791* (Sibiu: n.p., 1911); Ioan Lupaş, *Contribuţii la istoria românilor ardeleni, 1780-1792* (Bucureşti: n.p., 1915) Ioan Lupaş, *Răscoala ţaranilor din Transilvania la 1784* (Cluj: Tipografia

the Transylvanian Romanian peasantry, their efforts were carried on by a new generation of historians such as David Prodan (1902-1992), whose activity on the problem of serfdom in Transylvania extended over a career that has lasted more than five decades. Contemporary with Prodan was his colleague Ștefan Pascu (1914-1998), whose historiographical input on peasant revolts spans almost four decades.³⁷ Benefitting during the communist period from the support of the authorities because it represented exponential themes of Marxist historiography, the study of the history of the peasantry in the Cluj academic environment was carried on by a young generation. Diversifying their methodologies, historians such as Barbu Ștefănescu (1953-2013), Toader Nicoară (b.1956), Ioan Bolovan (b.1962) and Mircea Brie (b.1977) revive the study of the Transylvanian rural world starting from the 1990s.

Nonetheless, an interest in the history of the family and rural history themes such as agriculture was promoted in the Cluj academic milieu from the second half of the 1960s in the periodical *Acta Musei Napocensis*, with the contribution of an older generation of historians such as Nicolae Edroiu (1939-2018), Pál Gyulai (b.1936), István Imreh (1919-2003), Camil Mureșanu (1927-2015) and József Pataki (1908-1993).³⁸ Testimony to a pre-

Astra, 1934); Ioan Lupaș, *Împăratul Iosif II și răscoala țăranilor din Transilvania* (București: Monitorul Oficial și Imprimeriile Statului. Imprimeria Națională, 1935).

37. Ștefănescu, *Enciclopedia*, 253-254, 275. See, David Prodan, *Răscoala lui Horea în comitatele Cluj și Turda* (Cluj: Monitorul Oficial și Imprimeriile Statului. Imprimeria Națională, 1938); David Prodan, *Iobăgia în domeniul Băii de Arieș la 1770* (Cluj: Cartea Românească, 1948); David Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* (Cluj: Editura Universității "Victor Babeș", 1948); David Prodan, *Iobăgia în Transilvania în secolul al XVI-lea*, Vol. 1-3 (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1968); David Prodan, "Problema iobăgiei în dieta Transilvaniei în 1790-1791," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj*, XIII (1970): 69-82; Ștefan Pascu, *Răscoale țărănești din Transilvania* (Cluj: Cartea Românească, 1947); Ștefan Pascu, *Bobâlna* (București: Editura Tineretului, 1957); Ștefan Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, Vol. I-III (Cluj: Editura Dacia, 1971-1986); Ștefan Pascu, "Urbariul satului Cetan din prima jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj*, 3 (1960): 171-253; Ștefan Pascu, "La struttura dell proprietà fondiaria nella Transilvania sul inizio del XX secolo," *Annali dell'Universita di Napoli*, X (1968), 1-30.

38. Ștefănescu ed., *Enciclopedia*, 136, 166, 177, 228, 254. See, Nicolae Edroiu and Pál Gyulai, "Evoluția plugului în Țările Române în epoca feudală," *Acta Musei Napocensis*, II (1965): 307-343; István Imreh and József Pataki, "Contribuții la studiul agriculturii transilvănene (1570-1610)," *Acta Musei Napocensis*, IV (1967): 153-184; Camil Mureșanu, "Rolul pregătirii teologice în formarea intelectualității românești din Transilvania," in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Series Historica, 7 (2003): 21-24; Nicolae Edroiu, "Mișcări țărănești în părțile Sighișoarei în timpul răscoalei lui Horea," *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai*, 2 (1966): 44-60; Pál Gyulai, "Începuturile fabricării instrumentelor agricole la Cluj," *T.N.*, 1 (1969): 111-121; István

war tradition between the Romanian scholars and the French academia, these historiographical developments can be put in relation to the then-recent activity of some representatives of the Annales School of history, such as Philippe Ariès (1914-1984) and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie (b.1929).³⁹ Carried on by Ioan Bolovan and Sorina Bolovan, the history of the family found a new impetus with their turn towards historical demography as the main method used in their research, leading a new generation into the twenty-first century.

The only concern that can be raised is that during its long historiographical tradition, the Cluj School nurtured a higher interest in the peasantry found in its proximity to the northern half of the province. This situation saw an over-representation of serfdom in historical writing, an economic system specific to this part of the province, and a neglect of the Romanians living in the King's Land as free tenants. With the emergence of a preoccupation for this subject at the Department of Humanities at the University of Sibiu, whose members are often formed in the intellectual milieu of Cluj, the historiographical delay that continues to affect the history of the peasantry in Transylvania promises to be overcome in the following decades.⁴⁰ Starting in the 2000s, a new direction in rural history studies emerged at Cluj, represented by Constantin Bărbulescu, whose work on the modernisation

Imreh, *Székely falutörvények* (Cluj: Kolozsvári Bolyai Tudományegyetem, 1947); István Imreh, *Majorsági gazdálkodás a székelyföldön a feudalizmus bomlásának idején* (București: Állami Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó, 1956); István Imreh, *A rendtartó székely falu* (București: Kriterion, 1973); József Pataki, *Domeniul Hunedoara la începutul secolului al XVI-lea* (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1973).

39. See, Philippe Ariès, *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Plon, 1960).

40. See, Valeria Soroștineanu, "Iubirea între divorț și căsătorie. Studii de caz în mediul ortodox transilvan," in *În căutarea fericirii. Viața familială în spațiul românesc în sec. XVIII-XX*, edited by Ioan Bolovan, Diana Covaci, Daniela Deteșan, Marius Eppel and Elena Crinela Holom, 99-110. Cluj: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2010; Valeria Soroștineanu, "Mixed marriages in the Romanian Village of Transylvania (1850-1918)," in *Proceedings of the International Conference: Communication, Context, Interdisciplinarity. Studies and Articles*, vol.III, edited by Iulian Boldea (Târgu-Mureș: Universitatea Petru Maior, 2014); Valeria Soroștineanu, "The Discourse on Marriage, Concubinage and Illegitimate Children in the Transylvanian Orthodox Ecclesiastical Environment after 1894," *Romanian Journal of Population Studies*, 6, 1 (2012): 66-79.

theory is part of the historical anthropology movement, making the history of medicine a central topic in his research.⁴¹ The foundation of the Oral History Institute in Cluj in 1997, from the initiative of professors Pompiliu Teodor and Doru Radosav, opened a new research direction. Through its activity, in the past quarter of a century, the institute produced a breakthrough in both methodology and theoretical approach, following in the tradition of the *nouvelle histoire* movement heralded by leaders of the third wave of the Annales School such as Jacques le Goff and Pierre Nora, and also in the *microstoria* historiographical movement associated to the Italian School. As a response to the dire social need of the post-communist Romanian historiography, the institute broke with the traditional approach of the Cluj School by addressing the issue of the post-communist collective trauma and integrating into historical writing those whose voices remain unheard in the mainstream narratives.

Despite its limitations, the Transylvania historiography, starting with the nineteenth-century Saxon scholars and ending with the post-communist contribution of academics from Cluj and Sibiu, sets a foundation on themes of rural history and family history in southern Transylvania. Various methods, such as historical demography and oral history, resonate with this current methodological approach and permit a continuous engagement with a context-rich scholarship on Transylvanian history. Hence, the thesis acknowledges and builds upon

41. See, Constantin Bărbulescu, *Physicians, Peasant and Modern Medicine. Imagining Rurality in Romania, 1860-1910* (Budapest, New York Central: European University Press, 2018); Constantin Bărbulescu, *Imaginarul corpului uman. Între cultura țărănească și cultura savantă (secolele XIX-XX)* (București: Editura Paideia, 2005); Constantin Bărbulescu, "Race without Racism in the Communist Period," in *Studia Universitatis 'Babeș-Bolyai'*, Vol.64, No.2 (2019): 102-107; Constantin Bărbulescu, "Les mariages mixtes ou les avatars d'un objet de recherche scientifique en Roumanie (1918-2011)," in *Les mariages mixtes dans les sociétés contemporaines. Diversité religieuse, différences nationales*, edited by Michaël Gasperoni, Vincent Gourdon and Cyril Grange (Roma: Viella, 2019); Constantin Bărbulescu, "'The Peasant's Food Is Only the Polenta': The Hygiene of Rural People's Nourishment in Romania in the Medical Discourse of the Second Half of the 19th Century through the Beginning of the 20th Century," *Studia Universitatis 'Babeș-Bolyai'*, Vol. 59, No.2 (2014): 83-109; Constantin Bărbulescu, "Souvenirs de pratique médicale. Les mémoires comme source de l'histoire de la médecine sans le XIXème siècle," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie 'George Barițiu' din Cluj-Napoca*, Tom LII (2013): 29-41; Constantin Bărbulescu, "Fleas, Lice and Bugs. Notes on Rural Hygiene in the Second Half of the 20th Century," *Philobiblon*, Vol. XVI, No.2 (2011): 538-548; Constantin Bărbulescu, "Modernizarea lumii rurale românești. Dimensiunea igienică și sanitară," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie 'A.D. Xenopol'*, tom. XLI (2004): 189-203.

these previous efforts, contributing to Romanian historiography and extending knowledge of this space's past.

In addition to these contributions, the attention of social history towards research themes such as the history of the family and the rural world is best represented by the historiographical contribution of the Annales School, which formed in the academic milieu of Strasbourg during the Interwar period.⁴² In the first generation of this movement, Georges Lefebvre (1874-1959) and Marc Bloch (1886-1944) showed a particular interest in writing a regional socioeconomic history of France and the European space.⁴³ Later, Fernand Braudel's (1902-1985) disciple, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, continued to promote his mentor's concept of total history, generating interest in a new direction in the history of the rural space by studying ordinary lives of the peasantry in an ethnographic style.⁴⁴

Emerging during the 1970s around publications such as *Études rurales* (founded in 1961) and around figures such as Isac Chiva (1925-2012), the historical anthropology movement found during the 1980s and 1990s an original expression in the work of Françoise Zonabend (b.1935), whose use of microhistory and ethnological observations reveal the normative order of the rural society.⁴⁵ Preoccupied with ordinary lives, the author employs

42. Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution. The Annales School, 1929-2014* (Cambridge: Peter Burke, 2015), 21-22.

43. Christian Delacroix, François Dosse, Patrick Garcia and Nicolas Offenstadt, *Historiographies. Concepts et débats*, Tom.1 (Paris: Folio Histoire, 2010), 33, 37-38; Burke, *The French*, 43.

44. William McNeill, "Fernand Braudel, Historian," *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol.73, No.1 (2001): 133, 137; Michael Harsgor, "Total History: The Annales School," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol.13, No.1 (1978): 4-5. See, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Les Paysans de Languedoc* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1966); Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou, Village Occitan de 1294 à 1324* (Paris, Gallimard, 1975); Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *L'argent, l'amour et la mort en pays d'oc* (Paris: Seuil, 1980); Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, ed., *Autour de Montaillou, un village occitan: histoire et religiosité d'une communauté villageoise au Moyen Age: actes du colloque de Montaillou, 25-26-27 août 2000* (Castelnaud-la-Chapelle: L'Hydre éditions, 2001).

45. See, Françoise Zonabend, *La Mémoire longue. Temps et histoires au village* (Paris: PUF, 1980); Tina Jolas, Marie-Claude Pingaud, Yvonne Verdier and Françoise Zonabend, *Une campagne voisine: Minot, un village bourguignon* (Paris, Ed. de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1990); Patrice Bourdelais and Gourdon Vincent, "L'histoire de la famille dans les revues françaises (1960-1995): la prégnance de l'anthropologie," *Annales de*

genealogical and familial memory to address kinship, marriage and inheritance themes. Zonabend's research themes are better represented in the field of ethnology by Martine Segalen (1940-2021), who also employed rural genealogies as a method of inquiry into the developments of the family institution, with the theme of kinship structures, inheritance and marriage dominating her oeuvre, while equally showing a particular interest for women studies.⁴⁶ From the beginning of the twenty-first century, the history of the family in the francophone space has found an expression in a new generation of historiographers. Among them, of particular significance to the subject of this current effort is Vincent Gourdon (b.1968), whose investigation on the history of the family uses historical demography as a method of inquiry to study major themes such as kinship, grandparenthood and godparenthood, and Fabrice Boudjaaba (b.1975) who focuses on topics such as rural mobility and the relationship between kinship and inheritance.⁴⁷

démographie historique, 2 (2000): 20, 27. Isac Chiva, born in Iași, Kingdom of Romania, studied at the University of Paris, whereupon he continued his professional activity in France.

46. See, Martine Segalen, *Mari et femme dans la société paysanne* (Paris: Flammarion, 1980); Martine Segalen, *Quinze générations de Bas-Bretons: parenté et société dans le pays bigouden sud (1720-1980)* (Paris: PUF, 1985); Marianne Gullestad and Martine Segalen, *La famille en Europe. Parenté et perpétuation familiale* (Paris: La Découverte, 1995); Claudine Attias-Donfut and Martine Segalen, *Grands-parents: la famille à travers les générations* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 1998).

47. See, Vincent Gourdon, *Histoire de grands-parents* (Paris, Perrin, 2012); Guido Alfani, Vincent Gourdon, Cristina Munno and Isabelle Robin, "Parrainage et compérage : De nouveaux outils au service d'une histoire sociale des espaces européens et coloniaux," *Histoire, Économie et Société*, 4 (2018): 4-17; Guido Alfani, Vincent Gourdon and Isabelle Robin, eds., *Le Parrainage en Europe et en Amérique. Pratiques de longue durée XVIe-XXIe siècles* (Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2015); Guido Alfani, Vincent Gourdon, eds., *Spiritual kinship in Europe, 1500-1900* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Guido Alfani and Vincent Gourdon, "Las familias y la elección de padrinos y madrinas de bautizo en la Europa católica en la Edad Moderna. Balance y perspectivas de investigación," *Revista de Historia Moderna. Anales de la Universidad de Alicante*, 34 (2016): 23-42; Vincent Gourdon, "Le renouveau de l'histoire du parrainage aux époques moderne et contemporaine en France," *Obradoiro de Historia Moderna*, 24 (2015): 23-48; Camille Berteau, Vincent Gourdon and Isabelle Robin-Romero, "Godparenthood: driving local solidarity in Northern France in the Early Modern Era. The example of Aubervilliers families in the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries," *The History of the Family*, 4, 17 (2012): 452-467; Guido Alfani, Vincent Gourdon and Agnese Vitali, "Social Customs and Demographic Change: The Case of Godparenthood in Catholic Europe," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 51, 3 (2012): 482-504; Guido Alfani and Vincent Gourdon, "Il ruolo economico del padrinato: un fenomeno osservabile?" *Cheiron*, 45-46 (2006): 129-177; Vincent Gourdon, "Les grands-parents en France du XVIIème siècle au début du XXe siècle," *Histoire Économie et Sociétés*, 3 (1999): 511-525; Vincent Gourdon, "Les témoins de mariage civil dans les villes européennes du XIXe siècle : quel intérêt pour l'analyse des réseaux familiaux et sociaux?," *Histoire, Économie, Société*, 2 (2008): 61-87; Fabrice Boudjaaba, "La transmission des patrimoines paysans : clé de voûte de la reproduction sociale et faux problème. L'exemple du canton de Plélan-

Hence, through its thematic parallels, the French-speaking historiography offers the necessary support to approach detailed aspects of family life in the rural space. The ethnographic dimension paralleled by a direction in studying kinship structures contributes directly to this thesis, providing a theoretical framework for studying the Romanian rural population from southern Transylvania. The influence of these historiographic contributions in understanding the Transylvania rural space is most evident throughout the thesis in methodology, extending from adopting a total history perspective to an anthropological focus on microhistories and ethnological dimensions.

Turning towards English-language historiography, the emergence of the New Left movement in the late 1950s drove British academia's historical writing towards exploring social relations in a Marxist tradition.⁴⁸ Heralded by one of the central figures of this movement, Edward Palmer Thompson (1924-1993), the main subjects of this new generation of social historians were labour history and the working class.⁴⁹ During the 1960s, in the milieu of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, Peter Laslett (1915-2001) and Richard Wall (1944-2011) made use of historical demography to

le-Grand au milieu du xix^e siècle,” *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l’Ouest*, No.116, 2 (2009): 141-163; Fabrice Boudjaaba, “Parenté, alliance et marché dans la France rurale traditionnelle. Essai d'application de l'analyse de réseaux au marché foncier et immobilier de Saint-Marcel (Normandie) 1760-1824,” *Annales de Démographie Historique*, No. 109, 1 (2005): 33-59; Fabrice Boudjaaba and Marie-Pierre Arrizabalaga, “Les systèmes familiaux. De la cartographie des modes d’héritage aux dynamiques de la reproduction familiale et sociale,” *Annales de Démographie Historique*, No.129, 1 (2015): 165-199. Fabrice Boudjaaba, “Enracinement, sociabilités et identité paysanne à l’épreuve de l’industrialisation (Ivry, XIX^e siècle),” *Le Mouvement Social*, No.277, 4 (2021): 133-148; Fabrice Boudjaaba, “Les élites et le marché foncier. Des acheteurs comme les autres? xviii^e-xix^e siècles,” in *Les élites et la terre*, eds. Caroline Le Mao and Corinne Marache (Malakoff: Armand Colin, 2010); Fabrice Boudjaaba, “L’attachement à la terre, mythe moderne?” in *Léguer, hériter*, ed. François Dubet (Paris: La Découverte, 2016).

48. Delacroix, *Historiographies*, 422, 425.

49. Dipesh Chakrabarty, “Fifty Years of E.P. Thompson’s ‘The Making of the English Working Class’,” *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 48, No.51 (2013): 24-26.

approach the history of the family and household economics in seminal works such as *Household and Family in Past Time* (1972) and *Family Forms in Historic Europe* (1983).⁵⁰

On the other side of the Atlantic, family history finds an expression in the person of Tamara Hareven (1937-2002). Born in Chernivtsi, Romania, starting in the 1970s, Hareven began to use methods of inquiry such as oral history and historical demography to challenge the structural construction of the family, proposing instead a dynamism of the household structures.⁵¹ Her main contribution was on the topic of women in industrial settings, showing particular interest in a gender approach.⁵² With the publication during the same decade of Bucharest-born Eugen Weber's (1925-2007) *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914* (1976), the history of the rural world benefited from a seminal work that using the modernisation theory, explored how the peasantry was integrated into the national culture during the nineteenth century.⁵³ The idea of dynamism and transformation in the rural world was approached from the perspective of agriculture by Weber's contemporary, the Princeton-based historian Jerome Blum (1913-1993), who in 1978 published the work *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe*.⁵⁴ His work *Our Forgotten*

50. Delacroix, *Historiographies*, 100; See, Peter Laslett and Kevin Kevin Schürer, *The World We Have Lost: England Before the Industrial Age* (London: Routledge, 1965); David Eversley, Peter Laslett and Edward Wrigley, eds., *An Introduction to English Historical Demography: From the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966); Peter Laslett, Karla Oosterveen, Richard M. Smith, eds., *Bastardy and Its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica, and Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980); Peter Laslett and Richard Wall, eds., *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972); Richard Wall, Peter Laslett and Jean Robin, eds., *Family Forms in Historic Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

51. Tamara K. Hareven, *Family and Kin in Urban Communities, 1700-1930* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1977); Tamara K. Hareven and Randolph Langenbach, *Amoskeag: Life and Work in an American Factory-City* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); Tamara K. Hareven, *The Silk Weavers of Kyoto: Family and Work in a Changing Traditional Industry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

52. Bourdelais, "L'histoire de la famille," 15-16.

53. Agulhom Maurice, review of *Peasants into Frenchmen. The modernization of rural France 1870-1914*, by Eugen Weber, *Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations*, 33, No.4 (1978): 843-844.

54. Jerome Blum, *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978).

Past: Seven Centuries of Life on the Land (1982) continued the previous endeavour and explored the economic developments that took place in the rural world.⁵⁵ During the 1980s, the historical anthropology movement represented in the French-speaking space by Zonabend and Segalen in the Anglophone world found a voice in Katherine Verdery (b.1948). An American anthropologist, her major work *Transylvanian Villagers* (1983) turns its attention towards East Central Europe to explore the relation of the peasantry with developing economic and political structures in a multicultural space.⁵⁶ Back on the European continent, the original response of the Italian historiography to the innovation that took place in social history writing starting from the 1970s is represented by a group of historians, out of which Carlo Ginzburg achieved wide international recognition. In his *Il formaggio e i vermi* (1976), Ginzburg used microhistory to re-establish the relationship between the individuals and the society in which they live, defining a historiographical method preferred by that generation.⁵⁷

Representing two different historiographic traditions, the English-language scholarship provides the thesis with a model for integrating the Transylvanian peasantry into broader historical contexts. Following the Marxist tradition of the New Left, the Transylvanian peasantry is reproduced as a social group in continuous dialogue with other structures. Using the contribution of Eugen Weber and Katherine Verdery, the peasantry is introduced further in broader national and regional cultures, providing a more comprehensive understanding of the economic and social shifts experienced by this group. In summary, more than methodological input, the English-language historiography resonates with the thesis in

55. Jerome Blum, *Our Forgotten Past: Seven Centuries of Life on the Land* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982).

56. Dennis Deletant, review of *Transylvanian Village: Three Centuries of Political, Economic and Ethnic Change*, by Katherine Verdery, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 63 No. 3 (1985): 471; Katherine Verdery, *Transylvanian Villagers: Three Centuries of Political, Economic, and Ethnic Change* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Delacroix, *Historiographies*, 395.

57. Delacroix, *Historiographies*, 531-533; See, Carlo Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi. Il cosmo di un mugnaio del '500* (Turin: Einaudi, 1976).

complex ways that allow the reconstruction of the modernisation process in the rural Transylvanian space.

Concerning the oral history character of this thesis, expressed in themes and methodologies, specialised historiography corresponds to two traditions, one academic and one of laypeople. The first is centred around the anthropological direction in family studies of the Columbia University graduate and Ruth Benedict's disciple, Oscar Lewis (1914-1970), who, in his breakthrough comprehensive portrayal of the marginality culture of poverty – *Five Families* (1959), *The Children of Sánchez* (1961), *Pedro Martínez* (1964) and *La Vida* (1966) – used interviews to document his research and set the tone for a direction in oral history for the next generation of historians interested in working class.⁵⁸ In parallel with Lewis' activity, the Columbia Oral History Program, established by Allan Nevins in the late 1940s, shifted in the late 1960s from the study of influential personalities to under-represented groups.⁵⁹

This academic tradition is paralleled in the United States by the non-academic approach of Studs Terkel (1912-2008), a journalist who, in the 1970s, became one of the most significant figures in the field. Work such as *Hard Times* (1970) and *Working* (1974) in which he places at the forefront of the history of working-class communities, and his Pulitzer-winning work "*The Good War*" (1984), cement oral history as a movement within

58. Douglas Butterworth, "Oscar Lewis 1914-1970," *American Anthropologist*, Vol.74, No.3 (1972): 747; Madeline H. Engel, review of *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty-San Juan and New York*, by Oscar Lewis, *The International Migration Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1967): 70; See, Oscar Lewis, *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1959); Oscar Lewis, *The Children of Sánchez* (New York, NY: Random House, 1961); Oscar Lewis, *Pedro Martínez: A Mexican Peasant and His Family* (New York, NY: Random House, 1964); Oscar Lewis, *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty – San Juan and New York* (New York, NY: Random House, 1966).

59. Jerrold Hirsch, "Before Columbia: The FWP and American Oral History Research," *The Oral History Review*, Vol.34, No.2 (2007): 3; Shelley Trower, *Sound Writing: Voices, Authors, and Readers of Oral History* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2023), 40; Donald Ritchie, *Doing Oral History* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015), 5.

the larger field of social history.⁶⁰ His interest in working class and equally in American folk music – through major works such as *Giants of Jazz* (1957) and the late-career *And They All Sang* (2005), the latter of which puts together a selection of unpublished interviews with musicians taken between 1953 and 2002 mostly while he hosted his daily radio show at WFMT – influenced equally European academics such as Alessandro Portelli (b.1942), professor at the Sapienza University of Rome.⁶¹

Before addressing the working-class struggle in works such as *Biografia di una città*. (1985), *The Death of Luigi Trastulli* (1991), *The Battle of Valle Giulia* (1997) and his chef-d'œuvre *They Say in Harlan County* (2009) that concludes almost forty years of field research carried out by the author in an Appalachian mining community, the Italian academic, researched in his early works American folk music – *Veleno di piombo sul muro* (1969), *La canzone popolare in America* (1975) and *Canzoni e poesie proletarie americane* (1977) – reflecting the cultural scene of the period but also sympathy to Terkel in themes and the meanings of orality and memory.⁶² Furthermore, the Italian oral historiography enriched the field with the contribution of Luisa Passerini (b.1941), who explored the working-class experiences in Fascist Italy and whose work *Torino operaia e fascismo* (1984) places

60. Sarah Gregson, “Oral Historian and Activist, ‘Studs’ Terkel (1912-2008),” *Labour History*, No.96 (2009): 233-234; See, Studs Terkel, *Hard Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1970); Studs Terkel, *Working: People Talk About What They Do All Day and How They Feel About What They Do* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1974); Studs Terkel, “*The Good War*”: *An Oral History of World War II* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1984).

61. Roberta Volkmann, review of *And They All Sang: Adventures of an Eclectic Disc Jockey*, by Studs Terkel, *Music Educators Journal*, Vol.93, No.2 (2006): 23-24; See, Studs Terkel, *Giants of Jazz* (New York, NY: Thomas Y. Cromwell Company, 1957); Studs Terkel, *And They All Sang: Adventures of an Eclectic Disc Jockey* (New York, NY: New Press, 2005).

62. Trower, *Sound*, 58; See, Alessandro Portelli, *They Say in Harlan County: An Oral History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Alessandro Portelli, *Veleno di piombo sul muro: le canzoni del Black power* (Bari: Laterza, 1969); Alessandro Portelli, *La canzone popolare in America: la rivoluzione musicale di Woody Guthrie* (Bari: De Donato, 1975); Alessandro Portelli, *Canzoni e poesie proletarie americane / Woody Guthrie, Joe Hill e altri* (Roma: Savelli, 1977).

underrepresented groups at the front stage of history by integrating the workers from Turin into a broader historical narrative.⁶³

In parallel with these developments, in the British space, in the spirit of the New Left movement, oral history finds a voice in the academic environment in Paul Thompson (b.1935), whose efforts in the 1970s – represented by *The Edwardians* (1975) and *The Voice of the Past* (1978), established him as one of the founders of oral history in Great Britain. With Alun Howkins (1947-2018), the co-founder of the *Rural History* journal, the interest in applying orality to study family history and rural history enters mainstream academic research, becoming a methodological model for the current research.⁶⁴

The principal use of interviews in the thesis corresponds with a well-defined characteristic of oral history, providing a more complex experience of the past and an original perspective of the historical events in ways that traditional methods of inquiry cannot access.⁶⁵ The aim of writing a history from below led to the use of orality in this research to permit a more developed inclusivity of the historical narrative, where the ploughmen as a group become an integral part of the history of East Central Europe.⁶⁶

This historiographic inquiry is assumed as the framework for writing the history of the family of the Transylvanian Romanian rural population since it highlights some of the major contributions on significant themes related to the current effort. Following in the steps of

63. Woolf Stuart, review of *Torino operaia e fascismo. Una storia orale*, by Luisa Passerini, *Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations*, No.3 (1988): 688; See, Luisa Passerini, *Torino operaia e fascismo. Una storia orale* (Bari: Laterza, 1984).

64. See, Alun Howkins, *Poor Labouring Men: Rural Radicalism in Norfolk, 1872–1923* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985); Alun Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England: A Social History, 1850–1925* (London: HarperCollins, 1991); Alun Howkins, *The Death of Rural England: A Social History of the Countryside since 1900* (London: Routledge, 2003).

65. Florence Descamps, *De l'histoire orale au patrimoine immatériel* (Paris: Les Éditions de l'Ecole des hautes études en science sociales, 2019), 13.

66. Staughton Lynd, “Oral History from below,” *The Oral History Review*, Vol.21, No.1 (1993): 1, 4.

various historiographic traditions, the current investigation comes in the continuation of these diverse contributions to take over and fill the gaps through new original data and perspectives. Following a broader social history tradition that is closer to Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's microhistory approach on the rural space than that of Edward Palmer Thompson's labour history, the thesis seeks validation by employing an extensive array of literature on Transylvanian history that provides a continuous contextualisation of the narrative.⁶⁷

Based on the tradition of the founders of the Annales School, Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch, and on the total history inquiry model proposed by Fernand Braudel in his magnum opus *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, in the process of producing knowledge were collected the entire available **sources** on the subject.⁶⁸ With most material interpreted according to their qualitative value, the episodic use of a quantitative inquiry on a specific type of source results in the overall description of the thesis as a mixed methods approach. Given the vast array of sources used, the field research took place both in specialised research institutions and in a real-world setting, providing a key element of this project.

While most of the sources were collected during the first year of PhD, in the larger understanding of the process, data collection began in 2014 and ended in 2022. Since this endeavour is the continuation of a master thesis, which in turn developed from a practical oral history exercise, the oldest sources collected that remain in the final version of this work are ten hours of interviews recorded in Rupea between 2014 and 2017. At the other end, the latest

67. Jeffrey A. Bowman, "Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie (1929)," in *New Historical Writing in Twentieth-Century France. French Historians. 1900-2000*, eds. Philip Daileader and Philip Whalen (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 395.

68. Leonard R.N. Ashley, review of *The Mediterranean and The Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, by Fernand Braudel and Siân Reynolds, *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, T.42, No.3 (1980): 728; Gérard Brun, *Introduction à l'histoire totale* (Paris: Economica, 2006), 356, 359. See, Marc Bloch, *La Société féodale. La formation des liens de dépendance*, Vol. I (Paris, Éditions Albin Michel, 1939); Marc Bloch, *La Société féodale. Les Classes et le gouvernement des hommes*, Vol. II (Paris, Éditions Albin Michel, 1940).

sources were collected in the field in the autumn of 2022, following a research trip to the archives of three Orthodox parishes in the Rupea area, and in December 2022, when a final oral history interview was carried out. Between these two field research experiences were taken other ninety hours of oral history interviews, the vast majority in the spring of 2019.

The oral history collection process was systematically executed over two major field research sessions, guided by selection criteria based on locality and age. Collaboration with the two local Orthodox parishes and suggestions from potential interviewees shaped the list of candidates that, in the end, accounted for around fifty interviews taken to forty-five individuals. Regrettably, by the spring of 2023, more than a third of them had passed away. The primary interview criterion centred on individuals born during the Interwar period, ensuring they had lived through that era and possessed direct memories of their childhood before the communist period, reflecting the final average birth year of 1932. The second criterion was locality, requiring selected individuals to have at least one parent born in Rupea in one of the local ploughmen families. Interviews, conducted at their homes for optimal comfort, were scheduled in the morning to enhance attention. A well-conducted interview typically lasted between one and one and a half hours, with the possibility of follow-up sessions for deeper exploration when it was necessary. The subsequent transcription phase, spanning almost an entire academic year, resulted in a consolidated document around one thousand five hundred pages long, providing immediate access to information.

During the first field research trip, when most of the interviews were recorded, a series of ego documents consisting of photographs, personal correspondence, memoirs, and unpublished village monographs were photocopied. In addition, a series of photographs, essential sources for urban history that depict Rupea during the Interwar period, which was part of the Litarczek family collection, was acquired at an auction, with one photograph being

found in the final version. The total photographs collected during the field research from families from Rupea, is estimated at around five hundred. This visual material permits a more accurate recreation of the described social, economic, and urban landscape, highlighting various aspects of the ploughmen's lives and urban history. However, all the ego documents were used critically, being aware of the subjectivity these selective forms of representation carry. Ego documents – letters, handwritten and typewritten memoirs, and photographs – the interviews and the village monographs were cross-referenced during the entire process with archival sources to validate the information, providing a better context and completing the overall arguments of the thesis.

At Durham, during the Epiphany Term in the first year of PhD, the selection of newspapers that contained relevant information to the subject of the thesis began, resulting in the indexing of around 1,200 newspaper articles selected from online databases that cover the period between the 1850s and 1940s. While the first selection criteria were purely geographic, choosing articles that referred to Rupea, the following phases narrowed that range through a qualitative approach. Hence, out of the remaining articles, a careful selection was carried out based on the value of the content of each entry. The transcription of the remaining articles, which was carried out before the beginning of the second academic year, sums up more than 150 pages of material. Out of these 1,200 transcribed articles, around 14% remained in the thesis's final version, making this type of source one of the most used throughout the work. A qualitative analysis of the selected articles provided detailed information about local events, while the cross-reference with the rest of the sources utilised contributed to the validation of the entire body of sources. In contrast, a critical reading of the source provided additional perspectives on the authors' biases, revealing an ever-evolving rich political landscape.

The transition towards written primary sources was completed at the end of the first year of research following an intensive scrutiny of the National Archives of Romania. First among the sources investigated was the civil register fund of the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic parishes from Rupea, which covers the births, marriages and deaths from 1788 to 1917. This source was made available for research purposes in a digitised format from the beginning of the Epiphany Term in January 2019, permitting a thorough investigation of the material over the next terms. In addition, specific information was collected from various other civil registers from the church parishes of Braşov Şchei, Caţa, Comăna de Jos, Dacia, Mercheaşa, Şona and Ticuşu Nou (all found in Braşov County). Used both for quantitative and qualitative purposes, the information extracted from these sources was crucial to reconstructing the different processes, being complemented by data from oral and memorialist sources, periodicals and written archival material. While most of this field archival research was carried out at the county branch of the National Archives in Braşov, where Rupea townhall's funds were investigated thoroughly, the other research locations were the county branches from Miercurea Ciuc and Târgu-Mureş. The archival fund consulted in Braşov covers only the period from 1921 to 1950, given that the old fund of the Rupea town hall is not yet catalogued and thus was not available for research. This limitation permitted a better investigation of the available funds, with around one hundred fifty files investigated and partially photocopied, out of which eighty-one were also partially transcribed, resulting in an index of almost 900 documents, out of which around 13% remained in the final version of the thesis. Apart from this material found in the National Archives, during the two main field research trips carried out in the first year of research, another important source was investigated: the archival funds of Holy Trinity parish. The archives, found in a profound state of decay, were recovered in the first phase, and then safeguarding activity was carried out around half a year later. Due to time constraints, only

the funds that cover the period 1920-1950 were indexed and digitised entirely, while the older documents were selectively photocopied, transcribing around 140 documents, out of which around 35% found their way into the final cut. Apart from these major field campaigns, shorter but successful research activities were carried out in the three villages around Rupea, Cața, Drăușeni and Ticușu Nou, which resulted in the identification of sources that made it to the final version. This array of primary sources was used together with a series of published volumes of historical documents edited between the 1840s and the 2000s, which reproduced documents of prime importance to the history of Rupea in general and to this subject in particular. While archival material is often incomplete and geographically dispersed, the collections selected for this investigation showed high consistency. The framing of research around the Romanian population allowed accessibility to a significant number of sources preserved mainly in Brașov and Rupea. Despite the failure to access town hall records before the First World War, which arguably might suggest an incomplete representation of the period studied, the body of available sources used efficiently completed and balanced the gaps.

The diversification of the sources was an ongoing process born out of the necessity to respond to the teleological goal of this investigation – that of reconstructing a society. Using oral and visual sources accompanied by newspapers and archival sources provides the thesis with a complexity that matches the project's ambition. Naturally, a source type is limited in its capacity to render knowledge, while from the point of view of the researcher, the selection of sources is driven by limited access to information. The inaccessibility of archival funds for technical reasons or the unavailability of individuals to participate in the oral interviews are only some of the reasons that resulted in this variation of employed sources, which stand behind the current structure of the thesis.

Constructed around three main themes of interests – family structures, household economics and local institutions, the five **chapters** are both cohesive – each adding another layer to the overall argument – and have a certain individuality that allows them to stand as distinct pieces. For this reason, those who are pursuing a complete reading will come to understand better the various ways in which the process of modernisation manifested in the rural world, while those interested in one of the specific themes could approach the reading of the relevant part and it will suffice to gain a comprehensive picture of that particular aspect.

The first chapter, which has a foundational role, sets the context for the rest of the work, providing a demographic and genealogical perspective on the development of the Romanian community from Rupea. Using historical demography and anthroponomy to create a historical framing for the Romanian community, the first part of the chapter represents an effort to define this population group. The next two-thirds focus on the local hierarchies upheld by these families. Using biography as a method meant to legitimise this group's constructed social identity, the second part of the chapter addresses the function of the existing community norms and explores the relationship between primacy and social status, economic situation and status, and occupation and status.

The second chapter, which comes as a continuation of the first, turns its attention to the central institution behind the local system of social solidarities and hierarchies – marriage. Framed using a series of tools related to historical demography and quantitative history, the marital practices of the Romanian rural population represent an essential resource that helps to understand the multiple uses of this institution. Enforcing a series of pragmatic needs at a time when the rural society made a transition to a market economy, the peasantry found in the institution of marriage one of the main mediums of survival, representing an answer to the new economic and social challenges. Starting from a legal framing that looks at different

official acts that directly influenced marital practices, the chapter then investigates various patterns that characterise marriage in the rural world caused by occupational, religious and natural factors. The next part measures variables identified in three types of endogamous marriages – geographical, confessional, and occupational, while the final part investigates the causes and socioeconomic implications of three different matrimonial situations: remarriage, concubinage and divorce.

The third chapter, which stands as a single chapter in the second part of the thesis, continues a previous argument – namely that many of the peasantry’s decisions have a profound pragmatic explanation. The chapter, divided into three parts, addresses structural developments experienced by the peasantry in the period between 1848 and 1948. The first part studies household economics from the perspective of agriculture and household production, the second studies household economics from the perspective of mobility opportunities, and the final part employs a case study of the economic developments in a ploughmen family from Rupea. Starting from the situation in agriculture, the first part, which is also the core of the chapter, is constructed around the economy of arable land. After a historical contextualisation that covers the political situation of the Romanian ploughmen living in the King’s Land from the Principality period until the end of the Second World War, four sub-themes related to agriculture question the modernisation of the rural household economy from different perspectives. The first sub-theme, herding, is of particular significance for the economy of the Romanian population from southern Transylvania, which is often associated with this practice. The second sub-theme, which refers to the importance of outlet markets to the development of the rural household economy during the proto-capitalist phase, is followed by an analysis of the various types of workforce available in the Transylvanian countryside and their economic impact. The final sub-theme studies the types of working tools used by the peasantry and how they influenced the evolution of agriculture

in the case of the small Romanian landowners living in this part of the province. The second part of this chapter moves away from agriculture as an economic activity towards another practice that, starting from the nineteenth century's final quarter, becomes of prime importance for the rural economy – temporary migration. Investigating three main practices encountered by the local Romanian population, this part provides a historical background for the motivations of the peasantry to pursue this endeavour before moving to the study's central question, which is to assess the economic effects of migration at home. The third and final part is formulated as a case study, placing a Romanian ploughmen family from Rupea within the larger developments addressed in the first two parts of the chapter. The study aims to integrate the life story of four generations of ploughmen within a larger historical narrative. This short overview investigates the economic challenges of the Romanian peasantry from the King's Land between the late nineteenth century and the establishment of communism and the experiences of this group in relation to new institutional and social behaviours.

The fourth chapter opens the third and last theme of this research – local institutions – consolidating the previous arguments made. The chapter that investigates the development of religious institutions is formulated from the perspective of the family structures and economic situation of the multi-confessional Romanian population from Rupea. Formed of Greek-Catholics and Orthodox, the Romanian families negotiated their economic and social aspirations using the Church as an institution that represented their secular interests. These events function on the background of a politicised rivalry between the Churches' representatives that evolved according to larger political and economic realities that characterise the province's history between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. The chapter is divided into three periods. The first covers the confessional situation in the area until the founding of the first Orthodox parish in Rupea at the end of the eighteenth century. The second covers the relations between the two confessions in Rupea between the end of the

eighteenth century and the end of the nineteenth century. Finally, the third period covers the first half of the twentieth century until 1948, when the Greek-Catholic Church was dissolved in Romania by the communist authorities. Based on this structure, the chapter questions how the population reported to the institution of the Church, how much followed its agenda and how much this agenda corresponded with the wide political discourse. The de facto situation is evaluated by investigating the material patrimony of the Churches, which indicates the Romanian community's economic, social and political aspirations.

The fifth chapter makes the transition from the sphere of the religious to that of secular institutions, using a comparative approach. The developments in the Saxon community predate the modernisation processes encountered by the Romanian population with whom they are cohabiting. Specific attention is given to the development of secular educational institutions and an intellectual genealogy of the Romanian population from Transylvania. Focusing on the modern period, which in Transylvania starts with the Principality era and goes until the Great War, this historical overview of how Romanian secular elites formed predates two biographical studies of local intellectuals from Rupea. The two personalities, originating in a rural milieu, are the first members of the Romanian community to reach a wide level of reconnaissance in a secular occupation. The social background of these individuals is of particular interest because it provides a more extensive understanding of the complex social structure of that secular elite attached to the rural world. The second part of the chapter remains anchored in local-level realities and engages with the modernisation of community-based laic institutions between the Principality era and the Interwar period. Focusing on the phenomenon of associationism that reached the Transylvanian society during the nineteenth century, institutional modernisation is revealed as a continuous process that responds to the rural world's social, economic and cultural needs.

Constructed using the case of the Romanian population living in Rupea, a market town from southern Transylvania, the findings can be applied to various degrees to different geographical, social and political layers rather than simply producing detailed knowledge on a specific space. In this sense, the first layer refers to the Romanian population living in the southern part of the province, in the mixed Saxon-Romanian cohabitation area, referred to throughout the thesis as the King's Land. Next, this space can be extended to the second layer that englobes the Romanian rural population living in Transylvania, followed by the rural population living in this province without any cultural distinction. Finally, from the perspective of the occupation alone, the developments identified in this population can be extended and integrated into larger narratives encountered in the rural space in the former Habsburg monarchy in East Central Europe and even to some extent to the European peasantry.



PART I

FAMILIAL STRUCTURES

1. Rural Patriarchal Structures: Reconstructing Lineage and Kindred

Far from a static construct, rural society during the modern period was an integral part of the social, economic and political changes that were taking place on the continent, being an active actor in the grand historical narratives of the modern period. A thorough investigation of the peasantry would reveal how this group continuously challenged its institutions and the motivation behind a dynamism that can be understood as an integral part of the rural world. Distancing from romantic era concepts of permanence, the only steady aspect of the rurality in the modern period is the endurance of land as the absolute object of desire for which generations of peasants craved. The preservation of arable land and the perspectives to extend the size of this propriety represent a true driving force behind the actions of the peasantry who are ready to sacrifice the norms of the age – not without experiencing interior torment. Nonetheless, the thin boundary between sacred and profane of this possession justified many of the peasants' decisions even when it put into question long-established practices.⁶⁹ In this sense, the longer continuity of some institutions than others is related to their capacity to adapt.

Among these, the family, as a core societal institution, becomes central in modernisation, intensively experiencing changes in the outside world. The following chapter creates a foundation for the rest of the thesis, being preoccupied with revealing from the perspective of family history a series of social structures and their development in the rural landscape of the Transylvanian ploughmen. This ambitious endeavour carries the reader over centuries of history while aiming to understand the institutional social constructs that

69. Sorina Bolovan and Ioan Bolovan, "Atitudini privind formarea familiei în societatea românească din nord-vestul Transilvaniei în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie din Cluj*, XXIX (1989): 528.

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reinforce hierarchies within the rural world. The family history of the Transylvanian ploughmen, whose normative system dominated the rural world in this part of Europe until the installation of communism, once covered much of the continent. Still, by the mid-twentieth century, it narrowed its extent, retiring towards the east.⁷⁰ Using family history to determine the rhythm of the societal changes in this part of Europe represents an effort to integrate this space, with a demographic-dominant rural population, into the larger narrative of the historiographic discourse.

This introductory chapter explores the historical demography and anthroponomy of the Romanian community in Rupea, showcasing patterns of familial evolution, societal resilience, and cultural identity amidst the broader historical transformations that define the history of the East Central European space. In the first part of the chapter, the demographic evolution of the Romanian population in Rupea is studied against broader social, economic, and political forces. It explores the local demographic landscape from the fourteenth to the twentieth centuries, focusing on settlement trends, family structures, and societal shifts in the context of external historical events such as the Great Turkish War or the World Wars. Transitioning from historical demography, the exploration then focuses on the study of local anthroponomy. This focus highlights the roles of surnames, sobriquets, and cognomens in observing the evolution of familial structures starting with the seventeenth century. This study of family identity construction follows the broader transformations in the agrarian community, using onomastics as a repository of cultural symbols that survived into the twentieth century. Subsequently, three case studies provide an extended investigation of the themes explored in the first part of the chapter. The first case study traces the history of the Repede family over seven generations, observing the diversification of their activities from ploughmen to sacerdotal and administrative roles, showcasing familial relationships against

70. Roger Price, *A Social History of Nineteenth-Century France* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), 165.

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broader historical transformations. The second case study investigates the kinship dynamics in twentieth-century Rupea, focusing on the Magdun kin's Budrea branch. This study reveals the kin's social, religious, and economic roles while tracing the development of kinship from a utilitarian institution to a symbolic structure amidst the broader modernisation process. The third case study contextualises priest families' cultural identity and role in Transylvanian Romanian rural communities. Investigating lineages such as Popovici, Spornic, Raicu, Mircea, Stoica, Bercan, and Brotea, this case study reveals patterns that define this occupational group as distinct in the complex development of the institution of the family in rural Transylvania.

Looking at the Romanian rural population living in Rupea, a multilingual market town from southern Transylvania, the chapter analysed the development of the family from the perspective of the complex solidarities that constitute their society and how these solidarities function and uphold local hierarchies. The two extensions of the family unit investigated that maintained such hierarchies are kinship and occupational structures. Regarding occupational structures, particular attention was given to the priest caste, which is understood as a specific form of kindred whose characteristics set it apart from the rest of the rural population. In Rupea, during the second half of the nineteenth century, a complex kinship system existed that involved, in one way or another, most of the roughly 300 Romanian family units living in the market town around that period.⁷¹ The chapter observes the evolution of the existing systems of solidarities and hierarchies by integrating the peasant families into a broader historical narrative using historical demography, anthroponomy and genealogy as the main methods of inquiry. Starting with historical demography, the first part of this chapter aims to provide a historical frame for the rest of the chapters and to integrate the Romanian population from Rupea Seat (Ger. *Stuhl Reps*) into the mainstream narrative.

71. In 1875, 987 Romanians (which formed 294 families) were recorded. *Archiv* (1909), 321.

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The earliest **demographic data** of the population in Rupea, which was established using a method of parcelling lots in urban spaces, estimated that in 1347, around 100 families lived in this market town.⁷² In the following period, the population in this area increased until the end of the fifteenth century, when a period of instability began in the aftermath of the death of King Matthias Corvinus (1443-1490). The Ottoman attacks, which intensified in this political context in southern Transylvania, when combined with other natural disasters such as epidemics, interrupted that growth period that dominated the local demographics.⁷³ In Rupea, this general situation that applies to southern Transylvania can be observed through a population decrease between 1488 and 1532 by around 35%, from 168 to 111 families.⁷⁴ The demographic recovery that followed in the century after 1532 corresponds with the more significant changes that took place during the Principality period when Transylvania entered under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁵ This period of demographic growth eventually faced a new crisis in the context of the Great Turkish War (1683-1699), when the population of the southern part of the province decreased by two-thirds due to these military confrontations between the Ottomans and Habsburgs.⁷⁶ The population in Rupea Seat was equally highly affected by these developments, considering that only between 1687 and 1698

72. Conscripția numerică a unor sași din anumite târguri și scaune, 1500, File 322, Seria 1, CJ-F-00044-1-322, Fond Primăria orașului Bistrița, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Cluj, Cluj-Napoca, Romania; Paul Niedermaier, *Siebenbürgische Städte. Forschungen zur städtebaulichen und architektonischen Entwicklung von Handwerksorten zwischen dem 12. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Köln, Wien: Böhlau, 1979), 86-282; Ștefan Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*. Vol. II (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1979), 349, 352, 402-404.

73. Anton Dörner, "Transilvania între stabilitate și criză (1457-1541)," in *Istoria Transilvaniei vol. I (până la 1541)*, edited by Ioan-Aurel Pop and Thomas Nägler (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2016), 302; Ioan Bogdan, *Documente și regeste privitoare la relațiile Țării Rumânești cu Brașovul și Ungaria în secolul XV și XVI* (București: Atelierul Grafic I. V. Socecu, 1902), 30.

74. *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen*, Band 2 (Kronstadt, Druck von Albrecht & Zillich, 1889), 284; *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* (Hermanstadt: Druck und Verlag von W. Kraft, 1894), 57-59.

75. Around 1640-1641, 264 family units were recorded in Rupea. Enchiridion rerum variarum, homini Polytico, officiali, non inutile, Zacharias Filkenius, cca. 1640-1642, File Registre Sibiu Nr.10., Fond Primăria Sighișoara, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov Romania.

76. It is estimated that more than 60% of them found refuge in Wallachia and Moldavia. David Prodan, *Transilvania și iar Transilvania, Considerații istorice* (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 1992), 78.

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338 families emigrated from the entire Seat, with villages such as Ticușu Nou (Ger. Walachisch Tekes) losing between 1640 and 1700 around 86% of its population.⁷⁷ In Rupea, the 5.8% decrease in family units from 241 to 227 highlights a more balanced situation. This could be explained by looking at the economic developments in this market town, which must have encouraged a population inflow from the nearby villages.⁷⁸ Given that this period corresponded with a reorientation of the Saxons towards occupations other than agriculture, it created a convenient context for the families that practised agriculture nearby to resettle to Rupea, where the craftsmen guilds and cattle market provided an outlet for the agricultural products. These local economic developments in Rupea during the seventeenth century created a division of labour that overlapped over the following centuries with the two main local population groups – the Saxons started to be associated with trades and crafts and the Romanians to be associated with agriculture.

The earliest detailed demographic source referring specifically to the Romanian population in Rupea Seat was compiled in 1641 and was authored by the Royal Judge Zacharias Filkenius (1601-1642).⁷⁹ The major value of his manuscript entitled *Enchiridion rerum variarum, homini Polytico, officiali, non inutile* is not only given by its considerable age, which makes it a rarity for this space, but mainly for the details this document provides – the author listing all the names of the families living in the entire Seat along with the livestock owned by each family and for Rupea alone all the landowners and the size of their plots. While Filkenius' inventory indicates cattle and land ownership details, making it an important source for economic history, this document's demographic and anthropometric

77. Another source indicates that in 1640, 149 families lived in Rupea. *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Band 4 (Hermanstadt: Verlag des Vereins, 1851), 109; *Archiv* (1909) 358, 379-380.

78. *Archiv* (1909), 378-379.

79. *Enchiridion*, File Registre Sibiu Nr.10; *Archiv* (1909), 108-109; *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Heft IV, Band 2, Heft I (Hermanstadt: Verlag des Vereins, 1845), 30.

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information is as valuable. Based on the anthroponomic investigation of the entries from this register, it was revealed that out of the 264 families recorded in Rupea, none corresponds to Romanian onomastics.⁸⁰ On the other hand, the presence of local shepherd families – occupation associated in this area with the Romanian population – since 1488 and the specific references to Romanian shepherds found in Rupea between 1638 and 1641, together with an entry in the cattle inventory from the Romanian village Șona (Ger. Schönen, in Rupea Seat), dating from 1641, which records the household of Vancea Cohălmean (the suffix attached to this surname indicates his origin from Rupea/Cohalm, while his forename specific to the Romanian onomastics confirms his cultural identity) represent evidence of Romanian families living in Rupea before the mid-seventeenth century.⁸¹ While scarce, these references concerning the Romanian demographics in Rupea during the seventeenth century are to be evaluated within the larger frame of the Romanian presence in the Rupea Seat, but also in Transylvania as a whole, which positions this population group in the former space at around 14% to 18%, while at the level of the province during the same period, the estimation for the Romanian population is of 60 to 65%.⁸²

Based on the analysis of the surnames of those Romanian families associated with Rupea in the first half of the eighteenth century, a population inflow from the south of the market town occurred during the previous century. This mobility happened in a period when

80. Enchiridion, File Registre Sibiu Nr.10.

81. *Korrespondenzblatt* (1894), 57-59; *Archiv* (1851), 108-109; *Archiv* (1909), 383-384; Enchiridion, File Registre Sibiu Nr.10.

82. Based on the population group indicators for Rupea dating from 1641, when 11 out of 13 shepherds were identified as Romanians, it was estimated that around 85% (or 89 shepherds) of the 105 shepherds found in the Seat could have been Romanians. Considering that these 89 shepherds had families of their own, to the 1,200 Romanian inhabitants working the land in the villages Șona and Ticușu Nou can add another maximum of 400 inhabitants engaged in shepherding. *Archiv* (1909), 384. Given that the Saxons, Hungarians and Szeklers from the Rupea Seat, taken together, counted for around 7,000 inhabitants, the percentage of the Romanian population found in the Seat, around 1641, can be estimated between 14% (if excluding the shepherds) and 18.6% (with the shepherding families are included). *Archiv* (1851), 108-109; Enchiridion, File Registre Sibiu Nr.10; *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Neue Folge, Band 33, Heft 4 (Hermanstadt: In Kommission bei Franz Michaelis, 1906), 384; Pop, "Transilvania," 254-255.

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new opportunities emerged for this rural population that came to work the lands of those Saxons who reoriented towards other occupations. The presence of Romanian families before the mid-seventeenth century remains a reality, yet due to reasons such as lack of permanence, lack of direct pertinent documentation or simply due to the continuing process of standardisation of the Romanian surnames during that period, their trace and relation with the later Romanian families found in Rupea could not be established.⁸³ Hence, although in the year 1488, six families are recorded whose occupation is specified to be shepherding and then again in 1641, when eleven Romanian shepherds were mentioned in Rupea, it cannot be confirmed if these individuals represented the nucleus of the future community that starts to take shape during the late Principality era.⁸⁴

Three decades after the 1700 local census that found in the market town a total of 227 families, the Greek-Catholic Bishop Inocențiu Micu-Klein conducts a general survey of the parishes from Transylvania, which included both the Greek-Catholic and Orthodox population, recording in Rupea thirty-seven Romanian families.⁸⁵ The size of the Romanian community in 1733 situated this community on an equal ratio to other contemporary Romanian villages from Transylvania, suggesting that a stable nucleus had been formed by

83. The surnames in Transylvania were officially imposed by Habsburg authorities starting from 1776, yet for some of the families associated with Rupea during the first phase of the eighteenth century, they were already formed by the first half of the seventeenth century. Viorica Goicu, "Nume de familie la origine supranume din Ținutul Beiuș," *LR*, LVII, Nr.4 (2008): 534; Enchiridion, File Registre Sibiu Nr.10.

84. *Archiv* (1909), 384; Conscriptia, Fond Primăria orașului Bistrița; Restituirea unui steag către Gheorghe Kezegew, 1472, File 20, Vol. I, Seria 2 – Latină, maghiară, germană, Colecția de documente Stenner, Colecția de documente medievale, BV-F-00001-4-2-1-20. Fond Primăria orașului Brașov, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Pascu, *Voievodatul*, II, 403-405.

85. Pascu, *Voievodatul*, II, 352; *Șematismul Veneratului Cler al Archidiecesei Metropolitane Greco-Catolice Române de Alba-Iulia și Făgăraș pre anul Domnului 1900*. De la Sânta Unire 200 (Blaj, Tipografia Seminarului Archidieceșan, 1900), 601; *Archiv* (1909), 379; Nicolau Togan, *Românii din Transilvania la 1733. Conscriptia Episcopului Ioan In. Klein de Sadu, publicată după manuscriptul aflător la Museul Brukenthal din Sibiu* (Sibiu: Tipariul Tipografiei Archidieceșane, 1898), 41.

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this time.⁸⁶ The anthroponomic data for the first half of the eighteenth century, combined with this demographic information, provide some general insights into the families that formed the nucleus of the Romanian community from this market town. The reconstitution of the Romanian surnames based on the death church registers suggests that between 1700 and 1750, the following families lived in Rupea: Bănuț, Bercan, Boranci, Borcoman, Buta, Buzea, Danciu, Haizea, Homorozean, Machidon, Magdun, Maniu, Neagu, Omul, Repede, Spornic, Suma and Tempea, to which can be added at least five Greek-company merchants that were recorded in 1733: Ioan Susaică, Ioan Raț, Ghica Arbănașul, Gheorghe Selarul and Manole, the son of captain Mihaly.⁸⁷ Some of these families associated with the Romanian population living in Rupea in the first half of the eighteenth century continued for the next two hundred years to represent the core of the complex kinship system that structured the ploughmen's society.

In 1750, at the end of the first phase studied, the Romanian population was surveyed again, this time per capita instead of per family unit, indicating that in Rupea lived 248 Romanians (or approximately 49 families).⁸⁸ Although the anthroponomic data collected for the period 1700-1750 records 18 surnames, if each surname only constituted one familial

86. Florentina Liliana Rusu, "Fenomene istorico-demografice în Țara Hațegului din evul mediu până la 1900," *Acta Musei Devensis*, XX (1986-1987): 246.

87. Erdélyi fiscalis levéltár, Vid. Székény, f.78r-81v, Fasc.4, mf. 32103, Erdélyi országos kormányhatóság levéltárak, F234, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Budapest, Budapest, Hungary; Rupea - Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811, Register, BV-F-00259-1-00394, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Rupea – Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852, Register, BV-F-00259-1-00395, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

88. While this estimation includes also Roma people, for the period investigated was identified so far only one family associated with the pre-1750 period (named Vonța). Although other families would be identified, they would not alter the demographic estimation made for the Romanian population given the ratio. Rupea - Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811; *Consriptio Parochiarum, Parochianorum, Parochorum, Ecclearum, Ecctorum, rerumque Ecctcarum almae hujus Diecaesis Fogarasiensis instituta Ao. 1750 1-a Octobris, 1750*, in *Transilvania. Organul asociațiunii pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român*, Nr.IX, Sibiu, 1901, 246; Ioan Bolovan and Sorina Paula Bolovan, "Transilvania până la Primul Război Mondial (oportunități și/sau vulnerabilități demografice)," in *Sașii și concetățenii lor ardeleni: studia in honorem dr. Thomas Năgler*, eds. Ioan-Marian Țiplic and Konrad Gundisch (Alba-Iulia: Editura Altip, 2009), 417; Costin Feneșan, *Izvoare de demografie istorică*, Vol. 1, *Secolul al XVIII-lea. Transilvania* (București: n.p., 1986), 258.

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unit, these families still represent around 35% of the Romanian population living around the mid-eighteenth century in Rupea. However, since more contemporary patrilineal lineages were identified, which exclude the possibility of a filial relationship, the proportion of these families to the overall Romanian population was recalculated. Hence, the families Bănuț, Danciu, Magdun and Suma are counted with two family units (*pater familias*), while Bercan and Borcoman were counted with three family units. Recalculating to the 18 family units are added another eight family units whose surname repeats, resulting in around 131 individuals that counted for around half of the entire population recorded in Rupea. Nonetheless, this estimation remains incomplete without adding the parents of those six families mentioned more than once, representing at least another six family units. Hence, excluding all the families mentioned only once – on the basis that the probability of being first-generation settlers is much higher – the representation of the 18 families in the overall Romanian community can be estimated at a minimum of 65%. These findings suggest that the families identified in Rupea during this phase represent the core of the kinship system that develops later, remaining the most common surnames in the second half of the nineteenth century and a part of them even during the first part of the twentieth century. This period was a turning point in the process of group solidarity construction, determining the development of local complex kin structures that defined this community, the agrarian organisation and associated economic activities, and the local religious and secular institutions investigated in the following chapters.

Looking at the ratio of the six most prevalent surnames associated with the 1700–1750 timeframe, the families Bercan, Borcoman, Bănuț, Danciu, Magdun and Suma represented almost half of the initial nucleus. Using an anthroponomic analysis to identify the cultural traits of this group of families, the settlement of the Romanians followed a south-to-north direction during this phase, making them part of that population inflow that took place

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between 1640 and 1700 in the context of the local production sector developments. In this sense, the six surnames mentioned above and the surnames Boranci, Omul, Repede and Spornic have their provenance traced to the villages south of Rupea, establishing a pattern of the local Romanian population movement directions during that period.⁸⁹ This situation, which corresponds with the pre-1700 period and can be extended to the pre-1750 phase of settlement, points to the Romanian villages south of Rupea as the demographic base for the modern nucleus of the Romanian ploughmen community that developed in this market town in the following two centuries. Families or individuals that settled in Rupea during this period originated in the neighbouring villages – found either under the jurisdiction of Rupea Seat, Făgăraş Land (Ro. *Țara Oltului* or *Țara Făgăraşului*) or Alba County (Hu. *Fehér vármegye*, Ro. *Comitatul Alba*, Ger. *Weissenburg Komitat*) – that often share common borders with the territory of the market town (figure 3). Hence, during this phase, a consolidation of the Romanian nucleus was observed through short-distanced population mobility, characterised by the resettlement of entire families and less through exogamy, which became a dominant form only in the following century.⁹⁰ These structures of power that formed during the first part of the eighteenth century were preserved until after the Second World War. The families identified during this phase consolidated their social positions and remained on the central stage of the economic and social life of the Romanian community from Rupea, reinforcing their status through a complex system of matrimonial alliances that are investigated in the second chapter.

89. Enchiridion, File Registre Sibiu Nr.10; Feneşan, *Izvoare*, 327; Nicolae Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții ardeleni și maramureșene*, Vol. II, *Inscripții și însemnări* (București, Atelierele grafice SOCEC & Comp., 1906), 82; Sextil Pușcariu, *Limba română*, Vol.1, *Privire generală* (București: Fundația pentru literatură și artă “Regele Carol I”, 1940), 300.

90. Jacques Dupâquier, “Sédentarité et mobilité dans l'ancienne société rurale. Enracinement et ouverture : faut-il vraiment choisir?,” *Histoire et Sociétés Rurales*, No.18 (2002): 129. Prodan, *Transilvania*, 78-79. For instance, between 1632 and 1680 are recorded 24 emigrants from the Comăna estate of Făgăraş Land (composed of the villages Veneția de Jos, Veneția de Sus, Cuciulata, Comăna de Jos, Comăna de Sus and Lupșa) that settled in Rupea area. Sarolta Solcan, *Populația Țării Făgăraşului în secolul al XVII-lea și la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea* (București: Editura Universității din București, 2010), 193-194.



Figure 3. Adolf Stieler, *Hand-Atlas. Ungarn, Siebenburgen, Woiwodina und Slavonien* 1866, Scale 1:1,850,000, Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1873, detail.

Between the late Principality era and the first part of the eighteenth century, the expansion of the private property in the King's Land, taken together with an increase in the burdens of serfdom in the counties, resulted in a gradual limitation of the post-nuptial family resettlement within the Seat and mainly from outside of it.⁹¹ By the mid-eighteenth century,

91. For instance, in Rupea during the seventeenth century, the local authorities were hiring shepherds from the Romanian villages found in proximity, such as Bogata, Comăna, Crihalma, Cuciulata, Dăișoara, Dopca, Mateiaș, Paloș, Șona, Ticușu Nou and Veneția. In 1638 alone, out of the six shepherds, five were from the Romanian villages Crihalma and Bogata, and only one was hired from the local population. *Archiv* (1909), 383, 385. In addition, individual families and larger groups settled in this area from Moldavia. For example, Sisea kin from Rupea asserted its origins in Moldavia; while in the case of the village Ticușu (Rupea Seat), a group of families settled in the territory of that village according to oral tradition during the exile in Transylvania in 1538 of Petru Rareș, the Prince of Moldavia (1527-1538, 1541-1546) and his court. Ioan Cărlan Ticușanu, *Monumentul meu* (Turnu Severin: Așezământul Tipografic Datina, 1931), 5-6, 20-22; For instance, at the level of the language, the Moldavian families that settled here influenced the local dialect spoken in Rupea, which at the end of the nineteenth century still presented similarities with the Moldavian dialect. "Observații asupra graiului de la Cohalm și Sălăgiu," *Contemporanul. Revistă Științifică și Literară*, Ianuarie-Februarie, 1889: 72-74; Gernot Nussbächer, *Din cronici și hrisoave. Contribuții la istoria Transilvaniei* (București: Editura Kriterion, 1987), 90; *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Neue Folge, Band 37, Heft 2 (Hermannstadt: In Kommission bei Franz Michaelis, 1911), 278.

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post-nuptial resettlement in rural areas came to represent under 5%, being gradually replaced by geographical exogamous marriages as the primary form of local mobility.⁹²

In Rupea, the third quarter of the eighteenth century saw another wave of families settling in, whose origin can be generally associated with the villages north of the market town.⁹³ Starting from 1750, for a quarter of a century, new surnames were identified – Bârsan, Crițean, Fișărean, Irimie, Jînga, Langa, Moldovanu, Munteanu, Pitău, Popa, Sisea, Stoica – that are associated with this wave of mobility.⁹⁴ Similar to the previous phase, given that the reconstitution of the families that settled during this period was based on the examination of the death registers of the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic parishes, for various reasons, some of these families might have settled in Rupea earlier, and some might have arrived later, after 1775. Nonetheless, despite evident changes, less disputable remains the dominant local character of the population movement at the level of the province in the eighteenth century. In Rupea, most of these families were either from the Rupea Seat or the villages found in the proximity of this administrative unit, confirming the larger population movement trend.⁹⁵

92. Florin Mureșan, “Aspecte din viața satului românesc din nord-estul Transilvaniei la mijlocul secolului al XVIII-lea,” *Revista Bistriței*, XV (2001): 151, 165; Gheorghe Suma “Drăghici”, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019; Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, November 2014, December 2014, February 2015, April 2017, August 2017.

93. The anthroponomic analysis of the surnames Crițean, Fișărean and Homorozean indicates a resettlement from the villages Criț (Ger. Kreuz), Fișer (Ger. Schweischer) found north of Rupea and respectively Homorod (Ger. Hamruden) neighbouring Rupea to the East, while according to oral tradition Bălica family resettled in Rupea from Viscri (Ger. Weißkirch) a village north of Rupea. Nicolae Bălica, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

94. Rupea - Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811; Rupea – Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1852-1866, Register, BV-F-00259-1-00390, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

95. Prodan, *Transilvania*, 78; Bolovan, *Transilvania până la Primul Război Mondial*, 417.

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The demographical data for this second phase of settlement is completed with the support of the 1760-1762 survey conducted under the supervision of the Orthodox Bishop from Rășinari, Dionisie Novacovici (1705-1767), whose results indicate that 81 Romanian families lived in Rupea at the beginning of the 1760s.⁹⁶ Based on the average size of the family unit in Transylvania during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, which was formed of five members, the Romanian population in Rupea in the third quarter of the eighteenth century seems to have experienced rapid growth in only one generation.⁹⁷ In the second half of the 1760s, the Romanian population in the northern Seats experienced a period of relative decrease caused by the migration of the Greek-Catholic families to the villages belonging to the newly established 1st Romanian Border Guards Regiment, yet shortly after a process of reverse migration of some Orthodox families from those areas filled the gaps left by these departures.⁹⁸

The result of this population movement and an overall increased birth rate, which characterises the province's demographics, indicates a visible population growth in the

96. Extractus Summarius, In Incl. Sede Rupensis Unitorum et Non unitorum Poparum et Laicarum Familiarum Templorumque concessorum et horum beneficiorum una cum domibus parochialibus reperibilium, 1760-1762, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională*, III 1924-1925, eds. Alexandru Lăpedatu and Ioan Lupaș (Cluj: Institutul de Arte Grafice Ardealul, 1926), 695; Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, Vol. II, 223; *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Neue Folge, Band 20, Heft 2 und 3 (Hermanstadt: In Kommission bei Franz Michaelis, 1886), Tabelle I-II.

97. Eugen Ghiță, "Habitatul rural în comitatul Arad în secolul al XVIII-lea," in *Perspective demografice, istorice și sociologice. Studii de populație. Omagiu profesorului Traian Rotariu la împlinirea vârstei de 65 ani*, eds. Ioan Bolovan, Cornelia Mureșan, Mihaela Hărăguș (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2008), 265

98. Dumitru Suci, "Aspecte privind situația școlilor confesionale române și problematica celor mixte din Transilvania în epoca lui Bach," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu din Cluj-Napoca*, XLVII, Series Historica (2008): 176-177; Daniel Dumitran, "Uniți și ortodocși la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII. Observații despre consecințele toleranței iosefine," *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, 10, Series Historica (2006): 133; Alexandru Bucur, "Clarificări necesare privind localitățile din granița militară orlățeană (1766-1851)," *Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis*, V (2016): 284; "Cea mai veche statistică autentică a românimii ardelene," *Transilvania. Organul Asociațiunii pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român*, Februarie-Martie, 1900, 41; Vlad Popovici, "Establishment of the Austrian Military Border in Transylvania and its Short and Medium-Term Effects," *Povijesni prilozi*, 54 (2018): 298.

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second half of the eighteenth century.⁹⁹ In the two decades between 1765 and 1785/86, the overall population in Rupea grew from 1,307 to 2,015, equating to an annual average of 2%.¹⁰⁰ The source of this development can be attributed to Habsburg's coordinated efforts to stimulate demographic growth together with a better administration of the medical crises, which resulted in continuous population growth in the entire period between 1784 and 1850.¹⁰¹ This situation was not as visible in the case of the Romanian population from Rupea, which seems to have experienced during this period a decrease in birth rate, given that in 1805 were counted 128 family units (around 700 individuals) and in 1850 were counted 732 individuals, which counted for 30% of the total population of the market town.¹⁰²

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the birth rate of the Romanian population from the King's Land continued to decrease despite being better represented than the Saxon population.¹⁰³ The general reduction of the proportion of the Saxon population in the province, particularly after the 1880s, is equally visible in the population structure from Rupea.¹⁰⁴ According to the official general population surveys, in 1850, 732 Romanians and 1,468 Saxons were recorded, while twenty-five years later, in 1875, the number of Romanian

99. For instance, the population of Rupea Seat doubled between 1720 and 1825 from 15,498 to 30,170 inhabitants. Aurel Răduțiu and Ladislau Gyemant, *Repertoriul izvoarelor statistice privind Transilvania. 1690-1847* (București: Univers Enciclopedic, 1995), 690-691.

100. *Archiv* (1886), Tabelle I-II; Ladislau Gyemant and Ioan Lumperdean, "Habitat și evoluție demografică," in "Transilvania în cadrul monarhiei habsburgice (1711-1847)." *Istoria Transilvaniei, vol.III (de la 1711 până la 1918)*, eds. Ioan-Aurel Pop, Thomas Nägler and Magyari András (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2016), 60.

101. Paula Virag, "Aspecte demografice din Țara Oașului la finalul secolului al XVIII-lea," *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XLII, *Istorie-Etnografie* (2020): 222. Gyemant, "Habitat și evoluție demografică," 60.

102. *Regulatio Diocesis Transilvanicae Disunitae anno 1805*, in *Transilvania. Revista asociațiunii pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român*. Sibiu, Nr. 3, 1911: 284; Traian Rotariu, ed., *Recensământul din 1850. Transilvania* (București: Editura Staff, 1996), 80-81.

103. Bolovan, "Transilvania până la Primul Război Mondial (oportunități și/sau vulnerabilități demografice)," 424.

104. Sorina Bolovan and Ioan Bolovan, "Considerații demografice asupra populației germane din Transilvania în sec. XX." *Revista Bistriței*, IX (1995): 306.

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inhabitants grew to 987 (294 families) while the number of Saxons decreased to 1,276 (358 families).¹⁰⁵ Later on, during the first part of the twentieth century and particularly in the context of the phenomenons related to the Second World War – such as repatriation, migration, expulsion and deportation – the Transylvanian Saxon population visibly diminished, becoming a minority in a couple of decades even in the urban spaces where they demographically dominated the population structures for centuries.¹⁰⁶ In Rupea, in 1910, the Saxon population was still a dominant majority, with 1,230 inhabitants to 975 Romanians, yet soon after, in the context of the union of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania, the balance changed, resulting in 1930 in a switch of the demographic structure, recording 1,056 Saxons and 1,215 Romanians.¹⁰⁷ The trend continued during the rest of the Interwar period and the Second World War, with the official population survey showing that in 1941, the Saxon population decreased to 984 inhabitants, while the Romanian population increased to 1,350 inhabitants.¹⁰⁸

Starting from the second half of the nineteenth century and continuing through the first part of the twentieth century, a series of social behaviours can be observed that characterised the Romanian population – such as the reduction of the birth rate during the Interwar period to an average of 1.9% and the intensification of urban, continental and

105. Rotariu, *Recensământul*, 81; Gyemant, “Habitat și evoluție demografică,” 60. The situation in 1857 indicates a large difference compared to the 1850 survey. According to the 1857 population survey in Rupea were 2,549 inhabitants, out of which Saxons were 1,462 and Romanian 1,012. *Archiv* (1886), Tabelle II.

106. Bolovan, “Considerații demografice asupra populației germane din Transilvania în sec. XX,” 307.

107. *Monografia județului Târnava Mare* (Sighișoara: Tipografia Miron Negru, 1943), 95.

108. *Monografia*, 95.

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transatlantic mobility, and increased exogamous marriages – that had long term effects on the Romanian society in general and on the rural space in particular.¹⁰⁹

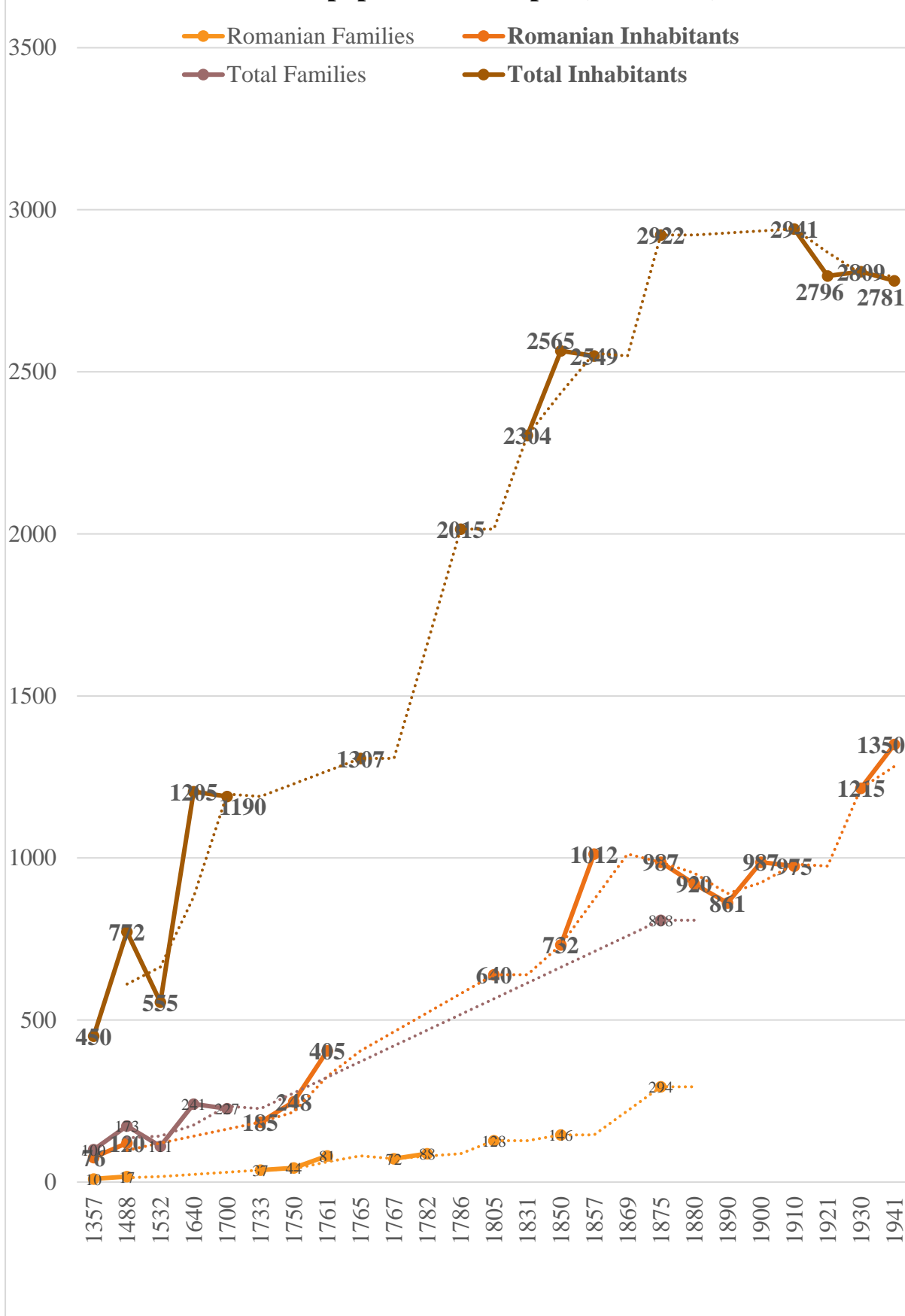
During the Second World War, the Romanian community in Rupea was still dominated by a kinship system that originated in the group of families identified in the first half of the eighteenth century – with most surnames associated with the pre-1750 period continuing to have the highest incidence during the 1940s.¹¹⁰ To this original nucleus were added a series of new families that settled in different periods between 1750 and 1850, such as Bălica, Forsea, Frățilă, Pălășan and Stoica. Establishing ramifications of their own that resulted in new kin structures, these families consolidated the elaborate local kinship system, which stood at the core of the Romanian ploughmen society from Rupea until the mid-twentieth century.¹¹¹

109. Tabel statistic privind situația agricolă din Cohalm la 1.01.1920, File 1923/1, Încurajarea industriei, participări la Primul Război Mondial, repatrieri în Ungaria, exproprieri locuri de casă [...], Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Data statistice din 24.11.1922, privind populația și situația agricolă pe familii (507 intrări) care prezintă inclusiv suprafața de pământ deținută de fiecare, numărul de animale, cantitatea de cereale și populația totală, File 1921/12, Corespondență referitoare la mișcări de personal, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania. Scrisoare a preotului Eugen Ciungan către consistoriul arhiepiscopal din 8.2.1937, File Corespondență XI (1930-1939), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Răspuns al preotului Greco-Catolic Marian Boian la cererea protopopului privind datele demografice și situația parohiei Rupea, 19.4.1947, File Corespondență II (1940-1949), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Ioan Bolovan and Sorina Paula Bolovan, "Familia în Europa Centrală în timpul primei tranziții demografice," in *În căutarea fericii. Viața familială în spațiul românesc în sec. XVIII-XX*, eds. Ioan Bolovan, et al. (Cluj: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2010), 294-295; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923, Register, BV-F-00259-2-00855. Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

110. Liste cu locuitorii care au calitate de membri ai comunei Rupeni, totți având cetățenia română în anul 1930, File 1930/6, Tabel cu locuitorii comunei, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Tabel demografic completat în urma unei adrese înaintate de pretura Rupea, după recensământul din 1930, File 1938/15, Corespondență cu privire la demografia comunei [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

111. Cața – Protocol morți ortodocși, 1800-1811, Register, BV-F-00259-1-00528, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

Table 1. Demographic projection of the evolution of the Romanian population in Rupea (1357-1941)



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Since historical demography has limits that obstruct the further investigation of the development of a local Romanian community in Rupea, **anthroponomy** and memory as methods of inquiry take over to continue the argument. Having established a demographic frame of the community construction process, an inquiry into the local onomastics completes this long-term approach that intends to determine the evolution of the local familial structures. If during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Transylvania, in the absence of surnames, personal sobriquets evolved in some instances in surnames, during the eighteenth century, this process reached maturity, making clear distinctions between sobriquets and surnames.¹¹² The evolution of some sobriquets into surnames until the eighteenth century was paralleled by the emergence of the cognomens. As names that have a longer lifespan and extend throughout multiple generations from the eighteenth century, cognomens in Rupea were used to distinguish better the different patrilineal lineages of the larger kins.

The study of local onomastics reveals a series of individualities that contribute to identifying long-term developments at the family level and within the community.¹¹³ More than simple methods of identifying individuals, surnames, sobriquets, and cognomens provide essential hints at the bearer's family history, encompassing various information about a family's past, economic, social or cultural horizon or simply about the physical traits, qualities or flaws of a predecessor.¹¹⁴ The grammatical aspects, such as the presence or

112. Victor Vizauer, "Sobriquet or personal name? The problem of nicknames in Transylvania during the 12th-13th centuries," *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 52, Historica, II (2015): 8.

113. Victor Vizauer, "Antroponimia românilor din conscripția de la Rășinari (1754-1755)," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu din Cluj-Napoca*, LVIII (2019): 203.

114. Vizauer, Sobriquet, 8-9; Victor Vizauer, "Ethnic Nicknames (Sobriquets) in Transylvania during the 13th-14th Centuries," *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 54, Historica, II (2017): 18. See the work carried by Șerban Turcuș on the medieval anthroponymy from Transylvania. Șerban Turcuș, "Antroponimele teoforice în Transilvania în secolele XI-XIV," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu din Cluj-Napoca*, L, Series Historica (2011): 15-28; Șerban Turcuș, "Antroponimele din Transilvania în secolul al XII-lea. Lista dependenților prepoziturii de Arad," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu din Cluj-Napoca*, LI, Series Historica (2012): 17-30.

absence of prefixes and suffixes, could also indicate the geographical areas and periods when they were more likely to be used.¹¹⁵

Based on occupations or genealogical primacy, kin identity constructs, sometimes hidden in surnames and cognomen, serve as tools to manipulate the economic and social aspirations of the family. In addition, memory and particularly the myth of origin serves as an omnipotent form of identity that dominates human preoccupation at all levels and in all historical periods and for the Romanian ploughmen, this was no exception, as reproduced by multiple octogenarian and nonagenarian descendants of some of the oldest local families:

I don't know what Budrea means, but this is who we are [...] Magdun is the name, but Budrea... they were old kin, [...] almost one hundred [years], Budrea had the power in Rupea [...] there are other kins in Rupea, kin of the mocani [Eng. shepherds], [...] but they are different than us; these mocani when they came, I don't know when they came...all were Borcomans. They multiplied these Borcomans. Borcoman is a name; they bear the name Borcoman, but they call them [kin of] mocani. My name is Tempea; as for the nickname, I am known as Grecu [Eng. the Greek], [...] because our kin, they said, originated in Greece. There were two kinds of Greeks; one kind was selling pepper [to understand here as spices], and the other [sold] rags. I mean, the rags were clothes, something like that. That's what they said that they came with rags; we were with pepper [Ro. "chiper"], our kin, the kin of Grecu on this side. They came a long time ago anyway because it is not known when [the elders] didn't know very well. It's what I knew from my father. The others are the kin with rags [...] Buzea; there were two kinds of Greeks, Greeks with pepper and the others, Greeks with tassels. [...] Sisea came from Moldavia as servants to the Saxons.[...] The name of Repede, they say that we originate from Sibiu [area] [...] this also from the stories.[...] The kin of Bălca, we came from Viscri [...] From Viscri came the grandfather of my father, the elder, grandfather, the forefather, from there is Bălca, my father told me.¹¹⁶

115. Goicu, "Nume," 527-535.

116. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author; Gheorghe Tempea, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019; Ioan Repede, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019, June 2019; Ironim Sisea, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019; Nicolae Bălca, in discussion with the author; Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, December 2014, April 2019, December 2022. The term "Greek" designated a series of population groups from the Ottoman Empire that were mostly identified with Greeks and Aromanians but included Romanians, Bulgarians, Serbians, Jews and Armenians, who were members of the Greek trading companies, that in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, reunited all the traders from the Balkans. Hristodol, "Românii-macedoneni," 67. Loredana Dascăl, *Din arhiva Companiei Negustorilor Greci din Sibiu (1453-1895): texte epistolare grecești* (Iași, Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza", 2013), 26; Theodor Capidian, *Macedoromânii: Etnografie, istorie, limbă* (București: Fundația regală pentru literatură și artă, 1942), 211; Gheorghe Hristodol, "Românii-macedoneni în Transilvania. Veacurile XVIII-XIX," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj-Napoca*, XXXII (1993): 67. The earliest mention of the

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A more detailed narrative which benefits from better documentation is that of the kin of Săracu, who might be considered somehow of a newer family in Rupea, given that the first mention can be dated only to the second quarter of the nineteenth century.¹¹⁷ Based on the oral tradition corroborated with archival documents, the origin of this family can be placed in the village Crăciunel (Hg. Karácsonyfalva).¹¹⁸ In 1776, in the context of the increase of the duties of the serfs, some runaways found refuge in the King's Land in the Rupea Seat, crossing the hills to the village Drăușeni (also known as Draos, Ger. Draas).¹¹⁹ "During the time of serfdom, one man from somewhere in Transylvania [...] was a servant to a count (Ro. grof, from Hg. gróf, in its turn from Ger. graf). And that count was creating trouble to this Romanian and being stubborn, Romanian blood, from where he was, waited for the count and when he went down the stairs, punched him till he fell over the railing, and then run."¹²⁰ The motives of his actions are to be understood in the intense years that marked the province's history in the second half of the eighteenth century. With the burden of serfdom continuing to rise during this period, so did the population's reactionary movements that augmented in many parts of Transylvania.¹²¹ "And he walked and walked and arrived in Drăușeni by foot,

presence of Greek traders in Rupea dates only from 1725 in the form of a correspondence between two merchants, Nica Vasile and Dima Dutcă and refers to the payment for a pepper transaction planned to take place at the local market. Nicolae Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții ardelene și maramureșene*, Vol I, *Scrisori din arhiva grecilor sibiului și din arhiva protopopiei neunite a Făgărașului și din alte locuri* (București: n.p., 1906), 29-30. While this context can explain the cognomen of the Tempea family from Rupea, in Transylvania, the name Grecu (Lat. Graecus) was used as a sobriquet since around the twelfth or thirteenth century, yet given that surnames in the Romanian population appeared only a few centuries later, a transition from sobriquet to surname is unlikely to have produced at that stage. Vizauer, "Sobriquet," 9.

117. Rupea – Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852, Register, BV-F-00259-1-00389, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

118. The village is nowadays part of Harghita County and is found around 25 kilometres away from Rupea. Octavian Iosif and Ioan Iosif, "Dela Țara Draosului la satul Drăușeni. Vicisitudinile unei lupte pentru supraviețuire," unpublished manuscript, 1988, typescript, 92.

119. *Archiv* (1909), 387.

120. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

121. Aurel Răduțiu, "O circulară protopopească cu privire la desființarea șerbiei în Transilvania," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XVIII (1975): 355-356.

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and there he found a barn with hay in the field. [...] And he stayed there hidden, and the people from Drăușeni found out that there was a refugee, and they gave him soup not to die of hunger. Today something, tomorrow something else and the neighbours all said “the poor (Ro. sărac) man of the meadow”.¹²² As Count Pál Ugron demanded the magistrates of Rupea Seat to return runaway peasants, the serfs who refused to return replied that they were freemen as their ancestors (Ger.“sie von ihren Voreltern her freie Leute seien”).¹²³ Eventually, the “poor man of the meadow” was accepted among the people of Drăușeni, married a woman from the local Hîlmu kin, and the family flourished and developed a kinship system that roughly counted nine households in two to three generations.¹²⁴ “And then he came out of the barn, he went into the world [this kin] and moved towards Rupea [...]”.¹²⁵ The story of the Săracu family is representative of other families who found refuge in the eighteenth century in the King's Land, who ran away when possible from the nearby county estates where the situation of the serfdom was becoming onerous. For the identity construction of the Romanian community from Rupea, the history of this family, which completes the previous testimonials, highlights the deep-rooted social and economic information hidden in surnames and cognomens. Corroborated with the evolution of these families within the Romanian community in Rupea, understanding their background contributes to a better assembly of the elements that define local hierarchies.

With the transformation of the Romanian family units into extended kins, the community in Rupea during the eighteenth century developed new identity layers.¹²⁶ Being

122. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

123. Apart from Count Pál Ugron, in 1777, also count László Bethlen requested to the authorities of Rupea Seat the return of a runaway, a serf named Stan Hovez. *Archiv* (1909), 387.

124. Ioan Iosif, “Monografia satului Drăușeni,” unpublished manuscript, 1989, typescript, 22-23.

125. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

126. Goicu, “Nume,” 534.

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confirmed through **cognomens**, a series of kin branches emerge from the pre-existing family units.¹²⁷ These cognomens that appear as a practical need to distinguish new patrilineal family lineages contribute to identity construction through further social and economic distinctions that reveal specific characteristics from that family's past.¹²⁸ Unlike the ephemeral character of sobriquets, the cognomens have different longevity that allows their survival in the collective memory for long periods, making them more helpful in reconstructing kin identity.¹²⁹ The analysis of the Romanian surnames found in Rupea during the second half of the nineteenth century reveals that the highest incidence of kin cognomens and sobriquets corresponds to the most widespread local surnames from that period – Borcoman and Danciu.¹³⁰ The cognomens and sobriquets show similarities with the onomastic practices identified in Făgăraș Land, which designate locations, physical characteristics of individuals, names of ancestors, occupations, and household appellation, with the name in both cases being given after a predecessor who lived there.¹³¹

127. Victor Vizauer, "Porecla în Transilvania și comitatele învecinate pe parcursul primei jumătăți a secolului al XIV-lea," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu din Cluj-Napoca*, LVI, Series Historica (2017): 169; Henri Stahl, "Sistemul onomastic drăgușan. Regula gineririi pe curte," *Arhiva pentru Știința și Reforma Socială*, Nr.1-2 (1934): 84.

128. Vizauer, "Antroponimia românilor," 203.

129. Vizauer, "Ethnic," 19.

130. Register, Rupea – Protocol Ortodocși, 1873-1888, BV-F-00259-2-00990. Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980). Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

131. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author; Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924, Register, BV-F-00259-2-00815, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1852-1866; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1886-1895, Register, BV-F-00259-1-00392, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Proces verbal din 30.11.1944 încheiat de curatorul Gheorghe Borcoman "Oni Biții", de casierul Nicolae Borcoman și de Gheorghe Borcoman "Americanu" prin care se inventariază o serie de bunuri preluate de biserica Unită de la delegatul centrului de recrutare al armatei din Sighișoara, File Corespondență I 1940-1949, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Stahl, "Sistemul," 84; Ioan Dumitru, in discussion with the author (not recorded), Rupea, Romania, June 2021.

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Usually originating in sobriquets, as forenames of the lineage founders and as maternal surnames of the families with whom the members of the patrilineal lineage married, the kin cognomens in Rupea can be traced from around the mid-eighteenth century.¹³² The earliest such reference appears at the kin of Magdun, who by the 1750s had already developed a kin branch named Budrea, which divided once more in the following decades.¹³³ While it cannot be established precisely the origin of the cognomen, it is more likely to indicate an occupation – “budre” meaning priest – rather than a forename.¹³⁴ Another similar case was encountered in the kin of Danciu. A former forename, used since at least the fourteenth century that was attached to the name of a scion, Danciu or Dancu, as variants of the name Dan, eventually became a surname; in southern Transylvania, the transition taking place the latest in the seventeenth century.¹³⁵ One of the branches of this family, known as Man Danciu, bears a cognomen formed at least one generation before the birth in 1781 of Nicolae Man Danciu.¹³⁶ In this case, the branch cognomen that formed through the adoption of the forename Man came to represent the entire lineage. The same situation also applies to the kin of Suma, which developed multiple patrilineal lineages in the eighteenth century, among which the cadet branch, Drăghici, founded by Drăghici Suma (1731-1796), whose

132. Christian Ionescu, “Observații asupra sistemului antroponimic românesc,” *LR*, XXV (1976): 526.

133. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

134. N.A. Constantinescu, *Dicționar Onomastic Românesc* (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1963), 220.

135. Pușcariu, *Limba*, 300; David Prodan, “Urbariul domeniului Devei la 1673,” *Acta Musei Devensis*, XV (1981): 141; Iván Nagy, *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, Vol. L-M (Pest: Kiadja Ráth Mór, 1860), 223; III. p. Judica. Arad megye Pósa mester, krassói comes, felperes és Macedóniai Doncs alperes közötti pert, melynek folyamán az alperesnek egy Semyen-i jobbágyát is statuálni kellett volna, április 13-ra halasztja, File 91343, Q73/Arad 9, Családi levéltárak (P szekcióból), Festetics család, Diplomatikai levéltár, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Budapest, Hungary; Ioan Pușcariu, *Date istorice privitoare la familile nobile române*, Partea I (Sibiu: Tipariulu Tipografiei Archiepiscopale, 1892), 132.

136. Rupea – Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852.

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descendants' lineage was referred to using the forename of this ancestor.¹³⁷ The other known branch of the kin of Suma referred to as Țereanu, originates in a sobriquet that suggests an itinerary followed by an ancestor to the Romanian "country" (Ro. țară), namely to Wallachia (Ro. *Țara Românească*).

Finally, another form of kin cognomen was identified again at a branch of the kin of Danciu, known as Văsii. Formed through the marital union between a patrilineal descendant of the Danciu family and a woman from the Văsii family – the latter went eventually extinct on patrilineal descent – the entire branch of the kin came to be known as Danciu Văsii.¹³⁸ The same anthroponomic process of kin branch cognomen formation was identified at a lineage of the Bălica family, known as Jînga, which formed through the union between a patrilineal lineage of Bălica with the Jînga family – which also eventually went extinct.

These onomastic constructions can explain the more comprehensive social transformation experienced by the Romanian community. They reveal that community identity, like kin identity, was a continuous process that was reformulated according to new realities. Onomastics in the rural society record various information that provides a broader understanding of a specific time and place – community members who travelled, ancestors who contributed to establishing new lineages, and families that went extinct. Hence, this knowledge, as an integral part of the research on kinship construction, offers an original perspective on how the peasantry implemented norms and asserted value to cultural symbols to claim a status.

137. Rupea – Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811; Rupea – Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852. Nonetheless, during the seventeenth century in southern Transylvania, the surnames and forenames were still interchangeable in the Romanian population. Ioan Ciupea, "Observații asupra toponimiei și antroponimiei Țării Făgărașului (I)," *Acta Musei Napocensis*, XXIV-XXV (1987-1988): 279.

138. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923.

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Apart from Văsii and Jînga, the extinction of local families during the second half of the nineteenth century includes other cases, such as Coman, Costan, Irimie, Lăpădat, Machidon, Moldovanu and Pitău. The phenomenon resulted from natural causes (such as the lack of male heirs), marital policies, and human mobility. Placed in the context of the post-Revolutionary period, following the abolishment of serfdom, the settlement of new families drastically reduced in the villages with significant Saxon populations. During this period, there were even identified situations of resettlement of families that originated in the counties who returned to their village of birth.¹³⁹ In parallel, the increase in urban and transatlantic mobility starting from the 1880s, together with the absorption into larger kins, contributed to the disappearance of a series of local families during that period.¹⁴⁰

Naturally, most of these cognomens were at one time nothing more than sobriquets that passed away from generation to generation until they started to be associated with that entire kin lineage. The investigation of the sobriquets, which is more difficult given that most of the time, did not survive more than one generation and, with the death of the bearer, fell into oblivion, is a more accurate indicator of immediate realities. In rarer cases, the sobriquets were assumed by a descendant without becoming a proper kin cognomen. Neither a sobriquet nor a cognomen in the classical sense, they are contemporary cultural constructions that helped the community to identify individuals in more recent periods when new forms of identification dominated the Transylvanian society. An example of such a situation was identified in Rupea with Gheorghe Borcoman, who in the early 1920s was known by the

139. Ioan Bolovan, "Evoluția demografică a zonei Lechința între revoluția pașoptistă și Primul Război Mondial," *Revista Bistriței*, VII (1993): 182.

140. Bolovan, "Evoluția demografică a zonei Lechința," 182.

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sobriquet “the American”, and two decades his son, Gheorghe, was signing documents as “the American junior”.¹⁴¹

Nonetheless, this sobriquet initially referred to his father and his voyage in the United States of America and did not become a cognomen but was rather an inherited sobriquet. The widespread practice of asserting sobriquets is associated in Rupea with the second half of the nineteenth century, when “almost everyone had nicknames”.¹⁴² Sobriquets are important onomastic constructs that have the advantage of revealing contemporary situations with the bearer; they contribute to understanding broader developments in a community at a given time. Confirming their importance in the local rural anthroponomic system, at a time when the Romanian population was quickly increasing, and the previous forms of identification could not fill the needs of the community to differentiate individuals, the sobriquets used in Rupea during this period revealed general aspects about the occupations, living locations and the physical traits of the members of the local community.

A special observation is to be made in the case of the widows or spinsters encountered in Rupea, whose surname during the late eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century was accompanied by specific feminine terminations. This situation seems to have been much older since it shares many similarities with a recurrent practice encountered in Făgăraș Land during the mid-seventeenth century, where the widows' surname was accompanied by the feminine suffix “-a”.¹⁴³ In Rupea, these situations saw a similar transformation of the surname; for instance, from the surnames, Buzea became Buzoie and from Spornic became

141. Scrisoare a lui Gheorghe Borcoman către comitetul parohiei Greco-Catolice. Destinatar: George Borcoman Americanu, din Montana, Snyder [Bros] Sheep Co., 30.7.1924, File Corespondență clopote biserica Greco-Catolică., Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Proces verbal din 30.11.1944, File Corespondență I 1940-1949.

142. Gheorghe Tempea, in discussion with the author.

143. Ciupea, “Observații,” 280.

Spornicoaie, and from kin cognomens Budrea became Budroaie and from Grecu became Grecoaica.¹⁴⁴ This practice that adds another layer to the local anthroponomic system represents a Slavic cultural legacy, indicating their belonging to someone else.

Finally, a last observation regarding local onomastics and their social significance refers to the practice of **forename** inheritance. Based on the analysis of different local lineages, until the final part of the nineteenth century, forenames were often part of a multi-generational onomastic inheritance charged with the symbolic value of a surname, which was meant to ensure continuity in the face of the mundane perils.¹⁴⁵ In other words, in some cases,

144. Rupea – Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811; Rupea – Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811, Register, BV-F-00259-1-00388, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

145. Mureșan, “*Aspecte*,” 179. For instance, the forename Zachei is particular in Rupea only to Borcoman and Popa of Rupea kins, the name is virtually absent among other inhabitants from Rupea. In addition, in these two kins can be observed a high incidence of forenames, such as George in the case of the former and Ioan in the case of the latter. In the case of the Popovici priest family from Rupea, all four priests were named Ioan, while the female forename Anisia has a higher incidence than in any other family encountered in Rupea. Rupea – Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811; Rupea – Protocol cununați Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811, Register, Fond registre parohiale. Arhivele Parohiei Sf.Treime, Rupea, Romania; Rupea – Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811; Rupea – Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852; Rupea – Protocol cununați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852, Register, BV-F-00259-1-00393, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Rupea – Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1852-1866; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872, Register, BV-F-00259-1-00391, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927, Register, BV-F-00259-2-00814, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania. The practice for adopting and transmitting these particular forenames at Borcoman and Popa kins continued into the nineteenth century, being applied the earliest from the second half of the seventeenth century, considering in local onomastics during the first half of the seventeenth century both forenames George and Zahei are absent at the Romanian population living in Rupea Seat that at that time was used in most cases the forenames Oprea, Comatransmitingn, Bucur, Ioan, Aldea and Stan. Enchiridion, File Registre Sibiu Nr.10. In addition, the forenames attribution indicate local, village-level characteristics. For example, in the village, Șona (in Rupea Seat) in 1640, the surname Magdun (“Magdona”), characteristics which is a derivate of the forename Magdalena. Constantinescu, *Dicționar*, 98. In the late eighteenth and during the nineteenth century in this village, the forename Magdalena was still highly used – only in the years 1859-1860 in the death registers of the Orthodox parish, five out of twelve women were named Magdalina (or the derivate Magda). Șona – Protocol morți Ortodocși, 1853-1948, Register, BV-F-00259-2-00375, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania. When compared with the situation in other neighbouring Romanian communities from Rupea Seat, such as in the village Ticușu Nou or in Rupea, where the forename is virtually absent from the local onomastics patrimony, it is revealed the existence of village-level anthroponomic particularities. Ticușu Nou – Protocol morți Ortodocși, 1812-1852, Register, BV-F-00259-2-00464, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Ticușu Nou – Protocol morți Ortodocși, 1852-1883, Register, BV-F-00259-2-00091, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Ticușu Nou – Protocol morți Ortodocși, 1884-1925, Register, BV-F-00259-2-00105, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de

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particular forenames were transmitted on cognatic lineages, resulting in their higher incidence compared with other families from the same community where they are absent or have a low incidence. This cultural procedure expressed a set of beliefs embraced by the Romanian community from Rupea, which accompanied the surnames until the end of the nineteenth century.

With a comprehensive idea of the use and meaning of the cognomens, sobriquets and forenames, the anthroponomic analysis is redirected towards **surnames**, which remain the steadiest forms of identification among the Romanian families that lived in Rupea between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. The development of surnames occurs in Europe in different periods according to geographic position and confession. As a rule, the process that was put in relationship with the adoption of Christian names that narrowed the possibilities of naming can be traced to Catholic Europe back to the eleventh century at the earliest.¹⁴⁶ Still, in Transylvania, it developed later and became a common practice for some population segments starting in the fourteenth century.¹⁴⁷ For the Romanian population from Rupea, the

stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania. Given that in 1640, Magdona was already used as a surname in Șona, the origin of this anthroponomic tradition specific to the Romanian community from the village must originate before that date with at least one generation before. Hence, the use of the name Magadelana in the village Șona shows an anthroponomic continuity of the forename that survived until the nineteenth century, and that goes back to the sixteenth century when the village was resettled with Romanian families. *Quellen*, 284; *Archiv* (1909), 368; *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Neue Folge, Heft 1 (Hermanstadt: In Kommission bei Franz Michaelis, 1910), 134.

146. Adinel Dincă, “Antroponimul angelofoar Mihail în onomastica transilvană până la 1350. Puncte de vedere și reflecții,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu din Cluj-Napoca*, XLIX (2010): 349-350; Victor Vizauer, “Primele supranume de familie în Transilvania medievală secolul al XIV-lea,” *Revista Bistriței*, XXXIII (2019): 7-8.

147. Michaël Gasperoni, “Le ‘nom fragile’: mobilité onomastique, sociale et géographique entre Marches et Romagne (Italie centrale) à l’époque moderne,” *L’Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques*, 19 (2018): 1; Victor Vizauer, “Antroponimia feminină din Transilvania în secolul al XIII-lea. (Opinii introductive),” *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 47, *Historica*, II (2010): 58; Vizauer Victor, “Antroponimia feminină din Transilvania în secolul al XIV-lea,” *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 48, *Historica*, II (2011): 43; Mihai Florin Hasan, “Antroponimia clerului din registrul de dijme pontificale pe șase ani (1332-1337) cu referire la Transilvania,” *Acta Musei Napocensis*, *Historica*, 47, II, (2010): 64.

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earliest presence of the use of surname can be dated to the end of the sixteenth century.¹⁴⁸ In the first part of the following century, many of the surnames of the families associated with the Romanian community in the first part of the eighteenth century were identified in the villages in the southern part of the Rupea Seat.¹⁴⁹ The absence of some family names encountered in Rupea in the first part of the eighteenth century, but absent in Rupea Seat in the first part of the seventeenth century, is not surprising given that the process of family name construction at the Transylvanian Romanian population from the southern part of the province was still in formation.¹⁵⁰ This situation is part of a larger phenomenon encountered in other European rural spaces, such as in areas from central Italy, where this process was finalised only around the mid-eighteenth century.¹⁵¹

The historical context provided by the local demographic evolution and anthroponomic systems prepares the following three case studies – one of a patrilineal

148. Mărturii în litigiul pentru hotarul dintre Șona și Hălmeag, 1565, File 922, Seria U IV, Colecția de documente medievale, SB-F-00001-1-U4-922, Magistratul orașului și scaunului Sibiu, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Sibiu, Sibiu, Romania.

149. Mărturii în litigiul pentru hotarul dintre Șona și Hălmeag, File 922; Enchiridion, File Registre Sibiu Nr.10.

150. For instance, in the case of the surname Borcoman (whose oldest known member that lived in Rupea and used this name was Ioan Borcoman, 1719-1802), its origin must be equally searched in the villages south of Rupea. Rupea – Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811. In the 1640 population survey, in Șona was mentioned the family Boreche. Given that among the forenames, the highest incidence in the area during the seventeenth and early eighteenth century was Bucur, Man and Coman, it is most likely the surname Borcoman formed through agglutination at some point after 1640 – from the root Boreche (as a noun “borc” designates a wool dress, while the Slavic origin noun “bor” can be translated as “fight”, was being used as a sobriquet after the 1400s before it became a surname) and the forename Man, resulting in Borecheman, which later became Borcoman. Constantinescu, *Dicționar*, 210. Given the high incidence of the forenames Bucur, Man and Coman, other agglutination forms could include the merger of Bucur+Man or Bucur+Coman. Whatever the precise origin of this surname, the existence in Rupea of a lineage of Danciu kin, known as Man Danciu, that was named after one ancestor whose forename was Man, confirms the practice at the Romanian population from the Rupea area of this anthroponomic construction through the agglutination of two names, suggesting the formation of the future Borcoman surname at some point between 1640 and 1719. Rupea – Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852. Enchiridion, File Registre Sibiu Nr.10. Another category of names that formed the local anthroponomic system of Romanian families from Rupea are toponymic surnames composed of a toponymic root – here, the nearby villages Homorod, Criș and Fișer – and the suffix “-ean” (which is considered the oldest suffix used for the formation of personal names in Romanian language, originating during the early period of Slavic interference with Romanian), resulting in the surnames Crișean [from Criș], Fișărean [from Fișer] and Homorozean [from Homorod].

151. Gasperoni, “Le ‘nom fragile’,” 3-4.

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lineage, one of a kin structure and one of an occupational group that presents traits similar to that of a caste – that are meant to provide a more thorough insight into long-term social developments that take place within different local familial structures.

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From ploughmen to priests, from priests to ploughmen: Repede of Rupea

Family

This investigation explores the history Repede of Rupea family, unfolding a narrative spanning seven generations. The family's trajectory unfolds familial relationships against the backdrop of broader societal transformations in the Romanian community of Rupea. The research introduces the Repede family's origins as ploughmen, looking into the dynamics of familial relationships within the Romanian community of Rupea during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the second part, the narrative traces the family's evolution through various occupational roles during the nineteenth and first part of the twentieth centuries, including priests, notaries, and engineers. Each occupational shift is discussed to understand the motivations and implications, highlighting the family's adaptability over generations. The focus on peasant genealogies offers a distinctive perspective on long-term rural developments, emphasising the evolution of the Repede family's identity within the community.

Constructed as a case study, the genealogical investigation of this family highlights a series of realities resonating with numerous ploughmen families in Rupea since the eighteenth century. By adopting a microhistory approach, this study fosters an intimate connection with the broader subject, seeking to establish a relationship between specific individuals and the society in which they live.

This *longue durée* approach to family history investigates the social changes that impact a Romanian family, using their occupations and marital unions as a reference, and

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seeks ultimately to find out how families adapt to change.¹⁵² Spanning seven generations, the history of the Repede family can be overlapped with that of the Romanian community in Rupea. Equally, their participation in local, regional and global historical events makes them part of a larger narrative. The changes that appeared within this family saw them departing from the condition of freemen ploughmen to pursue occupations in the following generations, such as priests, notaries, and engineers. Nonetheless, during this entire period, the family never abandoned agriculture, seemingly to return generation after generation to continue to work the land. This attachment to agriculture did not decrease their status in the community; on the contrary, it maintained this family as part of the ploughmen community for as long as one lineage continued to pursue this occupation. Hence, the identity of the Repede family from Rupea was constructed around their ploughmen lifestyle rather than through an evocation of those individuals who rose from the mass of the ploughmen.¹⁵³

Following the changes this Romanian family underwent for around two centuries, the research investigates how chronologic primacy contributes to the assertion of social status and its relationship with the family's economic situation. Present in Rupea from earlier stages of the development of the Romanian community, in this societal system, the old families managed to establish early solidarity structures that helped them to stay at the top of the local hierarchies even when this status was hidden under new surnames.¹⁵⁴ While these latter situations make the identification task more difficult, given that the inheritance customs in this space were not exclusively patrilineal, the cognatic descendants endorse the same ideas of socioeconomic inheritance.

152. Riitta Jallinoja, *Families, Status and Dynasties, 1600-2000* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 264-267.

153. Ioan Repede, in discussion with the author.

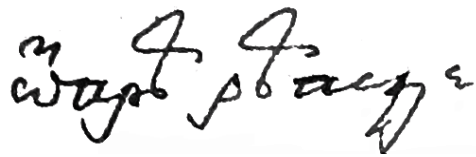
154. Nägler, *Românii*, 174, 177-178.

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By tracking the professional activity of the members of the same family over multiple generations and exploring their relationship with larger social developments in the province between the eighteenth and the twentieth century, the writing of this family's history looks at previous similar historiographical efforts.¹⁵⁵ While Romanian historiography is still anchored in studies of the genealogy of the nobility and other social categories, such as merchant and priest families, this current effort attempts to highlight the importance of working on peasant genealogies as a possible method of inquiry that contributes to a better understanding of the long-term developments that take place in the rural society.¹⁵⁶

The successful reconstruction of the lineage of the Repede family was possible due to a series of elements that permitted the identification of the family members. Among them, two factors were chief in the process. First, despite being among the oldest in the community, the Repede family never developed a multigenerational patrilineal kin system. Secondly, during the mass conversion of the local population to Greek Catholicism, part of the population remained Orthodox, and it was no longer inscribed in any civil registers. Yet, in the case of the Repede family, all the members adopted the new confession, making their identification in the parish register possible.

The first known member of this family to have lived in Rupea, Oprea Repede (1735-1807), was one of those tenants working the land taken in

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Oprea Repede', written in a cursive style.

private propriety by the Saxons during the Principality period. A freeman, he witnessed

155. See, Alex Haley, "Black History, Oral History and Genealogy," *The Oral History Review*, Vol. 1 (1973): 1-25; Alex Haley, *Roots* (London: Pan Books, 1978); Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: the Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Hervé Bennezon, "Les stratégies d'émancipation sociale des paysans picards au XVIIIe siècle," in *Le travail et la famille en milieu rural XVIe-XXIe siècle*, ed. Fabrice Boudjaaba (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014).

156. Aurelian Armășelu, "Genealogia familiei Nicolau întocmită de Aurel Mureșianu la 27 noiembrie 1935," *Țara Bârsei*, Nr.3, serie nouă (2004): 49-58. See, for instance, the collection "Istorie cu blazon" and the new series of the academic journal "Buletinul Muzeul de Istorie a Moldovei 'Ioan Neculce'".

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during his lifetime a series of historical events whose effects influenced his and his peer's lives. Among them was the 1781 Edict of Concivility, which granted the Romanian inhabitants citizenship and permitted them to acquire property in towns. This led to the construction of the first Orthodox church in the town during the early 1790s.¹⁵⁷ Arguably, it was the most remarkable event in the history of the local Romanian population until that date. Given the community's small size at that time, Oprea must have actively participated in this common achievement. Not long after this moment, the Romanian community succeeded in constructing an Orthodox confessional school, marking a second important success in the emancipation of these families. Whether Oprea Repede was born in Rupea or if he settled there during his lifetime is not known. What is known is that according to the family's tradition, their provenance is to be searched in Sibiu's Borderland (Ro. *Mărginimea Sibiului*). This location serves as a clue that puts into perspective a possible timeframe when the political context favoured the Romanian population movement from this area. The establishment of the 1st Romanian Border Regiment (Ger. 1. Walachen Grenzinfanterieregiment) in the southern Carpathians with the headquarters in Orlat during the 1760s led to a wave of population movement in both directions – Greek-Catholic families moved to incorporated villages while Orthodox population from these villages left to avoid incorporation and religious conversion.¹⁵⁸ The results of an anthroponomic survey in the area

157. Pál Hunfalvy, *Die Rumänien und ihre Ansprüche* (Wien and Teschen: Verlag von Karl Prochaska, 1883), 187. Exceptionally, the Romanians were granted citizenship earlier. For instance, one such case was encountered in the village Daneş (Ger. Dansdorf, in Sighișoara Seat) where the Romanian population was granted citizenship rights in 1668. Nussbächer, *Din cronici*, 129; Marius Ștefan Mărginean, "Mobilitate socială la Sebeș în secolul al XVIII-lea," *Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studențești*, 8 (2002): 109.

158. Review Mircea Gheorghe Abrudan, review of *Regimentul I românesc de graniță (nr. 16) din Transilvania de la înființare până la sfârșitul războaielor napoleoniene (1762-1815)*, by Costin Feneșan, *Astra Salvensis*, III, Nr.6 (2015): 208-212; See, Augustin Bunea, *Istoria regimentelor grănicerești* (Blaj: n.p., 1941); Eugenia Bârlea, "The recruitment of soldiers in the Habsburg army," *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 52 (2015), II: 90-105; Ioan Pop, "Înființarea regimentului II românesc de graniță și activitatea lui în perioada 1762-1772," *Revista Bistriței* VII (1993): 130, 133; Popovici, "Establishment," 298, 300; Ioan Bolovan and Sorina Bolovan, "Granița militară austriacă și românii din Transilvania în sec. XVIII-XIX. Studiu de caz: zona Năsăud," in *Pe urmele trecutului: profesorului Nicolae Edroiu la 70 de ani*, eds. Susana Andea and Ioan-Aurel Pop (Cluj-Napoca: Acad.Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2009): 438-439.

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south-east of Rupea reveal the presence of the Repede surname during the sixteenth century in the village Galați (found on the right side of Olt river bank facing Făgăraș from the north, six kilometres west of the village Șona that was found in Rupea Seat).¹⁵⁹ This geographical information is particularly relevant for the history of the Repede family and the Romanian families from Rupea. The direction of movement of the Romanian population to Rupea during the seventeenth century made the axis Făgăraș-Rupea the main course of migration for the families that settled in the suburbs of the Saxon market town. Given that Galați was included in the 1st Border Regiment's territory, the departure of Oprea Repede during the formation of the new administrative zone remains a working frame to take into consideration, without excluding the possibility of an earlier settlement from the Sibiu area to Făgăraș area.

An anthroponomic analysis of this surname is inconclusive and cannot provide more precise indications of the family's past. Designating a personal characteristic of the bearer, as a noun "repede" means "fast", the name could equally be a local adaption of the Aromanian surname Rapidon found in the Macedonia historical region where a high incidence of this name was identified.¹⁶⁰ The information regarding the three possible locations of provenance – Galați in Făgăraș Land, Sibiu Borderland and Macedonia – do not mutually exclude, yet only future investigation can determine if there is a relationship between them.

While not much can be added about the history of this family in Rupea during the eighteenth century, some consideration about Oprea Repede, the first known member to have lived there, can still be made. While his forename was given to a younger sibling in the previous centuries, by the eighteenth century, this symbolical significance likely lost its initial

159. File 922, Mărturii în litigiul pentru hotarul dintre Șona și Hălmeag,

160. Rupea – Protocol cununați Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811; Dumitru Cărăbaș, "Elemente grecești în antroponimia aromânilor din România," *Studii și cercetări de onomastică și lexicologie*, XI, Nr.1-2 (2018): 44-45.

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meaning.¹⁶¹ Assuming that Oprea Repede was born in Rupea if he had siblings, they likely passed away before 1788, considering their absence from parish records. Otherwise, if they were women, their trace was lost since it could not be traced using the available archival sources. Marrying Ana (approx. 1747-1807), who was twelve years his junior, might suggest that he was previously married and that the union ended with the death of his first partner or that he married later in life because he had to complete military service.¹⁶² Despite this age difference, the couple still could have lived together almost four decades, until 1807, when both died that same year. Rather than a simple coincidence, their death less than two weeks apart implies a somehow tragic end, caused most likely by a disease.¹⁶³ While that year were not recorded natural disasters – their death must have been caused by a geographically limited hazard that had deadly effects. The only known surviving child of the couple was Samuilă Repede (1769-1829), who married in 1795 Maria Andrei (1780-1850), the daughter of Ioan Andrei, an inhabitant of the neighbouring village Dăișoara (Ger. Langenthal or Langenthal bei Reps).¹⁶⁴ A Romanian serf village found less than 12 kilometres away from Rupea, Dăișoara was one of the many enclaves of Alba County's territories in the King's Land, the population here keeping close ties with the Romanian community from Rupea.¹⁶⁵ Living in Rupea, Samuilă and Maria were an integral part of the Romanian community. For instance, they were involved around 1800 in a divorce trial in which they were called witnesses together with other established notable local families associated with the first phase

161. Vizauer, "Antroponimia românilor," 196.

162. Bârlea, "The recruitment of soldiers," 99, 104; Rupea - Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811.

163. Rupea - Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811.

164. Elena Crinela Holom, "Destine individuale, destine familiale într-un sat din Transilvania (secolele XIX-XX)," in *În căutarea fericirii. Viața familială în spațiul românesc în sec. XVIII-XX*, eds. Ioan Bolovan, et al. (Cluj: Presa Universitara Clujeana, 2010), 258; Bolovan, "Familia în Europa Centrală," 298.

165. *Archiv* (1909), 384.

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of community formation.¹⁶⁶ Following their marriage in 1795, the family's firstborn, Georgie, was born the same year; nonetheless, he only survived five days after his birth.¹⁶⁷ After this misfortune, the couple had at least five more children: in the following year was born a girl named Domnica, then in 1802, a girl named Floarea and around the same period Bucura (d.1805), in 1806, a boy named Ioan (d.1808) and finally in 1811 Samuel (1811-1870).¹⁶⁸ Both Floarea and Samuel married in the Spornic family: Floarea married in 1819 with Bucur Spornic (b.1799), and Samuel married in 1832 with Domnica Spornic (b.1815). Samuel Repede, who continued the patrilineal lineage of Repede in Rupea, had in his turn eight children, out of which only two survived infancy: Anna (1833-1833), Georgie (1835-1842), Nicolae (1839-1839), Bucura (1840-1842), Ioan (1843-1916), Samoilă (1845-1845) and George (1847-1914).¹⁶⁹ By this time, the family must have achieved a certain level of wealth among their peers, as they are among the few ploughmen able to send their children to pursue their studies further. The youngest child, George, was encouraged to pursue his studies and was sent to the renowned Greek-Catholic Gymnasium from Blaj (Ger. Blasendorf, Hg. Balázsfalva).¹⁷⁰ Perhaps it is not without significance that George Repede's godmother was Ana Popovici (nee Langa, 1815-1850), who was none other than the wife of the Greek-Catholic Priest Ioan III Popovici (1810-1881). This critical evidence highlights the different ways in which priesthood was connected to both status and kindred. Despite not having any known patrilineal priest descendants, Repede were familiars of the local priest family, reconfirming a certain position that they must have enjoyed in the community. These power

166. Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, Vol I, 194-196.

167. Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811; Rupea - Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811.

168. Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811; Rupea - Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811.

169. Rupea – Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852.

170. I. Domșa, “După 10 ani”, “Noutăți,” *Unirea*, Iulie 6, 1907; Rupea – Protocol cununați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852.

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structures reveal essential aspects related to how a veritable system of intellectual genealogies was manifesting among the rural elite, even in the less potent Romanian communities.¹⁷¹

Once recognition was achieved through the occupation of Priest George, the following part of this short genealogical study investigates how status was preserved and if the return to agriculture reversed the process automatically. Ioan, the older brother of the future Priest George and the only other child known to have survived infancy served in his youth as a soldier and later occupied the chanter (cantor) position at the local Greek-Catholic parish. In his turn, George Repede, before he was ordained priest, worked as a teacher at the local Greek-Catholic confessional school (1868), occupying after marriage the village parishes of Bărcuț (Ger. Brekolten, Hu. Băránykút) and then of Homorod (Ger. Hamruden, in Rupea Seat, neighbouring Rupea).¹⁷² The marriages of the Repede family in the kin of Spornic continued during the second half of the nineteenth century. Hence, the Priest George Repede married in 1872 Maria Spornic (1855-1881), the daughter of the ploughman Paul Spornic (c.1812-1879) and his wife Maria (c.1812-1879) and sister of the future Priest George Spornic (1841-1922).¹⁷³ Later on, in 1886, another member of the Repede family married in the kin of Spornic, Maria (b.1868) – the only known child of Priest George’s older brother Ioan and of his wife Ana Borcoman (b.1847) – who married Pascu Spornic (b.1862).¹⁷⁴

171. Rupea – Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852.

172. *Semantismulu Veneratului Cleru alu Archidiecesei Metropolitane Greco-Catolice a Alb’a-Juliei sî Fagarasiului* (Blasiu: Tipariulu Seminariului Archidieceșanu, 1880), 245; *Semantismulu Veneratului Cleru alu Archidiecesei Metropolitane Greco-Catolice a Alb’a-Juliei sî Fagarasiului* (Blasiu: Tipariulu Seminariului Archidieceșanu, 1871), 252; “Pronunciamentu,” *Federatiunea, Diurnalu politicu, literariu, comercialu si economicu*, 29 Septembrie 29/Octombrie 11, 1868.

173. Rupea – Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927, Register, BV-F-00259-2-00814, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania. In March 1879 died Maria Spornic and in July died Pavel Spornic. In the same year in November in their house died also their nephews Ieronim and Ioan Repede, the first after 6 hours and the second after 6 days, the children of Priest George Repede (1847-1914) and Maria nee Spornic (1855-1881). Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927.

174. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927.

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While a pattern cannot be followed at this point, based on initial observations made during oral surveys, the existence of some kin group allegiances could be confirmed by future investigation of the incidence rates over longer periods.

Returning to the developments in the Repede family during the second half of the nineteenth century, in the absence of a patrilineal descendant of Ioan Repede's lineage, the survival of this family in Rupea was assured by Priest George. While his marriage did not last long, given that in 1881 his wife passed away, the couple had during this time six children, out of which three survived them: Elisabeta (b.1873), Ioan (1874-1961), Samuilă (1877-1877), George (b.1877) and the twins Ieronim (1879-1879) and Ioan (1879-1879).¹⁷⁵

Following the death of his wife, the career of the Priest George Repede was marked by a series of controversies that delighted public opinion during the 1880s, which might have affected the career choices of his descendants. When, in 1889, the satire magazine *Calicul* published some verses to condemn the moral conduct of the priest of Bărcuț, George Repede was already a widower for eight years. Like other cases in the second half of the nineteenth century, the exposure of the priest to the mundane impieties reveals aspects of the priesthood life during that period and equally of the realities of the Transylvanian rural space.¹⁷⁶ Some of the verses read as follows – “[...] You Mark, dance nicely/ There in Bărcuț village/ That is close to Cohalm/ At Repede the unfortunate/ As priest Repede/ Continued to change wives/ Until one day the folks/ Beat him as you beat a rag./ They took him and turned him down/ And threw him into the creek/ Same as he upturned before/ When he came with a loaded cart/

175. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927.

176. Dan Melenti, “Obști preoțești și preoți români din comitatul Turda: Stare și statut social (1850-1900),” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu din Cluj-Napoca*, L, Series Historica (2011): 40; Maria-Cristina Ploșca, “Familia în societatea rurală din Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea,” *Acta Musei Corviniensis*, XI (2007): 140; Valeria Soroștineanu, “Iubirea între divorț și căsătorie. Studii de caz în mediul orthodox transilvan,” in *În căutarea fericirii. Viața familială în spațiul românesc în sec. XVIII-XX*, ed. Ioan Bolovan, et al. (Cluj: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2010), 104-105; Cârlan Ticușanu. *Monumentul*, 119.

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With wives from Cohalm/ And made himself disgraceful.”– and are rather explicit when it comes to communicating the events that marked the life of this provincial widowed priest during the 1880s.¹⁷⁷ This scandal might explain why, only a few years later, he was transferred to the Greek-Catholic parish in Homorod, where ironically or perhaps in a moment of repentance, he was lecturing in 1901 during a local meeting of Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People (ASTRA), “on immaculacy”.¹⁷⁸ Passing away in 1914 at the hospital in Sighișoara (Ger. Schäßburg, Lat. Saxoburgum), Priest Repede was brought to his native Rupea, where his funeral service was overseen by a cortege of four priests from the area.¹⁷⁹

Of the three surviving children of the Priest George Repede, two married in local kins from Rupea. Elisabeta (b.1873), the eldest, married in 1888 Ioan Gh. Bănuț (b.1865), while the middle child, Ioan (1874-1961), married Ana Magdun (1882-1948) in 1898. The youngest of the three, George (b.1877), continued his education to become a notary (*notarius judicii*).¹⁸⁰ This position, which facilitated his social accession, was further strengthened through a marriage contracted in 1905 with Maria Velenta (b.1885), a Roman Catholic born

177. “Sus Marcule!” *Calicul. Humor și satiră*, No.4, 1889.

178. “Direcțiunea Dispărțementului din Cohalm,” *Transilvania*, Martie 10-11, 1897; “Consemnarea membrilor ‘Asociațiunii pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român.’ Starea de la 1 August 1901,” *Transilvania, organul asociațiunii pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român*, Iunie, 1901. Founded in 1861, ASTRA was a Romanian cultural associations that aimed to promote the national ideas through the use of theatre, chorals and conferences. Supporting among other projects the creation of rural libraries, ASTRA assumed the responsibility to emancipate the Romanian rural population through education at a time when the Magyarization policies were intensifying and a modern Romanian was forming on the other side of the Carpathians. Dorin Goția, “Interferențe culturale româno-săsești oglindite în documentele societății ASTRA 1861-1918,” *Revista Bistriței*, VII (1993): 218; Silviu Borș, Florentin-Dan Păun and Ramona Șchiau, “Biblioteci românești în secolul al XIX-lea,” *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XXVII (2005): 570; Nicolae Bocșan, “Transilvania și Unirea din 1859. Implicații culturale,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XXVII (1985-1986): 494.

179. Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924.

180. Rupea – Protocol cununați Romano-Catolici, 1857-1950, Register, BV-F-00259-2-00811, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

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in Chropyně, Moravia.¹⁸¹ Her parents – Gustav Valenta and Olga (nee Schipek) – acquired during the Austro-Hungarian period a Renaissance castle in Hoghiz (Hg. Hévíz, Lat. Aqua Calida) ten kilometres away from Rupea. Similar to a liberalisation trend encountered in other parts of Europe, the union, which was without precedent in the matrimonial history of the Romanian families of Rupea, revealed a moderation of the class boundaries during the final years of the Empire.¹⁸² With his career taking off, a year later, George Repede participated in the magistrates' exam in Budapest, which he successfully passed, being officially appointed as a notary in Rupea in 1907.¹⁸³ In 1906 and 1908, Maria and Ana, the two children of the notary, were born, spending the first years of their lives in Rupea until the family's departure after the First World War. When the War began, George was drafted into the Austro-Hungarian army, serving as a translator in the military court and as a secretary in the chancellery; the year 1918 found him occupying this position in Prague.¹⁸⁴ As one of the two delegates from Rupea to the Alba-Iulia National Assembly, which decided the union of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania, George Repede can be appreciated as one of the leaders of the Romanian community from Rupea in the first two decades of the twentieth century.¹⁸⁵ It was only his departure after the Great War to Caransebeș, a town found in the Banat region, that alienated this personality and his descendants from the cultural destiny of the Romanians from Rupea.¹⁸⁶

181. "Noutăți," *Tribuna*, Iunie 27/Iulie 10, 1906; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924; Register, Rupea – Protocol cununați Romano-Catolici, 1857-1950.

182. Jallinoja, *Families*, 137-138.

183. "Scirile Dilei," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Iunie 28/ Iulie 11, 1906; "Știrile Zilei," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Februarie 18/ Martie 3, 1907.

184. Horia Petra-Petrescu, "Biata 'Rumunka'," *Gânduri de dat mai departe*, Nr.112, 1924.

185. Ioan Georgescu, *George Pop de Băsești. 60 de ani din luptele naționale ale românilor transilvăneni* (Oradea: Editura Asociației Culturale Astra, 1935), 202.

186. Cerere către primăria comunei Rupea-Cohalm înaintată de Gheorghe Repede notar public în Caransebeș (n. 6.5.1877 în Rupea din părinții Gheorghe Repede și Maria nee Spornic) din data de 4.11.1925, privind eliberarea

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George Repede's departure partly interrupted the intellectual course set by Priest George for this family a generation before, leaving the continuation of the local lineage to his brother Ioan (1874-1961). While a ploughman, Ioan thrived during the Interwar, owning 16.4 hectares of arable land, which made him one of the most prosperous Romanian ploughmen from Rupea.¹⁸⁷ Following the death of Ioan Jr. (1900-1918), his eldest son, in a hospital in Prague during the final days of the War, the other children that survived Ioan Repede and his wife Ana (nee Magdun) were George (1907-1989) and Vasile (1910-1983).¹⁸⁸ The youngest, sent to study at the high school in Odorhei (Hu. Székelyudvarhely), completed his education during the 1920s and eventually became a notary like his uncle, working at the town hall in Rupea.¹⁸⁹ Far from singular, this familial occupational inheritance finds an equivalent in the rural French space where high rates of the venality of the notary profession are observed in the Haute-Garonne department in southwestern France.¹⁹⁰ Unfortunately, Vasile's marriage with Maria Răcneală, a teacher originally from Retiș (Ger. Retersdorf, Târnava Mare County), did not result in any descendants. Hence, the closest relative remained his older

unor certificate de naționalitate pentru el, soția sa (Maria nee Walenta, n.10.4.1885 în Chropyně, Cehoslovacia) și fiicele sale (Maria n.10.9.1906 și Ana n.28.2.1908), File 1925/5, IOVR, societăți comerciale, recrutări, împrumutări, dezertări, rechiziții, Automobil Club Român, autorizații construcții, admiteri în școli [...], BV-F-00037. Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

187. Tabel din 30.9.1938 cu proprietarii de suprafețe arabile, silvice, viticole și pomicole între 10 și 50 hectare, File 1938/7, Situații statistice agricole și table cu proprietăți de terenuri între 10 și 15 ha și peste 50 ha, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Ordine și corespondență cu privire la mișcarea comunistă, Listă din 7.10.1932 a proprietarilor români de pământ care dețin cel puțin 18 iugăre de teren arabil – Ioan Pop sen. (născut 1848), Zachie Pop (născut 1858), Ioan Repede (născut 1874), Suma Gheorghe (născut 1884), File 1932/27, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; For instance in 1916, Repede family makes a donation consisting of a chalice with diskos worth Kor. 100. Eugen Ciungan, "Informațiuni," *Unirea*, Iulie 6, 1916; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununăți, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923.

188. Petra-Petrescu, "Biata 'Rumunka'," *Gânduri de dat mai departe*.

189. Tabel intern situație demografică locuitori Rupea din 14.02.1926 cu mențiunea locației celor care nu se afla în localitate, File 1926/7, Situații statistice demografice [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

190. Jean-Paul Barrière, "Notaires des villes et des champs: les origins sociales d'une 'profession' au XIXe siècle," in *Campagnes et sociétés en Europe: France, Allemagne, Espagne, Italie, 1830-1930*, eds. Michel Pigenet and Gilles Pécout (Paris: Les Editions de l'Atelier/Editions Ouvriers, 2005), 63-74.

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brother, George (1907-1989), who in 1931 married Maria Popa (1913-1997, one of the last descendants of the notable family Popa of Rupea).¹⁹¹ The couple had three children – Gheorghe (1933-2012), Ioan (b.1936) and Vasile Repede (1939-2018), out of which the two older ones continued to live in Rupea, remaining attached to the agrarian world during the Communist period, while the youngest who pursued higher education became an engineer and moved to Pitești.¹⁹²

The genealogical exploration of the Repede of Rupea family serves as a microhistory study through which the intricate dynamics of familial relationships unfold during the modern period over two centuries. From ploughmen to priests, the Repede family's trajectory reflects individual life paths and mirrors broader societal transformations within the Romanian community in Rupea. The study demonstrates the family's adaptability to change, spanning seven generations and witnessing shifts from agriculture to diverse occupations like priests, notaries, and engineers. This case study establishes a foundation for exploring Romanian families' social background and adaptive strategies, making a prime contribution to understanding rural structures. Hence, the investigation challenges prevailing historiographical models by using peasant genealogies, offering a unique perspective on long-term rural developments from the perspective of the family. The study highlights the importance of working on peasant genealogies, contributing significantly to a more comprehensive understanding of the historical forces shaping rural societies.

The examination of kin mythology and cultural memory in the subsequent case study follows the groundwork of the Repede family's history. The following investigation broadens to encompass the collective cultural memory and kin mythology within the Romanian

191. Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author.

192. Ioan Repede, in discussion with the author.

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community of Rupea. This shift is an invitation to explore the symbolic and shared narratives that define the community's identity, investigating how kinship ties become intertwined with the broader cultural memory in the process of modernisation of the rural society. Through the lens of the Budrea kin, the following case study aims to comprehend the cultural landscape that shapes the collective identity in Rupea, offering a better understanding of how kin mythology contributes to constructing a community's historical narrative.

"Budrea had the power [in Rupea]": Kin Mythology and Cultural Memory

This research explores the functions and transformations of kinship within the Romanian community of Rupea during the twentieth century. Structured in three distinct parts, each elucidates different aspects of the kin's identity. The initial part introduces the kindred concept, emphasising its significance in a community's historical present. The second part presents the case study of the Magdun kin, specifically the Budrea branch, from its origins in the seventeenth century to its status in the twenty-first century. The study examines the kin's social status, religious affiliations, and economic roles, providing a nuanced understanding of its place in local hierarchies. In the final part, the investigation reflects on the evolving role of kinship from a utilitarian institution to a symbolic structure in the broader context of modernisation and societal changes in rural Transylvania.

The investigation of the collateral members of an extended family provides the basic definition for the concept of kindred. Based on the research carried out in Rupea, the concept of kindred, while not absolute patrilineal, certainly asserts precedence to that type of descendant lineage. The kin structure was studied from the perspective of the matrimonial strategies, confessional solidarities, local institutions and private property, using local demographic, genealogic and anthroponomic realities that enable a more comprehensive understanding of this institution.¹⁹³

One definitory characteristic of the kindred is that, unlike family lineage, this institution is grounded in a "historical present". This distinction associates kindred with the idea of solidarity between families bounded by sanguine relations. In contrast, the study of

193. T.H. Hollingsworth, "Genealogy and Historical Demography," *Annales de démographie historique*, 1976 (1976): 167-168.

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family lineage concentrates on the development of a single nuclear unit over a long period. Hence, the contemporary character of kindred suggests that this institution is continuously adapting to new realities with each generation that passes. The limitations of investigating collateral reciprocities are not determined by the lack of genealogical knowledge but by the ephemeral character of these reciprocities that are renewed to respond to new contemporary realities.

For the Romanian ploughmen from south-eastern Transylvania, whose sedentary lifestyle tied them to their birth communities, the dependence on their kins transformed the institution of kinship into a central structure that contributes to the preservation and progress of the familial unit. With the emergence of alternative institutions, mainly starting from the final quarter of the nineteenth century, the importance of kinship diminished to having simply a symbolic role, replacing its premodern clan-type solidarity.¹⁹⁴

The development of local kin systems in the Romanian communities living in south-east Transylvania is related to a series of elements such as demographic situation, occupations and administrative policies. Without having a well-defined timeframe, the study of this institution in Rupea can be grounded historically to have developed in its modern form sometime between the late Principality period, functioning on the same principles until the establishment of communism in Romania. Based on the cultural realities of the mixed Romanian-Saxon communities found in Rupea Seat, the kinship structures fulfilled the necessary conditions to have formed, the earliest, around the second half of the seventeenth century, and were confirmed to have existed in Rupea in the first part of the eighteenth century.

194. Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood. A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), 375.

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By the beginning of the twentieth century, the former utilitarian function of this institution was reduced to a symbolic role that supported a system of internal hierarchies at the community level. Kindred remains during this period a mutual help institution, but it is equally a construct filled with myths of origins and memorable deeds of the kin members. Like a pantheon of the ancient polytheistic religions or a cult of the ancestors, the construct of kindred reflects certain aspects of the ideals of a family at a specific moment in history. Unlike the situation encountered in spaces with richer material culture and higher levels of literacy, where the existence of so-called *liber rationis* are found, family registers that record valuable data of civil or economic character, and that are updated with each generation by the head of the family, the familial memory in the rural world of the Transylvanian Romanian peasantry was constructed on orality.¹⁹⁵

The exemplary individuals that are included in this pantheon and the ideals they represent uphold the claims of families in the local hierarchical structures as much as they highlight a particular worldview of the bearers of that memory at a certain moment in time.¹⁹⁶ Even the past tales whose meaning is lost endure in post-memory as projections of intimate familial identities are granted a new significance. From the final quarter of the nineteenth century, when a series of major developments took place and touched the lives of even the most ordinary villagers, the local structures started to be challenged from the outside. The use of kin to consolidate the local establishment can be understood during this period as a

195. Sylvie Mouysset, "De père en fils: livre de raison et transmission de la mémoire familiale (France du Sud, XVe-XVIIIe siècle)," in *Religion et politique dans les sociétés du Midi. Actes du 126e Congrès national des sociétés historiques et scientifiques 'Terres et hommes du Sud' Toulouse, 2001*, ed. Nicole Lemaître (Paris: Editions du CTHS, 2002), 140, 151.

196. Keith Ansell-Pearson, "Bergson on Memory," in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, ed. Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 64-65.

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justification for an asserted status, a natural response of the establishment to external influence determined by the increased mobility of the population.¹⁹⁷

Based on oral tradition and corroborated with archival evidence, this study reconstructs the functions asserted to kin in the Romanian community from Rupea in the first part of the twentieth century. The functions of the kin were investigated as a case study through the analysis of a branch of one of the largest kins in Rupea, named Magdun. The cadet branch known as Budrea, which is recorded to have already existed around the mid-eighteenth century, survived until nowadays, making it the oldest and longest cadet branch identified so far.¹⁹⁸ The provenance of the kin of Magdun is to be searched in the village Șona (in Rupea Seat) in the first half of the seventeenth century.¹⁹⁹ Moving in the following century towards Rupea, by the first half of the eighteenth century, the Magdun family developed multiple lineages.²⁰⁰ During the nineteenth century, the multiple patrilineal branches of this kin that were identified in the eighteenth century went extinct, with only two known to have survived in the twentieth century. Despite entering in a period of demographic decline during the nineteenth century, Magdun kin remained among the most notable in the local ploughmen society.

197. Marie-Clémence Le Pape, “Mémoire familiale, filiation et parentalité en milieux populaires,” *Recherches et Prévisions*, No.82 (2005): 17-18.

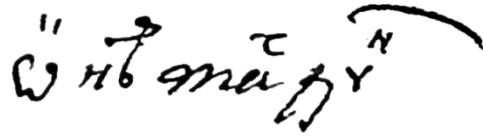
198. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author; Maria Stoica (nee Frățilă), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania; April 2019; Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author; Ioan Repede, in discussion with the author; Gheorghe Tempea, in discussion with the author; Ioan Bălica, in discussion with the author.

199. Enchiridion, File Registre Sibiu Nr.10.

200. In 1640 in Șona (in Rupea Seat) lived the family of Oprea Magdun (“Opra Magdona”). Enchiridion, File Registre Sibiu Nr.10. Situated in the proximity of Făgăraș, seven kilometers to the north-east, the presence of the Romanians in Șona is confirmed through the functioning in this village in 1477 of the institution of the knyaz and the Romanian families that lived there in the mid-sixteenth century. Pascu, *Voievodatul*, III, 570; *Arhiv*, (1909), 368; Mărturii cu privire la hotarnicia moșilor Vidacut și Galați, 1564, File 946, Seria U IV, Colecția de documente medievale, SB-F-00001-1-U4-946, Magistratul orașului și scaunului Sibiu, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Sibiu, Sibiu, Romania; Mărturii în litigiul pentru hotarul dintre Șona și Hălmeag, File 922.

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The earliest known member of this kin that lived in Rupea was Ioan Magdun (approx. 1735-1795), while the earliest reference of the cadet branch Budrea was identified not long after, with the first of the kin members referred to with this appellative being Bucur (approx. 1753-1819) who soon was followed by Ioan “Budrea” Sr. (approx. 1762-1833) and Georgie “Budrea” (approx. 1767-1827).²⁰¹ The genealogic analysis of other contemporary individuals with this generation indicates that during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, there might have been even more patrilineal lineages that belonged to this cadet branch. Out of these patrilineal Budrea lineages, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Budrea branch separated again, forming another sub-branch starting with Mihai Magdun “Budrea” (approx. 1771-1828) whose descendants – resulting from his marriages with his first wife Maria (approx. 1777-1795) the daughter of Ioan Boranci from Fișer and his second wife Domnica (1792-1866) the daughter of Ioan Roșală – were known as “of Mihai” (Ro. “ai lui Mihai”).²⁰² This sub-branch division was reinforced in the context of the conversion of the Romanian community to Greek-Catholicism in the early 1820s when Mihai Magdun “Budrea” adopted the new confession, separating from the Orthodox lineage of Budrea who refused the Union with the Church of Rome. The two patrilineal cadet branches that survived into the twenty-first century provide an understanding of the functions of kinship within the Romanian community through direct access to the collective memory of the kin members.



Self-representation is essential in locating kin's coercive incipient structure, establishing a connection between status and origin: “Magdun, they are from Rupea, Budrea

201. Rupea – Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811; Rupea – Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852.

202. Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author; Rupea – Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923.

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kin. I don't know what Budrea means, but this is who we are.”²⁰³ An etymological inquiry suggested that the name of the kin branch hides behind an occupation since, as a noun, “budre” means priest (Ro. *popă*).²⁰⁴ The close family ties of the kin of Budrea, both the Orthodox and the Greek-Catholic lineages, with the two local priest families, Popovici and Bercan, and the church positions held by laymen such as Ioan Magdun, participant at the Orthodox Deanery's Synod (on 11th February 1873) and of Georgie Mihaiu Magdun who occupied the position of parish trustee (Ro. *epitrop*) around 1866-1877, and even the involvement in exceptional situations such as the intervention of the Metropolitan Miron Romanul in 1882, in favour of the Magdun's regarding a disagreement with the local priest Nicolae Mircea, suggest the preservation of a primacy that was determined by the role played by this kin in the community since immemorial times.²⁰⁵ While not a priest family, the kin of Budrea retained a high social status in the community, occupying positions in the local structures and maintaining familial ties with priest families through godparenthood and marriages, suggesting both a leading social position in local hierarchies and a good economic situation.²⁰⁶

During the nineteenth century, the Orthodox lineage enjoyed a great social prestige – “[...] you can say that fifty, sixty, almost one hundred years, Budrea had the power [in

203. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

204. Constantinescu, *Dicționar*, 220.

205. Ordin din 11.2.1873 al Sinodului Protopopesc din Protopopiatul Greco-Ortodox al Cohalmului, File Corespondență 1873-1917, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Nru.III. Protocolu Baserecei greco-catolice a Rupei prin Ioane Popescu, Parocu romanu, 1866-67-68-69-70-71-72-73-1914, File Registre, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Rupea – Protocol morți Ortodocși, 1873-1950, Register, BV-F-00259-2-00814, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

206. Simion Rețegan, “Elita satului românesc din Transilvania la mijlocul secolului XIX,” *Xenopoliana*, IV (1996): 102, 104.

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Rupea], but they were hard-working men.”²⁰⁷ In the context of the delicate situation caused by the 1820s mass conversion to Greek-Catholicism, which divided the community and left only a few Orthodox families in Rupea, one member of this branch, Ioan Magdun, an Orthodox, found himself in the situation of marrying an outsider Ana Pădurean, whose surname absent from the local anthroponomy was found in the eighteenth century in the nearby Făgăraș Land.²⁰⁸ This union resulted in the formation of the Orthodox branch of the Magdun “Budrea” kin, which survived until the twenty-first century. The reconstruction of kin as a mental projection, using the corpus of collective memories of their descendants, reveals that the awareness of kin-belonging begins only with Ioan Magdun and Ana Pădurean’s children, which correspond with a fourth-generation descent. In other words, this suggests that for the Romanian ploughmen society from Rupea in the first half of the twentieth century, the fifth generation of descent remains detached from memory as a genealogical element. The absence of a fifth generation from this construction system can be investigated by analysing the process of selection of information in mnemonic societies.²⁰⁹ Furthermore, this mental construction of kin identity tended to include matrilineal lineages only to the second generation, after which that structure was abandoned, and only exceptionally, this symbolic attachment extended for another generation – most likely the reason was a high prestige enjoyed by the matrilineal kin in the community.²¹⁰

Formulated and reformulated with every generation that passes, some stories were left out so others could be let in, old members of the kin were excluded, and new members were

207. Gheorghe Tempea, in discussion with the author; Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

208. Pașca, *Nume de persoane*, 294.

209. Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author; Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

210. Gheorghe Tempea, in discussion with the author.

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introduced to engage with contemporary solidarities.²¹¹ In this narrative, the years of birth and death, and official names are not remembered because they are irrelevant to the kin identity construction process. Instead, the representation of its members was based on identification elements essential to the rural society at a given time in history. In the inescapable temporality of kin existence, individuals are eventually metamorphosed into ideas that usually assert a status or a geographic origin. Therefore, if kinship as a form of social solidarity is only relevant when referring to a particular historical period of a family's history, its value as an identity construct meant to maintain status remains valid for longer periods.

During the mid-twentieth century, the kin system analysed included cognatic members based on a four-generation kinship model.²¹² Starting from the only known child of Ioan Magdun and Ana Pădurean, named Ioan Magdun (1834-1921), who in the current kin structure corresponds to a patriarchal figure, the collective memory constructs a unitary belonging to the corpus of descendants. Nonetheless, this semi-fictionalized figure that ties together the following three generations survived in postmemory only as a product of mythography.²¹³ Stripped off genealogical facts, Ioan Magdun becomes the impersonator of the kin by being remembered simply as Budrea. Since none of his eighteen great-grandchildren was even born at the time of his death, in the absence of any historical evidence preserved by the family members, the mythography of kin starts from this patriarchal figure that ties them:

211. Brian O'Connor, "Adorno on the Destruction of Memory," in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, ed. Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 136-137.

212. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author; Maria Stoica (nee Frățiță), in discussion with the author. Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author; Ioan Repede, in discussion with the author; Gheorghe Tempea, in discussion with the author; Ioan Bălica, in discussion with the author.

213. Marianne Hirsch, "The Generation of Postmemory," *Poetics Today*, 29, 1 (2008): 103-105; Rhodri Lewis and Francis Bacon, "Allegory and the Uses of Myth," *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, Vol.61, No.250 (June 2010): 362.

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[...] I think my grandfather died in the war and then remained my great-grandfather, who is the grandfather of my mother.[...] I didn't meet my great-grandfather; he was in the care of my grandmother; she says that he had the hair [long and] she was making him braids, she was making him a tail. [...] She was braiding his hair, combing his hair, then braiding it; my grandmother was telling me always about this because my grandmother remained there with the old man, yes with my great-grandfather.²¹⁴

[...] the sons of Magdun, Budrea because this is how they called our great-grandfather, they were four.²¹⁵

Ioan Magdun (1834-1921), who married Ana Buzea (1849-1910), had nine children, out of which five survived to maturity. The surviving children, Gheorghe (1868-1941), Bucur (b.1877), Ioan (b.1879, probably died in America), Ana (1881-1903) and Nicolae (b.1883, died in 1918 in Italy), were all married in the old Romanian kins from Rupea (two with members from Spornic kin and the rest in the kins Borcoman, Boranci and Tempea) that are associated with the first phase of community formation.²¹⁶

The deeds of the four brothers that make them worthwhile to remain in the kin memory reinforce cultural values related to religion and the attachment of this family to the Church. The nephew of one of these four brothers reinforced this idea in the following terms: “[...] I liked it so much when I heard that there were four brothers, and all had horses, and they went to steal wood [to build] the church. Thus, they should shut up because we are veterans; we are Orthodox at the origins.”²¹⁷ By risking their lives in the name of the Church, the memory of the four brothers reinforced to the members of this kin the idea of a status of primacy in the community. The entire corpus of memories which forms kin identity was

214. Maria Frățilă (who married Gheorghe Stoica) was the daughter of Ana Magdun (1914-1942) and Ioan Frățilă. Her grandfather was Nicolae Magdun (1883-1918), the son of Ioan Magdun (1834-1921). Maria Stoica (nee Frățilă), in discussion with the author.

215. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

216. Tabel recensământ morți/disparați/invalidi din Primul Război Mondial, File 1926/1, Împroprietări, consilierii comunali, recrutări, IOVR, rechiziționări imobile, tabele cu soldații căzuți în război [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

217. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

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generally constructed by selecting those members whose stories reinforce the idea of primacy or notability. Speaking with two locals, one of them a member of Magdun kin, the idea was repeatedly emphasised in various forms:

[...] my great-grandfather was the first Romanian from Rupea to go to America,

[...] my grandfather was the first to have had a barn in that area,

[...] my father was the first to go to cavalry, then others followed,

[...] of those four brothers of my grandfather [...] one was named Bucur Magdun; he was a prefect in Dorohoi county until the communists came; until the Russians came into the country. [...] One uncle was a prefect, and the other uncle was a notary. Maria [Protase nee Magdun] from Cluj, a university professor, [...] hence half of the kin are intellectuals, we are not anybody. [...]. Her [Maria Protase's] father was a good man, a cultivated man, a hard worker and skilled. He also had a great talent for horses. He was also a horseman in the cavalry after it was created; my father went, and many others went afterwards. [...] our kin was not rich or so, but it had... how can I say, [...] a bit of wisdom, and a bit of spirit. In comparison with others, because there are enough Romanians in Rupea [...] of various kinds that do not resemble us, and I am not saying that we should be proud and don't speak with anyone, but at least we shouldn't disgrace our kin.²¹⁸

While the available data did not permit kin reconstruction before the late eighteenth century, further inquiry might answer the question of what the function of kin was before the nineteenth century or even what it meant to the generation of Ioan Magdun (1834-1921), which was four generations before his descendants made their evaluation.

Out of the multiple Magdun patrilineal lineages that lived during the second half of the eighteenth century, all others went extinct apart from the two known to have survived the nineteenth century. Migration, lack of patrilineal descendants or even celibacy must have significantly contributed to this situation that resulted in the diminution of their kin lineages in Rupea by the early twentieth century. Nonetheless, the rural world, which was an active participant in the modernisation process, responded to these mutations by establishing new

218. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author; Gheorghe Suma "Drăghici", in discussion with the author.

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institutions relevant to the challenges of the period.²¹⁹ Hence, by the beginning of the twentieth century, kindred already become a symbolic solidarity pact between a group of families which asserted a certain status in the community, using the knowledge of a common descendant as a form of solidarity.

During the twentieth century, the association of the family to kin granted a sense of social prestige against the changing social structures in which increased mobility and the other elements of change challenged the old order.²²⁰ As an institution dependent on local continuity, the narrative of the group's identity survives as long as it can be transferred intergenerationally among the kin members and, most importantly, between the other individuals living in that community who endorse it.²²¹ With the gradual eradication of illiteracy in the Romanian community from Rupea during the twentieth century and the democratisation of the photographic experience, a new range of mediums reshaped the construction of kindred identity while its functions metamorphosed into a purely symbolic structure. Being lost in mundane events, the "spirit" of the kin is an archaic illusion that exists only in postmemory, but once, it was a complex institution with precise purposes in the family's life and by the extent of the community.

The exploration of the institution of kinship unfolds a narrative embedded in rural society, shedding light on the dynamic interplay of multiple factors characteristic of this societal structure. The concept of kin, transitioning from utilitarian to symbolic, displays the existence of complex familial ties, religious affiliations, and community status empowerment. The

219. Stahl, "Sistemul onomastic," 63.

220. Béatrix Le Wita, "Mémoire: l'avenir du présent," *Terrain. Anthropologie & sciences humaines*, 4 (1985): 15-16.

221. Charles Wetherell, Andrejs Plakans and Barry Wellman, "Social Networks, Kinship and Community in Eastern Europe," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol.24, No.4 (Spring 1994): 650.

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functions of the Budrea kin in Rupea, entwined with local hierarchies and economic status, illustrate the evolving process of identity construction within a changing social landscape.

The subsequent case study investigates a phenomenon that resonates across Central and Eastern European modern history – the formation of priest dynasties. This distinctive social structure, rooted in the filial inheritance of the clerical occupation, unveils a distinctive characteristic of Romanian Transylvanian rural society. With caste-like matrimonial strategies stretching back to the Principality period and persisting into the twentieth century, the priest families have left a clear mark on the region's identity. The study of the priest families in Rupea holds significance within the broader context of the first chapter by examining the central role played by this occupational group in the rural community.

A Caste Apart: Group Identity and Social Reproduction in the Rural Priest Families

In this comprehensive case study, the exploration begins by providing a context on the development of priest families in rural Transylvania, highlighting their origins and distinctive social identity. The first part provides a historical frame for significant political and economic evolutions that resulted in the emergence of an extended network of priest families. This part opens a series of short investigations of the priestly lineages associated with Rupea. Beginning with the Popovici family, it researches the lineage of the family's progenitor, following their activity in the religious sphere over multiple generations between the eighteenth and the twentieth centuries. Subsequently, the focus shifts to the Spornic family, exploring their journey from a simple ploughmen family in the early nineteenth century to political action around the Second World War. The study then transitions to the Raicu family, highlighting their transition from a noble status in the seventeenth century to the priesthood and, finally, to a newly bourgeoisie class in the late nineteenth century. Continuing the research, the Mircea family takes centre stage, emphasising the intricate relationship between the priesthood and the secular elite. Shifting focus to the Stoica de Veneția family, the study focuses on the decade-long activity of a local priest who belonged to this influential noble family. The following study investigates the history of the Bercan family. By examining their socio-political engagements and ecclesiastical life, the research unveils broader patterns of social integration and political activism and the challenges these families face during crucial historical moments in the history of the Romanians from Transylvania. Finally, the examination directs its attention to the Brotea priest family, unfolding as a story of resilience and adaptation against the tense political climate of the first half of the twentieth century.

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A phenomenon specific to Eastern Catholic and Orthodox Churches also encountered among Protestants and in some forms among Roman Catholics, the formation of priest families finds an original expression among the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Romanian Transylvanians.²²² Characterised as a system of filial inheritance of the clerical occupation, the presence of the priest families as a distinct social group can be traced back to the Principality period. Accompanied by caste-type matrimonial strategies, these families, some of which established veritable dynasties, were encountered throughout the province until the twentieth century.²²³

Being stimulated by a series of legislative acts during the eighteenth century, the economic privileges granted to the Greek-Catholic priests resulted in anomalous situations with the number of priests in some villages exceeding by far the spiritual necessities of the community – resulting in the members of the same family to occupy also other parishes.²²⁴ Some of these regulations were adopted during the 1821 Synod of Blaj when it was decided to grant absolute primacy to the son of the parish priest to inherit the position of his father, strengthening the filial continuity of the priests in the same parish.²²⁵ Taken together the generally poor educational infrastructure, the taxation of the individuals who did not belong to a priest family and intended to become priests, and the taxation of those who belonged to a priest family but settled in a different archdiocese, the continuity of priesthood in the same

222. Jallinoja, *Families*, 197-198.

223. Dan Melenti, “Obști preoțești și preoți români din comitatul Turda: Stare și statut social (1850-1900),” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu din Cluj-Napoca*, L, Series Historica (2011), 35-36; Mirela Popa-Andrei, “Priestly Dynasties: Recruitment Pools for the Greek-Catholic Clerical Elite. Case Study: The dioceses of Oradea and Gherla (1853-1918),” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu Cluj-Napoca*, Series Historica, Suppliment, LV (2016), 98; Jallinoja, *Families*, 199.

224. Marin Popan, “Unele considerații privitoare la relațiile confesionale din districtul Bistriței. Comunal și confesional între anii 1760-1780,” *Revista Bistriței*, IX (1995), 200; Daniel Dumitran, “Forme ale definirii identitare în Transilvania veacului al XVIII-lea. Introducere la critica imaginii istoriografice a românilor neuniți (II),” *Apulum*, L (2013): 172-173, 175.

225. Melenti, “Obști preoțești,” 27.

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families and area, represented a characteristic of the Transylvanian Romanian social landscape for the past centuries.²²⁶

From an economic, educational and even aesthetic point of view, at least until the first part of the eighteenth century, the priest was hardly differentiated from the local peasant, working the land the same as other ploughmen, while their theological education was usually reduced to home-schooling.²²⁷ If the situation for the Greek-Catholics gradually improved from around the mid-eighteenth century, for the Orthodox, who were granted parcels of land or remunerations only starting from the 1860s, their sustenance for much of the past centuries relied solely on parishioners' contribution and fieldwork.²²⁸ Having limited resources, the parishioners supported a local election system that encouraged the filial succession of the priests, not only because they were more familiar faces but also because this system was lowering the costs of maintenance of the new priest.²²⁹ Within the broader context of the Transylvanian religious mosaic, these circumstances contributed to having in this province around the mid-nineteenth century the highest number of clerics in Europe compared to the population.²³⁰ Starting from the second half of the nineteenth century, the percentage of

226. Gheorghe Bichicean, "Religia românilor din Transilvania în cuprinsul constituțiilor aprobate. (Dieta din anul 1653)," *Acta Musei Devensis*, XXV (1992-1994): 280; Melenti, "Obști preoțești," 38; Simion Rețegan, "Clerul rural românesc din Transilvania la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea: Modalități de instituire," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj-Napoca*, XXXI (1992): 109; Marius Bârlianu, "Biserica greco-catolică din Scaunul Orăștiei între 1867-1914," *Acta Musei Devensis*, XXXV-XXXVI (2007-2008): 466.

227. Eugenia Bârlea, "Andrei Șaguna and Telegraful Roman during the decade of Neoabsolutism (1853-1861). Ecclesiastical, Educational and Cultural Aspects," *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 49, *Historica II* (2012): 225; Mureșan, "Aspecte," 167; Simion Rețegan, "Remedierea unei inechități: Îmbunătățirea situației economice a preoților români de pe Pământul Crăiesc în anii 1861-1865," *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 31, II (1994): 295; Popan, "Unele considerații," 199; Marin Popan, "De la petenți uniți bistrițeni la Supplex-ul transilvan ortodox din 29 aprilie 1761. Încercare interpretativă asupra câtorva memorii ecleziastice din perioada tereziană transilvană," *Revista Bistriței*, XIX (2005): 196.

228. Mureșan, "Aspecte," 167-169.

229. Rețegan, "Remedierea unei inechități," 295; Rețegan, "Clerul rural," 110, 117.

230. Rețegan, "Clerul rural," 104.

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priests with different social backgrounds increased, yet the dominant character of this local reality did not radically change during that period.²³¹

Until the twentieth century, priests and their families played a central role in the Transylvanian society due to their important cultural and political activity. Priests acted as a link between the peasantry – to whom they were socially linked – and the authorities, being at the same time secular and religious leaders and proponents of both the cultural and political interests of the Romanians. Hence, the study of the priest families enjoyed a more considerable historiographical interest due to better access to written sources and the importance of this occupational group in Romanian society. Assuming the role of de facto leaders of the rural communities since a period in the history of Transylvanian Romanians when the local secular leaders lost their prerogatives – which started as early as the late period of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary and continued during the Principality era – their central function in the life of the rural community started to decrease in the second half of the nineteenth when a secular elite reappeared.²³²

The current effort investigates kin relations in this occupational group to respond to how priest families were an integral part of the ploughmen society through their omnipresence in the rural world and the family unions they contracted. Following the destiny of seven priest families found in Rupea between the late eighteenth century and mid-twentieth century, the modernisation of this institution was questioned, using genealogy as a method of inquiry by looking at the transformations that define at the micro level an occupational group, and at the wider level the Romanian society from Transylvania.

231. Popa-Andrei, “Priestly Dynasties,” 89.

232. Jallinoja, *Families*, 199; Popa-Andrei, “Priestly Dynasties,” 87-104; Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, Vol. II, 66-67; Elisabeta Scurtu, “Familia de preoți Pop din Rebrîșoara (jud. Bistrița Năsăud),” *Revista Bistriței*, XXXII (2018): 132-142; Sofia Alexandra Poșircă, “Condițiile sociale ale formării elitei intelectuale românești în zona văii Bârgăului în secolul al XIX-lea,” *Acta Musei Sabesiensis*, 10 (2018): 261-262.

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The emergence of a local priest family in Rupea in the late eighteenth century corresponds with a period of rapid demographic growth in the Romanian population from this market town, which records between 1733 and 1782 an increase of about 137%.²³³ The justification for establishing a local parish in this rapidly growing community became noticeable during the 1750s when the Romanian families maintained two sextons (Lat. *aeditui sacristani*) whose main duties were that of custodians of the sacred objects of worship but also extended to some basic religious services.²³⁴ While their identity remains unknown and no family relationships could be made with the future priests, the presence of the two sextons creates a historical context for the establishment of the parish later that century. It is almost certain that until the installation in 1788 of a permanent cleric and the creation of the Orthodox parish in Rupea, itinerant priests from the neighbouring villages took care of the spiritual needs of the community, the practice applying to the local Greek-Catholic families for another three decades until the Greek-Catholic parish was created.²³⁵

Ποπά Ιωάννης Παρὸ Κοχάμυλλη

Priest (Ro. *popa*) Ioan I (approx. 1758/1759-1824), whose surname seems to have been Pop or **Popovici**, is the first known member of a family who, through their activity as priests, cantors and teachers marked the spiritual and cultural life of the Romanian community in Rupea until the twentieth century. While there are no direct references to the origin of this local religious figure, given the election system of the priests in the Romanian population during that period, it can be forwarded the idea of a local origin, either from

233. From 37 Romanian families in 1733 to 88 in 1782. Togan, *Români*, 41; *Archiv* (1911), 347.

234. *Conscriptio, Transilvania*, 246.

235. Togan, *Români*, 41; Dionisie Bucur, "Scurtă monografie a comunei Crihalma (Târnava Mare)," Unpublished manuscript, 1950, typescript, 18; Keith Hitchins and Ioan Beju, "Documente privitoare la trecutul bisericii ortodoxe române din Transilvania după 1761," *Mitropolia Ardealului*, Nr.1-3 (1974): 37.

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Rupea or from an adjacent village.²³⁶ An inquiry into the situation of the priest families in the villages around Rupea reveals that in 1758, the same year when Ioan I was born, in the neighbouring village Crihalma, with whom the Romanians of Rupea kept close family ties in the previous century, was installed a new priest named Ioan Popovici.²³⁷ While this remains a working hypothesis, given the high incidence of the practice of forename secession in the area and specifically in this priest family, together with correspondence of their surname and the matching of the gap period between the marriage and ordination of Priest Ioan Popovici from Crihalma and the birth of Ioan I, it can be suggested the possibility of a link between the two. Alternatively, a local origin in Rupea cannot be excluded, given the existence of local kins such as Magdun “Budrea” who are associated with a priesthood origin but could not be explained exactly in what manner.

Nonetheless, until further data on this matter emerges, it is more cautious to avoid any precise assertion of the origins of the Priest Ioan I. Out of the marriage of Ioan I with Anisia (approx. 1769-1825) were born three children: Nicolae (approx. 1787-1813), Ioan II (1789-1863) and possibly Vasile.²³⁸ The three became priests, with Ioan II and Vasile confirmed to have used the surname Popovici (by adding the Serbian suffix “-ovici” to the name Pop, the new form is translated as “son of the priest”).²³⁹

236. Bârlianu, “Biserica greco-catolică,” 469-470; Rețegan, “Clerul rural,” 105.

237. In 1758, Ioan Popovici was ordained in Bucharest, being posted in Crihalma at the recommendation of the Protopope Bucur [Mardan] of Grânari). Hitchins, “Documente,” 37. Knowing that in the same year (or the next year), was born the future priest from Rupea, Ioan [Popovici] and that priests were obliged to marry before being ordained, and that according to the tradition, the firstborn generally took the forename of the father, it cannot be excluded as a hypothesis a filiation between the two.

238. Rupea – Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811; Rupea – Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852; *Șematismul* (1900), 609; Mirela Popa-Andrei, “Dinastiile preoțești: Sursă de recrutare a elitei ecleziastice greco-catolice. Studiu de caz: Episcopiiile Oradea și Gherla (1853-1918),” *Țara Bârsei*, 14, serie nouă (2015): 167.

239. Valer Hossu, “Nobili și țărani din Chioara în mișcarea lui Sofronie (1759-1790),” *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XXIII, Vol.1 (2000): 682. The surname Popovici which stand also for a cognomen, was reserved to educated priests, excluding the ordinary ordained priests, as was the case of the well-known family of Sava Popovici-Barcianu (1814-1879) who the fifth generation priest. Ilie Hașeganu, *Figuri din Mărginime*, Vol.II (București:

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After marrying Maria, Priest Nicolae occupied the parish in Homorod and then between 1811 and 1813 in Rupea, while his sibling Ioan II, after finishing his studies in Blaj and married in 1808 Maria Boranci (1789-1821), the daughter of the ploughman Ioan Boranci from Rupea, occupied the parish in Rupea parish after the untimely death of his brother Nicolae at around 26 years old.²⁴⁰ During the short marriage of Ioan II to his wife Maria Boranci – who passed away at about 32 years old – the couple had three descendants: the future Priest Ioan III (1810-1881), George (1812-1891), who became a teacher and Dumitru (1815-1894) who became a cantor.²⁴¹ Apart from Nicolae and Ioan II, their presumed brother Vasile Popovici first worked as a teacher in Rupea (1807) as it was the custom for future priests before marriage, and later, he occupied the parish in the neighbouring village Homorod. Losing track of Priest Nicolae's two children, Nicolae (b.1807 in Homorod) and Anisia (b.1810 in Paloș), Ioan I's local lineage's continuity was ensured by Ioan II's children.²⁴² His youngest, Dumitru Popovici (1815-1894), married Safta Popa (1826-1894), the daughter of Zachei Popa and Maria nee Buzea from Rupea, and had together with his

Litera, 1976), 36-37; Claudia Septimia Peteanu, "Statut, educatie și specific grăniceresc în mentalul colectiv al românilor din Ținutul Năsăudului în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea," *Acta Musei Porolissensis, Istorie-Etnografie-Arta, XXVIII-XXIX (2006-2007)*: 100. More on the use of the Slavic suffixes "-ov", "-ovici" and "-ovan" in the Romanian onomastics see Constantinescu, *Dicționar*, LXV.

240. *Semantismulu* (1871), 254-255; Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811; *Șematismul* (1900), 609; "Preot și enoriași harnici." *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Octombrie 19, 1927. Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872; Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872; Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Protocol cununați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852; *Șematismul* (1900), 602; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1852-1866; Reșegan, "Clerul rural," 107.

241. George Popovici married with Maria Mihăilă (b.1816) from Dăișoara, possibly the granddaughter or kin of Ioan Mihăilă, who was possibly involved in a divorce process from 1804, when Anna the daughter of Ioan Mihăilă from Dăișoara separated from her husband Gheorghe Morariu from Crihalma and remarried with the Greek-Catholic Priest Gheorghe from Paloș. Nicolae Iorga, *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor*, Vol. 12, *Cercetări și regeste documentare: Scrisori din arhiva grecilor Sibiului, din arhiva protopopiei neunite a Făgărașului și din alte locuri* (București: Atelierele grafice SOCEC & Comp., 1906), 196. Rupea – Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811; Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927; Rupea – Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852.

242. At the death of the Priest Nicolae, the funeral service was not held by Priest Ioan I, given the practice of the parish priest not to conduct the service of close family members. Rupea – Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852; *Șematismul* (1900), 601-602; Rupea – Protocol cununați Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811; Rupea – Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811.

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wife three children.²⁴³ The eldest of the three was Priest Ioan IV (b.1844), one of the most preeminent local Romanian figures during the nineteenth century.²⁴⁴ After studying theology at Blaj, Ioan IV married Ana Lupu, the daughter of the Orthodox Priest Sofronie Lupu from the Dacia (also known as Ștena, Ger. Stein), a member of the cadet branch of Lupu of Ticuș priest family.²⁴⁵ Since Ioan III moved in 1859 to Orthodoxy and the Greek-Catholic Priest Ioan II died in 1863 (in the early 1820s, he converted to Greek-Catholicism during a mass conversion process of the community), the vacant seat was occupied in the following year by his nephew Ioan IV, who so energetically led the Uniate parish for almost a decade. Stimulated by the post-1848 nationalist ideals which circulated in the province, the young Priest Ioan IV detached from the Slavic heritage of the Orthodox Church and bore by his surname, and adopted the suffix “-escu” to the name Pop to emulate the spirit of the age and adopt a name of resonance with the onomastics from the Romanian Principalities.²⁴⁶ His nine-year tenure that ended in 1873 can be characterised as a dynamic period in the parish's history considering Ioan's activism towards the attainment of the Romanian national identity ideals, the priest being particularly involved in the cultural and educational emancipation of his flock.²⁴⁷ Among the highlights of his tenure were the reorganisation of the parish archive and the conservation work of the old church registers, which aided the current research

243. Rupea – Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811; Rupea – Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924; Rupea – Protocol cununați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1852-1866.

244. Rupea – Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852.

245. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923.

246. Dan Demșea, “Burghezia meșteșugărească româna din părțile Aradului între anii 1828-1872,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie “George Bariț” din Cluj-Napoca*, XLIV, Series Historica (2005): 99. This was not an isolated case in the area, as a similar situation was identified in the nearby village Ticușu Nou where the Orthodox Priest Ioan Dumitru (1845-1926) added the suffix “-escu” to his surname. Protocol pentru Fondul cultural al bisericii gr. orientale din Ticusul roman și pentru pomelnicul membrilor fondatori ai fondului cultural întemeiat în 30 Novembre 1899 prin Parohul Ioan Dumitrescu, File Protocoale, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf. Cuv. Parascheva Ticușu Nou, Ticușu Nou, Romania.

247. Eugen Ciungan, “Istoricul parohiei Rupea dela înființarea ei și până azi,” unpublished manuscript, between 1915-1939, handwrite; “Cuventarea d. Ioane Popescu,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Iulie 19/ August 7, 1868.

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effort.²⁴⁸ More than a spiritual pastor of his flock, the Ioan IV represented the political interests of the Romanians, publishing a manifest signed together with eight other activists from the Rupea Seat, which reiterated the Blaj Proclamation of 1848 and advocated for the autonomy of Transylvania.²⁴⁹ The severe implications of this action and the imminent repercussion of the authorities, which did not take long to appear, were recounted six decades later by one of the original signatories of the document, Ioan Cârlan (1852-1931), the son of the Greek-Catholic priest from Ticușu Nou, at that time a student at the high school in Blaj, who upholds the life-threatening situation they found themselves in for publishing the manifest.²⁵⁰ In addition, his determined efforts to increase the level of literacy of the Romanian population – making use of the local authorities to preserve attendance – which resulted in a conflict with the parishioners, together with his legal efforts to obtain the right to use only Romanian language in official church documents, provoked discontent among the state authorities.²⁵¹

A series of conflicts, on one side with the parishioners and the other with the state authorities, combined with the separation from his wife in 1869 and the death of his seven-year-old daughter in February 1873, caused significant damage to the priest who decided to leave to the Principality of Romania.²⁵² Described by Ioan IV as a political exile caused by his persecution under the Austro-Hungarian regime, familial losses are not overlooked.²⁵³

248. Rupea – Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811; Rupea – Protocol cununați Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811; Rupea – Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811; *Ioane Popescu*, “Era și era trasi pre la tribunale,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Aprilie 27/ Mai 9, 1869.

249. “Pronunciamentu,” *Federatiunea*.

250. “Pronunciamentu,” *Federatiunea*; Ioan Cârlan, “Pronunciamentul din 3/15 Maiu 1868,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Noiembrie 21, 1929.

251. Ciungan, “Istoricul.”

252. Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Ciungan, “Istoricul”; “Cultur’a e vieti’a unui poporu,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Decembrie 17/29, 1869.

253. “Unirea semicentenară,” *Unirea*, Decembrie 28, 1940.

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After spending a period in Braşov, the priest moved to Iaşi, where he was living in 1882 when his son Corneliu (1869-1882) passed away.²⁵⁴ Soon after that, he left for Bucharest, where he continued his clerical duties at Hagiul Church but remained in close contact with the Romanians of Rupea, especially with those working in the capital of the Kingdom.²⁵⁵ After the birth of his younger brother's son in 1881, Priest Ioan IV was joined in Bucharest by his brother Nicolae, who was employed at the Chancellery of the Royal Household, where he was working in 1897 when he passed away.²⁵⁶ From Bucharest, the Priest Ioan IV continued his publishing activity as a constant contributor to the Greek-Catholic newspaper *Unirea*, writing under the literary pseudonym "Delarupe".²⁵⁷ His surviving son, Ioan V (1865-1955), broke away from the clerical tradition of the family and followed a military career, being ranked captain in the Romanian Army. Ioan V's attachment to the Romanians from Rupea endured until late in his life, returning there from time to time to support the cultural and spiritual development of the community as a symbolic personal mission inherited from his father.²⁵⁸

While the patrilineal priest lineage of the family was interrupted with the departure of Ioan IV and Nicolae to Bucharest, out of the marriage of his uncle Ioan III with Ana nee Langa (1815-1850) was born three children: Anisia (1838-1877), Ana (1842-1914) and Ioan

254. Protocol botezaţi, cununaţi, morţi Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923.

255. Protocol botezaţi, cununaţi, morţi Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923.

256. Nicolae Popescu "Popetea" (1855-1897), was married with Maria D. Buzea an Orthodox from Rupea named with whom he had a son named Ioan whose godmother was Ana Bercan (nee Bănuţ), the wife of the Orthodox Priest Ioan Bercan. Rupea – Protocol botezaţi, cununaţi, morţi Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Protocol botezaţi, cununaţi, morţi Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924.

257. Ioanu Popescu, "Corespondintie," *Sionulu Romanescu, foia besericesca, literaria si scolastica*, Martie 1, 1866; "Unirea semicentenară," *Unirea*.

258. "Dare de seamă şi mulţămintă publică," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, August 6/19, 1910; Protocol botezaţi, cununaţi, morţi Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923.

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(1844-1850).²⁵⁹ Through the marriage of Ana, the middle child, with the future Priest George **Spornic** (1841-1922), the local lineage of this clerical family extended for another generation into the twentieth century.²⁶⁰

The son of a ploughman, George Spornic (1838-1922), was educated at the Gymnasium of Blaj and later at the Theological Institute in Sibiu.²⁶¹ In 1864, at 21 years old, George married Ana Popovici (1842-1914) at the Orthodox Church, serving the local Orthodox community until 1873.²⁶² With the departure from Rupea of the Greek-Catholic Priest Ioan IV (his wife's first cousin), Priest Spornic, he switched to Greek-Catholicism to occupy the seat left vacant by his kin. Out of the marriage with Ana Popovici were born at least six children: Ironim (b.1867), Iustina (b.1869), Aureliu, Augustina (1877-1888), Anica (1882-1959) and Maria (b.1884). The investigation of the cognatic lineages of two of them reveals the continuation of a socio-economic status enjoyed by this family well into the twentieth century, ensuring a continuity via cognatic lineages that can be traced for two centuries.²⁶³

The case of Iustina, the eldest daughter of Priest Spornic, is particularly noteworthy in this context because her only known child, Aurel (1891-1975), was born outside of wedlock

259. Rupea – Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852; Rupea – Protocol cununați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852; Rupea – Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852. Anisia Popovici (1838-1877) married in 1853 with George Magdun (1832-1899). Rupea – Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927.

260. Priest George Spornic was the son of ploughman Pavel Spornic (1812-1879) and his wife Maria (1812-1879). Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927.

261. “Știri mărunte,” *Unirea*, Noiembrie 18, 1922; *Șematismul* (1900), 768.

262. “Diverse,” *Unirea*, Septembrie 10, 1914; Rupea – Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872.

263. Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924; Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923.

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in Bucharest.²⁶⁴ While such a situation must have been particularly challenging for all the members of this priest family, the social position they enjoyed diminished the stigma against illegitimacy.²⁶⁵ In fact, Aurel Spornic was to become one of the most prominent members and prosperous Romanian ploughmen in Rupea, owning 20 jugera of arable land during the Interwar period and being one of the two Romanian owners of threshing machines.²⁶⁶ The prestige he enjoyed was confirmed after his return from the First World War when he attended the Great National Assembly as part of a delegation sent by the Romanian community to Alba-Iulia.²⁶⁷ Later on, in 1925, Aurel Spornic was also found among the committee members of the Society of the Romanian Ploughmen of Rupea, which inaugurated the Meeting Hall on the 16th of November 1925 – which can be considered the most significant accomplishment of the Romanian community during that period.²⁶⁸ Finding resonance with the political ideals of King Carol II's far-right wing Party of the Nation – formerly known as National Renaissance Front – in 1940, he joined this short-lived political faction with other Romanian ploughmen from Rupea being involved at the local level in the

264. Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927; Liste cu locuitorii, File 1930/6.

265. The godfather of the child was Dumitru Bălașia, a priest from Bucharest. Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927.

266. Oficiul parohial unit către administrația ziarului Unirea Poporului Blaj, confirmă trimiterea sumei de 5000 lei pentru foști abonați ai gazetei, cărora între timp li s-a sistat trimiterea: oficiul parohial greco-catolic, Nicolae Borcoman 601, Aurel Spornic 5; aceștia neprimind gazeta deși sunt reabonați. 1946, File Corespondență VI 1940-1949, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf. Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; "Din Cohalm," Tribuna, Noiembrie 30/Decembrie 13, 1911; Primăria Rupea către Serviciul Agricol Județean Sighișoara, înaintează la 14.10.1938 lista proprietarilor de mașini de treierat: Spornic Aurel (mașină fabricată în 1926), Frățilă Bucur (mașină fabricată în 1929), File 1938/7, Situații statistice agricole și tabele cu proprietăți de terenuri între 10 și 15 ha și peste 50 ha, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Tabelă nominală de clasarea și repartitia animalelor, harnașamentului, vehiculelor de tracțiune animală și bicicletelor. Corpul I Armată. Cai, File 1940/38, Recensământ animale, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania. 1 jugera = 0.57 hectares.

267. Melania Dumitru (nee Magdun), in discussion with the author (not recorded), Rupea, Romania, June 2021.

268. "O serbare culturală. Inaugurarea Salei Culturale a Societății Plugarilor Români din Rupea-Cohalm," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Noiembrie 21, 1925; Gheorghe Cernea, "Cohalm – Rupeni – Rupea. Cetata Neagra. nem. Repts, ung. Kohalom," Unpublished manuscript, 1929-1956, handwritten.

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political life of the country.²⁶⁹ His intensive agricultural activity and work as an agricultural agent of the local administration typecasts Aurel Spornic as a local notable, a small landowner, and an informal leader of the ploughmen community.²⁷⁰ Out of his marriage with Maria, he had three children: Maria (b.1922), Aurel (b.1929) and Virgil.²⁷¹ In 1948, Aurel Spornic remarried Ana Șoancă, with whom he lived together until 1961.²⁷² His nephew, Tiberius (b.1972), the son of his youngest son, symbolically closed an arch over time opened by Ioan I around two centuries before when he opted to study theology in Rome.²⁷³

The second lineage from Priest George Spornic's children is that of his youngest daughter Maria (b.1884), who married Ștefan Halmaghi (b.1883), the future Greek-Catholic priest from Comăna de Jos (a village in the eastern part of Făgăraș Land in the proximity of Rupea). Priest Halmaghi was the son of Simion, a member of the noble (boyar) family Halmagyi de Comăna de Jos and Rafira Popa Roșu, whose surname indicates the affiliation to an ancestor who was a priest.²⁷⁴ Out of the marriage between Maria Spornic and Ștefan Halmaghi was born a daughter named Emilia Maria (b.1909) who married Tiberiu Alexandru

269. Cereri de înscriere în Partidul Națiunii, File 1940/4, Corespondență, prefectură, pretură, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

270. Tabel societăți și asociații românești din comuna Rupea, File 1943/2, Corespondență asistență socială [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Tabel cu agricultorii care au nevoie de prizonieri de război pentru efectuarea muncilor agricole, 1.7.1941, File 1941/8, Ordine și corespondență cu privire la folosirea prizonierilor de război la munca câmpului, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

271. Liste cu locuitorii, File 1930/6; Tabel al familiilor Greco-Catolice din Rupea la data de 15.2.1943, File 1943/5, Corespondență cu organele Ministerului Cultelor, tabel familii Greco-Catolice [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Conspect despre conscrierea unor locuri de curți din 19.3.1923, File 1923/1, Încurajarea industriei participări la Primul Război Mondial, repatrieri în Ungaria, exproprieri, locuri de casă [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

272. Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927.

273. Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author.

274. Ioan Pușcariu, *Date istorice privitoare la familiile nobile române*, Partea II (Sibiu: Tipariul Tipografiei Archidieceșane, 1895), 33, 37-38; Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Comăna de Jos – Protocol nașteri Greco-Catolici, 1924-1949, Register, BV-F-00259-2-00098, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

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Ursu from Vad, most likely a branch of Urs de Margina family from the neighbouring village, whose wedding godparents were Dr Nicolae Boeriu and Melania Urs, both descending from noble (boyar) families from the eastern part of Făgăraş Land.²⁷⁵ The second child of Maria Spornic and Ştefan Halmaghi was Gheorghe, who was the school director in the village Comăna de Jos during the Interwar period. Out of Gheorghe's marriage with Lucreţia Fleşariu was born at least one child, Titus-Livius Mircea (b.1926), whose baptism godparents were Axente Halmaghi and Florica Marinescu, Greek-Catholic traders from Braşov (Ger. Kronstadt).²⁷⁶ In conclusion, making a complete transition towards a secular elite only in the first part of the twentieth century, the cognatic descendants of the Popovici priest family from Rupea continued to contribute to the cultural emancipation of the Romanians in this area, preserving their leadership status among their peers. While abandoning to a great extent the occupations practised by their ancestors, the symbolic gestures of the twentieth-century descendants of Ioan I and Ioan II remind of a spiritual heirloom they proudly carried on and that manifested in different forms at hand.

The following year, after Priest Spornic occupied the seat left vacant by Priest Ioan IV, the Greek-Catholic parish was reorganised and divided. Starting in 1874 in Rupea, a new priest arrived, Clemente **Raicu** (born in 1842 in Şinca Veche, Făgăraş), who served until 1896 when the parish reunited again under George Spornic.²⁷⁷ A member of Raicu de Ciugud noble family that was granted a charter by Gabriel Bethlen in 1624, Clemente was the son of Priest Nicolae (born in Moardăş, Şeica Seat), who occupied Şinca-Veche parish and was one of the leaders (*tribun*) of the Romanian forces during the 1848 Revolution in Transylvania

275. Puşcariu, *Date istorice*, Partea I, 170; Puşcariu, *Date istorice*, Partea II, 392.

276. Comăna de Jos – Protocol naşteri Greco-Catolici, 1924-1949.

277. Rupea – Protocol botezaţi, cununaţi, morţi Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927; Rupea – Protocol botezaţi, cununaţi, morţi Greco-Catolici, 1886-1895; Cernea “Cohalm”.

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and later vice-protopope of Făgăraş.²⁷⁸ Clemente's mother, Paraschiva, was a member of the Popa de Galaţi noble and priest family, whose ancestor, Priest Ioan Popa, was reconfirmed in their ancient rights in 1668 by the prince of Transylvania Michael I Apafi.²⁷⁹ Her father was the renowned church muralist Ioan Popa Moldovan de Galaţi (b.1774), whilst her two brothers were Ioan (b.1829), a graduate of the polytechnic university in Vienna and professor of mathematics at the University of Iaşi, and Mişu (1827-1892), a graduate of the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna and one of the leading representatives of the Academism in the Romanian painting.²⁸⁰

After finishing his studies in Blaj, Clemente Raicu – immortalised in a painting by the celebrated Mişu Popp – married Maria, who most likely was a member of the noble (boyar) family Moga de Bucium. The couple had five children – Maria, Victor Nicolae, Traian and the twins Eugeniu and Adrian, who died as infants – all baptised by a family of Romanian traders from Braşov.²⁸¹ The development of a Romanian bourgeoisie in southern Transylvania during the second half of the nineteenth century strengthened the family unions between the priest families and the emerging secular elite. In this sense, Maria, the daughter of Priest Clemente Raicu, met during her studies in Cluj a young man named Constantin Popp (1871-1945), with whom she married in 1895. A leading figure in the finance sector, Popp was the founder of The Economic Magazine (Ro. Revista Economică), one of the most important financial magazines in Romania during the Interwar period, working at the time of

278. Puşcariu, *Date istorice*, II, 326; “Tablouri de pictorul Mişu Popp identificate până în prezent,” *Ţara Bârsei*, Martie-Aprilie, 1932; Cernea, “Cohalm”.

279. “Tablouri,” *Ţara Bârsei*.

280. Paraschiva's brother-in-law was the architect Ştefan Emilian, a graduate of the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna and professor at the University of Iaşi, whose architectural plans were selected for the construction of the Romanian Gymnasium in Braşov. “Tablouri,” *Ţara Bârsei*.

281. “Tablouri,” *Ţara Bârsei*; Puşcariu, *Date istorice*, Partea II. Cernea, “Cohalm”. All the five children were baptised by Maria Zănescu the wife of Andrei Zănescu, a trader from Braşov. Protocol botezaţi, cununăţi, morţi Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923.

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his marriage as a clerk at Albina Bank in Sibiu (Ger. Hermannstadt) and later during the 1930s becoming its director.²⁸² A year after Maria's marriage, separating his destiny from the Romanian community from Rupea, Priest Clemente moved to the Greek-Catholic parish in Teaca (Ger. Teckendorf), being named vice-archpriest of Făgăraș.²⁸³

The developments observed in the family of the Priest Clemente Raicu reveal essential aspects of the well-defined character of a social endogamy system that can be traced to the Principality era. In the case of the Raicu family, a transition is observed from a noble status to one associated with the priest occupational caste and, finally, in the late nineteenth century, to that of a secular elite.²⁸⁴ The preservation of their social status over such a long period remains the main point of this modernisation theory argument that highlights the importance of family ties in upholding social hierarchies.

With the departure of the Priest George Spornic from the helm of the Orthodox community in 1873, the vacant seat was occupied by Nicolae David **Mircea** (1842-1905), with whom it was officially re-established the Orthodox parish in Rupea after an interruption of half a century. The same year, with his installation as parish priest, he was also elected protopope of Rupea deanery, marking an Orthodox renaissance in this market town. Member of a local priest dynasty, familiar to the Romanian population from Rupea Seat, Nicolae

282. Camil Mureșanu, "Rolul pregătirii teologice în formarea intelectualității românești din Transilvania," in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Series Historica, 7 (2003): 22-23; "Comemorarea lui Constantin Popp," *Revista Economică*, Noemvrie 16, 1946; "Ioan I. Lăpedatu. Cu prilejul aniversării și sărbătoririi dela Brașov," *Revista Economică*, Noemvrie 20, 1936. A similar example of marital strategy is that of Natalia (b.1916, in Rupea), the daughter of the Greek-Catholic Priest Eugen Ciungan and his wife Natalia nee Luca. Natalia married in 1937 with Dr. Victor Fărcășanu (b.1911, in Galați), a lawyer from Cluj of Orthodox confession. Contract de bună învoire din 25.12.1937 încheiat între Dr. Victor Fărcășanu, june ortodox din Cluj, născut la 2.8.1911 în Galați (județul Covurlui) și Natalia Ciungan, născută la 1.6.1916 în Rupea, din părinții Eugen Ciungan și Natalia n.Luca), File Stare Civilă III – Certificate de bună învoire (1918-1950), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; "Știri mărunte," *Unirea*, Martie 28, 1936; Lazăr Iosif, "Memorii," unpublished manuscript, date unknown, typescript, 102.

283. "Noutăți," *Unirea. Foe bisericescă-politică*, Maiu 23, 1896.

284. Ciprian Doru Rigman, "Fenomenul natalității în cuprinsul protopiatului ortodox Turda la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea (1880-1900)," *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XXXVI (2014): 159.

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David Mircea was the son of the Orthodox Priest Ioan Mircea from Cața (Ger. Katzendorf, in Rupea Seat) and of Maria Popovici, occupying before his arrival the parish in the neighbouring villages of Mercheașa (Ger. Streitfort, in Rupea Seat) and Jimbor (Ger. Sommerburg, in Rupea Seat) between 1870 and 1873.²⁸⁵ His mother was the likely daughter of the Protopope David Popovici and sister of the renowned pedagogue Ioan Popescu (1832-1892), who studied at the University of Leipzig and was elected Corresponding Member of the Romanian Academy.²⁸⁶ His wife, Iustina, also from Rupea Seat, was the daughter of the Orthodox Protopope Stan Iosif (1785-1863) from Drăușeni – a participant at the 1848 Revolution and member of the renowned Iosif kin that settled in this area at the end of the seventeenth century.²⁸⁷ Her brother, Ștefan Iosif (1832, Drăușeni-1918, Bucharest), studied at the universities of Leipzig and Vienna, being the director of the Orthodox Gymnasium from Brașov but was also the father of Ștefan Octavian Iosif (1875-1913), celebrated poet and one

285. Protocolul scoalelor din Scaunul Cohalmului pe anul 1869, File Clasificări și cataloage școlare II, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania. Rupea – Protocol botezați Ortodocși, 1873-1950; Protocolul scoalelor din Scaunul Cohalmului pe anul 1870, Clasificări și cataloage școlare II, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Protocolul scoalelor din Scaunul Cohalmului pe anul 1869, File Clasificări și cataloage școlare II. A reconstructed list of priests from the village Mercheașa (in Rupea Seat) from the eighteenth to the twentieth century confirms the complex network of the local priest families from the Seat with at least three priests (Mircea, Bercan and Buzea) being associated in direct ways with the Romanian community from Rupea. Mercheașa – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1794-1812, Register, BV-F-00259-1-00308, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Mercheașa – Protocol morți Ortodocși, 1812-1851, Register, BV-F-00259-1-00311, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Mercheașa – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1852-1916, Register, BV-F-00259-2-00773, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania;

286. Based on the local practices of forename inheritance it is asserted that Maria Popovici (from Cața) was the daughter of David Popovici (from Cața), given that his nephew's Nicolae middle name was David, a name with low incidence at the Romanian population in the area. "Profesorul Ioan Popescu. 100 de ani de la nașterea lui," *Revista teologică*, Iunie-Iulie, 1932; Corespondență bisericească, 1835, semnată David Popovici protopopul Cohalmului, File Corespondență veche, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; "Ioan Popescu," *Familia*, Octombrie 12/24, 1897.

287. Iosif, "Monografia," 54-55.

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of the representatives of neo-romanticism in Romanian literature, with studies in Bucharest and Paris.²⁸⁸

The Priest Nicolae Mircea and his wife Iustina had four children together. The eldest, Ioan, became a priest, serving as a chaplain in Rupea, a position he still occupied during the 1930s.²⁸⁹ As a young man, Ioan benefited from a scholarship to study law in Budapest, followed by studies in Cluj and at the Theological Institute in Sibiu. Nonetheless, his promising career took an unfavourable turn in the context of the Transylvanian Memorandum movement.²⁹⁰ As one of the signatories of that historical act, the school board decided to expel him, leaving the young Ioan Mircea with his theological studies unfinished.²⁹¹ Another one of the four children of Priest Nicolae, Iustina (b.1877) – whose godfather and uncle was the jurist Traian Iosif from Bucharest, a member of Iosif of Drăușeni family – married the Priest Romulus Măerușan from Măieruș (a village near Brașov) having together at least one child, the Captain Aurel Măerușan (born in 1898, in Șiria near Arad) who lived in Oradea (Hg. Nagyvárad, Ger. Großwardein) and pursued a military career serving in both World Wars.²⁹² Cornelia, the third child of Priest Nicolae, married Priest Ioan Lupu (b.1860) from

288. G. Maxim-Burdujanu, “O piatră pentru adevăratul monument al lui Șt. O. Iosif. Contribuție bibliografică.” *Țara Bârsei*, Septembrie-Octombrie, 1931.

289. “Sărbătorirea celor 42 de studenți memorandiști eliminați în anul 1894 dela Universitatea din Cluj,” *Viața Ardealului, Revistă economică, politică și socială*, Iulie 1, 1934, 33; “Mulțămite publice,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Noiembrie 11/24, 1911; Listă de preoți și învățători din 19.5.1934, File 1934/15, Ordine și corespondență cu privire la învățători și școlile din comună, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Listă detaliată colectă pentru Palatul Invalizilor, File 1943/2, Corespondență asistență socială, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

290. See, Pompiliu Teodor, et al., *Memorandul 1892-1894. Ideologie și acțiune politică românească* (București: Editura “Progresul Românesc”, 1994).

291. “Sărbătorirea,” *Viața Ardealului*.

292. Rupea – Protocol botezați Ortodocși, 1873-1950, Register, BV-F-00259-2-00809, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Scrisoare din 14.1.1886 a lui Traian Iosif din București către tatăl său Ioan, File Registre, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Adormirea Maicii Domnului Drăușeni, Drăușeni, Romania; “Decrete Ministerul Apărării Naționale,” *Monitorul Oficial*, Iunie 13, 1941; “Loc deschis, Cohlam 17 August 1885,” *Telegraful Roman*, August 27, Septembrie 8, 1885.

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Dacia.²⁹³ Ioan Lupu, a member of the Dacia branch of the Lupu of Ticuș priest family, traced its origins to the late sixteenth century with the Priest Maniu I Lupu (priest in Ticușu Nou between 1595 and 1640).²⁹⁴ Ioan Lupu was the son of the Priest Iosif Lupu (1824-1905) from Dacia, the director of Economia Bank of Rupea (between 1902 and 1905).²⁹⁵ The fourth child of the Priest Nicolae D. Mircea was Virgil (1885-1956), who became a doctor of law. After he finished his university studies in Budapest, Virgil returned to Rupea to work as a notary and lawyer, later being named first-*praetor* of the Rupea administrative unit.²⁹⁶ Virgil was baptised by Maria Comșa de Copăcel (1855-1888), the wife of the Royal Vice Judge Paul Bănuț (1844-1880) from Rupea and mother of the writer and prefect of Târnava-Mare County, Aurel P. Bănuț (1881-1970), the two families keeping close ties in the final quarter of the nineteenth century.²⁹⁷ With Ioan Iosif, the director of Cetatea Bank of Rupea, as wedding godfather, in 1924, Virgil Mircea married in the port town of Brăila a widow named

293. Dacia – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1863-1919, Register, BV-F-00259-2-00259, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Protocol botezați Ortodocși, 1873-1950.

294. Cârlan Ticușanu, *Monumentul meu*, 21-22.

295. Dacia – Protocol botezați Ortodocși, 1848-1874. BV-F-00259-1-00239, Register, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980). Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Dacia – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Ortodocși, 1886-1893, Register, BV-F-00259-1-00240, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Dacia – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1863-1919. “Sumar,” *Revista Economica*, Decembrie 31, 1905; Cârlan Ticușanu, *Monumentul meu*, 21-22.

296. *Prim-pretor* was the highest position in the administration of the territorial division named *plasă*, which was a sub-unit of a county. “Cetatea,” *America*, Septembrie 14, 1920; Tabel cu locuitorii din comuna Rupea care au donat pentru colecta de îmbrăcăminte de iarnă pentru ostașii de pe front la 29-30 august 1942, File 1941/51, Ordine, tabele și corespondență cu privire la comitetul de patronaj și acordarea ajutoarelor [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

297. For instance, Aurel Pavel Bănuț, the son of the sub-judge (Ro. *subjude*) Paul and Maria Bănuț, was baptised in 1881 by Georgiu Boer, *supralocotenent* and by Victoria, the daughter of the Priest Ioan Mircea from Cața. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923. Later, in 1898, Iustina Mircea, the daughter of the Protopope Nicole D. Mircea, was the godmother of Virgiliu Salust, the son of teacher Ioan Bănuț. Rupea – Protocol botezați Ortodocși, 1873-1950; Pușcariu, *Date istorice*, Partea II, 62. Credențional, Societatea de lectură Junimea din Cohalm. Delegați: Ioan Mitri Danciu, Ioan Stan Spornic, 25.11.1918, File Documentele Unirii, vol. I, f. 235-237, Colecția documente, Muzeul Național al Unirii Alba-Iulia, Alba-Iulia, Romania.

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Maria, the daughter of the trader Nistor Constantinescu.²⁹⁸ The event was closely covered by the Transylvanian Gazette (Ro. Gazeta de Transilvania), marking a new phase in the development of a local secular elite and highlighting the importance of the family unions between the Romanian elites of Transylvania and that of the Old Kingdom.²⁹⁹

Apart from Nicolae Mircea's children, other members of this family contributed to the development of the Romanian community in Rupea, among which shall be mentioned the senator Ignație Mircea, who together with his brother George opened the renowned restaurant Caru' cu Bere from Bucharest.³⁰⁰ Furthermore, the Mircea family contributed financially to the construction of the Romanian Meeting Hall in Rupea and of the Cultural Hall and "Ignație Mircea" primary school in Cața and also facilitated the visit of renowned personalities such as George Coșbuc, Onisifor Ghibu or Gheorghe Dima who participated at various cultural events in Rupea and Cața.³⁰¹

Contemporary with Priest Nicolae Mircea, at the Orthodox parish in Rupea, was serving Ioan **Bercan**, a graduate of the Theological Institute in Sibiu (class of 1874/1875) who activated as chaplain until after the Great War.³⁰² After Priest Mircea passed away in

298. "Corespondență," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Septembrie 5, 1924; "Liste cu locuitorii," File 1930/6.

299. "Corespondență," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Septembrie 5, 1924. Out of this marriage was born in 1925, Virgil Mircea jr. Liste cu locuitorii, File 1930/6.

300. "Victimele și nelegiurile regimului liberal," *America*, Martie 18, 1922; "O serbare culturală," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*; "Serbările de la Cața. Poetul Coșbuc în Ardeal." *Tribuna*, Ianuarie 4/17, 1911; "Consemnarea membrilor 'Asociațiunii' pe a. 1917," *Transilvania*, Decembrie 1, 1918.

301. "O serbare culturală," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*; "Ioan Ursu," *Transilvania*; Comunicat al Școlii Primare de Stat Ignație Mircea din Cața către primăria Rupea 3.11.1938, File 1936/6, Ordine și corespondență cu privire la edificare școlii [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania. Onisifor Ghibu, who was from the village Săliște (near Sibiu), went to study at the universities of Bucharest, Budapest, Strasbourg and Jena, the latter institutions also awarding him a doctorate in philosophy and pedagogy. After his studies Ghibu returned in Transylvania to become a professor at the Theological Institute in Sibiu. Eusebiu Roșca, *Monografia Institutului Seminarul Teologic-Pedagogic "Andreian" al Arhidiecezei Gr.Or. Române din Transilvania* (Sibiu: Tiparul Tipografiei Arhidiecezane, 1911), 128.

302. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872; Roșca, *Monografia*, 152.

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1905, the parish seat was soon occupied by Ioan Bercan Jr. (1871-1917), the chaplain's son. Also a graduate of the Theological Institute in Sibiu, Bercan Jr. occupied between 1897 and 1907 the parish seat of Mercheaşa and Jimbor.³⁰³ His mother, Ana Buzea (1848-1913), was a member of the local Buzea kin who among its members counted two Orthodox priests – Ioan Buzea, the priest from Mercheaşa and Jimbor between 1873 and 1890, and Ieronim Buzea who around 1913 was the priest in Dacia and who was also the classmate of Ioan Bercan Jr. in Sibiu.³⁰⁴ In 1897, Ioan Bercan married Maria (1879-1908), the daughter of the Royal Vice Judge Paul Bănuţ (1844-1880) from Rupea and of his wife Maria Comşa de Copăcel (1855-1888, the daughter of the Priest Ioan Popa Comşa de Copăcel, who between 1853-1895 occupied the parish from Copăcel, Făgăraş Land).³⁰⁵ Her brother was none other than the founder of the Morning Star (Ro. Luceafărul) magazine, the author Aurel P. Bănuţ (1881-1970), who served during the Interwar period as prefect of Târnava-Mare County.³⁰⁶

In the academic environment of Sibiu, young Bercan benefited from the tutelage of some of the most renowned Transylvanian Romanian scholars of the time, such as Ioan

303. "Noutăţi," *Tribuna poporului*, Martie 29/Aprilie 10, 1897.

304. Rupea – Protocol botezaţi Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852. Into Buzea kin also married Iacob Boian from Geacaş, the last Greek-Catholic that served in Rupea before the dissolution of the Church. Buletin naştere – Virginia Melania Boian din 28.7.1944, File Certificate naştere (1930-1949), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Act al Arhiepiscopiei Ortodoxe Române de Alba-Iulia şi Sibiu din 17.10.1949, adresat protopopului Alexandru Brotea din Cohalm ca să preia patrimoniul fostei parohii unite din Rupea de la fostul ei preot Marian Boian, File Certificate bună învoire, Stare Civilă I, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Proces verbal din 14.3.1950 încheiat între fostul preot Marian Boian ca predador şi preotul Alexandru Borcea noul titular al parohiei ca primitor al întregii averi mobile şi imobile, aparţinătoare fostei parohii greco-catolice şi revenite la ortodoxie sub denumirea de parohia Rupea II, File Corespondenţă 1950, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Arhiepiscopia Ortodoxă Română de Alba-Iulia şi Sibiu, dispune să se preia patrimoniul fostei parohii unite din Rupea de la fostul ei preot Marian Boian prin proces verbal din 17.10.1949, File Corespondenţă IV (1940-1949), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; "Ştirile săptămânii," *Unirea poporului*, Septembrie 23, 1945; Roşca, *Monografia*, 160.

305. Protocol botezaţi Ortodocşi, 1873-1950; Puşcariu, *Date istorice*, 1895; Rupea – Protocol botezaţi, cununaţi, morţi Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Credenţial, File Documentele Unirii; Aurel Pavel Bănuţ, *Scrieri. Umor şi satiră* (Bucureşti, Editura Minerva, 1974), 42; *Şematismul* (1900), 604; "Noutăţi," *Tribuna Poporului*, Februarie 14/26, 1897; "Ce e nou?" *Familia*, Februarie 16/28, 1897.

306 "Ştirile zilei," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Aprilie 18/ Mai 1, 1908; "Noutăţi," Februarie 14/26, 1897; Dionisie Bucur, "Protopopul ortodox Ioan Bercan din Rupea. Viaţa şi opera lui," unpublished manuscript, date unknown, typescript.

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Hannia, the pedagogue Ioan Popescu from Cața (in Rupea Seat), the publicist and political activist Daniel-Popovici Barcianu and the renowned composer and conductor George Dima (figure 4).³⁰⁷ Politically active, Bercan Jr. (1871-1917) belonged to that “generation of the Union” whose members did not live enough to see the national desideratum of the Romanians accomplished. Among the figureheads of this lost generation is to be counted his friend and colleague from Sibiu, the literary critic Ilarie Chendi (1871-1913) (figure 4) but also Chendi’s late friend the poet Șt.O.Iosif (1875-1913) whose family history is entangled to that of the Romanians from Rupea.³⁰⁸

307. Some general biographical notes about Bercan’s professors in Sibiu permit a better understanding of the milieu in which he developed as a priest and intellectual. Hence, the senior professor Ioan Hannia (1818-1897) studied theology at the University of Vienna, participated in the 1848 Revolution, worked as a professor since 1848, being also director of the school between 1865-1895 and a founding member of the first Romanian credit institute in Transylvania “Albina Bank”; Ioan Popescu (1832-1892), Corresponding Member of the Romanian Academy, was coming from a priest family from Rupea Seat (from the village Cața) his father David serving as protopope of Rupea during the 1830s. Ioan Popescu studied theology at the University of Leipzig, being one of the leaders of the Romanian National Party between 1881-1884, also serving as director of ASTRA’s school for girls; Daniil Popovici-Barcianu (1847-1903), a member of the renowned Popovici-Barcianu priest dynasty, studied at the universities of Vienna, Bonn and Leipzig, also serving as director of ASTRA’s school for girls, being one of the leaders of the 1892 Memorandist political movement for which was imprisoned in Vác; finally, George Dima, (1847-1925), Honorary Member of the Romanian Academy, studied in Vienna, Karlsruhe, Graz and Leipzig, working at his return as a professor in Brașov and Sibiu, being one of the most renowned Romanian composers. Roșca, *Monografia*, 6, 95, 101-102, 122.

308. Roșca, *Monografia*, 160-161; “Legatul Ilarie Chendi,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Iunie 18/ Iulie 1, 1916. Among their classmates was also Ioan Moța (1868-1940), the father of the leader of the fascist Iron Guard party, Ion Moța (1902-1937).

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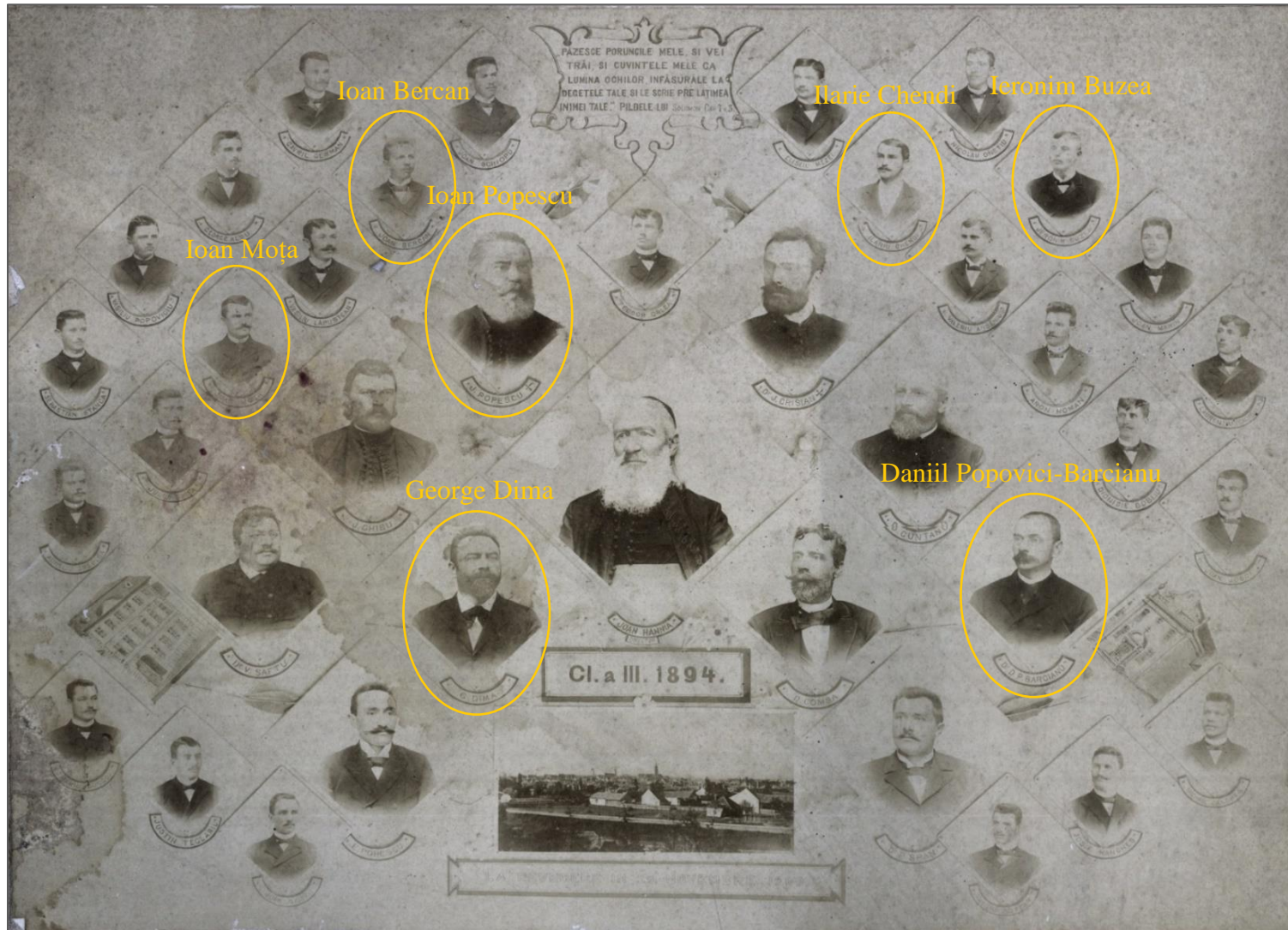


Figure 4. Author unknown, *Seminarul Teologic-Pedagogic Sibiu, Cl. III, 1894*, 1894, Yearbook photograph, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania.

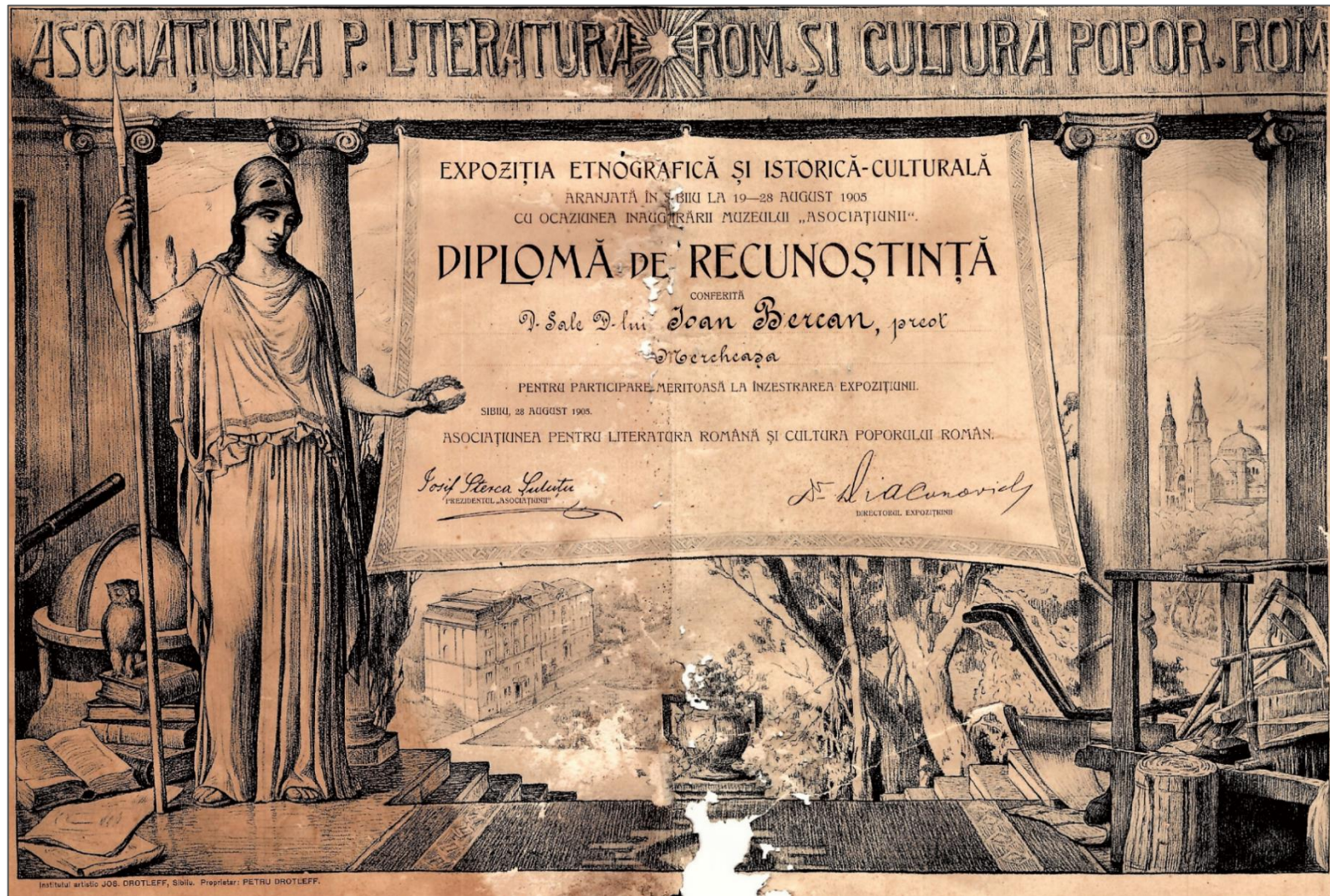


Figure 5. Documente vizuale, Diplomă de recunoștință conferită D-sale D-lui Ioan Bercan, preot Mercheașa pentru participare meritoasă la înzestrarea expozițiunii, Sibiu, 28 August 1905, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf. Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania.

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Following in the footsteps of “his forefathers, all priests, for more than nine generations,” young Berca returned to his native land, where he occupied the parish in the village Mercheaşa, near Rupea.³⁰⁹ Known for his left-wing views, he helped the local Romanian community organise a consumer cooperative during his tenure in this village.³¹⁰ Aiming early on to become a protopope, after being proposed by some priests of the Rupea deanery to occupy this function, his attempt was eventually obstructed by the Metropolitan, who in 1904 declared that he was underqualified and refused the appeal.³¹¹ The controversies around his naming as protopope continued for the rest of the decade, taking a political turn and sparking passionate debates among the parishioners.³¹² With his political views publicly known – in 1910 as director of Economica Bank, Berca participated in an international socialist congress in Hamburg – and being involved in a personal conflict with Ioan Iosif, his former protegee from the Economica Bank, his elections as protopope seemed to have been indefinitely postponed.

Nonetheless, after serving as interim for two years, in 1913, he was finally confirmed officially as protopope, defending from this position with an energetic and militant spirit, the national interests of the Romanians from the area. Advocating for preserving the Romanian national identity during a period marked by great uncertainties, his peers revered his political activism.³¹³ An active member of the ASTRA association (figure 5) with strong ties in the political and cultural circles from Bucharest, he was labelled for his activism by the

309. Bucur, “Protopopul”.

310. Vasile Osvadă, “Zoriri,” *Tovărăşia*, Aprilie 20, 1907.

311. “Alegerea dela Cohalm,” *Tribuna*, Octombrie 3/6, 1904; “Răspuns la ‘Alegerea dela Cohalm’,” *Tribuna*, Octombrie 10/23, 1904.

312. “De la Cohalm,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, August 22/ Septembrie 4, 1906.

313. “Ştiri,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Octombrie 13/26, 1913; “Informaţii,” *Tribuna*, Iulie 17/30, 1911; “În ajunul adunării Societăţii noastre teatrale,” “Ştiri,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Octombrie 26/ Noiembrie 6, 1913; Bucur, “Protopopul”.

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Hungarian authorities as an enemy of the state at the beginning of the Great War.³¹⁴ Experiencing personal threats, including house and strip searches, the safety of his children, who were after the death of his wife left in his care, was now questioned. Benefiting from “the friendly warning of a devoted Hungarian,” he escaped arrest and deportation and went to a self-imposed exile in a village near Oradea.³¹⁵

After the retreat of the Romanian Army, Priest Bercan, impoverished and disillusioned, was struck by “an old disease that seemed fully cured” and was hospitalised in Sibiu, where he met his end in 1917. The three orphan children of Ioan Bercan and Maria Bănuț who were born in Mercheașa – Melania (b.1897), Fabius (b.1901) and Dragoș (b.1903), returned to Rupea after the death of their father where they remained in the care of relatives.³¹⁶ After the death of their grandfather, the Priest Ioan Bercan Sr., their closest kin remained the prefect Aurel P. Bănuț who was their uncle. While the death of the *pater familias* is an event whose effects led in some cases to the social and economic decline of the priest families, in this case, their position was preserved long enough to permit them their integration into the Interwar Romanian bourgeoisie.³¹⁷ Melania, the eldest of the three, married Dr. Valeriu Bidu (1895-1967) from Șchei (in Brașov).³¹⁸ Dr. Bidu, who studied medicine at the universities of Cluj and Paris, served during the Interwar period as leader of

314. “Proces verbal din ședința comitetului ‘Asociațiunii pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român’ ținută în Sibiu la 30 Octombrie 1897,” *Transilvania, organul asociațiunii pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român*, Nov.-Dec., 1897.

315. Bucur, “Protopopul”.

316. Cerere a primăriei Rupea pentru acordarea de ajutor financiar urmașilor minori ai fostului preot Ioan Bercan 12.9.1927, File 1929/8, Adeverință cu privire la acordarea de ajutor familiei protopresbiterului Ioan Bercan, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

317. Jallinoja, *Families*, 203-204.

318. Bucur, “Protopopul”; Mercheașa – Protocol botezați Ortodocși, 1874-1920, Register, BV-F-00259-2-00631 Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Brașov, Sfântul Nicolae Șchei – Protocol botezați Ortodocși, 1891-1920, Register, BV-F-00259-1-00044, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

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the Liberals in Trei Scaune County, advocating against the Magyarization of the Romanian population that was a minority in that area.³¹⁹ As a distinguished Liberal figure, after the establishment of the communist regime, he was sent to the Danube-Black Sea Channel labour camp, where many political dissidents found their end. After he served his sentence, he returned to Braşov to be employed in various petty jobs, such as vegetable shop clerk, considering that the communist authorities denied him the right to practice his profession.³²⁰ Melania's two other brothers continued their education with Fabius, who studied law, became a magistrate and served during the late 1930s as a judge at the court in Târgu-Mureş (Hg. Székelyvásárhely), while the youngest, named Dragoş, worked in the 1920s as a clerk at the town hall in Rupea.³²¹ Having benefited from the protection of their grandfather, Priest Ioan Bercan Sr., and later of their uncle A.P. Bănuţ, at least the two eldest of the three children of Priest Ioan Bercan Jr. preserved the privileged status enjoyed by their family, although away from Rupea.

In the aftermath of the death of Priest Bercan in 1917, the seat at the Orthodox parish was taken over by Priest Emilian, a member of the renowned noble kin **Stoica** de Veneţia, from Veneţia de Jos (found in the eastern part of Făgăraş Land, around 25 km away from Rupea).³²² A spiritual leader with a noticeable cultural contribution, his decade-long tenure

319. Catrina Constantin, "Dr. Valeriu Bidu: note și corespondențe," *Angustia*, 11 (2007): 201.

320. Constantin, "Dr. Valeriu Bidu," 204, 201.

321. Conspect, File 1923/1; *Mercheaşa – Protocol botezați Ortodocși, 1874-1920*; "Sunt în restanță cu abonamentul," *Țara Bârsei*, Iulie-August, 1932; "Arhivele Olteniei," *Țara Bârsei*, Martie-Aprilie, 1934; "Judecăt. Mixtă Diciosânmărtin sec.cf.," *Unirea poporului*, Februarie 20, 1938; "Ordine pentru executare și conformare," *Gazeta Oficială a Județului Mureş*, Octombrie 25, 1934.

322. "Pentru un șematism al bisericii ardelenne," *Revista Teologică*, Ianuarie-Februarie, 1930; Ioan Puşcariu, *Documente istorice. Despre boerii din țara Făgăraşului*, Partea III (Sibiu: Tipariul Tipografiei Archiecesane, 1904); Ioan Puşcariu, *Fragmente istorice despre boerii din Țara Făgăraşului*, Partea IV (Sibiu: Tipariul Tipografiei Arhidiecezane, 1907), 214; Tudor-Radu Tirion, "Pe urmele unui nobil făgărăşean: Colonelul Ştefan Stoica de Veneţia de Jos și ctitoria sa din inima Bărăganului," *Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis*, IV (2015), 274-278. Emilian Stoica was educated at the Theological Institute in Sibiu, class of 1905/1906. At the same school, in 1863/1864, a student named Georgiu Stoica graduated from the theological course, and was also from Veneţia de Jos, being arguably close kin of the future Priest Emilian Stoica. Roşca, *Monografia*, 147, 166. After

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ended with his move to Sighișoara and his replacement in 1928 by the Priest Alexandru Brotea (1892-1980). Son of the Priest Ioan **Brotea** (1849-1923) from Mateiaș (near Rupea), the Brotea family kept close ties with the Bercan family. For example, the Priest Ioan Brotea baptised all three of Ioan Bercan Jr.'s children; Aurelia Brotea, the daughter of the Priest Ioan, was also the godmother of Melania Bercan, while Peuna Brotea (nee Grama de Râușor) the wife of the Priest Ioan was the godmother (together with Aurel P. Bănuț) of Fabius Bercan.³²³ In addition, the Brotea and Bercan families were leading figures at Economica Bank of Rupea, with Priest Ioan Brotea serving for two decades on the administration board.³²⁴ These strong family ties reinforced the continuity at the Orthodox parish after the passing away of the chaplain Bercan Sr. during the Interwar period. Hence, the arrival of Alexandru Brotea marked a continuation of the activity carried out by the Bercan priest family, whose work was interrupted by the regrettable and premature death of Ioan Bercan Jr.

Before arriving in Rupea at 36 years old, the life course of Alexandru Brotea took him from the schools of Șchei and Sibiu to the trenches of the Great War and later to Bessarabia and Szekler Land, where he spent the first part of his career. After finishing his studies at the Orthodox Gymnasium in Brașov, the priest's son from Mateiaș entered the Theological Institute in Sibiu, which he graduated in 1914, forty years after his father.³²⁵ Returning to his native village as a teacher in the autumn of 1916 in the context of the failed operation of the

graduating from the Faculty of Letters, Marcela Stoica, the daughter of the Protopope Emilian, married Emanoil Bobancu, lawyer and owner of a printing house from Rupea. Iosif, "Memorii," 54.

323. Mercheașa – Protocol botezați Ortodocși, 1874-1920. The Priest Dionisie Bucur (1890-1965) from Crihalma married Octavia, another daughter of Priest Ioan Brotea and his wife Octavia nee Grama de Râușor. Bucur, "Scurtă monografie," 20-21; See Pușcariu, *Date istorice*, Partea II, 124; Meteș, *Viața bisericească*, 96. In his autobiography, Alexandru Brotea indicates his mother's maiden name was Roșca. Autobiografie Alexandru Brotea, 23.10.1949, File Autobiografii preoți.

324. "Cronica săptămânală," *Revista economică*.

325. Autobiografie Alexandru Brotea, 23.10.1949, File Autobiografii preoți – Protopopiatul Rupea 1950, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf. Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Roșca, *Monografia*, 1911, 152.

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Romanian army to seize Transylvania, Alexandru Brotea sought refuge in Bucharest, where his brother and his father accompanied him.³²⁶ After serving in the war as a second lieutenant, in the spring of 1918, he moved to Chişinău, where he lived and worked until 1924.³²⁷ Returning to Transylvania, he was offered the director position at the state school in Baraolt (Hg. Barót), where he taught for four years and met his future wife, a Hungarian woman named Emma Incze.³²⁸ It was in 1928 when, at the invitation of the parish priests from Rupea deanery, his destiny united with that of the Romanians from Rupea, occupying the local Orthodox parish until 1968 and the position of protopope until 1950 when he was released from the latter function by the communist authorities.³²⁹ In the context of the general political crisis of the 1930s, the Priest Alexandru Brotea found refuge in the then-popular far-right Legionnaire Movement ideology and later became a member of the moderate fascist party, the Romanian Front, led by Alexandru-Vaida Voevod.³³⁰ Challenged by the communist authorities to “confess” his involvement in political life and his activity in the right-wing movements, the priest had no other option but to grant their request. Yet, when he answered, he did it in his characteristic manner, proving himself the bearer of a sharp mind and even sharper quill. Announcing the rising of the “curtain of lies”, which began to engulf the Romanian society at the level of mentalities, Alexandru Brotea concludes a long line of local priests that, starting from the eighteenth century, took a stance and assumed a local political

326. Autobiografie Alexandru Brotea, 23.10.1949, File Autobiografii preoţi.

327. Autobiografie Alexandru Brotea, 23.10.1949, File Autobiografii preoţi.

328. Autobiografie Alexandru Brotea, 23.10.1949, File Autobiografii preoţi. Out of this marriage the Priest Alexandru Brotea had a son, Gavril, who became a doctor. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

329. “Informaţii,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Martie 7, 1928. Autobiografie Alexandru Brotea, 23.10.1949, File Autobiografii preoţi; Înştiinţare a arhiepiscopiei către Alexandru Brotea din 16.9.1949, privind refuzul Ministerului Cultelor de a îl recunoaşte ca protopop provizoriu, invitându-l totodată să predea oficiul de protopop preotului Romul Ciocan din Caţa şi de a îl consilia pe acesta în noua sa funcţie, File Corespondenţă V – 1940-1949, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania.

330. Tabel al foştilor voluntari şi legionari din comuna Rupea, File 1933/7, Împroprietărirea voluntarilor români din Primul Război Mondial [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naţionale Serviciul Judeţean Braşov, Braşov, Romania; Autobiografie Alexandru Brotea, 23.10.1949, File Autobiografii preoţi.

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leadership role. The open line of the statement, written as part of the political inquiry carried out by the communists, announced the entering into the history of the ploughmen's world:

I was never tempted by the thought of an autobiography. Under the whim of fleeting thoughts, only sometimes catching in memory certain moments and fragments of life, I realise - how much fuss, how many anomalies of thought and deed, how many contradictions, how many temptations and disappointments lurk the life of even the most careless mortal. Others wanting to know me, alone not being able to know myself, I seek, and I want not to lie in what I said about myself.³³¹

Given that the purpose of these political-dictated interrogations was not to seek the truth but to provide a pretext for further actions, the Priest Alexandru Brotea was incarcerated for two months at Gherla prison – which, according to his autobiographical manuscript, the reason was never indicated to him. Nevertheless, at his return to Rupea, Alexandru Brotea continued his activity as spiritual leader of the Romanian community, enjoying the esteem of his parishioners.³³²

The comprehensive analysis of the families of the Romanian priests reveals the intricate dynamics in familial relationships. Reconstructing these narratives enhances understanding of rural life and reshapes existing historiographical paradigms. While not the first time such studies have been carried out, this examination set in Rupea offers a distinctive perspective on the extensive social network, power dynamics, and complex lineages that addressed this occupational group. Hence, the research contributes to specialised historiography through thoroughly scrutinising primary sources and a multidisciplinary approach.

By focusing on the genealogical study of priest families in Rupea, this research offers a deeper understanding of the Transylvanian society. This methodological approach clarifies

331. Autobiografie Alexandru Brotea, 23.10.1949, File Autobiografii preoți; The syntagma “curtain of lies” was borrowed from the title of the work by Melissa Feinberg, *Curtain of Lies: The Battle over Truth in Stalinist Eastern Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

332. Autobiografie Alexandru Brotea, 23.10.1949, File Autobiografii preoți; Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

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the evolution of societal structures, power relations, and cultural norms. Viewing the rural space from the perspective of priest families in Rupea, this case study offered a unique perspective, contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of the rural space.

The investigation of the different family structures and the components that define their evolution in the first chapter provides a necessary background for future efforts to inquire into other mechanisms of modernisation that unfold in the ploughmen's society. The chapter followed the trajectories of individuals from various cultural backgrounds, occupations, and destinies from the perspective of the family they belonged to, preserving an uninterrupted connection with the rural space of the Romanian peasantry. Tracing the Romanian families that contributed to the formation of a stable nucleus sets the basis for understanding the community investigated in the later chapters. The families identified during this period shaped the kinship system, economic activities, and local institutions that endured for centuries.

Using demographic history and anthroponomic analysis, this chapter investigated the community formation and identity construction process in the Romanian community from Rupea starting from the late seventeenth century. The analysis inquired into the population movement and cultural meaning of local anthroponomy, which are foundational in following this community's evolution. The three case studies offered a view into long-term social developments following different scenarios and structures. Tracing the histories of the Repede family, the Budrea kin, and the priest families provided a nuanced understanding of lineage and kin in the rural landscape. The Repede case study revealed the adaptive nature of families across generations, showing the interplay of occupations and social status. The Budrea kin case study explored the concept of collective memory and kin mythology, exploring how narratives shape a family's and community's identity. Finally, the study of

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priest dynasties revealed the important role of this occupational group in shaping power relations and societal norms over the modern period. Together, these case studies contribute to a global understanding of the modernisation of the institution of the family in the East Central European space.

The inquiry of familial structures in the first chapter transitions into the investigation of marital practices in the following chapter. The research aims to uncover the correlation between the evolution of the institution of marriage and broader economic and political transformations that characterise this space. Focusing on the institution of marriage starting from the second half of the nineteenth century, the second chapter investigates the impact of novel economic opportunities and outside challenges on matrimonial unions in ploughmen communities.

2. Making Peasant Family: Conjugal Strategies and Social Norms

The inquiry into the marital practices of the peasantry during their transition to a market economy reveals a strong correlation between the development of the institution of marriage and the economic experience of capitalism. The complex kinship system in the Romanian community during the second half of the nineteenth century enabled the functioning of complex hierarchical social structures sustained by a series of solidarities and mutual recognition of the same norms. Formed throughout multiple generations, with origins that in Rupea can be traced back to the first half of the eighteenth century, the institution of kinship reached its maturity phase in the following century, specifically during the second half of the nineteenth century, when the demographic increase and economic system of the Romanian population in Rupea transformed local familial solidarities into a core institution. The second half of the nineteenth century corresponds equally with a period when proto-capitalism entered the normative structures of the Romanian peasantry, which was forced to adapt its institutions to the new historical realities. This chapter followed all these transformations by inquiring how novel economic opportunities and challenges impact matrimonial unions in the Romanian community from Rupea. Since marriage, as a central institution in family history, is a determinant factor in the process of kinship formation, the evolution of marital unions is central to understanding the modernisation of the Romanian community itself.

The exploration of Transylvanian matrimonial practices between 1848 and 1948 unfolds in this chapter across a series of interconnected themes. The first part introduces the broader historical context, addressing the legislative developments and historiographical contributions that frame the marital strategies discussed in the succeeding sections. Following this introductory part, the rest of the chapter is structured around four thematic focuses. The

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first centres on first marriage and on the factors that influence marital choices, including seasonal patterns and other external causes such as epidemics or natural calamities. Then, endogamy is explored through three identified types – geographic, religious, and social – adding another layer of understanding marital strategies in the studied scenario. The chapter proceeds to the second thematic focus, namely remarriage. The analysis formulates remarriage in this context as a response to widowhood, arguing the centrality of economic considerations and the importance of re-establishing the household's economic function. This marital situation is followed by the inquiry of an alternative form of cohabitation – concubinage. This third thematic focus provides an understanding of how familial structures evolved in response to broader societal changes, offering a comprehensive exploration of a less conventional aspect of marital strategies. Finally, the fourth theme focuses on divorce, investigating the profound social implications of this less common yet impactful situation. Exploring the complex cultural and economic factors influencing divorce rates in rural Transylvania, the final research theme focuses on the reasons behind divorce and the Church's role in shaping familial structures during this studied period.

As a core institution around which the domestic economic enterprise and social relationships are constructed, marital practices enjoy the utmost attention from the members of the Romanian community from Rupea. The preservation of the family patrimony – consisting of land and livestock – provided the main framework for pursuing their economic and social ambitions, which for centuries could mainly be attained only through marital unions.³³³ In other words, the sacrament of marriage was also charged with a pragmatic dimension since it was land, the possession that, in the rural socioeconomics, assured the

333. Gheorghe Şişeştean, “Sisteme familiale, strategii maritale și transmiterea proprietății,” *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XVII (1993): 449-451; Monica Mureșan, “Fenomenul căsătoriilor interzise analizat din prisma impedimentelor matrimoniale la greco-catolicii din Transilvania secolului XIX,” *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XXX (2008): 429; Stahl, “Sistemul onomastic,” 84-85.

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continuity of the family in this space.³³⁴ To better put in perspective the importance of land inheritance, at the beginning of the twentieth century, one jugera (0.57 ha) of the first quality land was sold with Kr 400-500, while an adult male dayworker was paid the equivalent of Kr 1.³³⁵

This system was eventually contested from the interior, with geographic and social mobility influencing many of its core beliefs. From the exterior, the state's intervention in the individuals' private lives and the general transition towards secularisation also determined the evolution of marital practices. A society on the move, which at the same time retains so many characteristics of its proverbial permanence, the family formation in the rural world during the long nineteenth century adapts at a fast pace to the new historical circumstances. While the ploughmen did not always welcome the modernisation of this core institution, it was accepted as a compromise to defend their economic interests.

Romanian historiography made consistent contributions in the field of family history through authors such as Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, whose work shows particular attention to marriage, divorce and concubinage at the Wallachian elites during the seventeenth and the eighteenth century.³³⁶ In the Moldavian space, Ecaterina Negruți's study on rural life during the first part of the nineteenth century is fundamental to the field because it established an appeal for studying family history.³³⁷ The demographic approach of the author shows similarities to the historiographic methods of the Cluj School in Transylvania, represented the

334. Ioan Bolovan and Sorina Bolovan, "Aspecte privind căsătoria în satul românesc din nord-vestul Transilvaniei la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea," *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XII (1988): 846.

335. Ákos Egyed, "Problema țăranimii din Transilvania la începutul secolului al XX-lea," *Acta Musei Napocensis*, VII (1970): 376; 1 jugera (Ro. iugăr) in Transilvania = 0,5755 ha.

336. Anca-Daniela Huț, review of *Focul Amurului: despre dragoste și sexualitate în societatea românească (1750-1830)*," by Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, *Acta Musei Sabesiensis*, 2 (2010): 747-749.

337. Ecaterina Negruți, *Satul moldovenesc în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea. Contribuții demografice* (Iași: Editura Universității "A.I.Cuza", 1984).

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best in this chapter by the ample work carried out by Sorina Bolovan and Ioan Bolovan.³³⁸ Comparable to the work carried out by Ioan and Sorina Bolovan, a series of studies that assumed similar methods of inquiry were published in the past three decades, contributing to the local historiography by investigating significant amounts of archival sources and consolidating the efforts carried by the Bolovans in the field of demographic history and family history. While these other contributions sometimes replicate a specific historiographic phraseology that could fall into a cliché, this situation only suggests the necessity of renewal and innovation of the current historical writing on this topic in Romania.³³⁹ Nonetheless, out of the more recent contributions, Mircea Brie's comprehensive work on marriage in north-western Transylvania stands out in terms of the extensive use of archival sources and their original interpretation.³⁴⁰ From the Hungarian-speaking historiographers, the research carried out by Levente Pakot, which investigates the evolution of family composition in the southeastern corner of the province during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is particularly noteworthy.³⁴¹

338. Sorina Bolovan, "Considerații istorice și istoriografice privind demografia istorică," *Revista Bistriței*, XII-XIII (1998/1999): 43.

339. Ciprian Doru Rigman, "Fenomenul natalității," 161.

340. Monica Mureșan and Mircea Brie, "Familie și societate în Nord-Vestul Transilvaniei (a doua jumătate a secolului XIX - începutul secolului XX)," *Caiete de Antropologie Istorică*, 14 (2008): 277-280. See, Mircea Brie, *Familie și societate în nord-vestul Transilvaniei (a doua jumătate a secolului XIX – începutul secolului XX)* (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2008); Mircea Brie, *Căsătoria în nord-vestul Transilvaniei (a doua jumătate a secolului XIX – începutul secolului XX). Condiționări exterioare și strategii maritale* (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2008).

341. See, Levente Pakot, "Family Composition, Birth Order and Timing of First Marriages in Rural Transylvania. A Case Study of Szentegyházásfalú (Vlăhița) and Kápolnásfalú (Căpâlnița), 1838-1940," *Hungarian Historical Review*, 3/1 (2014): 141-167; Levente Pakot, "Households and Families in Rural Transylvania," *Romanian Journal of Population Studies*, 7, 2 (2013): 1-42; Levente Pakot, "Generation to generation. Demographic reproduction in rural Szeklerland, from the second half of the 19th century to the first half of the 20th century," in *Economy and Society in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Daniel Dumitran and Valer Moga (Berlin-Münster-Wien-Zürich-London: Lit Verlag, 2013), 123-135; Levente Pakot "Family composition and remarriage in rural Transylvania, 1838-1910," *Demográfia*. 52, 5 (2009): 48-75.

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The rural society of Transylvania gradually showed after the 1848 Revolution the characteristics of a space where modernity makes its way, and despite not being embraced by all, it was at least questioned. Starting from the period of Enlightened absolutism, during the time of Emperor Joseph II, new social models of behaviour made their way into the lives of the Transylvanians. While from a class perspective, the new ideas were not absorbed uniformly, being first adopted by the elites, eventually, by the end of the nineteenth century, even the more secluded communities experienced the effects of the new available possibilities and opportunities for social and economic development. Investigating the changes that appear at the level of marital practices to identify how novelty entered rural space and its effects on this particular institution, the Romanian population from Rupea serves again as a case study.

Using church registers for both the Greek-Catholic and Orthodox communities from Rupea as the main primary source and covering a period that spans for around one hundred thirty years – from 1788 to 1917 – the data extracted from these documents was questioned using a quantitative approach, while sporadically the oral testimonies, taken from members that belong to this community, intervene in the text to complete or consolidate arguments. Unfortunately, due to limitations caused by the scarcity of information in older registers and the Romanian legislation on documents with private character, most of the research was limited to the period between 1867 and 1917 – which overlaps from the perspective of political history to the Austro-Hungarian period.³⁴² While some of the observations transcend this rigid timeframe, and many arguments apply to a longer timeframe, this must be done with precaution, considering that the further it moves from the core period investigated, the less precise it becomes.

342. The registers were requested for research at the end of 2018.

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The selection of a partner, the age of marriage, and, to some extent, even the time of the year when a marriage took place is much influenced by the **legislation** of the period. The regulations introduced by the Habsburgs starting in the late eighteenth century – such as the imperial decree of 1786 – were intended to limit the authority of the Church in terms of matrimonial affairs.³⁴³ In the need to reorganise the Empire's army, these regulations were the pragmatic response of the Habsburgs to an economic and administrative imperative. For the peasantry, these changes that refer to the length of the military service directly affect the age of marriage, various aspects of private life, and the household economy. A system of military recruitment through lottery was installed starting from the 1769 reform, resulting between the 1770s and 1802 in the functioning of a military service period that extended over the entire lifespan of those recruited.³⁴⁴ After 1802, the military service for the conscripted men was reduced to 10 to 15 years; the period was then further limited in 1847 to eight years plus two years in reserve, while in the context of the 1848 events, it halved to four years.³⁴⁵ At the same time, in the case of men, if the legal age to marry in the first half of the century was 18, this increased to 20 and, with Law 40/1868, to 22 years old.

Further regulations regarding compulsory military service were introduced in 1858, resulting in setting, during the second half of the nineteenth century, a standard average age for the first marriage of men, which in Transylvania is evaluated at between 23 and 25 years

343. Sorina Paula Bolovan and Ioan Bolovan, "Considerații privind vârsta la căsătorie la românii transilvăneni în secolul al XIX-lea," in *Transilvania în epocile modernă și contemporană. Studii de demografie istorică*, ed. Ioan Bolovan (Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2002), 113.

344. Bârlea, "The recruitment of soldiers," 99, 104.

345. Bârlea, "The recruitment of soldiers," 99, 104. For instance in Rupea Seat of those recruited in 1847 alone, was of 88 young men. According to the distribution decision of the Diet, the number was in the following year lowered to 69. Constantin Băjenaru, "Serviciul militar în Transilvania la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea. Cadre legislative." *Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis* VI, (2017): 250, 253, 256-257, 259; Daniela Deteșan and Simion Reșegan, "Sub focul încrucișat al bisericii și statului: Concubinajul la românii din Transilvania între 1850-1895," in *În căutarea fericirii. Viața familială în spațiul românesc în sec. XVIII-XX*, ed. Ioan Bolovan, et al. (Cluj: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2010), 84.

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old.³⁴⁶ Hence, out of the Austrian marriage regulations, the one with the most visible effect during this period concerned the conditioning of marriage to army drafting.³⁴⁷ Following the introduction of new regulations regarding compulsory military service in 1866, the conscription period was further reduced in 1868 from eight years to three (plus six years in reserve), with men being allowed to marry once they had received the reservist status.³⁴⁸ Nonetheless, in practice, due to the costs of maintaining a large military force, after 1 to 2 years of active military service, most of the young men were released home – without being allowed to pursue marriage legally.³⁴⁹ While it should be stated that marriage could still occur before the end of military service through the grant of Church dispensations,³⁴⁷ this situation remained an exception from the regulations, resulting in the rise of other cohabitation practices in the rural space, such as concubinage.³⁵⁰

Applying equally to the population from the King's Land, apart from these legislative acts, four other laws determined visible shifts in matrimonial behaviour at the province level. In chronological order, the first one was the Austrian General Civil Code that applied in Transylvanian during the Neo-absolutist period starting from 1853 and represented an effort to centralise the monarchy in the aftermath of the 1848-1849 events. Among other aspects,

346. Paul Topan, "Problema căsătoriei și ciclul vieții familiale în protopiatul ortodox Turda (1850-1914)," *Revista Bistriței*, XV (2001): 231; Ioan Bolovan, "Considerații istorice și statistice privind căsătoria în Transilvania între 1851-1918," *Revista Bistriței*, XII-XIII (1998/1999): 50; Bolovan, "Aspecte privind căsătoria," 848; Bolovan, "Atitudini privind formarea familiei," 531.

347. Sorina Bolovan, "Familia și relațiile matrimoniale în satul românesc transilvănean în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj-Napoca*, XXXV (1996): 215.

348. Soroștineanu, "Mixed marriages," 708; Deteșan, "Sub focul încrucișat," 84-85; Bârlea, "The recruitment of soldiers," 99, 104; Băjenaru, "Serviciul militar," 250, 253, 256-257, 259.

349. Deteșan, "Sub focul încrucișat," 85.

350. Roxana Alina Opreșcu, "Reconstituirea familiei din Așchileul Mare (jud. Cluj) în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea," *Revista Bistriței*, XII-XIII (1998/1999): 64. While the state was not imposing any age limits, in the second half of the nineteenth century until the entry into force of the Civil Code, the authorities suggested that such dispensation should not be granted to boys under 14 and girls under 12. Bolovan, "Familia și relațiile matrimoniale," 215.

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the Code established a separation on matrimonial problems between the attributes of the Church and those of the State, including the regularisation for the first time of interconfessional marriages. This foundational document was followed by the Instruction for Marriage Act of 1854, the Constitutional Law of 1867, the latter regulating the civil and political rights at marriage for Catholics, and in 1868, Laws 48 and 53 that regulate the procedures in case of mixed marriages, essentially the acts determining the official religion of the newly formed family.³⁵¹ This process of consolidation and standardisation conducted by the state is completed by the most radical document to that date, the Civil Code of 1894 – which introduced civil matrimony in Transleithania (the Hungarian territories of Austria-Hungary) some 26 years after the introduction of the same laws in Cisleithania.³⁵² The Code entered into force in Transylvania starting in 1895, producing a gradual yet radical change at the level of marital practices through Laws 31-43/1894, with visible changes in rural communities belated due to their characteristic conservative response to the change in comparison with urban communities.³⁵³

The marriage rates of the Romanian population from Rupea experienced continuous growth from the 1820s until the peak period recorded during the 1880s, which was then followed by a visible decrease – from 12.3 marriages between 1880-1889 to 10.7 marriages

351. Jan Srb, “Preliminary Steps towards a New Civil Code for the Czechoslovak Republic,” *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (1927): 197-210; Bolovan, “Familia și relațiile matrimoniale,” 215; Mircea Brie, *Căsătoria în nord-vestul Transilvaniei (a doua jumătate a secolului XIX – începutul secolului XX). Condiționări exterioare și strategii maritale* (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2009), 427; Soroștineanu, “Mixed marriages,” 706; Ioan Bolovan and Marius Eppel, “Între stat și biserică: Identitate și alteritate prin căsătoriile mixte în Transilvania (a doua jumătate a secolului XIX-lea și începutul secolului XX).” in *In honorem Alexandru Moșanu: Studii de istorie medievală, modernă și contemporană a românilor*, ed. Nicolae Enciu (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2012), 329; Dana-Emilia Burian, “Emanciparea femeii și rolul ei în problema divorțului în a doua jumătate a secolului XIX în Transilvania,” in *În căutarea fericirii. Viața familială în spațiul românesc în sec. XVIII-XX*, ed. Ioan Bolovan, et al. (Cluj: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2010), 51.

352. Bolovan, “Familia în Europa Centrală,” 297.

353. Marius Eppel and Andreea Dăncilă, “Ties That Divide: Nationalities and Confessions in the Debate on Civil Marriage in the Hungarian Parliament (1894–1895),” *Transylvanian Review*, XXV, 04 (2016): 111, 120; Mureșan, “Fenomenul căsătoriilor interzise,” 430; Bolovan, “Considerații istorice și statistice,” 47.

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in the final decade of the century (table 2).³⁵⁴ These post-1880s trends continued to evolve in the same direction until the end of the period studied, recording further decreases from 9.2 marriages during the first ten years of the twentieth century to 6.74 marriages between 1910 and 1917 – a result that was also influenced by the ongoing war that affected the lives of millions of peasants around Europe. However, the conclusion that can be drawn from these observations is that within a few years after the implementation of the Civil Code, peasants become receptive to change – rather than being an act whose effects took decades to become visible, in a matter of few years the marital behaviours of the peasantry were altered. The 1894 act, controversial among the high clerics, was there to stay. By 1900, the motives invoked by the population in their marriage waivers that were forwarded to the Church, asking permission to marry when canonical impediments appeared, showed a high awareness of the population regarding the new state laws.³⁵⁵ Naturally, the replacement of the religious union by civil marriage remained an exception at the provincial level, yet the liberating importance of the 1894 act at the level of mentalities cannot be denied.³⁵⁶

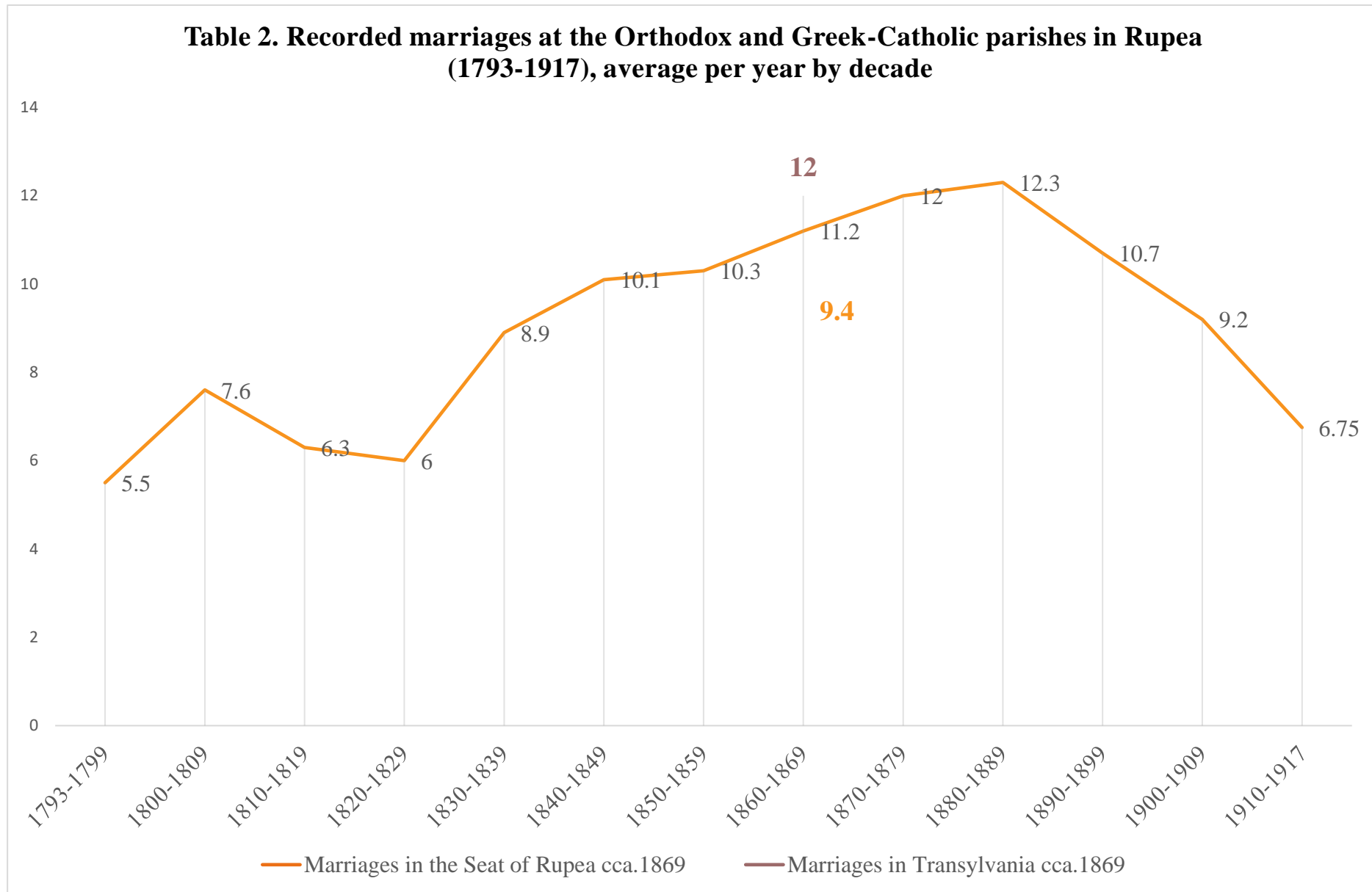
354. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1852-1866; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1886-1895; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924; Rupea – Protocol cununați Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811; Rupea – Protocol cununați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852; Register, Rupea – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1873-1950. BV-F-00259-2-00808, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

355. Valeria Soroștineanu, “The Discourse on Marriage, Concubinage and Illegitimate Children in the Transylvanian Orthodox Ecclesiastical Environment after 1894,” *Romanian Journal of Population Studies*, 6, 1 (2012): 66-79; Bolovan, “Familia și relațiile matrimoniale,” 223.

356. Mureșan, “Fenomenul căsătoriilor interzise,” 431; Date statistice pe anul 1923, greco-catolici, File Date demografice protopopiat 1896-1897, 1923, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf. Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania.

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Table 2. Recorded marriages at the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic parishes in Rupea (1793-1917), average per year by decade



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As an initiating act of transition to maturity, the **first marriage** counts for about 75% to 80% of the matrimonial unions of the Romanian population from Transylvania. The various age differences resulted from the in-function legal system and specific occupational characteristics.³⁵⁷ In the case of agriculture labourers, the marriage age was, on average, lower than that of other groups. The young men recruited for military service were an exception in this group since they married only at around 30.³⁵⁸ Furthermore, the socioeconomic status of the families at the time of the marriage was another key factor that influenced the age of first marriage, as emphasised by a local – “here [in Rupea] they married according to the kin’s [importance]” – and while atypical situations were accepted, they remained recorded in collective memory as out-of-ordinary moments.³⁵⁹ While in the predominantly agrarian Transylvania, the options for improving one’s condition were often limited to agriculture workers, in industrialised societies, such as Victorian England, the alternative means to ensure some savings before marriage were more within reach.³⁶⁰ These situations influenced in an equal manner the age of marriage but also the chosen partner, confirming the strong relationship between economic opportunities and the development of community-based norms.

357. Adriana Florica Muntean, “Motivații ale căsătoriei în mediul rural transilvănean din a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea,” *Revista Bistriței*, XII-XIII (1998/1999): 53.

358. Maria Todorova, *Balkan Family Structure and the European Pattern. Demographic Developments in Ottoman Bulgaria* (Budapest, New York: Central European University Press: 2006) 40; Bolovan, “Atitudini privind formarea familiei,” 531; Florin Vlașin, “Rolul registrelor de stare civilă în cercetarea demografică. Studiu de caz – Căsătoria și divorțul la românii ortodocși din localitatea Bistrița-Bârgaului în perioada 1850-1870,” *Revista Bistriței*, XXX-XXXI (2016-2017), 171; Delia Carmen Știrb, “Căsătoria și problemele vieții de familie în satele comunei Buciumi în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea,” *Revista Bistriței*, XII-XIII (1998/1999): 60.

359. Gheorghe Tempea, in discussion with the author; Mónika Mátay, “The Adventures of Dispute: A Marriage Crisis,” *Hungarian Historical Review*, 3, No.1 (2014): 167; For instance, situations such as the absence of one or both of the parents lowered the social status of women at the time of their marriage. Pakot, “Family Composition, Birth Order,” 120. Over the second half of the nineteenth century, various scenarios are recorded that indicate what these atypical situations meant according to the norms of the time – “had a bastard with another”, 1868; “each has a child from another”, 1868; “the father of the bride is a stepfather”, 1872; “[her father] left, 1891”. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923;

360. Richard Wall, “Beyond the Household: Marriage, Household Formation and the Role of the Kin and Neighbours,” *International Review of Social History*, 44 (1999): 58.

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In addition, some of the legislative acts mentioned earlier also relate to the minimum marriage age. While some were imposing a minimum age, the Church usually had precedence in this matter, being the institution that granted waivers in these situations, despite respecting a minimum of 14 years old for boys and 12 years old for girls.³⁶¹ Naturally, such situations were exceptions within the Romanian communities, being accompanied by public opprobrium, for they represented the expression of a social situation out of the ordinary. Even at 15 years old, the women were considered too young to marry, as one local cleric from Rupea observed in a case when the girl was “not even 15 years old” and “[...] desperate [to marry]”.³⁶² The cases of waivers – that before 1894 were granted only by the Church – indicate that these premature marriages, when they happened, were often dictated by economic emergencies, reconfirming the characteristic pragmatism of the rural society.³⁶³ Facing the condemnation of the Church and state authorities, these decisions were morally justified, being accepted by the community as a compromise that was instituting or restoring the functioning of a household as an economic unit.³⁶⁴ While the implementation of the Civil Code established the minimum age for marriage at 18 for men and 16 for women, the regulation was primarily meant to avoid deviations since its effect on the overall marriage age averages was less visible, given that the popular norms were not corresponding with such lower averages.³⁶⁵ The Civil Code and the other specific regulations functioning in Transylvania indicate that these acts also influenced the age gap between the grooms to some

361. Bolovan, “Familia și relațiile matrimoniale,” 215.

362. Rupea – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1873-1950.

363. Bolovan, “Familia și relațiile matrimoniale,” 215-216.

364. Ginger Frost, *Living in Sin: Cohabiting as Husband and Wife in Nineteenth-Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 54-56.

365. Bolovan, “Considerații privind vârsta,” 116.

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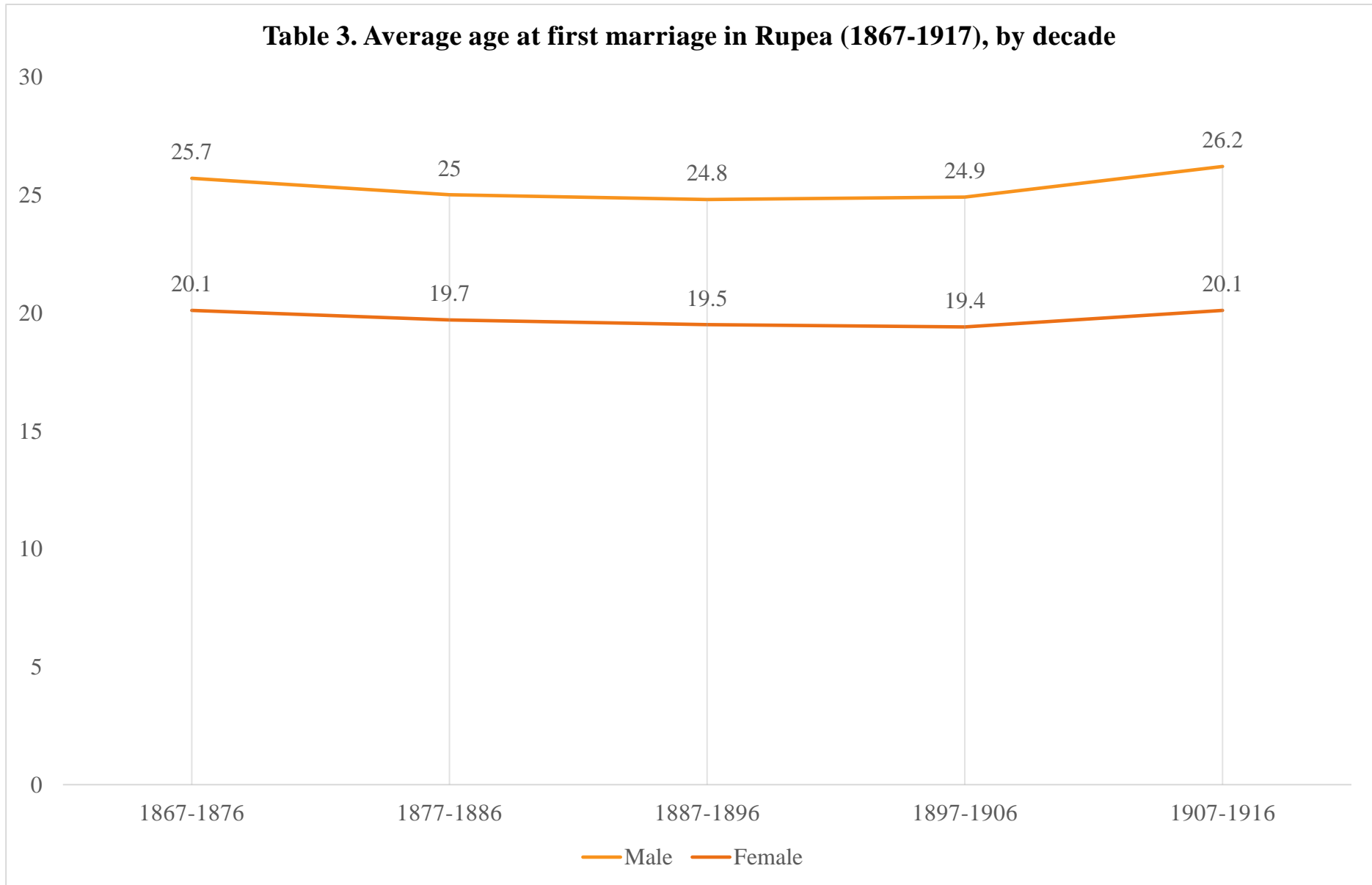
extent.³⁶⁶ For instance, in Rupea, between 1867 and 1917, the average age at first marriage for Greek-Catholic and Orthodox Romanians was 25.32 for men and 19.76 for women, resulting in an age gap between the two sexes during that period of 5.56 years (table 3).³⁶⁷ Compared with the situation in the counties, this result positions Rupea at a higher end when compared with the findings encountered in the northern part of Transylvania, where the age differences around the same period are between 3 to 5 years (with the extreme age of 22 to 25.3 for men and 18.6 to 21.1 for women).³⁶⁸

366. Gheorghe Șișeștean, "Căsătorii interconfesionale și construcții identitare la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și la începutul secolului XX," in *În căutarea fericirii. Viața familială în spațiul românesc în sec. XVIII-XX*, ed. Ioan Bolovan, et al. (Cluj: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2010), 127.

367. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1886-1895; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924; ; Rupea – Protocol cununați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852; Rupea – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1873-1950.

368. Știrb, "Căsătoria și problemele," 60; Topan, "Problema căsătoriei," 231; Bolovan, "Considerații privind vârsta," 121.

Table 3. Average age at first marriage in Rupea (1867-1917), by decade



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A comparison of the situation in Transylvania with other regions from Central and Southeast Europe positions the Romanian peasantry within a larger historical context characteristic of the rural societies in this part of the continent during the nineteenth century. Both in the south, in the Balkans and the west, in the Alföld, the local average rates were interpreted taking into consideration the particularities of the area in terms of geography, economy and legislation. The results for the two spaces show overall lower averages when compared with the Romanian population from Rupea. In rural Bulgaria, in the village of Baltadzhi, the age at first marriage for men (between 1834-1886) was 20.1 years old, and for women, 18.4 years old (in the 1860s); in the case of Atany, a village situated in the Hungarian Plain, during the second half of the nineteenth century, the established averages indicate an age of 23 years old for men and 18 years old for women.³⁶⁹ While the precise context for this difference cannot be determined in the absence of more accurate information, what can be determined is that the marital averages in both cases are more similar to that of the Romanian population living in the counties in the northern part of the province than those living in the former King's Land, suggesting the existence of local particularities that determined this difference.

With the arrival of the twentieth century, the development of the communication infrastructure, and the intensification of temporary migration, the average age at first marriage experienced an overall increase in the rural space. In Bulgaria, over fifty years, women's age at marriage grew by 2.5%, reaching by the beginning of the twentieth century on average 20.9 years.³⁷⁰ Moving through similar modernisation processes visible also at

369. Todorova, *Balkan*, 39-40; Rudolf Andorka, "The historical demography of a proper Hungarian village: Atany in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries," *Journal of Family History*, Vol 19, Nr.4 (1994): 318; John Hajnal, "Two Kinds of Preindustrial Household Formation System," *Population and Development Review*, Vol.8, No.3 (1982): 469.

370. Todorova, *Balkan*, 39.

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other populations from Transylvania, the average age rates of the Romanian community from Rupea increased between the decades 1897-1906 and 1907-1916, by 5.2% in the case of men and 3.6% in the case of women - from 24.9 years old in the decade 1897-1906, to 26.2 years old in the decade 1907-1916 in the case of men, and from 19.4 to 20.1 years old in the case of women.³⁷¹ An effect of the social changes through which Transylvanian peasantry was going, the increase in the average ages at marriage is a characteristic of the Romanian rural population at the turn of the century.

Apart from the legislative frame that influenced an important set of marital practices, the rural world was equally influenced by the agrarian calendar. Establishing a well-defined **seasonal pattern**, the economic activities of the peasantry promoted a specific marital culture. The agrarian calendar overlapped with the religious calendar, reducing marriage possibilities to a very narrow window. The multiple analyses carried out in different parts of the province reveal the dominance of three months – January, February and November – as the main periods when the marriages were most likely to occur. A higher incidence during the nineteenth century for the first two months of the year is the consequence of the agrarian inactivity specific to January and February that followed the ending of the Advent period (at Christmas).³⁷² Together with the harvesting periods, when overlapped on the agrarian calendar, Advent and Lent were the most important justifications for the persistence of the seasonality until the mid-twentieth century.³⁷³ These motives were reinforced by pragmatic constraints regarding nourishment and the organisation of the banquet, resulting in creating a

371. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924; Rupea – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1873-1950; Bolovan, “Considerații istorice și statistice,” 45-46; Pakot, “Family Composition, Birth Order,” 112.

372. Bolovan, “Considerații istorice și statistice,” 46-47; Todorova, *Balkan*, 35-36; Topan, “Problema căsătoriei,” 230.

373. The possibility of marriage during the fasting period was envisaged if the couple was obtaining a dispensation, which sometimes was granted to avoid birth outside wedlock. Topan, “Problema căsătoriei,” 231.

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culture of winter marriages that continued even when agriculture or religion was no longer the main motive to remain attached to those specific periods, as confirmed by one member of this community who stated that “[marriages took place] in the spring and autumn when there wasn't that much work in the field. And they didn't do [weddings] because there weren't freezers and all that. The food was getting spoiled.”³⁷⁴ The changes experienced by Transylvanian society at all levels already saw a gradual levelling of the calendar in terms of marriage periods from the second half of the nineteenth century, confirming that far from insular, the Transylvanian peasantry was intensively connected to modernity.³⁷⁵

When investigated over more extended periods, the seasonality of marriages can be overlapped over events with broader impact, such as wars or natural calamities – droughts and epidemics had an immediate impact on matrimonial decisions – that influenced every so often the decision of the population to marry.³⁷⁶ The years with a high variation in marriages came to be understood as the effect of more significant economic, social, and military events that affected the communities in question.³⁷⁷ Among the moments that caused significant demographic and economic disruptions at the level of the province were the Great Famine of Transylvania (1813-1817), the plague, smallpox and cholera epidemics, which hit multiple times during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Hungarian Revolution of 1848 or the Crimean War in which the Monarchy was involved during the years 1853-1854.³⁷⁸ Wars and

374. Gheorghe Suma “Drăghici”, in discussion with the author.

375. Bolovan, “Considerații istorice și statistice,” 47.

376. Bolovan, “Considerații istorice și statistice,” 45. For a chronology of the natural calamities recorded in the Romanian space between 1700 and 1830 see Toader Nicoară, “Variații climaterice și mentalități colective în sec. al XVIII-lea și începutul secolului al XIX-lea (1700-1830,” *Satu Mare - Studii și Comunicări*, VII-VIII (1986-1987): 246-264.

377. Jean Meuvret, “Les crises de subsistances et la démographie de la France d'Ancien Régime,” *Population*, Vol.1, No.4 (1946), 649.

378. Bolovan, “Considerații istorice și statistice,” 45; For more information on the Great Hunger see Ioan Ciorbă, “Alimentația de criză din timpul mării foamete din Transilvania dintre anii 1813-1817,” *Caiete de Antropologie Istorică*, 8-9 (2006): 271-279; Ioan Ciorbă, “Marea foamete din Transilvania dintre anii 1813-

natural calamities such as draughts, floods, earthquakes or the damages caused by wild animals or insects directly impacted the food prices, creating a chain reaction with major negative effects on the entire population of the province, influencing their social behaviours in complex ways.³⁷⁹ These events that often lead to periods of hunger – such as the hunger of 1740-1742 or the Great Hunger of 1813-1817 – when combined with a general lack of proper nourishment, favoured the spread of diseases, increasing the rates of mortality and by extension affecting matrimonial unions drastically.³⁸⁰ In the province, starting from the 1600s, three diseases – plague, smallpox and cholera – erupted into an epidemic that affected local demographics.³⁸¹ In the seventeenth century, Transylvania was hit by plague in no less than twenty-five years, provoking serious demographic losses – in Rupea in 1661, 638 casualties were recorded during the plague epidemic – the disease continuing to cause severe human losses in the first part of the eighteenth century despite the efforts of the Habsburgs to control its spreading. Later, the plague epidemic of 1717-1719 cost the lives of 628 Saxon inhabitants from Rupea – continuing to make victims in the province until the mid-eighteenth

1817 și impactul ei asupra mentalităților colective. Puterea memoriei,” in *Tradiții istorice românești și perspective europene. In honorem Academician Ioan-Aurel Pop*, eds. Sorin Șipoș, et.al. (Oradea:Editura Universității din Oradea, 2015), 419-436; Patrice Bourdelais, Michel Demonet and Jean-Yves Raulot, “La marche du choléra en France: 1832-1854,” *Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations*, No.1, 33 (1978): 138.

379. Ioan-George Andron, “Calamități naturale și epidemii în Brașov și Țara Bârsei în secolele al XVIII-lea și al XIX-lea,” *Țara Bârsei*, Nr.3 (2004): 32; Ana Cânda, “Fenomene meteorologice și calamități naturale menționate pe vechi cărți românești din Sălaj,” *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XVIII (1994): 474; Rudolf Wolf, “Productivitatea agricolă în comitatul Crasna în prima jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea,” *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XIV-XV (1990-1991): 283; “Monarchia Austriacă. Transilvani’a. [...] Cohalmu,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Noiembrie 23/ Decembrie 4, 1866; Bogdan Bucur, *Devălmășia valahă (1716-1828), O istorie anarhică a spațiului românesc* (Pitești: Editura Paralela 45, 2008), 111-112; Gernot Nussbächer, “Din cronica cutremurelor din Brașov și Țara Bârsei,” *Țara Bârsei*, 14, serie nouă (2015): 15-16; Bucur, “Scurtă monografie,” 18; *Archiv* (1909), 325, 327; Moldovan, “Registrele confesionale,” 278; Eufrosina Simionescu, *Monumente Literare Vechi. Codicele de la Cohalm* (Huși: Tipografia Lețcae George Jorica, 1924), 21-22.

380. Anton Dörner, “Epidemia de ciumă în scaunul Oraștiei în prima jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea,” *Acta Musei Napocensis*, XX (1983): 541, 544, 545; Florian-Ioan Chiș, “Măsurile luate de austrieci în timpul epidemiei de ciumă din 1718-1720, în comitatul Crasna,” *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XXVIII-XXIX (2006-2007): 46; Mureșan, “Aspecte din viața satului,” 154; Oana Habor, “Epidemiile, episoade din istoria spațiului transilvănean la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea,” *Astra Sabesiensis*, I, nr. 1 (2015): 123.

381. For instance, the epidemic of 1717 forced the authorities to cancel all the markets in the province. Dörner, “Epidemia de ciumă,” 542-543.

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century (1755-1757) when the last great plague epidemic that caused significant casualties hit Transylvania.³⁸² As the plague epidemics started to be contained – in Braşov, the last plague alert was instituted in November 1828, but the cases were immediately isolated – and stopped posing the same threat, the nineteenth century saw the spread of two other diseases that produced serious social disruptions in the province.³⁸³ Smallpox hit the southern part of Transylvania between 1835-1836, 1841-1842, 1873-1874 and 1880-1881, despite the vaccine's introduction in the province soon after its discovery in 1796.³⁸⁴ While before 1806, in the larger towns neighbouring Rupea, such as Braşov and Târgu-Mureş, the authorities began to inoculate the population, these campaigns must have had limited success due to the repeated epidemics during the nineteenth century.³⁸⁵ To boost the rates of vaccination, after 1836, the enrolment in schools became conditioned by presenting a smallpox vaccination certificate, with the priests acting as promoters of the vaccinations, aiding the Habsburgs administration in their efforts to convince the population of its benefits; soon after, the army sanctioned the same regulations making the vaccination compulsory.³⁸⁶ The third epidemic, cholera, a constant danger to the population during the nineteenth century, replaced plague in

382. Samuil Goldenberg, "Urbanizare și mediu înconjurător: Cazul oraşelor medievale din Transilvania," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XVIII (1975): 319; *Archiv* (1909), 325; Dörner, "Epidemia," 541-542, 547; Hossu, Valer, "Despre epidemii de ciuma și o ultimă năvălire tătară într-un document de succesiune din anul 1815," *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XVI (1992): 389; Andron, "Calamități naturale," 22; Chiş, "Măsurile luate de austrieci," 46, 49; Florian-Ioan Chiş, "Aspecte demografice ale epidemiei de ciumă din 1741-1743 în comitatul Satu Mare," *Acta Musei Porelissensis*, XXXI-XXXII (2009-2010): 46, 53; Andorka, "The historical demography," 317; *Archiv* (1909), 325.

383. Andron, "Calamități naturale," 33.

384. Andron, "Calamități naturale," 34.

385. Habor, "Epidemiile," 126.

386. Claudia Septimia Sabău, "Atitudinea față de copii în satele năsăudene foste grănicerești în a II-a jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea," *Anuarul Arhivelor Mureșene*, Serie Noua, Nr. I (2012): 186-187; Habor, "Epidemiile," 126-127.

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the collective mentality.³⁸⁷ In Transylvania, in some years, the death incidence of the infected people reached up to 50%; cholera epidemics being recorded in 1830-1831, 1835-1836, 1848-1849, 1866, 1872-1873, with only the last outbreak that hit Transylvania and Hungary leaving around 60,000 deaths.³⁸⁸ These events, having significant negative demographic effects, influenced the marital behaviours of a population segment that constantly experienced intense sentiments of insecurity.

Overlapping the years when events of regional or continental importance took place, with the rates of marriage in the Romanian population from Rupea, the results show that marital behaviours were less influenced by these events than expected. Out of the long series of events experienced by the population between the 1780s and the Great War, only four moments seem to have produced an anxiety strong enough to curb marital unions (table 4, 5). The first such moment was recorded in 1814 and 1815, which corresponded with the period of the Great Famine and the end of the Napoleonic Wars, during which time was recorded only one marriage each year – by comparison in 1812 and 1813 recorded six marriages each year, in 1816 were recorded five and in 1817 were recorded eight marriages.³⁸⁹ Similarly, in 1820, in the context of a major drought that hit the province, only five marriages were recorded – by comparison, in 1819, 17 marriages were recorded, and in 1821, the year after the drought, 11 marriages.³⁹⁰ Later, during the smallpox epidemic of 1835-1836 that also affected the local population in Rupea, only two marriages were recorded (in 1835) at the

387. Florin-Ioan Chiş, “Remedii și comportamente în timpul epidemiei de holeră din 1830-1831,” *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XXX (2008): 412. See also Chiş, Florian-Ioan. “Aspecte cantitative privind epidemia de holera din 1873 în ținuturile sălăjene.” *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XXXI-XXXII (2009-2010): 87-94.

388. Chiş, “Remedii,” 415; Andorka, “The historical demography,” 317; Camelia Stanciu, “Epidemia de holeră din 1873 pe teritoriul Transilvaniei. Cauze și efecte,” *Acta Musei Devensis*, XXXIV (2006): 808, 811; Habor, “Epidemiile,” 121.

389. Rupea – Protocol cununați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852.

390. Rupea – Protocol cununați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852.

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Romanian families.³⁹¹ A final similar moment was in 1849, in the context of the instability caused by the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-1849, which saw Transylvania placed under martial law and during which time was also recorded a cholera epidemic.³⁹²

391. Rupea – Protocol cununați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852.

392. Chiș, “Remedii,” 415.

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Table 4. Total number of marriages recorded at the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic parishes in Rupea (1793-1866)

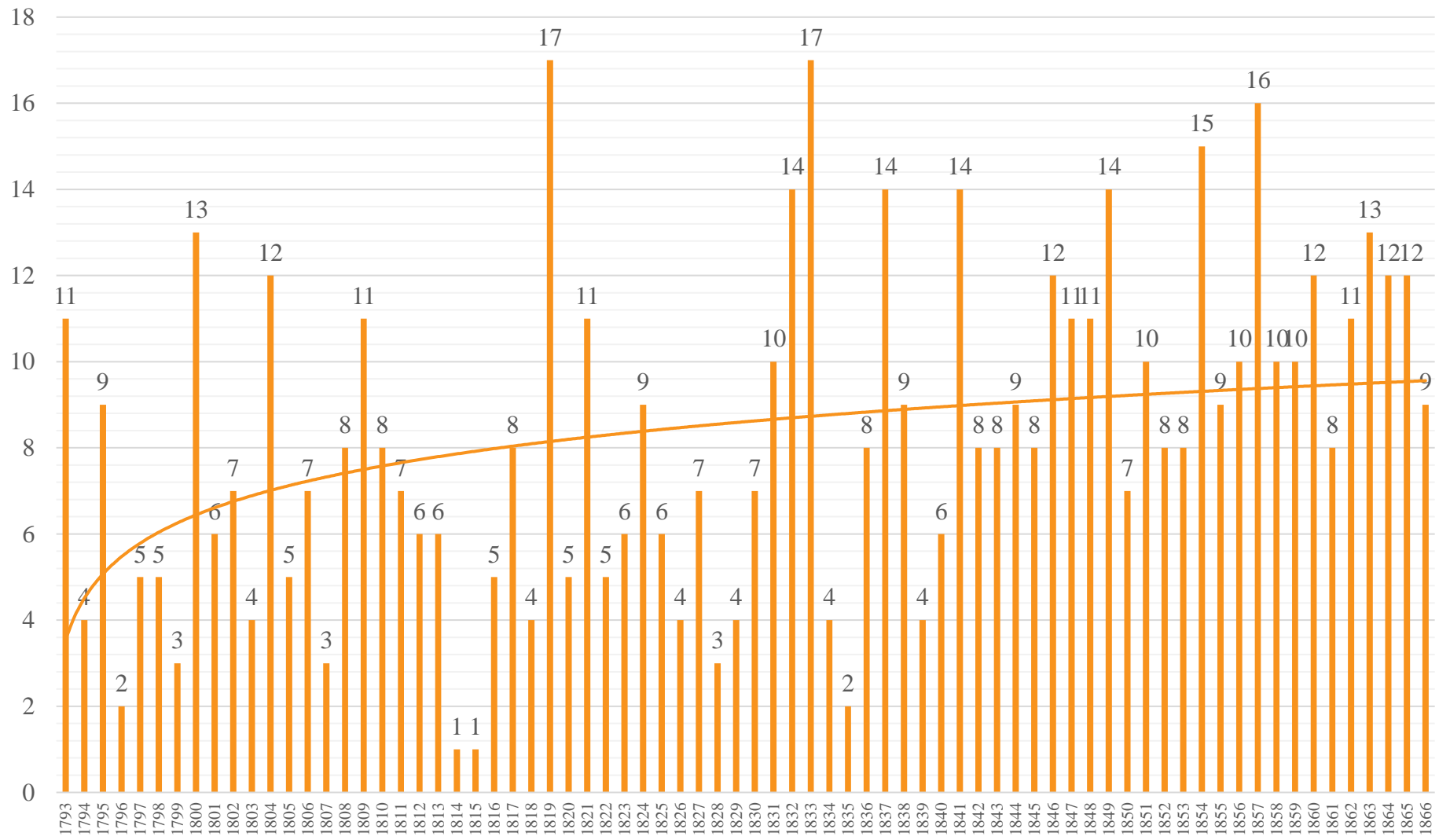
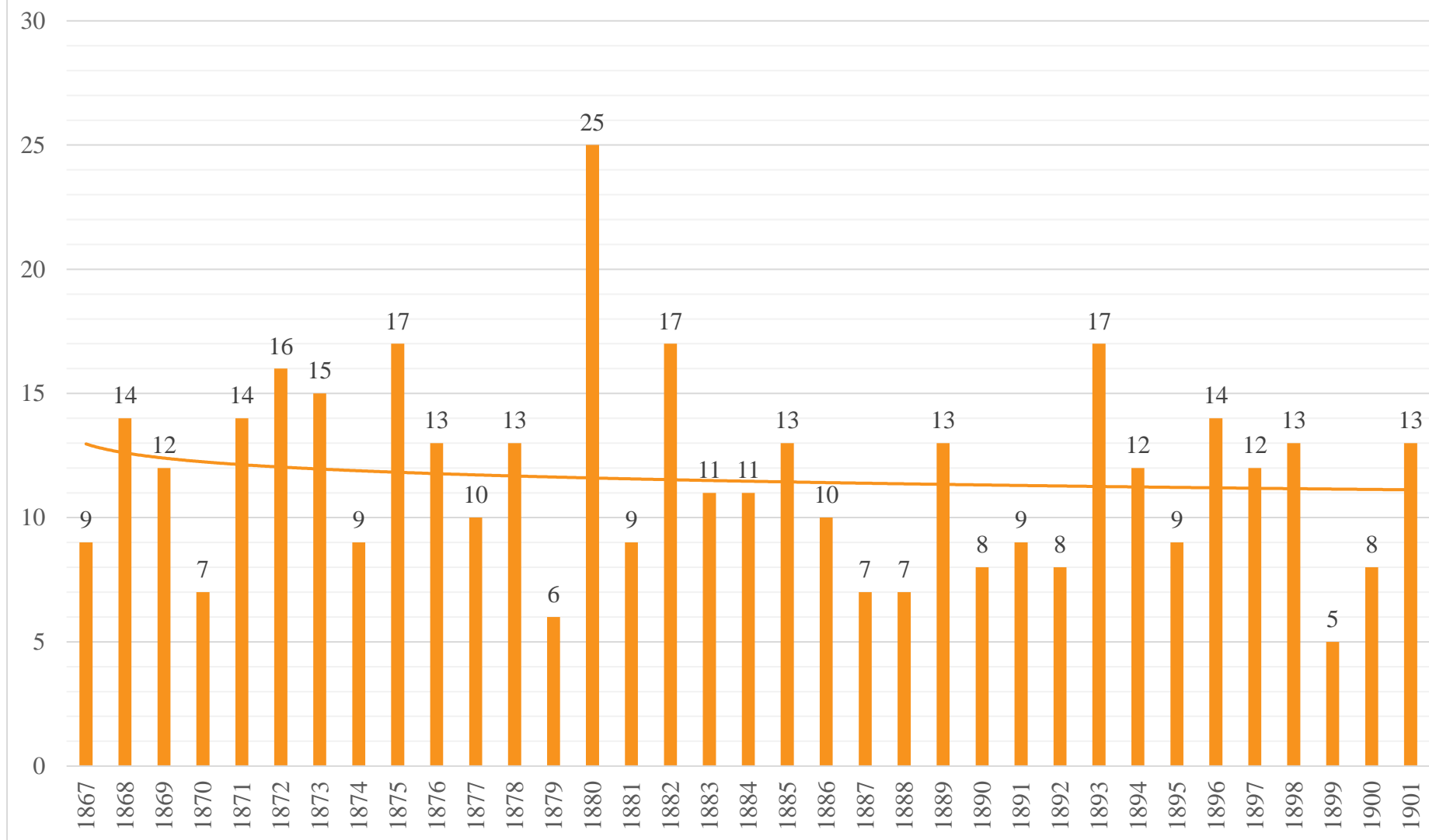


Table 5. Total number of marriages recorded at the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic parishes in Rupea (1867-1917)



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If the legislation, professional occupations, wars and natural hazards influenced the periods of the marriages, when it comes to selecting a partner, the ploughmen society established an internal system able to respond to their specific economic preoccupations. The historiographic narrative of the Romanian and Hungarian researchers coincide when they insist on the existence of a well-defined system of transactions between the families involved in Transylvania.³⁹³ This is particularly true when it comes to smaller communities, where the grooms' families, which were often related, pursued their economic agenda, which in fortunate cases coincided with the will of their children.³⁹⁴ Considering that in the early 1830s, it can be estimated that more than half of the villages in the province had a population of under 300 inhabitants, it is easy to see how the marriage of two individuals had profound implications for the entire community.³⁹⁵ The written marriage agreements and oral accounts remain valuable sources that express the priorities and the motivations of the newly formed couple – the future wife understood as part of a dowry that was entering into a new family, revealing the core economic function of the partnership – while the aesthetical characteristics, of lesser importance, were appreciated as long as the former motivation was satisfactory.³⁹⁶ The importance of personal assets, which can be understood as a form of currency, was ensuring the functioning of the new household, or in some cases, they assured the security of one of the partners, as it was revealed in the contract formulated by a widow who conditioned the moving of her entire estate to her new husband by the adoption of her children from a previous marriage.³⁹⁷ While rarer, women's dowry could also consist of land parcels,

393. Bolovan, "Familia și relațiile matrimoniale," 217; Bolovan, "Aspecte privind căsătoria," 846; Bolovan, "Atitudini privind formarea familiei," 527; Mátay, "The Adventures," 167.

394. Bolovan, "Atitudini privind formarea familiei," 526.

395. Bolovan, "Atitudini privind formarea familiei," 526, 529.

396. Muntean, "Motivații ale căsătoriei," 54; Gheorghe Tempea, in discussion with the author.

397. Muntean, "Motivații ale căsătoriei," 54.

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becoming a much-prized union because such an inheritance was customarily reserved for the masculine descendants.

Similarly, at the end of the nineteenth century, in the vicinity of Rupea, the dowry at Székely population consisted of both movable goods and small land parcels – given that the men inherited most of the land – this transaction model corresponding with similar situations encountered in rural Italy roughly during the same period.³⁹⁸ In the rural hierarchy of values, the material aspects of the dowry were followed by other criteria, such as physical strength and diligence, which were considered important qualities for a wife who was bound to fulfil domestic duties in her new household.³⁹⁹ Given the importance of material contribution, which was then followed by physical qualities, no one remained unmarried in this society because of their appearance. Even those individuals with disabilities were socially accepted as long as they had a good economic situation and could procreate.⁴⁰⁰

The strong economic determinant of marriage does not eliminate physical attraction; on the contrary, an entire laddish popular culture, traced back to the eighteenth century, expresses ideals of feminine beauty and highlights in an unpretentious yet erotic way the idealisation of peasant women.⁴⁰¹ The evening sittings where young men and women met at the host's house provided the social context where these desires could manifest.⁴⁰² The detaching from the moral frames grounded in medieval religious thought corresponds with

398. Pakot, "Family Composition, Birth Order," 106; Marco Breschi, Alessio Fornasin, Matteo Manfredini, Marianna Zacchigna, "Family Composition and Remarriage in Pre-Transitional Italy: A Comparative Study," *European Journal of Population*, 25, 3 (2008): 278-279.

399. Michael Mitterauer and Reinhard Sieder, *The European Family. Patriarchy to Partnership from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher Limited, 1983), 122; Burian, "Emanciparea femeii," 50; Mátay, "The Adventures," 166-167.

400. Andorka, "The historical demography," 320.

401. Sorin Mitu, "Imagini populare ale feminității în surse ardelene de la începutul secolului XX," *Revista Bistriței*, XII-XIII (1998-1999): 31-32.

402. Gheorghe Tempea, in discussion with the author.

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similar developments encountered in England during the same century.⁴⁰³ By contrast, in terms of romantic sensibilities, the behaviours in the rural Romanian communities during the modern period should be understood as having a more sympathetic understanding towards the terrestrial existence of the individual than those of Western Europe, particularly those encountered in the Catholic milieu.⁴⁰⁴

Showing similar traits to the marital unions encountered among the bourgeoisie and nobility, marriage in the freemen ploughmen communities also had a series of particularities that differentiated this system from the former cases.⁴⁰⁵ One of the most significant differences is the complex character of the **endogamy** in the ploughmen's communities, which simultaneously had geographical, social and confessional attributes. In the aftermath of the 1848 Revolution, with the abolition of serfdom and the increase of male mobility, the rates of exogamous marriages began to transform the marital landscape in large parts of the province.⁴⁰⁶ This intermediary stage in mobility trends, which allowed men to pursue their economic interests, follows an older model in which women from outside the village relocated to their husbands' villages – yet this later mobility was strictly marital.⁴⁰⁷ In the second half of the nineteenth century, during the transition from marital towards professional mobility, the first social categories of women who pursued a profession outside their village were of lower economic condition – those with no perspectives within their community.⁴⁰⁸

403. Lawrence Stone, *The family, sex and marriage in England 1500-1800* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1977), 643, 645-646.

404. Mitu, "Imagini populare," 33.

405. Michelle Perrot, *La vie de famille au XIXe siècle* (Paris, Editions de Seuil, 2015), 56-57.

406. Bolovan, "Considerații istorice și statistice," 50; Știrb, "Căsătoria și problemele," 60-61. Topan, "Problema căsătoriei," 232; Bolovan, "Atitudini privind formarea familiei," 530.

407. Șișeștean, "Căsătorii interconfesionale," 115.

408. Bolovan, "Atitudini privind formarea familiei," 503.

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Based on the previous residence of the individuals who married at the Greek-Catholic and Orthodox parishes in Rupea after 1867, an intermediary stage model dominates, extending until the Interwar period, with men representing as much as 75% of the individuals entering the community through marriage.⁴⁰⁹ Compared with findings located in the northern part of the province – in Apahida between 1850 and 1870, the total men marrying outside the village was 64%; in Iclod, a smaller village, between 1859 and 1880, men counted as much as 90%; in Asuajul de Jos between 1858 and 1873, men counted 79% – the rates in Rupea are very similar given the overall average (of 77%) for the three cases highlighted above.⁴¹⁰ The low rates of exogamous marriages in women's cases provide an argument for a conservative set of norms characteristic to these communities, which gave little possibilities to the women to activate outside their domestic life, remaining often bound to the borders of the village for their entire life (table 6).⁴¹¹

Hence, the men's dominance in exogamous marriages can be attributed to the increased professional mobility that addressed this group starting from the mid-nineteenth century, being only later followed by a belated presence of women in this modernisation process.⁴¹² While these sex-based differences continued to dominate until the end of the Second World War, certain conditions might produce different rates of exogamous marriages.⁴¹³ The difference between urban and rural, between smaller and larger

409. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924; Rupea – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1873-1950.

410. Bolovan, "Atitudini privind formarea familiei," 529-530.

411. Bolovan, "Atitudini privind formarea familiei," 530; Gheorghe Suma "Drăghici", in discussion with the author.

412. Perrot, *La vie de famille*, 56-57.

413. Raport oficial al parohiei Greco-Catolice din 8.11.1945 privind căsătoria Mariei Noaghiu (n.1929), greco-catolică, fiica lui Dumitru Noaghiu și a Mariei Danciu, cu Dumitru Bolborea (n.1922), ortodox, din Plopii Slăviești (județul Teleorman, Muntenia), File Certificate stare civilă, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf. Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Contract de bună învoire al bisericii Greco-Catolice încheiat între Alexandru Petrașcu din

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communities, between the various types of economic activities, and even the availability of priests to provide dispensation at marriage produced local variations in marital patterns.⁴¹⁴ Aside from the considerations based on sex, it is important to remember that exogamy remains a marginal practice in the rural landscape, with a proportion of the Romanian population in Rupea between 1867 and 1917, of only around 1 in 10 marriages being exogamous.⁴¹⁵ The reasons for this proportion were determined by pragmatic considerations related to the agrarian economy and property, making exogamy an unfeasible solution to achieve the group's economic aims.⁴¹⁶ The examination of the place of departure of the individuals that settled between 1867 and 1917 shows a high incidence in the villages with which Rupea had common borders. The study's outcome reveals that five villages – Dacia, Dăișoara, Paloș, Ungra and Homorod – all with common borders with Rupea (figure 6), accounted for 35% of the total places from where individuals came to marry into the local Romanian ploughmen families.⁴¹⁷ Followed by four other villages - Drăușeni, Hălmeag, Mercheașa and Meșendorf – which do not have direct borders with Rupea but were found in

Sibiu și Maria Spornic din Rupea, File Stare Civilă II – Certificate de bună învoire 1918-1950, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Bolovan, “Atitudini privind formarea familiei,” 529.

414. Topan, “Problema căsătoriei,” 232; Mureșan, “Fenomenul căsătoriilor,” 427; Bolovan, “Familia și relațiile matrimoniale,” 218.

415. Bolovan, “Atitudini privind formarea familiei,” 526. The total number of marriages recorded in Rupea at the Greek-Catholic and Orthodox parishes, between 1867 and 1917, was of 402 out of which 253 (63%) were recorded at the Greek-Catholic church and 149 (37%) at the Orthodox church. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1886-1895; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924; Rupea – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1873-1950.

416. Bolovan, “Aspecte privind căsătoria,” 847; Deteșan, “Sub focul încrucișat,” 87.

417. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1886-1895; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924; Rupea – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1873-1950.

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its vicinity, the nine Romanian communities accounted together for 53% of the total 35 places of origins identified for the period 1867-1917 at the Romanian population (table 6).⁴¹⁸

418. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1886-1895; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924; Rupea – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1873-1950.

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Table 6. Place of origin of the outsiders (1867-1917), by sex

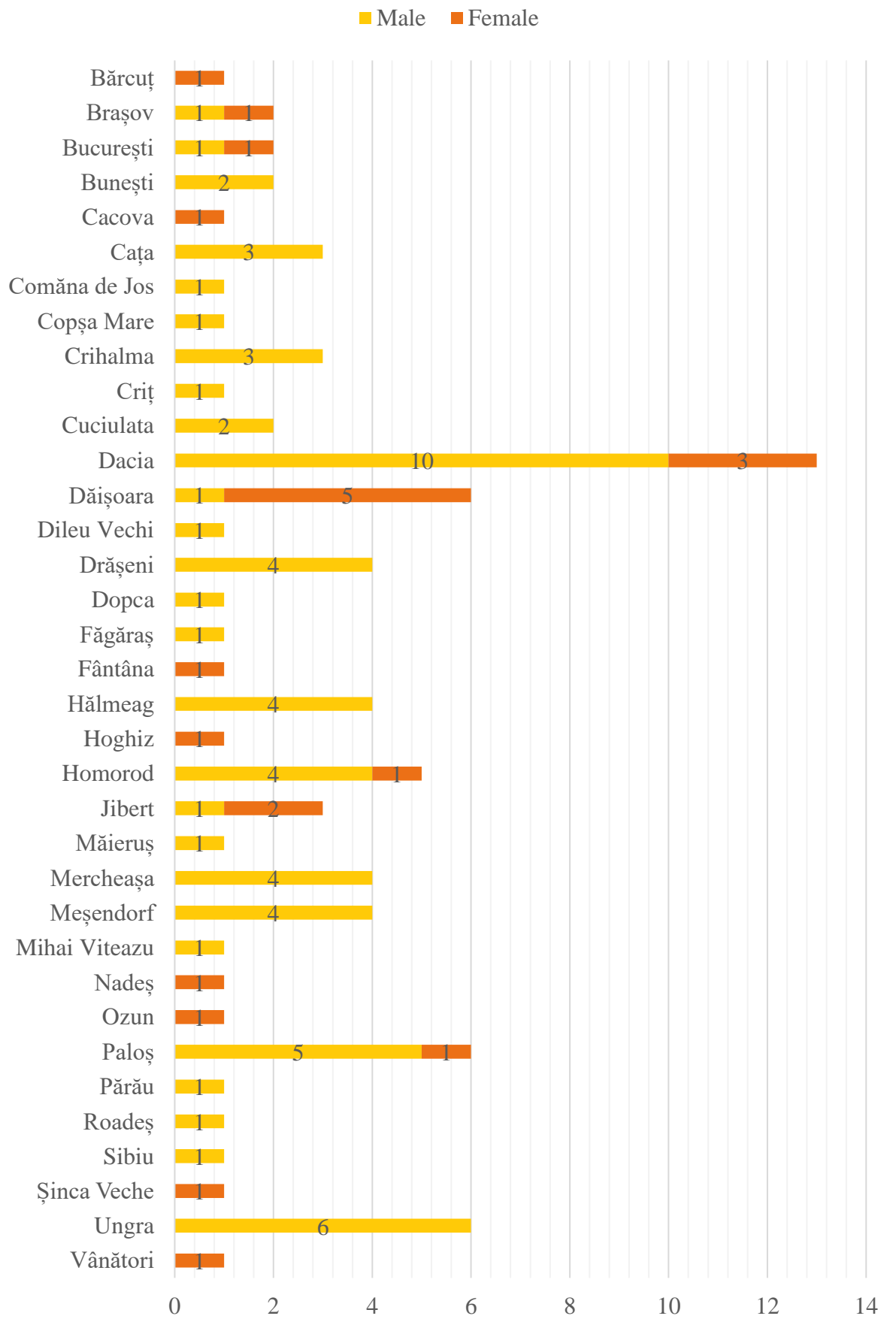




Figure 6. *Harta județului Târnava Mare interbelic după noua împărțire administrativă*, size 41.5 x 33 cm, Institutul Cartografic "Unirea" Brașov, aprox. 1928-1930, detail.

Given that marriages represent in the ploughmen communities one of the few chances to ensure the survival and, ideally, the expansion of the family's property, endogamy becomes a prime condition in selecting a partner. The social characteristics of endogamy were studied in several other villages of Transylvania, confirming the existence of a system that avoided *mésalliances* out of pragmatic reasons related to the agrarian economy.⁴¹⁹ For instance, in northern Transylvania, the reduced size of the communities and other local geographic characteristics bound the population to appeal to exogamy in around 2.5 in 10 marriages.⁴²⁰ For this reason, taking into account these rates, it comes as no surprise the high incidence of marriage among kin when considering the size of the Romanian villages in the

419. Bolovan, "Atitudini privind formarea familiei," 529; Deteșan, "Sub focul încrucișat," 87.

420. Bolovan, "Aspecte privind căsătoria," 847; Bolovan, "Atitudini privind formarea familiei," 529-530.

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nineteenth century.⁴²¹ The situation encountered in Transylvania shows little similarities with other cases of exogamy encountered in Western Europe during the same period, given that in areas such as south-central France, the average of exogamous marriages was 60%.⁴²² Positioned within this larger European context, the functioning of a different marital practice reveals the diverse economic systems and social behaviours that functioned in Central and Western Europe in the nineteenth century. Because, in the Transylvanian society, there were few economic alternatives and land patrimony was, in most cases, the only source of income, the matrimonial practices here remain testimonies of older norms longer than in the western part of the continent.

Hence, given this situation, the peasantry remains determined to pursue its economic objectives using the methods at hand despite various impediments. For instance, the Church forbade marriage between kin closer to the fourth grade and kindred through godparenting.⁴²³ Nonetheless, the cases of families requesting waivers that exempted the grooms from canonic impediments to pursue the union they hoped for were common practice.⁴²⁴ Research conducted in the Episcopate of Gherla shows that only in 1863, out of 139 waivers, 57.7% addressed kindred impediments, with individuals forwarding requests to up to the 2nd-degree kinship.⁴²⁵

421. Bolovan, "Atitudini privind formarea familiei," 529; Bolovan, "Familia și relațiile matrimoniale," 217.

422. Émile Crognier, Daniel Bley and Gilles Boetsch, *Mariage en Limousin: évolution séculaire et identité d'une population rurale: le canton de Châteauponsac, 1870-1979* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1984), 16.

423. The episcopate could grant the marriage waivers if they referred to kins of the third or fourth degree, with closer kinship impediments being solved, in the case of the Greek-Catholics, only through a papal dispense. Bolovan, "Familia și relațiile matrimoniale," 216-217.

424. Gheorghe Tempea, in discussion with the author; Bolovan, "Familia și relațiile matrimoniale," 215.

425. Bolovan, "Familia și relațiile matrimoniale," 216; Bolovan, "Atitudini privind formarea familiei," 527.

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The geographic endogamy that defined the matrimonial landscape during the second half of the nineteenth century is further completed by mixed marriages between individuals from different population groups. According to official demographic surveys conducted by the authorities, in the Rupea Seat between 1866 and 1875, the average mixed marriage rate for an individual belonging to the different population groups was 6.6%, the numbers increasing to 9.3% between 1875 and 1889.⁴²⁶ Nonetheless, in the case of the Romanian population, the ratio was lower than that of Hungarians and Saxons, who, due to higher similarities between their economic, social and religious situation, were more likely to pursue a marital union. After 1894, the situation became more flexible, permitting more categories to form families with individuals from different population groups. This change happened primarily in urban spaces, where the social milieu and norms can be characterised as more liberal.⁴²⁷ It did not take long until the trend was found in Rupea, with few cases of mixed marriages being recorded in the first decade of the twentieth century. The first three cases encountered in Rupea between one Romanian partner and one belonging to a different group have some particularities that can be explained from a social perspective.

All three encountered instances refer to Romanian men from outside the market town who married Saxon women from Rupea. In 1907, Ioan Țenghea, a trader from Făgăraș, married at the Orthodox church with Clotilde Prediger (b.1886), a local Saxon woman, the case being the first recorded mixed marriage found in the parish records.⁴²⁸ The second

426. Sorina Paula Bolovan and Ioan Bolovan, "Casătoriile mixte în Transilvania la sfârșitul epocii modern. Considerații demografice." in *Căsătorii mixte în Transilvania (secolul al XIX-lea și începutul secolului XX)*, ed. Corneliu Pădurean and Ioan Bolovan, 87-103. Arad: Editura Universității „Aurel Vlaicu”, 2005, 92-93.

427. Bolovan, "Casătoriile mixte," 101; Paula Bolovan, "Familia în Europa Centrală," 300.

428. Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author; Deciziuna nr.4/1947 a primarului comunei Rupea, Ioan Forsea privind concedierea lui Ioan Țenghea din poziția ocupată în primăria Rupea, menționând că acesta deși român după tată a servit voluntar în armata germană, File Corespondență III (1940-1949), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Liste cu locuitorii, File 1930/6; Rupea – Protocol cununăți Ortodocși, 1873-1950; "Mulțămite publice," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*.

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situation of this kind, which strongly impacted the collective memory, was the union between George Fuciu, an accountant and later director of a local Romanian bank, and Hermine Schlosser, the daughter of a wealthy local Saxon.⁴²⁹ The following year, a third marriage was recorded at the Orthodox parish between Petru Roșca, a 45-year-old professor from Brașov and Johanna Baltres, a young woman from Rupea.⁴³⁰ The examination of the social background of the three individuals reveals that their social status played a decisive role and that none of the three was part of the local Romanian community. Despite their social status, the events remained highly provocative at that time for both communities, being recalled as scandalous premieres between two groups who, although shared the same territory, mutually excluded each other in terms of private life.⁴³¹ The endogamous separation between Romanians and Saxons, characteristic of this space in the previous centuries, can be understood during the late Austro-Hungarian period as a form of self-preservation of a Saxon minority who was facing the aggressive Magyarization policies carried by the government in Budapest. To this motive can be added the social and religious differences that equally contributed to the conservative attitude of the Saxons from the nineteenth century. The three cases encountered between 1907 and 1908 did not establish a trend towards exogamy between the two groups, as they were followed by a gap until after the Second World War. When in this latter period, in the aftermath of the War, mixed marriages were reencountered, they took place between Romanian outsiders, such as military stationed in Rupea, who

429. Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author; *Aug. Paul*, "Excurzionistii ardeleni la expoziția din București," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Septembrie 16/29, 1906; *Gheorghe Cernea*, "Fapte culturale," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, August 4, 1926.

430. Rupea – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1873-1950.

431. Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author.

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married Saxon women who tried to avoid being deported to Siberia by the Communist authorities.⁴³²

While the endogamous character between the Romanian and Saxon populations is explained through the religious and social differences, the marital situation between the Romanian and Roma populations requires further consideration. Despite having a significant presence in Rupea during the nineteenth century and sharing the same religions as the Romanians, the unions between the groups showed an even lower ratio than those with Saxons.⁴³³

The first mention of the Roma in Transylvania goes back to the turn of the fifteenth century. Nonetheless, a significant number arrived only in the sixteenth century, after the expulsion of this group from western Europe and the Holy Roman Empire, becoming from that moment an integral part of the cultural landscape of the south-eastern part of the province, dominated by Romanians, Saxons and Hungarians.⁴³⁴ While assimilation through mixed marriage between Roma and the local population is known to have taken place in the Eastern Roman Empire from the fourteenth century, in the Balkans, these situations are understood as exceptions due to the slave status of this group.⁴³⁵ In the Romanian Principalities, for example, mixed marriages were regularised in codes of laws during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, establishing that marriage with a Roma meant that the

432. Ioan Sisea and Ana Sisea (nee Fișărean) in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019, June 2019.

433. Viorel Achim, *Țigani în istoria României* (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 1998), 24-25.

434. Tomasz Kamusella, "Central Europe in the Distorting Mirror of Maps, Languages and Ideas," *The Polish Review*, Vol.57, No.1 (2012): 72; Achim, *Țigani*, 22.

435. Achim, *Țigani*, 67-68.

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entire family was considered Roma and inherited the slave status.⁴³⁶ Furthermore, the proximity of Rupea to Wallachia and Făgăraș Land (a territory which for long parts of his history was the domain of the Romanian voivodes of Wallachia) reinforced in the collective mentality of the population from this area the association of that legal status with the Roma population. These stereotypes overlapped other cultural projections that associated this group with a nomadic lifestyle, which contrasted with the Romanian ploughmen's sedentarism, creating a clash of cultures. In addition, the effort of Emperor Joseph II to sedentarise the Roma from the Empire (through acts such as the *Hauptregulatio* in 1783) was met with little enthusiasm by the Transylvanian ploughmen who saw their interests put in danger by having to potentially share the little land they had with a new group.⁴³⁷

Despite the continuous exchange between the two groups, the different organisational structures of the Transylvanian Romanian ploughmen and the Roma and their different economic activities and social status created a series of symbolic boundaries between them that did not correspond with matrimonial unions among the two groups.⁴³⁸ Nonetheless, in a complex structure, such as a society, nothing is absolute and archival records sometimes reveal exceptions from the community norms. One such example was identified in Rupea during the Austro-Hungarian period when was recorded a concubinage case between a local Romanian woman and a Roma man from the nearby village Ungra (Ger. Galt), which

436. Alina Felea, "From the History of Mixed Marriages. Marriages with Roma in the Romanian Space in the 18th and First Half of the 19th century" *Zarządzenie w Kulturze*, 14 (2013): 284-286; The liberation from slavery following a mixed marriage is recorded, but the cases were extremely rare. Achim, *Țigani*, 58, 66.

437. In the context of the reforms carried by Maria Theresa and Joseph II, the term of "gypsy" was replaced with that of *neubauer* or *uj magyarok* (new Hungarians), yet in practice it continued to be used the older term even in judicial acts. Achim, *Țigani*, 70. File Seria Mapa LXXVII, Căutarea și prinderea unor fugari, Ordin gubernial către Scaunul Ciuc cu privire la căutarea și prinderea fugarilor Ioan Budar și soția sa ambii din Rupea, 1804. HR-F-00027-1-77-18. Fond Scaunul Secuiesc Ciuc (1563-1876), Partea structurală Documente foi volante (1563-1849), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Harghita, Miercurea Ciuc, Romania.

438. Achim, *Țigani*, 55, 58; Șișeștean, "Căsătorii interconfesionale," 113.

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resulted in an illegitimate child who died as an infant in 1871.⁴³⁹ Considering the social condition of the Roma in the area at that time, it is very likely that if the child had survived, it would have been marginalised in the Romanian community. This type of exclusive mentality persisted over the first part of the twentieth century in the Romanian community of Rupea, where any romantic involvement with members of the Roma community resulted in stigmatising the person implicated in this.⁴⁴⁰

Nonetheless, the relations between Romanians and Roma found an original expression during the nineteenth century in another form of kinship that did not conflict with their different economic system. To legitimise themselves, those members of the Roma community who improved their financial condition through trade at the end of the nineteenth century proposed to well-to-do Romanian families to be their wedding godparents (figure 7).⁴⁴¹ In Rupea, some of these Roma families obtained significant financial gains through practising trade – succeeding in some cases in achieving an equal or better economic situation than their Romanian peers. Hence, once an improved economic situation was obtained, these families sought to be endorsed by the local social structures, and to do so, they used the institution of godparenthood.⁴⁴² While this situation permitted the Roma families also to increase their marriage possibilities with individuals from their community – given that godparenthood was limiting marital options as it was considered a form of kinship – the social dimension of this practice remains a core motivation. Nonetheless, the godparenting

439. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923.

440. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

441. Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author.

442. Nicolae Bălica, in discussion with the author. Extras din matricula cununaților Greco-Catolici din 22.2.1948. Numele persoanelor cununate: Samoilă David, n.1901 (parinți: Samoilă David și Ana David) și Maria David, n.1899 (Nicolae David cu Maria), ambii juni Greco-Catolici din Cohalm. Numele nașilor: Ioan Borcoman cu soția Maria nee Tempea, plugari Ortodocși. Data logodnei: 23.1.1926, File Stare Civilă II – Certificate de bună învoire (1918-1950), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania.

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structures established through the sacramental ritual of the Church equally express an economic dimension of the phenomenon, where the Romanian peasantry and the Roma itinerant traders mutually endorsed each other's pursuits and established professional rapports that served both groups.⁴⁴³

443. Guido Alfani, Vincent Gourdon, Cristina Munno, Isabelle Robin, "Parrainage et compérage: de nouveaux outils au service d'une histoire sociale des espaces européens et coloniaux," *Histoire, économie & société*, No.4 (2018): 6-7.

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Figure 7. Author unknown, *Wedding photograph*, in the front row the godparents Nicolae Săracu (1888-1965), the president of the 'Society of the Ploughmen from Rupea' and his wife Maria nee Magdun (1896-1977), in the second row the grooms, a local Roma family, Interwar period, Photograph, Vasile Danciu private collection, Rupea, Romania.

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Economic practices and communication infrastructure shaped the barrier that made rural society very restrictive to marrying outside one's group.⁴⁴⁴ The development of communication infrastructure at the end of the nineteenth century was revolutionary for influencing rural economic structures and directly impacting marital practices. The temporary migration of women and men to Bucharest, which intensified after the opening of the railway between Austro-Hungary and Romania, disrupted not only the existing norms of inheritance but also those related to morality and other social behaviours.⁴⁴⁵ The first cases that announced a change in marital practices appeared soon after this new era of temporary mobility began. In 1880, Maria Pora, a twenty-year-old Greek-Catholic from Rupea, married Nicolae Chirilă from Bucharest, who was eight years older and Orthodox.⁴⁴⁶ While the marriage took place at the Greek-Catholic church in Rupea, the union was still out of the ordinary for many reasons, including the geographic factor and the fact that the woman got engaged while travelling abroad. Only two years later, in 1882, George Lungu from Rupea, at that time a resident in Bucharest, married at the Orthodox church in Rupea the thirty-six years old Ecaterina Mateescu, a Roman Catholic from Bucharest, whom he most likely met while he was away for work.⁴⁴⁷ A final case of this sort was identified twenty years later, when George Borcoman, a twenty-eight years old Greek-Catholic from Rupea, married in Bucharest at the Austro-Hungarian consulate with Maria Popa, a twenty years old Orthodox

444. Virginie Bodon, *La Modernité au village – Tignes, Savines, Ubaye... La submersion de communes rurales au nom de l'intérêt général. 1920-1970* (Fontaine: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 2003), 27-29.

445. *Uebersichtskarte der Eisenbahnen der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie, nebst den angrenzenden auswärtigen Landestheilen/ herausgegeben im Auflage des K. K. Handelsministers von der K. K. general Inspection der österr. Eisenbahnen, Autriche. K. K., General Inspection der österreich, Scale 1:1000000, Size 180 x 130 cm, 1882; "Variatăți," Transilvania. Foi'a Asociațiunei transilvane pentru literatur'a romana si cultur'a poporului romanu, Iulie 1, 1873.*

446. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923.

447. Rupea – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1873-1950.

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from Fântânele (Ger. Krebsbach, near Sibiu).⁴⁴⁸ Since it took another three years before the couple contracted a religious ceremony in Rupea in 1905, this delay might indicate that they planned to continue their life in Romania's capital and did not intend to return to Rupea. With the increase in the number of temporary migrants and the formation of larger communities during the Interwar period in cities such as Bucharest and Braşov – the two main destinations for migrants from Rupea – it was facilitated for individuals that shared the same geographical origin to find themselves in the new temporary location where they resided and contract a matrimonial union while there.⁴⁴⁹ In this sense, the case of Gheorghe Homorozean and Maria Magdun stands out. Both from Rupea married in 1932 in Bucharest while working in the capital of Romania and returned to their hometown only after they finished their contracts.⁴⁵⁰

The geographic and cultural aspects that define the character of the marriages of the Romanian population from southern Transylvania during the second half of the nineteenth century are completed by religious motivations. For the Romanians, the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Church represented an integral component of their identity assessed in contrast to the other population groups, yet within the group, the existence of two confessions also represented a motive of divergence. Data collected from the Archdiocese of Sibiu shows that at the level of the province between 1894 and 1918, there was a tendency towards an increased rate of interconfessional marriages over the entire period surveyed, with the peak

448. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923.

449. Tabel intern, File 1926/7.

450. Homorozean Gheorghe, gradul soldat, contig.1931, din Reg. 7 Dorobanți, fiul lui Ioan și Ana, a fost căsătorit cu Maria născ. Magdun în comuna București, cf actului de căs. Nr. 1004 din anul 1932, File 1944/14, Decizii și state de plată cu privire la ajutorarea familiilor celor concentrați, Certificat Mr.Nr.3 al primăriei Rupea, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Braşov, Braşov, Romania; Act al primăriei Rupea către pretura Rupea din 16.10.1940 privind statistica populației din localitate, File 1940/4, Corespondență, prefectură, pretură [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Braşov, Braşov, Romania.

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year for that timeframe being 1911 when were recorded 12%.⁴⁵¹ Research carried out in Rupea on the Romanian Greek-Catholic and Orthodox population that covers the entire Austro-Hungarian period reveals that out of 402 marriages contracted between 1867 and 1917, only 30% were interconfessional (table 8).⁴⁵² The research also concludes that out of the total marriages, 63% took place at the Greek-Catholic parish, which, similar to other parts of the province, confirms a higher rate of Orthodox for exogamous marriages (table 7).⁴⁵³ This aspect can be explained equally from other perspectives, such as local demographic realities or Church policies. For instance, this latter situation was highlighted when Greek-Catholic priests lowered marriage taxes to attract parishioners.⁴⁵⁴ A characteristic of modernisation, whose effects are first encountered in urban centres from where they extend towards rural peripheries, interconfessional marriages are proof of liberalisation from the preexistent normative structures.

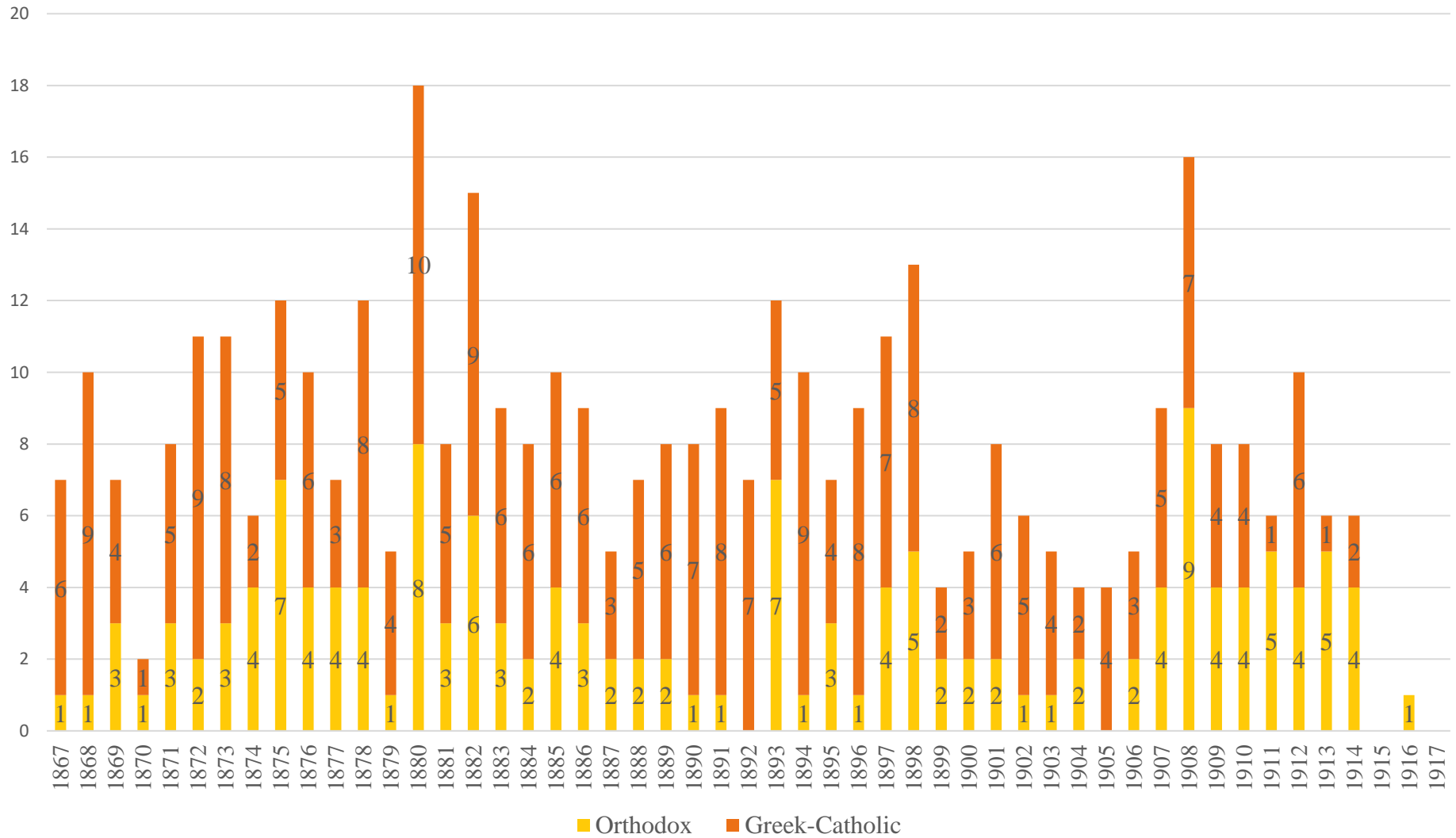
451. Soroștineanu, "Mixed marriages," 710, 714.

452. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924; Rupea – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1873-1950.

453. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924; Rupea – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1873-1950; Bolovan, "Casătoriile mixte," 99.

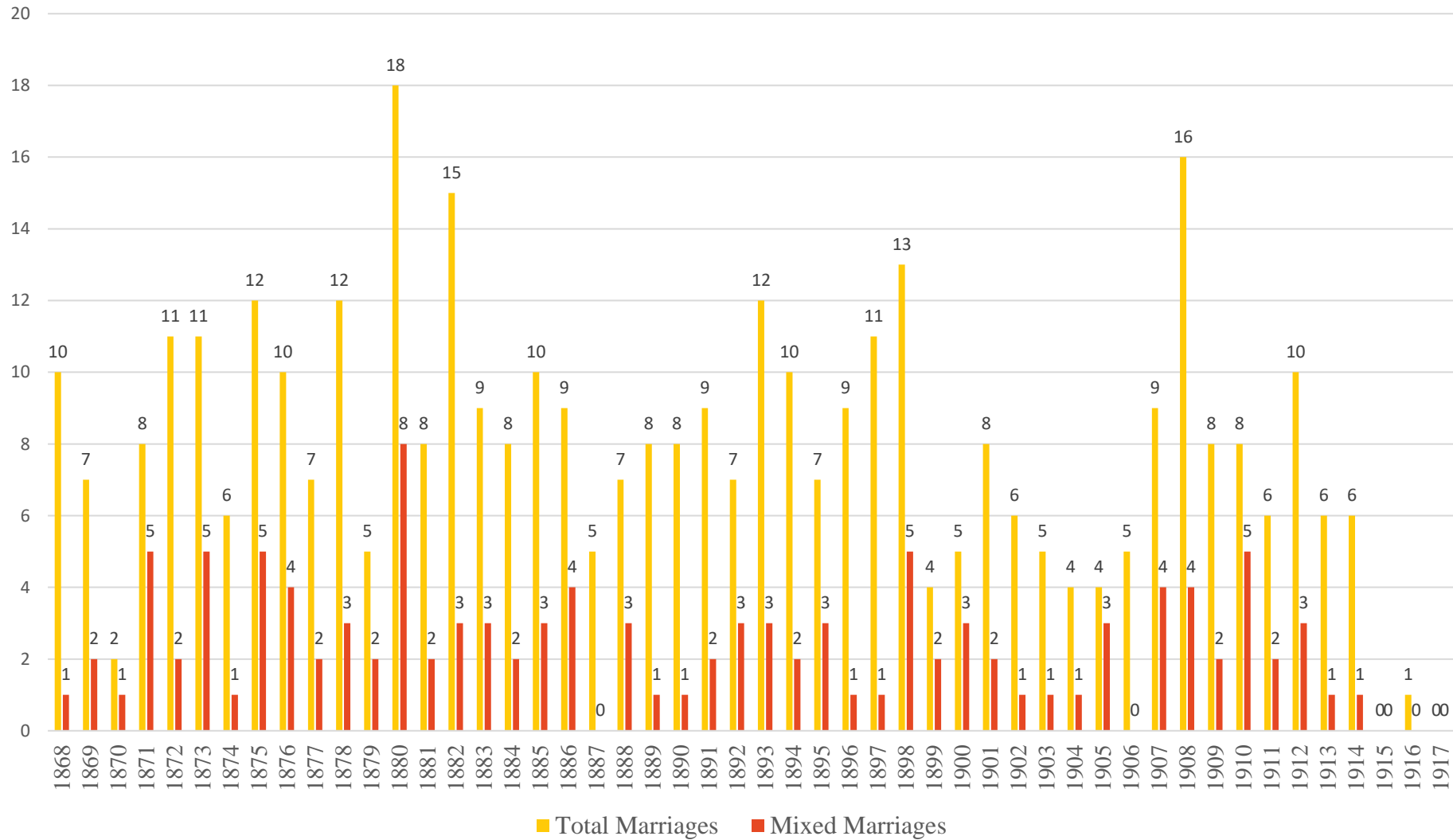
454. Maria Diana Covaci, "Relații interconfesionale reflectate în documentele protopopiatelor orthodox și greco-catolic Reghin în a cea de-a doua jumătate a secolului XIX," *Revista Bistriței*, XIX (2005), 223-225; Bolovan, "Familia în Europa Centrală," 299.

Table 7. Recorded marriages in Rupea at the Romanian families according to the confessional criteria during the Austro-Hungarian period



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Table 8. Rates of confessional exogamous marriages recorded at the Romanian families from Rupea during the Austro-Hungarian period



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The evaluation of the interconfessional marital patterns in Rupea, using indicators such as geographical, civil status and confession, reveals that out of the 27 combinations, six accounted for as much as 69% of the total possibilities (table 9). Since all these six categories involve only individuals at their first marriage, the most common interconfessional marital indicators were further reduced to geographical and religious aspects. In order of incidence, the first category is that of young Orthodox men from other villages marrying young Greek-Catholic women from Rupea at the Greek-Catholic parish (18%); this category was followed by young Orthodox men from Rupea marrying young Greek-Catholic women from Rupea at the Orthodox parish (13%), then by young Greek-Catholic men from Rupea marrying young Orthodox women from Rupea at the Orthodox parish (12%), by young Orthodox men from Rupea marrying young Greek-Catholic women from Rupea at the Greek-Catholic parish (11%), by young Greek-Catholic men from Rupea marrying young Orthodox women from Rupea at the Greek-Catholic parish (10%) and finally by young Greek-Catholic men from Rupea marrying young Orthodox women from other villages at the Greek-Catholic parish (5%).⁴⁵⁵ Having this mapping in mind, the first observation that can be made is that confessional mobility was virtually balanced between the two groups. Further, when the groom was from outside the village, they were more likely to adopt the spouse's confession. An analysis of these first six categories reveals that in 41% of the cases, the ceremony was carried out at the bride's church. These rates increase to 50% when excluding geographic exogamous marriages. Out of that total of 402 contracted marriages, 46% were endogamous and took place between individuals at their first marriage, and the rest represented a total of 23 possible combinations determined by geographical, civil status and confessional status. This suggests that the marital landscape in Rupea during the Austro-Hungarian period

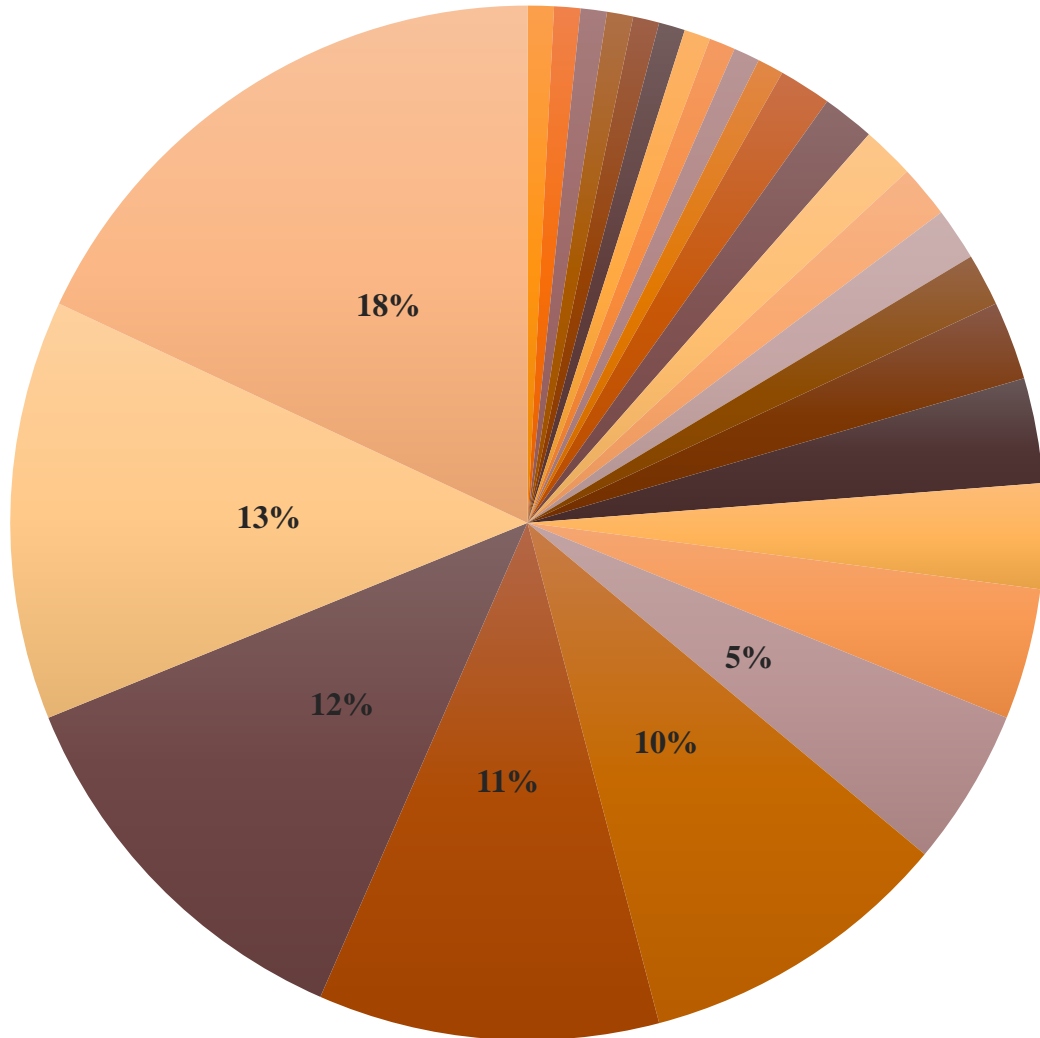
455. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924; Rupea – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1873-1950.

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resulted from multifaceted determinants of economic objectives interrelated with other life conditions such as solitude, divorce and, naturally, death that influenced the marital unions.⁴⁵⁶

456. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924; Rupea – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1873-1950.

Table 9. Interconfessional marriage patterns at the Romanian families from Rupea with rates of incidence above 5% (1867-1917)



- 5% Local Unmarried Greek-Catholic Man + Outsider Unmarried Orthodox Woman => Married at the Greek-Catholic Parish
- 10% Local Unmarried Greek-Catholic Man + Local Unmarried Orthodox Woman => Married at the Greek-Catholic Parish
- 11% Local Unmarried Orthodox Man + Local Unmarried Greek-Catholic Woman => Married at the Greek-Catholic Parish
- 12% Local Unmarried Greek-Catholic Man + Local Unmarried Orthodox Woman => Married at the Orthodox Parish
- 13% Local Unmarried Orthodox Man + Local Unmarried Greek-Catholic Woman => Married at the Orthodox Parish
- 18% Outsider Unmarried Orthodox Man + Local Unmarried Greek-Catholic Woman => Married at the Greek-Catholic Parish

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The increased mobility, whose effects can be perceived in all social categories, began in the final decades of the nineteenth century to influence the marital culture of the educated local secular elite, priest families and the peasantry. These categories, taking advantage of improved communication infrastructure, sought to consolidate their status by going to even greater distances only to achieve their social objective and obtain an advantageous marriage.⁴⁵⁷ For instance, the peasant women who went to work as house servants before marriage to save some money started to reconsider their marital options after making contact with the urban culture around this period. These social attitudes which characterise the rural society at the end of the nineteenth century are expressed in various forms, including folk creations such as one collected during that period in the vicinity of Rupea, in the village Ticușu Nou that express a modernisation at the level of mentalities: “Lassies in these parts/ They are looney/ Cause they go from village to village/ To find themselves a spouse/, And they go to town/ To find themselves a godparent/, And they walk the entire country/ To find themselves a good partner.”⁴⁵⁸ The increased social ambitions are equally an effect of a population that became more aware of the world outside the borders of their village. Overall, it can be argued that this accumulated experience generated in a period of two generations a new culture of marriage – one more ambitious, but at the same time also more liberal. While not a marital example, the case of the baptism of Maria, the daughter of Nicolae Bănuț Jr. and Bucura nee Magdun, is representative but also exceptional in many ways. Born in 1905 while her parents likely worked in the household of Princess Maria Bibescu, the girl was baptised by the princess in Comarnic (in the Kingdom of Romania), making her one of the few

457. Rigman, “Fenomenul natalității,” 159, 162.

458. George Frățilă, “Poesii populare. Din Ticușul-romănesc,” *Tribuna Poporului*, Martie 22/ Aprilie 3, 1897.

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children encountered during the research to have benefited from the spiritual patronage of an illustrious personality.⁴⁵⁹

Research into the social background of the people from Rupea who found marriage partners in urban settlements – such as Făgăraş, Braşov, Sibiu and Bucharest – indicates that at the time of their marriage, they abandoned their condition, at least temporarily, assuming a new lifestyle that delimited them from the association with a peasant condition.⁴⁶⁰ For example, three cases of marriages of Romanians from Rupea were identified in Bucharest, implying that these individuals temporarily assumed a labourer identity, adopting characteristics and norms specific to urban spaces. In other situations, such as in the case of Nicolae Lungu, an Orthodox from Rupea who married Maria Lazăr in 1883, a Roman Catholic from Braşov, biographical data reveals that he was working at the time of marriage as a shoemaker in Berivoi (in Făgăraş Land).⁴⁶¹ Learning a craft and departing from the lifestyle associated with agriculture permitted him to establish a marital union that was accepted by the norms of his identity group.

In addition to the examples presented above, the children of priests, during a period of the secularisation of the Romanian Transylvanian elite, were among the first to integrate into the newly formed category. In its turn, the young provincial laic intelligentsia found in the clerical families an equal, both in terms of status and, at times, in educational background. The modernisation of Romanian society, which moved towards secularism, gradually replaced the dominance of clerical figures from the top tier of cultural and political life.

459. Protocol botezaţi, cununaţi, morţi Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924; Gheorghe Vîja, in discussion with the author (not recorded), Strasbourg, France, December 2022.

460. For instance, in 1902 Gheorghe Borcoman from Rupea contracted a civil marriage at the Austro-Hungarian consulate in Bucharest with Maria Popa a young woman from the village Cacova, Sibiu County but only three years later in 1905 the religious ceremony took place at the Greek-Catholic Church in Rupea. Rupea – Protocol botezaţi, cununaţi, morţi Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923.

461. Rupea – Protocol cununaţi Ortodocşi, 1873-1950.

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Given the intensity of this process, envisaging any established intellectual family in twentieth-century Transylvania without family ties with the clerical dynasties is difficult to imagine. In Rupea, the cases encountered during this period confirm this trend, linking the transformation of the local secular elite to those encountered in the eastern part of the Empire.

The first case studied is that of the Priest Clemente Raicu, who not only chose as godparents for his children a trader family from Braşov, but later, in 1895, he managed to marry his daughter Maria with Constantin Pop, an operative at Albina Bank from Sibiu and later director of this most renowned financial institution of the Transylvanian Romanians. A few years later, George Repede (b.1877), the son of the Greek-Catholic Priest George Repede (1847-1914), who worked as a notary in Rupea, married in 1905 Maria Valenta, a Roman Catholic originally from Chropyně, Moravia. Born into a well-to-do family, Maria Valenta was the daughter of Gustav, the most recent owner of the Renaissance castle from the nearby village of Hoghiz. A similar case was identified a few years later, during the Interwar period, when Virgil Mircea (1885-1956), the youngest son of the orthodox Priest Nicolae Mircea (1842-1905), married Maria Constantinescu, the daughter of a wealthy trader from Brăila. Virgil, who studied in Budapest to become a lawyer, was baptised by Maria Bănuţ (1855-1888), the mother of the writer and prefect of Târnava Mare, A.P. Bănuţ (1881-1970) and wife of the Royal Vice Judge Paul Bănuţ (1844-1880). Virgil married in 1924 in Brăila, choosing Ioan Iosif, the director of Cetatea Bank of Rupea, to be his wedding godfather. Similar to the cases of provincial urban Hungarian nobility from the beginning of the eighteenth century who favoured status and caste identity above economic benefits, the Romanian provincial elite in Transylvania was looking to strengthen their status by marrying

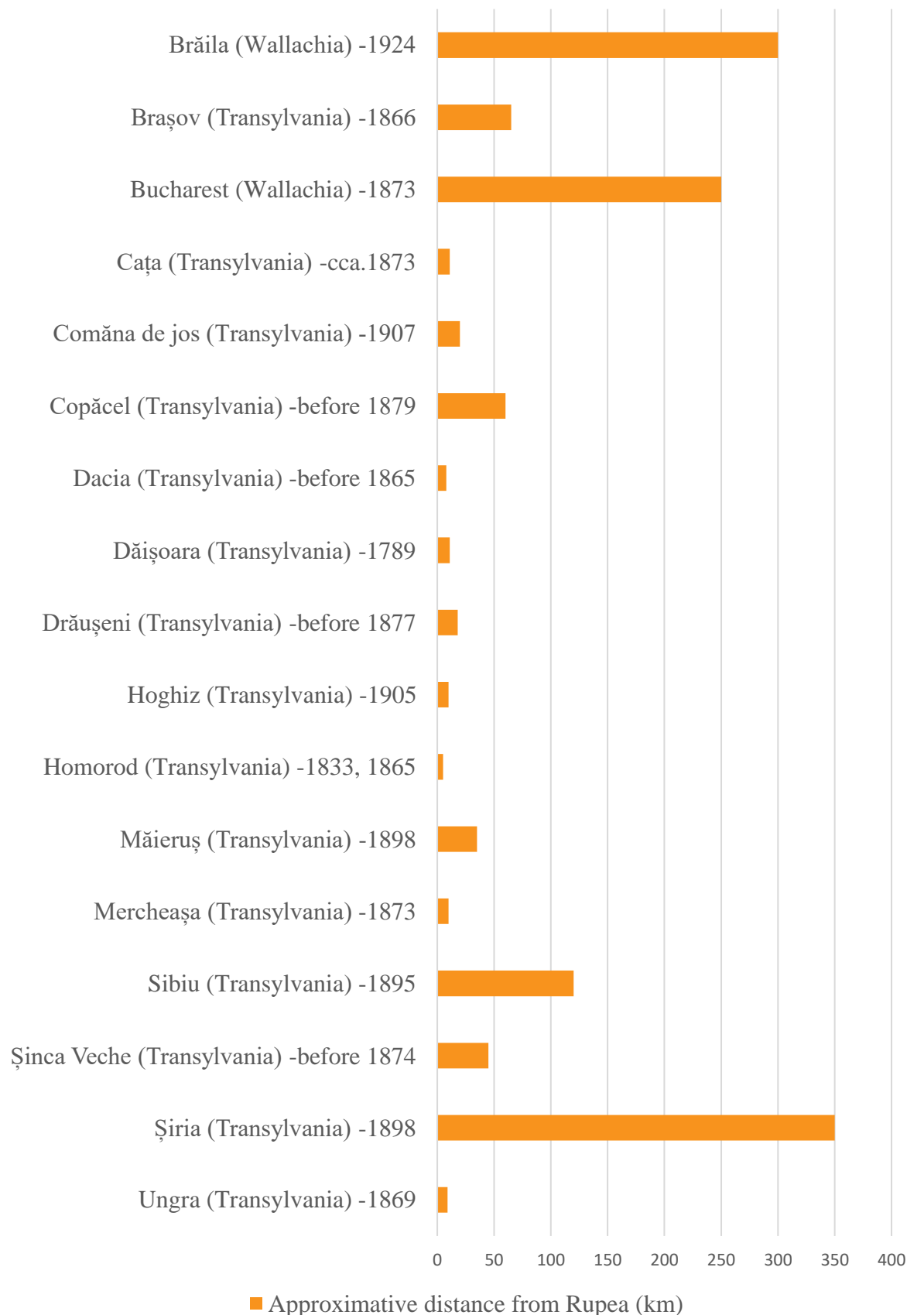
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categories they considered fit to attain this objective, more than improve their economic condition.⁴⁶²

The investigation of the evolution of matrimonial practices provides a better understanding of the diverse rural Romanian society of Transylvania. The time between the second half of the nineteenth century and the Interwar period was full of social transformations influencing the aspirations of individuals, who discovered new ways to maintain or improve their condition. The study of the couples at their first marriage was completed by three other matrimonial situations omnipresent in the rural world – remarriage, concubinage and divorce. This second part of the chapter intends to provide a more thorough projection of the evolution of the institution of marriage in the Transylvanian landscape in the aftermath of the 1848 Revolution.

462. Mátay, “The Adventures,” 168.

Table 10. Examples of the evolution of distances at geographic exogamous marriages



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Widowhood as a component of rural society can be understood as an ordinary encounter for all age groups. However, while in contemporaneity, widowhood is generally associated with the decease of one of the partners in old age, in the collective mentality of the Transylvanian peasantry, widowhood was associated with young individuals who were confronted with the death of their partner after only a couple of years of marriage. These circumstances made **remarriage** in rural societies during the modern period accepted as a necessity to re-establish the economic function of the household.⁴⁶³ Similar to the situation encountered in Catholic Europe during the same period, a survey of the rates of remarriage in northern Transylvania during the second half of the nineteenth century indicates that between 14.5% and 26% of the married members of a community were previously married, having the status of widowed or divorced at the time of their next marriage.⁴⁶⁴

The social and economic implications in the event of the death of a partner at an early age are fundamental to understanding the reasons behind remarriage in the rural world. In the Romanian society from Transylvania or from the Principalities, the death of a partner at an early age inevitably implied a remarriage.⁴⁶⁵ Due to the complex social and economic consequences in the Transylvanian Romanian rural society, remarriage remained the only possibility to reintegrate the household into the agrarian economic cycle and the individual in the community's social life. Hence, it comes as no surprise that celibacy was disregarded in the local system of norms – the status of the single individual in the community being restored only through the existence of the family, which ensured his reintegration into the life

463. Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, “Împreună cu mastiha noastră. Familiile recompuse în Țările Române (secolul al XVIII-lea),” *Revista Istorică*, tom. XXVIII, nr.5-6 (Sept.-Dec. 2017), 501.

464. The extreme dates of the surveys are 1850 and 1910. Muntean, “Motivații ale căsătoriei,” 53; Știrb, “Căsătoria și problemele,” 60; Breschi, “Family composition,” 285.

465. Vintilă-Ghițulescu, “Împreună cu mastiha,” 501; Muntean, “Motivații ale căsătoriei,” 53; Topan, “Problema căsătoriei,” 231.

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of the community.⁴⁶⁶ Unlike in Austria, pre-industrial France, and eighteenth-century Massachusetts, where remarriage was linked to individuals with better economic conditions, this characteristic does not seem perceivable for the Transylvanian Romanian peasants.⁴⁶⁷

From an ecclesiastical point of view, the remarriage of an individual who lost his partner was tolerated as a weakness of human nature, being tacitly accepted as a compromise for the saving of the household continuation and preserving the moral integrity of the individual in the community. The syntagmatic formulations used by the local clerics correspond with a specific vocabulary used in the second half of the nineteenth century in the province, distinguishing between widowhood by death and by divorce, but also by the number of times one was married: “widowed by two women”, “[widowed] by one man”, “[widowed] by the death of the husband”, “widowed by the death of the wife”, “both widowed by divorce”, “widowed by separation.”⁴⁶⁸ If the cases of divorce record lower incidence rates during this timeframe, in the cases of multiple remarriages, the situation is surprisingly more common given the high mortality rates and the tolerance of both the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Churches.⁴⁶⁹ Nonetheless, even in these situations, provoked by natural causes, the Church forbade the fourth marriage despite a limited number of cases during the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁷⁰ Such an exceptional situation was also

466. Muntean, “Motivații ale căsătoriei,” 54-55; Iulia Adina Pop, “Femei în familie: relații familiale și roluri în societatea transilvăneană în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea,” *Revista Bistriței*, XXII (2008): 308-309; Claudia Septimia Sabău, “Prunci zămisliți, prunci nedoriți – despre cazurile de avort din Districtul Năsăudului (1861-1876),” *Revista Bistriței*, XXV (2011): 217-218.

467. Breschi, “Family composition,” 279.

468. Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1886-1895.

469. Bolovan, “Familia și relațiile matrimoniale,” 219.

470. Bolovan, “Familia și relațiile matrimoniale,” 219.

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encountered in Rupea, where in 1806, a Romanian man who belonged to the kin of Danciu was reportedly married four times.⁴⁷¹

As an essential component in the process of understanding the institution of the family, the rates of remarriage in Rupea were analysed for a period of half a century, between 1867 and 1917, indicating that 60% of the recorded remarriages, one of the partners was never married.⁴⁷² The findings also show that during this entire period of all contracted marriage in Rupea at both Greek-Catholics and Orthodox, almost 17% of the married people were at their second marriage, providing a clearer understanding of what the phenomenon of remarriage meant in the rural world at the turn of the twentieth century.⁴⁷³ From a sex-based perspective, the results highlight that in Rupea, the average age at remarriage is 37.5 for men and 30.5 for women (table 11), which, when compared with other areas of the province such as the northern Transylvanian town of Turda, where between 1850 and 1918 the average age for remarriage is 37.3 for men and 34.5 for women, or with the villages Apahida where the average age between 1850 and 1870 was 38.1 for men and 37.2 for women and Iclod where the figures indicated an average of 39.3 for men and 32.3 for women, Rupea positioned at the lower end of this spectrum. This age difference is evident in the case of the women whose average age for remarriage is 30.5 years old, which positions the Romanian women from this market town much lower than in all the other cases. While it is generally accepted that these

471. Iorga, *Studii și documente*, 198.

472. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1886-1895; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924; Rupea – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1873-1950.

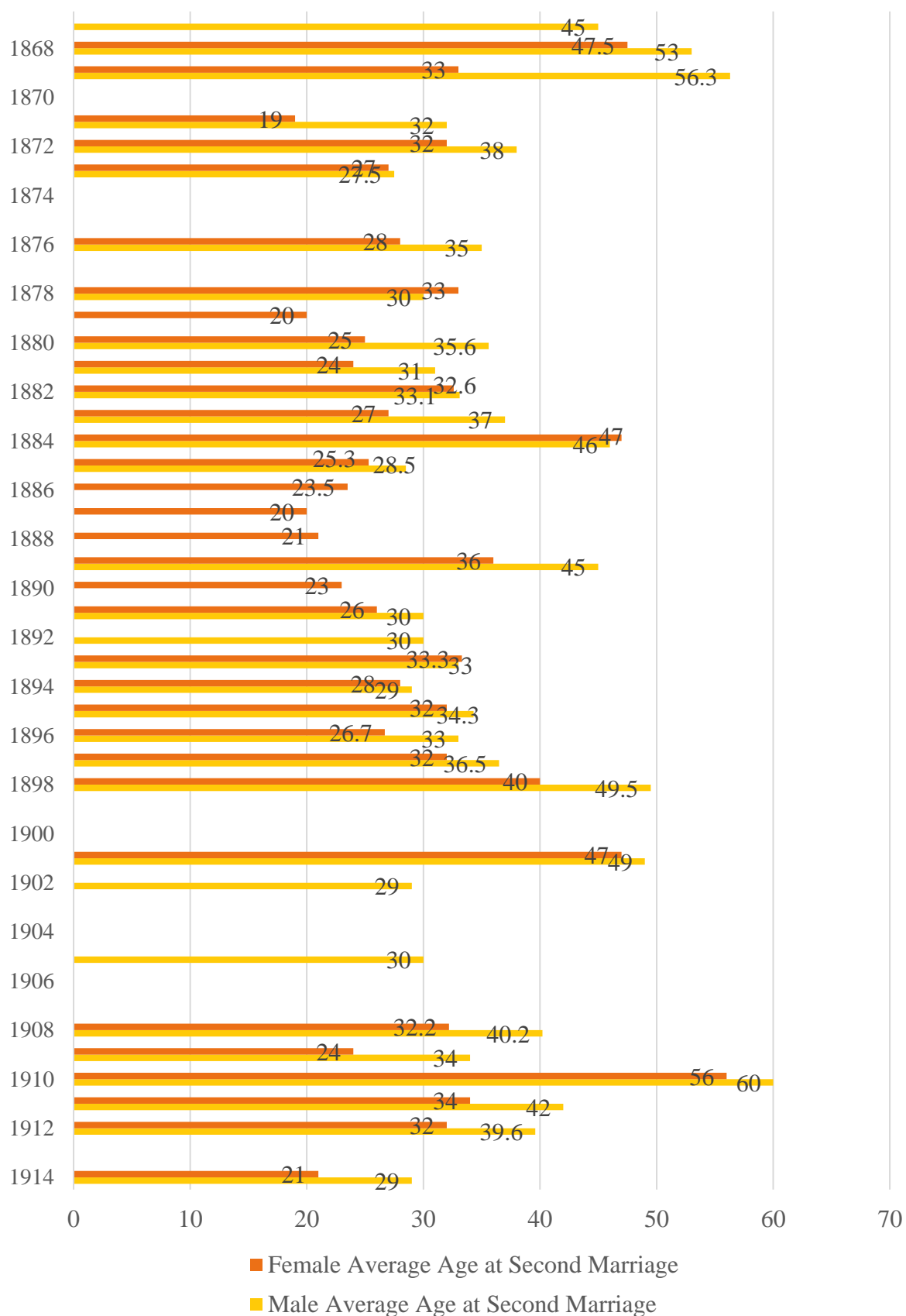
473. A total of 136 out of 802 individuals who married in Rupea between 1867 and 1917 were not at their first marriage. Out of these 136 individuals a total of 40% married with another widower or divorcee. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1886-1895; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924; Rupea – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1873-1950.

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age differences are influenced by both the size of the community and their proximity to larger urban spaces, a precise assessment of the reasons for the lower age rates in the southern part of the province compared to the northern half cannot be made until further investigation is conducted.⁴⁷⁴

474. Topan, "Problema căsătoriei," 232; Bolovan, "Aspecte privind căsătoria," 848-849; Bolovan, "Atitudini privind formarea familiei," 532.

Table 11. Average age at second marriage in Rupea (1867-1917)



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Regardless of the reasons, one aspect is certain: the importance of the restoration of the economic function of the family stays at the core of this practice, and the numerous permissions granted by the Church for men to remarry before the finalisation of the canonical mourning periods confirm this idea.⁴⁷⁵ Being often linked to an economic urgency to remarry, particularly in the case of widows, who, in the absence of their husbands, were more liable to financial decrepitude, remarriage represents a pragmatic response of the Romanian society to preserve economic and moral balance.⁴⁷⁶ The Church responded positively to these demands, motivated by the upholding that men and women performed complementary functions in the ploughmen's households, and the absence of either member was leading to economic and arguably moral ruin.⁴⁷⁷ Hence, having the acceptance of the Church in the Romanian communities, remarriage in the case of the partner's death was sometimes even supported by the local clerics.

Moreover, in the community, the widower status, far from being condemned, presented itself as an opportunity to establish a profitable union, considering that a young widower had improved his situation after a few years of marriage.⁴⁷⁸ This situation, encountered in agrarian societies, changed when the rural communities were closer to urban centres. In these cases where the population had more economic possibilities, the death of a partner did not always block the functioning of the household; on the contrary, in the areas

475. Bolovan, "Familia și relațiile matrimoniale," 220.

476. Vintilă-Ghițulescu, "Împreună cu mastiha noastră," 501-502; Wall, "Beyond the Household," 59-60; Bolovan, "Familia și relațiile matrimoniale," 220.

477. Bolovan, "Atitudini privind formarea familiei," 528.

478. Frans van Poppel, Aart C. Liefbroer, Jeroen K. Vermut and Wilma Smeenk, "Love, necessity and opportunity: Changing patterns of marital age homogamy in the Netherlands, 1850-1993," *Population Studies*, Vol. 55, Nr.1 (2001): 2.

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that developed small industries, the widowers could engage in these economic activities after the death of their partner and could even flourish.⁴⁷⁹

The remarriage of widowers with younger women had its advantages, given the reproductive role and the household activities carried by the wives.⁴⁸⁰ In addition, in the cases when the men were also still relatively young, they were more likely to remarry with young women who had never married before.⁴⁸¹ While overall, in Transylvania, the male mortality was higher, when looking at the younger couples, the women were more likely to die in the first years after their marriage.⁴⁸² The cause of this situation is explained by the risks the women exposed themselves to during childbirth. By contrast, men, who, due to their lifestyle and as the main workforce in agriculture, showed higher rates in the later part of the marriage.⁴⁸³ Similar to the situation in Italy during the same period or in France during the ancien régime, the research carried out in Rupea and other rural communities of Transylvania indicates a higher incidence of widowers that remarried than widows, confirming the importance of women in the economic functioning of the rural household.⁴⁸⁴ While this sex-based difference shows variations according to demographic and geographic factors, the general rule of higher rates of widowers remarrying – especially with young unmarried

479. Mátay, “The Adventures,” 171.

480. Poppel, “Love, necessity and opportunity,” 2.

481. Bolovan, “Considerații istorice și statistice,” 49.

482. Bolovan, “Considerații istorice și statistice,” 49.

483. Vintilă-Ghițulescu, “Împreună cu mastiha noastră,” 501; Breschi, “Family composition,” 286.

484. Maillard Brigitte, “Les veuves dans la société rurale au XVIIIe siècle,” *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest*, No. 1, Tome 106 (1999): 211; Breschi, “Family composition,” 278; Bolovan, “Considerații istorice și statistice,” 49; Bolovan, “Aspecte privind căsătoria,” 848; Vlașin, “Rolul registrelor,” 172; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1886-1895; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924; Rupea – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1873-1950.

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women – applied equally in Transylvania and the entire eastern part of the Empire.⁴⁸⁵ The Transylvanian rural society's modernisation also touched this marital practice, with more women starting as early as the 1860s to refuse marriage with widowed men.⁴⁸⁶ On the other hand, for the widows, the difficulties of remarrying remained high, particularly if they did not belong to important kins to ensure them at least a social status if their economic condition was less advantageous.⁴⁸⁷ While remarriage of older individuals was less common due to the Transylvanian inheritance system, which implied that the younger child remained in the house of his parents to take care of them when they become helpless, in exceptional cases when this arrangement was not possible the remarriage at old age becomes a pragmatic social response to administrative and economic challenges.⁴⁸⁸

With the novel elements that make a way in society in the context of increasing urbanisation and transport infrastructure developments, during the closing decades of the century, the ecclesiastical authorities began to manifest publicly a relaxation of the mores among the rural population.⁴⁸⁹ The abolition of serfdom during the mid-century triggered a long-term mass effect on this demographic dominant segment of the Transylvanian population by opening the possibility to move. Apart from soldiers, domestic servants, shepherds and day labourers who enjoyed greater mobility due to their specific occupations, the rest of the rural world's categories started to be put into motion after that moment. When

485. Bolovan, "Atitudini privind formarea familiei," 532; Bolovan, "Familia și relațiile matrimoniale," 220; Andorka, "The historical demography," 318.

486. Bolovan, "Considerații istorice și statistice," 40, 50.

487. Gheorghe Tempea, in discussion with the author; Breschi, "Family composition," 289, 292.

488. Contract de bună învoire din 2.2.1939 între Nicolae Todor, concubin, Greco-Catolic, născut la 11.11.1868 și Ana Spornic, concubină, Greco-Catolică, născută la 26.6.1876, File Certificate bună învoire – Stare Civila I, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; In 1910 the widowers George Borcoman from Rupea and Maria Vodea from Dăișoara married at the age of 60 respectively 56. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1873-1927; Pakot, "Family Composition, Birth Order," 105.

489. Soroștineanu, "The Discourse on Marriage," 72.

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referring to private life and mores, the warning raised by the clerics was virtually valid, in the sense that the increased mobility favoured a higher rate of the **concubinage** as an alternative form of cohabitation, which in turn resulted in an increased level of illegitimate births.⁴⁹⁰ Understood as a cohabitation practice outside the accepted norms during the nineteenth century, this situation, produced by a general population movement towards urban centres, can be found in many other places on the European continent, with high levels of concubinage and illegitimacy being identified in cities such as Paris, Vienna or Rome.⁴⁹¹ The relaxation of the mores as a consequence of this social reality that, in the case of Transylvania, manifested only starting from the second half of the nineteenth century contrasted with eighteenth-century attitudes of the Church and State. If, at the beginning of the eighteenth century in a village near Braşov, the death penalty was still applied in a case of concubinage, a century later, with the liberalisation of mores, this practice, while still unwanted and shameful, facing various degrees of public opprobrium, remained only verbally condemned.⁴⁹² Considering that the Church still considered it a form of debauchery, the acts of concubinage at the end of the nineteenth century continued to be punished, yet this penalty now consisted only of fines and verbal criticism.⁴⁹³ Having the support of the state, the Church appealed to various tactics to combat concubinage – which, from a purely canonical perspective, was as serious as adultery – including the diminishing or even exempting from marriage taxes in situations when they provoked impediments to marriage.⁴⁹⁴ The practice of

490. Deteşan, “Sub focul încrucişat,” 83, 86, 88; Bolovan, “Casătoriile mixte,” 90.

491. Rachel G. Fuchs and Leslie Page Moch, “Pregnant, Single, and Far from Home: Migrant Women in the Nineteenth-Century Paris,” *The American Historical Review*, No.4 (Oct. 1990): 1009-1010; Frost, *Living in Sin*, 10, 12;

492. “Din cronic’a lui Michailu Csereo. 1661-1711,” *Transilvania. Foi’a Asociatiunei transilvane pentru literatur’a romana si cultur’a poporului romanu*, Noembrie, 15, 1869.

493. Maria-Cristina Ploşca, “Familia în societatea rurală din Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea,” *Acta Musei Corviniensis*, XI (2007): 138; Ştirb, “Căsătoria şi problemele,” 59.

494. Soroştineanu, “The Discourse on Marriage,” 66, 76; Deteşan, “Sub focul încrucişat,” 93.

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concubinage that in 1923, in the Greek-Catholic parish from Rupea was encountered fifteen times, was sometimes only a temporary arrangement, an intermediary phase in the couple's life.⁴⁹⁵ In Rupea, in 1867-1917, the cases of couples living in concubinage before marriage could extend from a few days – “in concubinage for one week” (1873) – to years – “in concubinage for around two years” (1867).⁴⁹⁶ Nonetheless, the long bureaucratic processes of dispensation often transformed this cohabitation agreement into a permanent situation.⁴⁹⁷

A particular alarm to ecclesiastical authorities concerning concubinage was its effect on the intensification of child illegitimacy. In fact, during this period, concubinage was the main cause of illegitimacy, challenging the assumption of children being born outside the wedlock because of affairs.⁴⁹⁸ Despite this situation, the Church had limited power, and this social behaviour continued to propagate as a sign of modern times. Having complex causes motivated by economic and social necessities, the concubinage was eventually integrated into the system of cohabitation of the rural Transylvanian landscape.⁴⁹⁹ While poverty remained the most common cause that determined couples to refrain from officialising their union in the face of God, other factors that impacted the rates of concubinage were the family's disapproval, kinship impediments and the protection of the inheritance by one of the partners.⁵⁰⁰

495. Date statistice, File Date demografice protopopiat 1896-1897, 1923; To a Greek-Catholic population that in 1940 counted 570 individuals.; Act al primăriei Rupea, File 1940/4.

496. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923.

497. Deteșan, “Sub focul încrucișat,” 87.

498. Soroștineanu, “The Discourse on Marriage,” 79.

499. Deteșan, “Sub focul încrucișat,” 93.

500. Deteșan, “Sub focul încrucișat,” 87, 89; Soroștineanu, “The Discourse on Marriage,” 71; Știrb, “Căsătoria și problemele,” 59; Bolovan, “Aspecte privind căsătoria,” 847-848; Soroștineanu, “The Discourse on Marriage,” 74.

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Apart from the previous two situations, **divorce** was the less common yet was the one with the most important impact on the community. In the Romanian Orthodox space, in the seventeenth century, while discouraged, divorce was permitted by the ecclesiastical hierarchs up to the third marriage.⁵⁰¹ Data from the final decade of the nineteenth century reveals that in Târnava Mare County, of which Rupea was part, the entire legally divorced population was estimated at 0.24%, the second highest proportion in the province after Braşov County (with 0.25%).⁵⁰² The multiple social implications of a divorce in the life of a community reconfirm the reciprocities a marriage creates by involving entire kins in the process.⁵⁰³ To a certain extent, a divorce involves the entire community. Kins, familiars, and neighbours entered into debates, gossip, and conflicts, sometimes being called witnesses for the divorce process.⁵⁰⁴ Seen as an exit of the natural order and having a pronounced social stigma attached to it by society and the Church, the latter rarely granted a divorce, even in the most difficult situations.⁵⁰⁵

According to the Orthodox canon, divorce, apart from the situation when it was revealed consanguinity that cancelled the marriage, could be requested by one of the partners in various situations such as repulsion, alcoholism, maltreatment, illness, impotence,

501. At the Protestant population of the province the legal divorce was made available for both women and men since 1791, while in France a similar act passed in 1792 and in England in 1857. Mátay, "The Adventures," 171-172; Anca-Daniela Huţ, "Relațiile matrimoniale în familiile boierești din Țara Românească și Moldova în secolul al XVII-lea. Între armonie și divorț," *Acta Musei Sabesiensis*, no. 2 (2010), 336.

502. Sorina Paula Bolovan and Ioan Bolovan, "Contribuții privind divorțialitatea în Transilvania la sfârșitul secolului XIX și începutul secolului XX," in *Studii de demografie istorică (secolele XVII-XXI)*, eds. Corneliu Pădurean and Ioan Bolovan (Arad: Gutenberg Univers, 2010), 110-111.

503. Huţ, "Relațiile matrimoniale," 337; Bolovan. "Contribuții privind divorțialitatea," 100.

504. Valeria Soroștineanu, "Iubirea între divorț și căsătorie. Studii de caz în mediul orthodox transilvan," in *În căutarea fericirii. Viața familială în spațiul românesc în sec. XVIII-XX*, eds. Ioan Bolovan, et al. (Cluj: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2010), 106; Burian, "Emanciparea femeii," 103,106; Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții*, Vol. I, 194-196.

505. Ploșca, "Familia în societatea rurală," 138, 140-141; Burian, "Emanciparea femeii," 56, 59; Daniela Deteșan, "Povești de divorț din lumea cultă a Săliștei (a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea)," *Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis*, IX (2020): 153.

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monkhood or the most common, adultery.⁵⁰⁶ Adultery, which was the most invoked, also had the highest chance of being accepted by the Church in granting a favourable decision. This does not mean that genuine cases of adultery did not exist; on the contrary, qualitative research indicates many instances of this kind. For example, the long absence of the husband from home, combined with monotony and frustration related to the expectations of married life, contributed to the appearance of these situations in the rural world.⁵⁰⁷ Quantitative studies indicate fornication as the most common cause of divorce in the Romanian population from Transylvania during the final two decades of the nineteenth century.⁵⁰⁸ In addition, periods of great social disturbance, among which war is a chief example, eased the moral norms both for women and men – housewives and soldiers.⁵⁰⁹ Nonetheless, according to the Church, the absence of the partner from the conjugal space was not considered a pertinent motivation to grant a divorce request.⁵¹⁰

Apart from adultery, another reason with important social consequences on those involved was the impotence of the couple to procreate, a situation that fell on the shoulders of the wife, being a reason strong enough for the husband to request a divorce. In these situations, the wife was suffering from social stigma in the community for being economically inefficient since she could not procreate heirs essential to maintain the economic function of the household.⁵¹¹ Other causes reflected in the official reports of the

506. Frost, *Living in Sin*, 96; Ploșca, “Familia în societatea rurală,” 138; Topan, “Problema căsătoriei,” 235; Burian, “Emanciparea femeii,” 50; Soroștineanu, “Iubirea între divorț și căsătorie,” 103-104; Bolovan, “Contribuții privind divorțialitatea, 102; Andra Carola Pinca, “Aspecte privind perioada prenatală și nașterea în mediul rural din Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea,” *Revista Bistriței*, XXIII (2009), 144.

507. Ploșca, “Familia în societatea rurală,” 139-140; Deteșan, “Povești de divorț,” 146.

508. Topan, “Problema căsătoriei,” 235; Mitu, “Imagini populare,” 33.

509. Soroștineanu, “The Discourse on Marriage,” 7.

510. Ploșca, “Familia în societatea rurală,” 138.

511. Pinca, “Aspecte privind perioada prenatală,” 144.

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time were alcoholism, physical and verbal violence, arranged marriages, and the lack of fulfilment for dowry or diseases as the most invoked reasons for the partners that sought to divorce.⁵¹² The cases of younger couples remain of particular significance given that the requests filled by the wives invoked the emotional side in the cases of arranged marriages that did not have the endorsement of the women.⁵¹³ Consolidating a larger historiographical argument on the importance of emotions in the process of partner selection in Transylvania during the modern period, an analysis of the divorce motivations can answer this complex debate related to the history of emotions.⁵¹⁴

The church created a system to avoid divorce through the use of the Matrimonial Tribunal, which in most cases recommended the “separation of bed and table” for a period that could extend up to two years in the hope after that period of physical separation, the spiritual bond was rejuvenated, and the complainants renounced to their requests.⁵¹⁵ This procedure followed religiously a byzantine bureaucracy, which prolonged the entire process over more years in the hope that the individuals would renounce their pretensions.⁵¹⁶ Apart from the length of this process, the high taxes involved were meant to discourage the individuals from pursuing this path – the lack of financial capabilities postponed the beginning procedure in some cases for years, discouraging many from even embarking on such an attempt.⁵¹⁷ In addition, women faced an extra challenge, for both the Church and

512. Deteșan, “Povești de divorț,” 155.

513. Bolovan, “Atitudini privind formarea familiei,” 526.

514. Bogdan Andriescu, “Confesiune și viață privată în Transilvania secolelor XVI-XVII. Păcatele carnale,” *Acta Musei Corviniensis*, XI (2007), 126-127.

515. Bolovan, “Familia și relațiile matrimoniale,” 222; Burian, “Emanciparea femeii,” 46.

516. Știrb, “Căsătoria și problemele,” 58; Vlașin, “Rolul registrelor,” 172.

517. Bolovan, “Contribuții privind divorțialitatea,” 99; Ploșca, “Familia în societatea rurală,” 140-141; Deteșan, “Povești de divorț,” 153; Burian, “Emanciparea femeii,” 59.

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society were more condemning towards divorce requests forwarded by wives who, in extreme situations, even faced arrest in response to their actions.⁵¹⁸ In this sense, even during the second half of the nineteenth century, there remained a tendency of the Church to refuse women's requests.⁵¹⁹ For instance, in some dioceses during this period, only 1 in 3 cases of divorce motivated by domestic violence against women were approved.⁵²⁰ Even during the Interwar period, in the divorce files of Romanian families from Rupea, was observed a partisan allegiance of the Church, and possibly of the community, that was unfavourable to the position of the women in this process.⁵²¹ With the enforcement of the Austrian Civil Code (1853), the situation of women improved in theory since this regulatory document was responsible for ensuring a fairer outcome of the process. For instance, if the husband was found guilty in the divorce process, he was legally obliged to pay an allowance to his former partner if she did not have the means to support herself.⁵²² In the final quarter of the nineteenth century, data on divorce rates at the province level indicated a gap between East Central and Western Europe at the level of social behaviours. For instance, during the same timeframe, in Transylvania, there was a relative balance between divorce requests formulated

518. Burian, "Emanciparea femeii," 46, 49.

519. Mátay, "The Adventures," 176.

520. Pop, "Femei în familie," 313; Bolovan, "Contribuții privind divorțialitatea," 99-100.

521. Decizie divorț a tribunalului Ibașfalău din 5.7.1923 privind procesul intentat de Lazăr Săracu soției sale Maria Danciu, File 1923/1, Încurajarea industriei, participări la Primul Război Mondial, repatrieri în Ungaria, exproprieri locuri de casă [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Certificat din 23.1.1937, eliberat de primărie privind situația stării civile dintre Maria Fulgoș nee Șoaită, domiciliată în comuna Paloș (no.188) și soțul ei Vasile Fulgoș, domiciliat în Rupea (no.392), care atestă că cei doi nu au restabilit viața conjugală după primirea decizii Tribunalului Târnava-Mare din anul 1936 prin care sus-numita era somată să se întoarcă la soțul ei, aceștia având un copil împreună Vasile (născut în 1934). File 1937/5, Certificate comunale cu privire la mărimea suprafețelor proprietăților agricole [...], Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Cerere din 11.3.1950 a lui Danciu Ioan către Înalț Prea Sfințitul Părinte de a i se acorda divorțul bisericesc, acesta fiind deja divorțat civil de soția sa Haizea Maria, File Acte stare civilă diverse, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Carte de judecată Nr.73. Ședința publică din 19.7.1948. Proces divorț intentat de Ioan Danciu contra pârâtei Maria Danciu.[...] căsătoria încheiată de părți urmează a fi declarată desfăcută din vina pârâtei, File Acte stare civilă diverse, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania.

522. Burian, "Emanciparea femeii," 51.

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by men and women, while in France, as much as 9 in 10 requests were forwarded by women.⁵²³

This chapter explored the evolution of matrimonial practices in Transylvania from the second half of the nineteenth century to the Interwar period. The research highlights a shift towards a more ambitious and liberal marriage culture resulting from a series of political, economic and social facts that characterise East Central European space during the second half of the nineteenth century. In the context of the fast improvement of the communication infrastructure, the increased mobility had a visible impact on the marital culture in the rural space. The mobility developed individuals' development perspectives and reshaped the existing marital norms. From contracting marriages in urban spaces to resonating with an increasing social fluidity, the marital landscape is visibly marked by dynamism. Widowhood, a significant component of rural society, often leads to remarriage as a means of re-establishing the economic function of the household. The examination of remarriage rates confirms the frequency of this practice and its socioeconomic implications. Concubinage gained popularity with increased mobility, urban migration and secularisation of the rural space. The relaxation of norms is evident as concubinage becomes more accepted, challenging traditional moral standards. Divorce had great social implications in rural spaces during the studied period, reflecting a series of modernising factors that emerged during this period, including some early forms of emancipation.

The dynamics between tradition and modernity and the shifts in marital practices reflect broader trends seen in other European contexts that link Transylvanian modernity to a larger narrative. The chapter serves as a valuable contribution to understanding the nature of marital dynamics in the broader landscape of rural late Habsburg East Central Europe. The

523. Sandra Brée, "Deux siècles de séparations et divorces en France (1792-1975)," *Annales de Démographie Historique*, No.143, 1 (2022): 79; Bolovan, "Contribuții privind divorțialitatea," 100-101.

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impact of increased mobility transformation of the economic structures reveals an evolving cultural landscape that resonates with the changes in other parts of the European continent.

The first part, which investigated the development of structures in rural society from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, identified various social and economic elements that contributed to the modernisation of the institution of the family. Using kinship and matrimonial alliances to question how solidarities and hierarchies are constructed and reconstructed, the first two chapters provide a foundational role in understanding how the household economy functioned in the ploughmen communities from Rupea.

Under the research theme “Family Structures”, the first two chapters present a cohesive exploration of the historical and cultural evolution of the Romanian community in Rupea. The following chapter introduces the second theme, “Household Economics”. Hence, the third chapter of the thesis focuses on exploring the economic transformation that defines rural households. The transition to a new theme intends to understand rural modernisation through family history, moving from the social dynamics of marriage to the analysis of agriculture and population mobility.

PART II

HOUSEHOLD ECONOMICS

3. Well of Wealth: Inheritance, Income and Inequality in a Changing Rural Landscape

The study of rural household modernisation is explored in this chapter through two sub-chapters and a case study, providing an economic perspective on a *longue durée* process. The first sub-chapter explores the evolution of ploughmen's economy from the perspective of agriculture and household production methods following the evolution of land ownership, cattle production, the role of markets, labour practices and working tools. The second sub-chapter investigates the effects of temporary mobility in rural space, highlighting the economic motivations of the population. This part focuses on three migration directions – Central Europe, the Kingdom of Romania, and the United States of America – offering an original perspective on the pragmatic objectives of the peasantry and the impact of mobility on the rural household. Based on the information from the first two parts, the final case study is constructed from a microhistory perspective to link more significant historical transformations to the destiny of a rural household from Rupea.

The following sub-chapter, which represents the chapter's core, provides a historical frame that addresses the evolution of agriculture in Transylvania from the Principality period until the end of the Second World War.

3.1. Private Property, Labour and Agricultural Performance

The concept of property in Romanian rural society finds an original explanation by studying the semantics of specific terminology that designates land. The two most common terms – “moşie” and “hotar” – encompass concepts of time and space that define institutional evolutions in the rural world. The term “moşie”, which can be translated as property or estate, is rooted in “moş”, a word that designates an ancestor or specifically an elder, revealing a familial continuity process in the agrarian space through filial inheritance as its fundamental *modus operandi*. The second term, “hotar”, which designates various functions in the rural space, can be understood simultaneously as the entire land mass of the village, the borderline between villages, and any parcel of arable land outside the living area.⁵²⁴ Being often the force behind the social developments that defined the identity of the peasantry in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, private property – designed through the two terms mentioned above – is deeply rooted through a complex semantic structure in the civilisational horizon of the Romanians. Igniting the imagination of writers, the peasantry's struggle to maintain or enlarge the size of this most valuable of possessions became the subject of some of the most representative novels of Romanian literature.⁵²⁵

This sub-chapter explores several themes on the socioeconomic evolution of agriculture in the Transylvanian Romanian peasantry living in the King's Land. Following an introductory historiographical overview, the chapter addresses the theme of land, tracing the

524. Lucian Petru Lăcătuş, “Ortodoxie și mentalități rurale,” *Acta Musei Devensis*, XXXV-XXXVI (2007-2008), 883; Dumitru Loșonți, *Certitudini și ipoteze etimologice* (București: Editura Academiei Române, 2007), 96; Camelia Burghele, “Hotarul satului. Receptarea valorilor multiple ale hotarului în societatea tradițională,” *Revista Bistriței*, XII-XIII (1998/1999), 220-221.

525. See the novels written by Liviu Rebreanu, Marin Preda and Ioan Slavici.

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evolution of land ownership in the King's Land. The research then widens to explore the evolution of the cattle sector, showing its central economic role and the political implications of this agricultural product. The following theme explores the importance of the markets as hubs of economic exchange, providing an understanding of how peasants participated in trade and thereby offering a look into the broader economic life of Transylvania. The exploration of labour culture forms another thematic focus, revealing a diverse working force that was supporting the functioning of rural households during the transition to a market economy. Finally, the investigation addresses the evolution of working tools, anchoring the analysis on the profound impact of these possessions on shaping Transylvanian agriculture and rural society in general.

The history of the Romanian peasantry living on the King's Land (Lat. Fundus Regius) remains perhaps one of the least studied areas of Transylvania. Caught in-between the Romanian population from Făgăraş Land – who benefited from an enduring Romantic-era historiographic fascination as the cradle of the medieval Romanian state – and the Romanian population living in the counties whose social condition of servitude became the apotheosis of the Marxist historiographical discourse, the theoretical status of the freemen peasantry failed to intrigue enough the historians.⁵²⁶ Dominated politically by the Saxon colonists whose settlement in Transylvania is dated starting from the mid-twelfth century, the

526. On the development of literature on Făgăraş Land see for instance the works of, Nicolae Densușianu, *Monumente pentru Istoria Terei Fagarasului* (București: Tipografia Academiei Române, 1885); Ioan Pușcariu, *Fragmente istorice despre boerii din Țara Făgărașului*, Partea III (Sibiu: Tiparul Tipografiei Arhidieceșane, 1904); Augustin Bunea, *Stăpânii Țării Oltului: discurs de intrare în Academia Română* (București: Institutul de Arte Grafice "Carol Göbl", 1910); Ștefan Meteș, *Viața bisericească Românilor din Țara Oltului* (Sibiu: Editura Asociațiunii, 1930); Ștefan Meteș, *Situația economică a românilor din Țara Făgărașului* (Cluj: n.p., 1935); Vasile V. Caramelea, *Tipuri de posesoritate ale foștilor boieri și grăniceri din Țara Oltului. Sistemul juridic consuetudinar genealogic* (Campulung-Muscel: n.p., 1945); David Prodan, *Boieri și vecini din Țara Făgărașului în sec. XVI-XVII* (Cluj: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1963). On the subjects approached by Romanian historians that were in consonance with the political discourse during the communist period see for instance, David Prodan, *Iobăgia în Transilvania în secolul al XVI-lea*, Vol. 1-3 (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1968); Ștefan Pascu, *Răscoale țărănești din Transilvania* (Cluj: Cartea Românească, 1947); Ștefan Pascu, *Bobâlna* (București: Editura Tineretului, 1957); Ștefan Pascu, *Revoluția populară de sub conducerea lui Horea* (București: Editura Militară, 1984); Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu* (București: Editura Științifică, 1965); Ciupea, "Observații asupra toponimiei," 298.

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population living in the King's Land developed over the following seven centuries a series of original institutions that confer an individuality to this space within the history of the province.⁵²⁷ Enjoying a series of privileges granted by the kings of Hungary between the mid-thirteenth and mid-fourteenth centuries, the area entered into a process of urbanisation. The low density of the population in this space and the development of urban settlements resulted that until the mid-fifteenth century, all the inhabitants living in this territory enjoyed their rights and responsibilities as freemen – despite the absence of the Romanians as a group from the province's political life.⁵²⁸ The instability period that followed after the fall of the Kingdom of Hungary (Battle of Mohács, 1526) and continued after the establishment of the Principality of Transylvania (Treaty of Speyer, 1570) until the Habsburg occupation of the province at the end of the following century, influenced in various ways the practice of agriculture on the King's Land. Leading to a decrease in the cultivation of arable land – especially in the proximity of towns – in favour of animal husbandry, this long period of instability was particularly unfavourable for the practice of agriculture in the southern part of the province.⁵²⁹ During this period, sheepherding, a practice associated with the Romanian economy – had equally suffered, given the imposing by the Ottomans of a monopoly price,

527. Pop, "Transilvania în secolul al XIV-lea," 242-243.

528. Năgler, "Transilvania între 900 și 1300," 222; Pop, "Transilvania în secolul al XIV-lea," 252, 262; Năgler, *Românii și sașii*, 69-70, 72, 81, 87; Avram Andea, "Habitat și populație în Transilvania secolului al XVIII-lea," in *Civilizație medievală și modernă românească. Studii istorice*, eds. Nicolae Edroiu, Aurel Răduțiu and Pompiliu Teodor (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1985), 138.

529. One effect of the decreased cultivation of agricultural land was the appearance during the Principality period of new settlements on the "free fields". A specific phenomenon related to the local agrarian system and the geography of this space, the new settlements established in the common "free fields" were, in fact, parcels difficult to access from the village. A series of demographic and political realities suggest that until the late seventeenth century, there was enough land destined for agriculture, and some of these spaces were granted to settlers (*coloni*). Năgler, *Românii și sașii*, 172-173. One such case was also identified in Rupea Seat, in the village Ticuș (Ger. Tekes), where the local authorities granted permission to Romanian agricultures to settle in, forming a new village that eventually came to be known as Ticușu Nou (New Tekes, Ger. Neutekeser). Acordarea drepturilor de semănat și arat, 1552, File 630, Seria U IV, Colecția de documente medievale, SB-F-00001-1-U4-630, Magistratul orașului și scaunului Sibiu, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Sibiu, Sibiu, Romania; Marin Popan, "Coexistență și confruntare în satele româno-săsești de pe Fundus Regius (Ro. Pământul Crăiesc) cu deosebire în districtele libere regești ale Bistriței și Sibiului (secolele XVII-XVIII)," *Revista Bistriței*, XXXIV-XXXV (2020-2021), 122; Năgler, *Românii și sașii*, 170-172, 174.

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which contributed to an overall lower level of sheepherding compared to the previous centuries.⁵³⁰

From the sixteenth century, the authorities from the King's Land applied the principle of equality of citizens, granting economic liberties to any household, including Romanian, that paid its financial duties to the political commune – *jeder Hof Geld giebt* (“every house gives money”) – receiving in return a parcel of land and access to the communal forest.⁵³¹ For instance, in the seventeenth century in Daneş (Ger. Dansdorf, in Sighișoara Seat), the newly married couples received a cleared parcel of land, vines, and some uncultivated land as an aid to the newly formed economic unit.⁵³² In contrast, cases of private estates have been mentioned exceptionally in the King's Land from the fourteenth century, yet towards the final days of the Principality, private property spread to the detriment of the common ownership system, which led the rural space to a period of crisis.⁵³³ The causes for this situation are multiple, but the protection of the Saxon demographic majority could partly explain this new situation. Despite the decreasing birth rate rates of the Saxons during this period, protectionist policies were applied even when the citizens could not work all the available land in the village.⁵³⁴ For the Romanians, who did not have political rights, this privatisation resulted in owning none or owning smaller parcels than the Saxons and, on average, smaller even than

530. Radu Totoianu, “Mărginenii Sebeșului în cadrul pastoritului transhumant,” *Acta Musei Sabesiensis*, 11 (2019): 322.

531. Năgler, *Românii și sașii*, 175-176. Despite this situation, the juridical inferior status of the Romanian population in the province was reconfirmed in acts of the Transylvanian Diet (the legislative, administrative, and judicial body of the Principality). Ioan Vasile Leb, “Realități profesionale în Transilvania în prețuia unirii cu Roma a unei părți a românilor Ortodocși,” *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Series Historica, 6/II (2002): 34.

532. Nussbächer, *Din cronici*, 130.

533. István Imreh and József Pataki, “Contribuții la studiul agriculturii transilvănene (1570-1610),” *Acta Musei Napocensis*, IV (1967), 159-160; Năgler, *Românii și sașii*, 174, 177-178.

534. Popan, “Coexistență și confruntare,” 121-122.

the Romanians living in the counties.⁵³⁵ In addition, with the implementation of new policies promoted by the Enlightened Habsburg monarchs that aimed to end Roma nomadism, starting from the late eighteenth century, the Roma population was permitted to settle in the proximity of villages and were legally entitled to own land. Nonetheless, these policies' effects only increased the inequality level and initiated a series of hostilities that extended into the nineteenth century.

Even in these unfavourable circumstances, the Romanians of the King's Land were the second most advantaged category among this population group living in Transylvania, apart only from those that benefited from a noble status.⁵³⁶ As proprietors of land and beneficiaries of increased mobility, some Romanian families accumulated substantial patrimony over a few generations.⁵³⁷ Certainly, well-articulated socioeconomic hierarchies that included families of different economic means were also characteristic of the serf communities. With the change in the juridical status of these communities during the mid-nineteenth century, the differences were not only prolonged but were even reinforced, creating an even bigger social gap within the village communities.⁵³⁸

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the relations between the Saxons and Romanians living in the King's Land remained tense because of the different types of agriculture practised by each group. Initially, animal husbandry practised by Romanians

535. Năgler, *Românii și sașii*, 169.

536. Năgler, *Românii și sașii*, 179; Rețegan, "Elita satului," 107.

537. Rețegan, "Elita satului," 107.

538. Ladislau Gyemant, "Integrarea țărănimii în mișcarea națională românească din Transilvania între 1790-1848," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XXIII (1980): 238, 247; Ákos Egyed, "Despre desființarea iobăgiei în comitatul Târnava și urmările ei pe plan social," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XXIV (1981), 235; Iosif Marin Balog, "The Agrarian Reforms Introduced at the Middle of the 19th Century. Their Effects Upon the Modernization of the Transylvanian Society (1850-1880)," *Transylvanian Review*, Vol. XVII, No.1 (2008), 24.

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proved beneficial to the Saxon craftsmen. Yet, the extensive space this type of agriculture required, combined with factors such as increased rates of birth rate after the 1700s, the economic partnership between Saxons and Romanians, entered a period of crisis that defined their relations for the following two centuries.⁵³⁹ At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the restoration of the cultivated surfaces to the levels recorded before the Principality era took place to the detriment of the Romanian population, whose access to arable land was now limited.⁵⁴⁰ In the century of the Enlightenment, when the masses contested the feudal system, the central government replaced the peasantry's allegiance towards nobles and similar hierarchical structures. During this age of emancipation, for many, the idea of owning the land they worked consolidated, contesting the previous feudal mentality.⁵⁴¹ Nonetheless, in the process of extending the private property on the King's Land, the Saxon population managed to monopolise the available land, reducing the Romanians to the status of tenants to the latter's great dissatisfaction. Despite this situation, around the mid-nineteenth century, the Romanian peasantry in the south-eastern part of the province continued to be better off than in other parts of Transylvania, despite the domination of small farms (under five jugera) that represented around 70% of the total arable surface, mainly because they worked the land as freemen and practised more efficient agriculture than in the counties.⁵⁴²

While during this period, in other spaces from Central Europe, such as in Prussia, the category of independent farmers was consolidated, representing 37% of the rural population,

539. Imreh, "Contribuții," 159-160; Gyemant, "Habitat," 49.

540. Năgler, *Românii și sașii*, 172-173.

541. Bodnar, John. *Immigration and Industrialization: Ethnicity in an American Mill Town, 1870-1940* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977), 24.

542. Balog, "The Agrarian Reforms," 24; Băjenaru, "Serviciul militar," 251; Ioan Ranca. "Abuzul senioral în Transilvania în lumina plângerilor iobăgești de pe Târnavă înmânate lui Iosif al II-lea la 1773," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XXVI (1983-1984), 176-177, 179-180, 182. 1 jugera = 0.57 hectares.

in Transylvania, the Romanian peasantry was experiencing a crisis due to the deteriorating conditions.⁵⁴³ Referring to the situation of the Romanian population in Rupea, the historian Nicolae Iorga, who embraced a cultural nationalist stance, noted that they were a “numerous and despised people, a “fallen” and “disowned nation,” expressing nonetheless a realistic conclusion in the response of the Saxon authorities’ privatisation of the arable land.⁵⁴⁴ Nonetheless, particularly after the visit of Emperor Joseph II in Transylvania, whose physical presence contributed to a sense of awareness of their rights – the Romanian free tenants from Rupea Seat, as well as the rest of the Transylvanian Romanians, initiated a long period of judicial activism, with the rural population starting to assert their land rights.⁵⁴⁵ Through their leaders, the Romanians from Rupea were engaged in a series of legal processes, forwarding petitions to the Habsburg authorities over the entire period from the end of the eighteenth century to the 1848 Revolution.⁵⁴⁶ This activity takes place in the favourable context of Habsburg’s attempts to modernise the administrative structures of the province to maximise tax revenues.⁵⁴⁷ During this period, *Systema Bruckenthalianum*, a revenue system named after its initiator, the governor of Transylvania, Baron Samuel von Bruckenthal, was introduced. The system, initiated in 1769, functioned until 1848, aiming to tax peasants – as

543. Arndt Bauerkämper. “La modernisation négligée. La société rurale allemande entre changement économique et politiques agraires (années 1830 – années 1920),” in *Campagnes et sociétés en Europe: France, Allemagne, Espagne, Italie, 1830-1930*, eds. Michel Pigenet and Gilles Pécout (Paris: Les Editions de l’Atelier/Editions Ouvriers, 2005), 18.

544. Nicolae Iorga, *Sate și preoți din Ardeal* (București: Institutul de arte grafice Carol Gobl, 1902), 107.

545. Ileana Bozac, “Știri despre românii din Transilvania din a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea în autobiografia lui Heidendorf,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Filosofie Cluj*. XVI (1973), 381. For instance, in Ticușu Nou (in Rupea Seat), an act dating from 1721 confirms that in this Romanian village, the leadership of the community pursued from the first quarter of the eighteenth century the legal path to ensure the preservation of their land rights that were threatened by the Saxons from the neighbouring village Ticușu Vechi. *Archiv* (1909), 363. See also on this topic Doru Radosav, *Arătarea împăratului : intrările imperiale în Transilvania și Banat (sec. XVIII-XIX): discurs și reprezentare*. (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universității Clujeană, Editura Dacia, 2002).

546. Gyemant, “Integrarea țăranimii,” 242-243, 245.

547. Ranca, “Abuzul senioral,” 187, 190; Toader Nicoară, “Orizonturi temporale în satul românesc din Transilvania (1680-1800),” *Revista Bistriței*, VIII (1994), 126; Vintilă Mihăilescu, ed., *Vecini și Vecinătăți în Transilvania* (București: Paideia, 2003), 18.

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individuals and as a household – regardless of their status.⁵⁴⁸ Baron von Bruckenthal's other initiatives in agriculture, such as the introduction of new techniques and plant varieties, ran in parallel to the broader efforts to modernise the province's economy.⁵⁴⁹ On the King's Land, after the Edict of Concivility was ratified in 1781, the Romanians were granted the right to acquire proprietries and houses within the town limits.⁵⁵⁰ Since this act was virtually ending the capacity of the local Saxon magistrates to forbid Romanian inhabitants from settling in towns, the event was decisive when it came to increasing the social and demographic mobility of this population group.⁵⁵¹ While the ratification of the act and similar efforts of the Habsburg Enlightened monarchs did not suffice to permit the Romanians to enjoy the same rights as the Saxon population, it certainly opened the way for future advancement. In 1795 and 1797, a series of measures were taken to uniformise the rights and obligations of all inhabitants living in the King's Land, which encouraged the Romanian population to forward a series of petitions that denounced the persistence of the abuses.⁵⁵² Despite contributing proportionally to all the communal expenses and public works, exploitation continued. For instance, the Romanians were obliged to forced labour in the service of the Lutheran parishes, were taxed for plots they did not use, were excluded from various benefits, including the free use of the communal forests, mill incomes and innkeeping incomes and were excluded from holding public offices.⁵⁵³ The period between the Edict of Concivility and the Revolution of

548. Băjenaru, "Serviciul militar," 250-251.

549. Nicolae Teșculă, "De la națiune la minoritate. Sașii ardeleni în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea," *Acta Musei Devensis*, II, serie nouă (2011), 308-309.

550. Daniel Dumitran, "Reacții transilvănene la Edictul de Toleranță Iosefin," *Annales Universitas Apulensis*, 8, Series Historica (2004), 88.

551. Mihăilescu, *Vecini*, 18.

552. Ladislau Gyemant, "Reorganizarea administrației Pământului Craïesc în lumina actelor tipărite în limba română în anul 1797," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie si Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XXVI (1983-1984): 420-421.

553. Gyemant, "Integrarea țărănimii," 240; Gyemant, "Reorganizarea administrației," 417.

1848 can be understood as a second phase in the process of emancipation of the Romanians of the King's Land. During this period, the principal pursuit of the leaders of the Romanians was to improve the population's economic condition by affirming their right to benefit from the same opportunities as the other groups.⁵⁵⁴

Given the high percentage of the Transylvanian population engaged in agriculture – around 84% in Rupea Seat and 93% in Transylvania – the authorities coordinated their efforts to modernise this economic sector, although visible effects can be recognised only among the Saxon population.⁵⁵⁵ Similar to the situation in Spain, the first to have had access to specialised magazines and to attend specialised courses and conferences were those groups that had a higher level of literacy and that were potent enough to afford the implementation of the new techniques, while for the most part, who did not have first-hand access to those mediums, innovation came as a second-hand experience.⁵⁵⁶ As a manifestation of the late industrial revolution that was taking place in this part of the Empire, in the King's Land, the creation of associations and the appearance of specialised publications represent an important effort to educate the population on innovations that took place in agriculture, such as the

554. Gyemant, „Integrarea țărănimii,” 238; Gyemant, „Reorganizarea administrației,” 423.

555. One of the first efforts in this sense, at least when it comes to the Saxon population, is the establishing in 1843 of the Agricultural Association of the Transylvanian Saxons (Ger. Siebenbürgisch-Sächsische Landwirtschaftsverein) who in 1851 was counting around 1,000 members. Nicolae Teșculă, „Asociaționismul sășesc în perioada neoabsolutistă,” *Acta Musei Devensis*, III, serie nouă (2012), 310; Teșculă, „De la națiune la minoritate,” 308-309. Other examples come from 1870s, when the local Saxon communities open schools specialised in agriculture (in 1870 in Bistrița, in 1871 in Mediaș and in 1872 in Brașov, the latter moving in 1875 in Feldioara, a village in the proximity of Brașov). Nicolae Teșculă, „Asocianismul sășesc și sistemul de educație tehnic din Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea,” *Acta Musei Devensis*, V, serie nouă (2014): 248-250; *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Band 3, No. 1-3, 1847-1848 (Hermanstadt: Verlag des Vereins, 1848), 35; Ákos Egyed, „Transformări în structura societății din Transilvania în primele două decenii de după Revoluția de la 1848,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XXIX (1989), 194.

556. Alcutén Alberto Sabio, „El entorno relacional del mercado en la sociedad rural. Redes de crédito y de cambio técnico en Aragón (1880-1930),” in *Sociétés rurales du XXe siècle. France, Italie et Espagne*, ed. Jordi Canal, Gilles Pécout and Maurizio Ridolfi (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004), 160-161.

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technique of the crops rotation.⁵⁵⁷ Although the extent of this modernisation had a lesser impact on the Romanian population, in the second part of the nineteenth century, the educated elite tried to implement this model and diffuse the information to the masses. In this sense, the creation of Romanian credit institutes in the second half of the nineteenth century was one of the most significant attempts to stimulate the economic development of the peasantry.⁵⁵⁸ Following the Saxon model, in 1888, the Romanian Agriculture Reunion from Sibiu County was established, which functioned until 1931. Despite having a local character, the association succeeded in popularising various modern agricultural techniques among the Romanian population from Sibiu County.⁵⁵⁹ This effort, together with other actions of ASTRA, who, based on the Danish model of the rural agriculture schools, financially supported the organisation of lectures and workshops, enjoyed relative success in the province during the 1930s. Nonetheless, these efforts were but tardive and moderately efficacious responses of the Romanian leadership to the necessity to modernise agriculture.⁵⁶⁰ Apart from distributing, free of charge or at low rates, seeds of plants, such as clover, alfalfa, barley, turnips, oats and hemp, the introduction of more productive breeds or the acquisition of modern machinery were common practices used by these associations that intended to familiarise the peasants with the latest techniques.⁵⁶¹

557. Nicolae Teșculă "The Transylvanian Saxon Associationism and the Publications: Case study *Siebenbürgische Zeitschrift für Handel, Gewerbe Und Landwirtschaft (1865-1868)*," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu din Cluj-Napoca*, LII (2013), 252; Ioan Repede, in discussion with the author, Rupea.

558. Teșculă, "De la națiune la minoritate," 308-309.

559. Maria Magdalena Jude and Nicolae Cordoș, "Prima reuniune de agricultură la românii transilvăneni," *Acta Musei Napocensis*, XIII (1976), 525, 528, 534.

560. For instance, in 1938-1939, ASTRA registered more than 5,600 participants in these courses. Virgil Pană, "Urmările reformei agrare din anul 1921 asupra învățământului agricol din România. Școlile superioare de agricultură ale Astrei," *Revista Bistriței*, XV (2001): 282-285.

561. Jude, "Prima reuniune," 527-528.

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The demographic pressure corroborated with the limits of arable land eventually resulted in the transition to a continuous cropping agriculture system.⁵⁶² The effects of this change can be observed in the increasing productivity of the arable land between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. For instance, if the production of corn in 1721 was 167,840 Austrian measures and 121 years later in 1842 was around four million, only twenty-three years after, in 1865, it grew to almost seven million.⁵⁶³ Similarly, potato cultivation that gained ground only in the aftermath of the Great Hunger of 1813-1817 by 1851, reached a significant total production of 473,455 measures.⁵⁶⁴

With the implementation in Transylvania of the protectionist laws of 1850 and of the 1853 Austrian Civil Code – that ended the land rights of the Saxons, which were in function since 1583 – the industrialisation of agriculture and the stimulation of the internal market became part of the central's government plan to modernise the agriculture sector.

Hence, over the rest of the century, the government's policies on the industrialisation of agriculture radically affected the rural landscape.⁵⁶⁵ In this context can also be explained the abolishment of serfdom (1848), if considering that the difference in incomes from land taxes from 1840 to 1848 was ten times higher, from 4.2 million florins to 41.5 million

562. Ioan Bolovan, "Evoluția demografică a Transilvaniei în primele două decenii după revoluția pașoptistă," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj-Napoca*, XXXIV (1995), 203.

563. Ladislau Gyemant, "Contribuții statistice privind agricultura Transilvaniei, Banatului și Bucovinei în perioada 1720-1871," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XXVII (1985-1986), 163; Imreh, "Contribuții," 181.

564. Gyemant, "Contribuții statistice," 164. For the effects of the Great Hunger of 1813-1817 in Transylvania see Alexandru Neamțu, "Date noi despre foametea din anii 1814-1816 pe domeniul Zlatnei," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XIX (1976): 315-330; Ciorbă, "Alimentația de criză," 271-279.

565. Robert Bideleux, *A history of Eastern Europe: crisis and change* (London: Routledge, 1998), 258; Iosif Marin Balog, "Political Regimes, Economic Crises, Continuity and Discontinuity in the Economic Modernisation of the Peripheral Regions of the Habsburg Monarchy in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century. The Case of Transylvania," *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 49, *Historica II* (2012), 250.

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florins.⁵⁶⁶ Combined with an annual increase of the rural population between 1851 and 1870 by 0.76%, the structure of private property and agriculture also underwent major changes that impacted all spheres of society.⁵⁶⁷ The initiation of the peasantry into the market economy that developed in the second half of the nineteenth century transformed the land into a transactional good, with immediate effects on the valuation of arable land and long-term effects in the deepening of rural social hierarchies.⁵⁶⁸ If the selling of land during the mid-eighteenth century represented 10% of the total land transaction methods, after the Revolution, this once-consecrated possession became capitalised by the masses. The rural population learned that the estate could be extended in more ways than through matrimonial unions – they learned that money could buy land.⁵⁶⁹ Hence, the peasantry became familiarised during this period with concepts of success and failure based on the idea that one can change his fortune and improve his condition if he is industrious enough.⁵⁷⁰

In the second half of the nineteenth century, as an effect of the demographic boom and inheritance practices, the land parcels owned by ploughmen families were divided, forcing

566. Cristina Ploscă, “Legile agrare de după 1848. Patentele imperiale în comitatul Hunedoara.” *Acta Musei Corviniensis*, VII (2001), 215.

567. Egyed, “Transformări,” 192; Ioan Bolovan, “Organizarea administrativă și dinamica populației Transilvaniei între revoluția de la 1848 și Primul Război Mondial,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj-Napoca*, XXXVII (1998): 160.

568. Balog, “The Agrarian,” 17; Iosif Marin Balog, “Efectele politicilor economice ale statului austriac asupra modernizării economice a Transilvaniei la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea (1850-1875),” *Revista Bistriței*, XVII (2003): 211; Simion Rețegan, “Contribuții privind organizarea comunității sătești din Transilvania la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XIX (1976): 197. For instance, in the villages from the Transylvanian Plain, the families of noble origins avoided to marry their children to former serf families. The loss of privileges among this category of small nobility (that is estimated to have represented 3.7% of the population in Transylvania in the eighteenth century), consolidated an internal rural caste system that manifested at the level of the village. With over 8,000 Romanian families having the noble status in Transylvania around the mid-nineteenth century (only in Făgăraș district during the 1860s were 2,693 in total), it is estimated in 14% of the cases this group enjoyed a visibly better economic situation than their peers. Rețegan, “Elita satului,” 105-106. Egyed, “Transformări,” 188-191; Dezideriu Garda, “Aspecte ale structurii sociale a unor localități de pe valea superioară a Mureșului în secolul al XVIII-lea,” *Acta Musei Napocensis*, XXII-XXIII (1985-1986): 279.

569. Mureșan, “Aspecte,” 151.

570. Garda, “Aspecte,” 279; Egyed, “Transformări,” 189.

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those less able to self-sustain to find income alternatives – with some becoming hired as workforce in agriculture, while others migrating to urban spaces in Transylvania or Romania or if afforded the travel expenses, headed to the United States.⁵⁷¹ During this period, the vast difference existing between a well-to-do peasant family and a day labourer who lived in the same village indicates that despite both belonging to the same social class, their condition was poles apart, highlighting the existence of a well-defined system of internal hierarchies, determined to a great extent by the possession of the land.⁵⁷² The village became a space of competition, where only those who understood the effects of the increased birth rate posed to preserving the family's patrimony managed to improve their condition. With direct effects both on rates of birth – through increased use of contraceptive methods – and education – families starting to send one of their children to learn another trade – some ploughmen understood how to ensure the continuity and prosperity of their household.

Nonetheless, an overview of the small propriety situation in Transylvania dating from 1869 indicates that 60% of the total arable land under 100 jugera was formed of possessions between 1 and 5 jugera, while the rest of almost 24% was formed of possessions between 6 and 15 jugera and only 11% of possessions between 15 and 30 jugera, 3.5% of possessions between 30 and 50 jugera, and 1.2% of possession between 50 and 100 jugera.⁵⁷³ Since almost all proprietors in this segment of landownership were members of the peasantry and nearly 85% of these households owned under 15 jugera (8.55 hectares), the general situation of the rural population two decades after the abolishment of serfdom remained dire.

571. Bolovan, "Organizarea administrativă," 164-165; Minerva Lovin, "Imaginea Canadei și a Statelor Unite în presa românească din Trasilvania în epoca dualismului austro-ungar," *Revista Bistriței*, XV (2001), 257; Francisc Pap, "Regulamentul provizoriu din 1857 pentru servitorii agricoli," *Acta Musei Napocensis*, I (1964): 389.

572. Rețegan, "Elita satului," 102.

573. Egyed, "Transformări," 192. 1 jugera = 0.57 hectares.

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The necessities of the ploughmen in urgent need of more arable land were to be met by the market forces at play but at a cost. Those able to respond to the emerging rural proto-capitalism survived, but those in the incapacity to adapt to the new system were forced to reorientate towards other occupations. A process of merging arable lots can be observed starting from the mid-nineteenth century meant to increase production, which the more potent ploughmen families sometimes obtained by acquiring new parcels of land.⁵⁷⁴ However, given that the price of land fluctuated from year to year – influenced by the annual harvest – finding immediate capital to acquire land at a reasonable price was possible only by contracting loans.⁵⁷⁵ Hence, it is no coincidence that the Romanian credit institutions appeared during this period, particularly those founded around the turn of the twentieth century, given that in a matter of years, the Romanian population in the province acquired almost 100,000 jugera – although 90% were large landowners.⁵⁷⁶ Hence, at a better look, with only a segment of 10% benefiting from credit loans for most of the Transylvanian Romanian rural population, the situation did not improve visibly, indicating the relative efficiency of the new financial institutions.

In Rupea, the issue of land acquisition and its impact on the household economy reveals the complex realities of the peasant world. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Saxon population was selling, according to some estimations, around 6.5 parcels of land to the Romanian ploughmen, yet this land was, in most cases, already worked in tenancy by

574. Reșegan, "Contribuții," 197; Balog, "The Agrarian," 17.

575. Simion Reșegan, "Aspecte ale stratificării sociale în satul românesc din Transilvania la mijlocul sec. al XIX-lea," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XXIII (1980), 325.

576. Virgil Pană, "Considerații privind reforma agrară din anul 1921 și minoritățile etnice din Transilvania," *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XXIII, Vol. II (2000), 266; Ákos Egyed, "Structura proprietății funciare în Transilvania la sfârșitul veacului al XIX-lea," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XVII (1974), 151; Mihai Drecin, *Banca "Albina" din Sibiu. Instituție Națională a Românilor Transilvăneni (1871-1918)* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1982), 148.

576. Reșegan, "Aspecte," 317.

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those families.⁵⁷⁷ The effort to pay for it, which often involved, starting from the last two decades of the nineteenth century, temporary migration to America, was sometimes unjustified. Hence, the acquiring of land did not change the structure of the peasant household – during that period in Târnava Mare County, 99.58% of the households had under 100 jugera of land, out of which 45% had under five jugera – but responded to a demographic growth trend and the need to satisfy the economic necessities of this population segment.⁵⁷⁸ During this phase, for the Romanians from Rupea, the main challenge remained the access to better parcels of land, and their struggle to acquire these parcels still owned by a more than reluctant-to-sell Saxon population prolonged this state of affairs until the mid-twentieth century.⁵⁷⁹ Being caught in this struggle to become owners so that they could have enough land to bestow to their heirs, the preoccupations of land ownership became a fixation of this society until the dawn of a new era under the communist regime when it became obsolete, as one of the members of this community summarised the moment – “if you didn’t have land, you were not a man, you didn’t have honour. [...] and now we gave it to the collective [farming]”.⁵⁸⁰

During the Interwar period, the Agrarian Reform – whose bill was published in 1919 – started to be implemented in 1921, yet similar to the allotment of the former serfs and bondsmen after the abolishment of serfdom, this process also extended over a long period, covering the entire Interwar period.⁵⁸¹ The Romanians, who represented the total number of

577. “Economie,” *Tribuna*, Septembrie 5/18, 1910.

578. Egyed, “Structura proprietății,” 138, 146; Rețegan, “Aspecte,” 317.

579. Gheorghe Tempea, in discussion with the author; *A Magyar Korona országainak mezőgazdasági statisztikája, gazdacímtár*, Vol.2 (Budapest: Pesti Könyvnyomda-Részvénytársaság, 1897), 506-507; “Economie,” *Tribuna*, Septembrie 5/18, 1910.

580. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

581. Adrian Onofrei, “Legislația agrară în Transilvania în perioada interbelică (1918-1940).” *Revista Bistriței*, VII (1993): 230-231; Egyed, “Despre desființarea iobăgiei,” 225.

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landowners in the province in a proportion of 69%, were also the category that formed the independent small-sized peasantry (5 to 10 jugera).⁵⁸² Hence, the Romanian population became the largest beneficiary of this historic act, with 46.8% of the entire households benefiting from it, with areas such as Rupea, after the Reform, having the Romanian population group as the largest landowner.⁵⁸³ Nonetheless, on the eve of the Second World War, when as many as 9 in 10 individuals practised agriculture in this market town and the Romanians owned 55% of the arable land, this population was still pressed by land insufficiency.⁵⁸⁴ Given that in 1938, out of the 2,655 ha of private property under 100 ha was distributed between 526 Romanians who owned 1,374 ha, 379 Saxons who owned 1,099 ha, and 40 Hungarians who owned 40 ha can be reconfirmed the previous arguments that despite benefiting from modernisation of their institutions, the economic condition of the predominantly agrarian Romanians community did not improve to the same pace (table 12).⁵⁸⁵

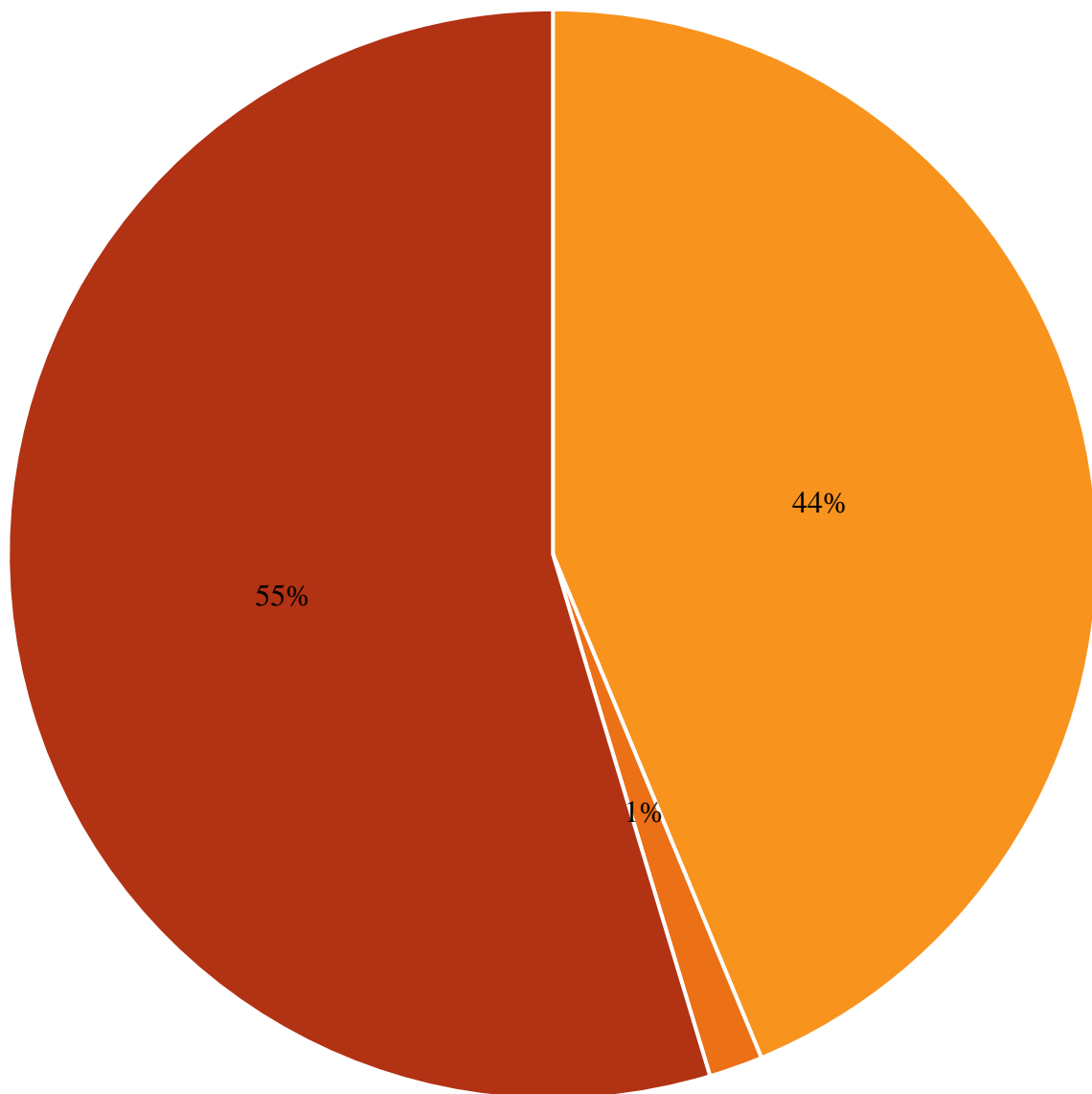
582. Pană, "Considerații," 264.

583. Pană, "Considerații," 271; Statistică din 21.8.1938 privind repartitia proprietății funciare, File 1938/7, Situații statistice agricole și table cu proprietăți de teren între 10 și 15 ha și peste 50 ha, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Statistică Rupea – 1929, File 1929/2, Ordine, procese verbale, tabele și corespondență cu privire la restituirea bunurilor [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

584. Pană, "Considerații," 271; Statistică din 21.8.1938, File 1938/7; Statistică Rupea, File 1929/2.

585. Statistică din 21.8.1938, File 1938/7. The total surface of land the of Rupea in 1929 was 6,286 ha, out of which 2,289 was arable, 702 was formed of natural pastures, 1,122 of meadows, 39 of orchards, 1,985 of forest and 129 of other types of surface such as access paths or water streams. Statistică Rupea – 1929, File 1929/2.

Table 12. Total area of land owned by the Hungarian, Romanian and Saxon population in Rupea (1938), all properties under 100ha



■ Germans ■ Hungarians ■ Romanians

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This state of facts is the expression of older economic realities characteristic to the Transylvanian Romanian population, who, despite being the largest groups in the province and having the largest rural population – which in the 1920s was estimated at 91.3% – on the eve of the Second World War they were still found in a position of inferiority in comparison to the “Saxon masters” and in the counties to the landed aristocracy – the latter becoming associated after 1867 with the Hungarian state given its profound national character.⁵⁸⁶ According to the regulations of the Agrarian Reform, out of a total of 280,679 beneficiaries in Transylvania, the Romanians were by far the largest group, counting for 212,803 – followed by Hungarians with 45,628, Saxons with 15,934 and then by other 6,314 consisting of various minorities.⁵⁸⁷ If in the period preceding the Great War, small property (0-10 ha) constituted 34% of the total, in the 1920s, this increased to 55.5%, becoming the main type of household, while the middle size property (10-100 ha) remained at the same rates (29%).⁵⁸⁸ This situation suggests that at the province level, after the Reform, the configuration of private property changed by expropriating the larger estates (over 100 ha), whose proportion in the province decreased from 37% to 15.5%.⁵⁸⁹ In Rupea, the large estates were not expropriated because the owners adapted to the new regulations and preserved their properties. The large proprietors, Arnold Jacobi and Heinrich Lahni, proved that although their primary activity area was commerce, they also worked the land they owned.⁵⁹⁰ The

586. Nicole Istrate, *Indicatorul comunelor din Ardeal și Banat* (Cluj: Institut de arte grafice, editură și librărie. Cartea românească S.A., 1925), 7; “Preot și enoriași harnici,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*.

587. Gheorghe Hristodol, “Problema agrară în presa românească din Transilvania 1921-1929,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj*, XVI (1973), 322.

588. Hristodol, “Problema agrară,” 321; Onofrei, “Legislația agrară,” 235.

589. Hristodol, “Problema agrară,” 321.

590. Proces verbal 27.12.1922, File 1921/12, Corespondență referitoare la mișcări de personal [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Copie proces verbal 31.12.1922, File 1921/12, Corespondență referitoare la mișcări de personal [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

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Flagner estate, which at that time was the largest in Rupea, was not bound to be expropriated either since it was legally divided between more members of the family and did not surpass the limit that would have made it liable to be included in the land reform.⁵⁹¹ Hence, in Rupea, despite the Romanian population being the largest group to own the land, from the perspective of the family household, the average property of a Romanian family was estimated at only 2.5 hectares.⁵⁹² The investigation on the development of the average size of the Romanian household in Rupea reveals that, in this instance, the balance of power did not change during the Interwar period despite the modernisation of many institutions related to the agrarian economy. The persistence of small properties shows the limited success of the Reform but also of the institutions that sustained Romanian agriculture. In conclusion, even though the situation improved, it did not produce the expected result, prolonging an outdated local economic reality until the mid-twentieth century.

591. Proces verbal 27.12.1922, File 1921/12; Copie proces verbal 31.12.1922, File 1921/12.

592. Statistică din 21.8.1938 File 1938/7.

Table 13. Incidence of the types of small properties (0-10 hectares) in Rupea during the Interwar period

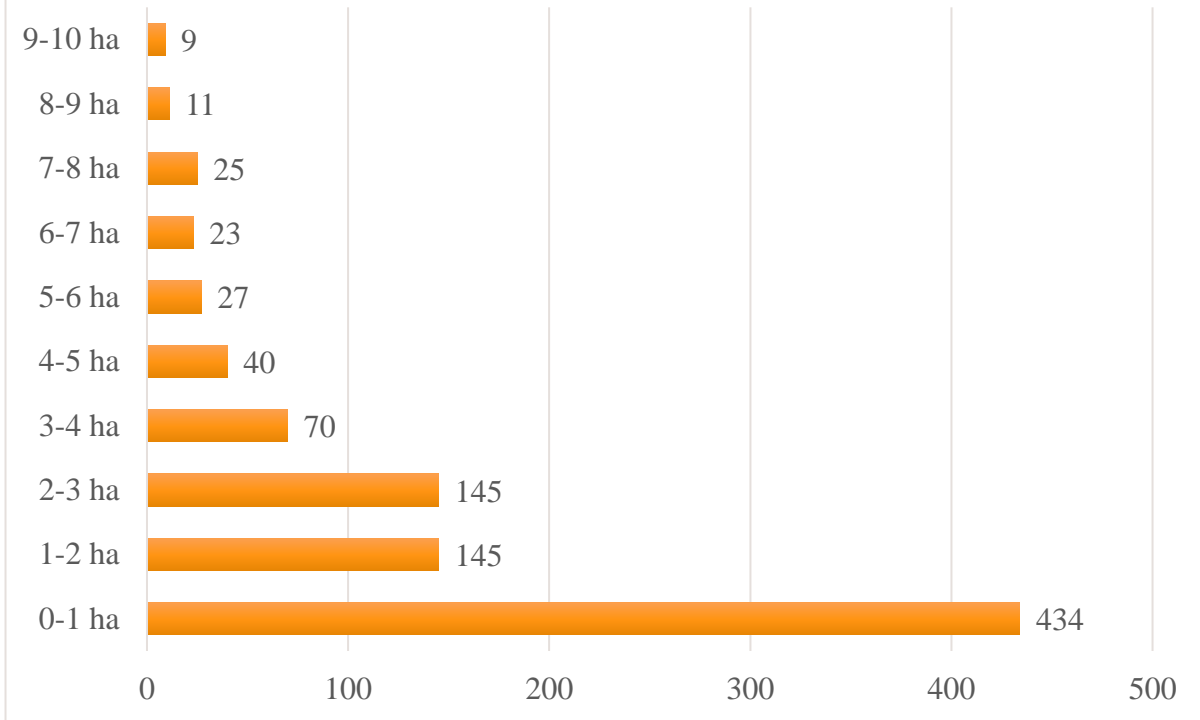


Table 14. Distribution of the land (in hectares) in Rupea according to the number of owners and the total area owned by the Hungarian, Romanian and Saxon population (1938)



Table 15. Proportion of the land ownership for small property (in jugera) in Rupea according to each population group and the size of the farms (1922)

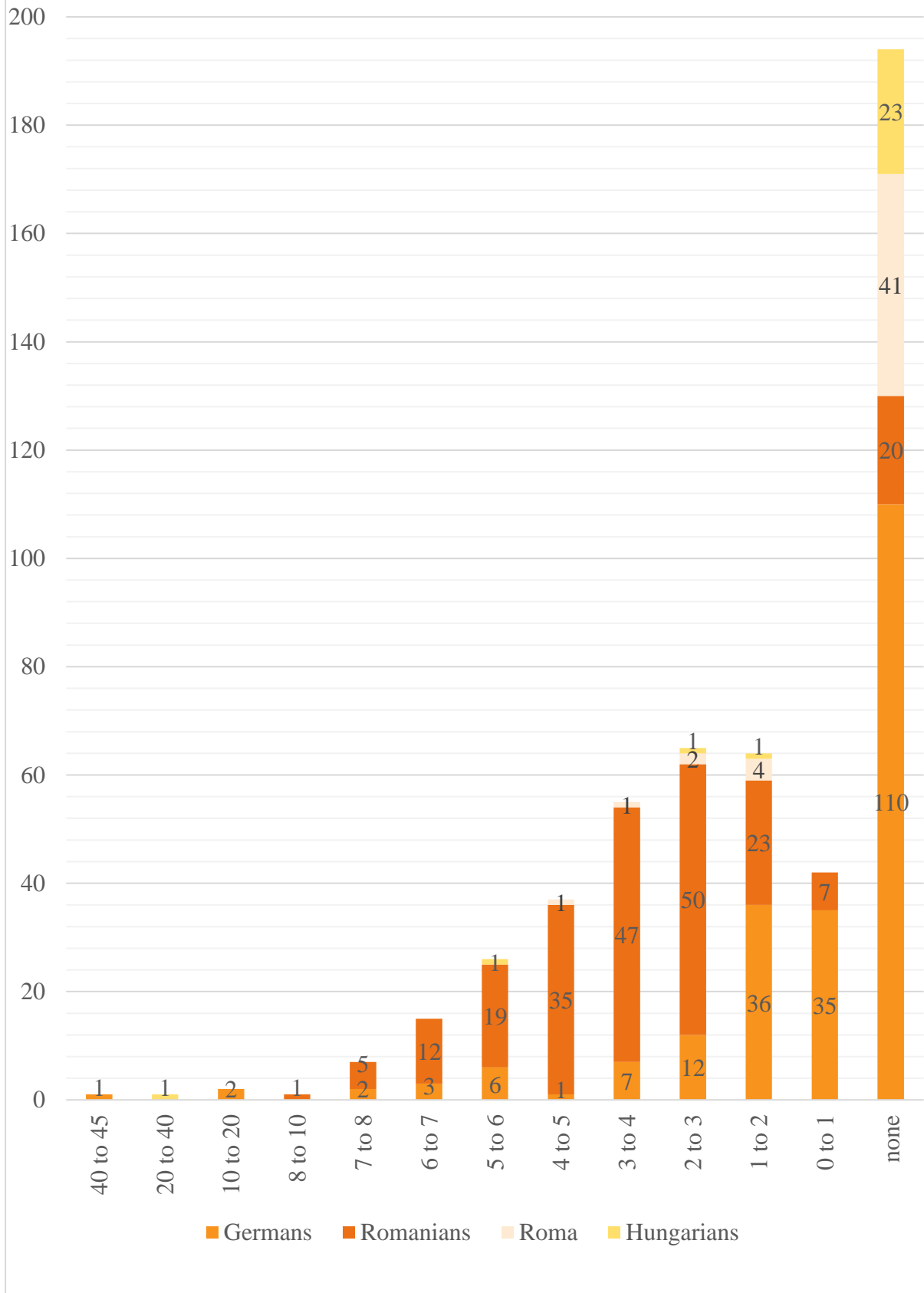
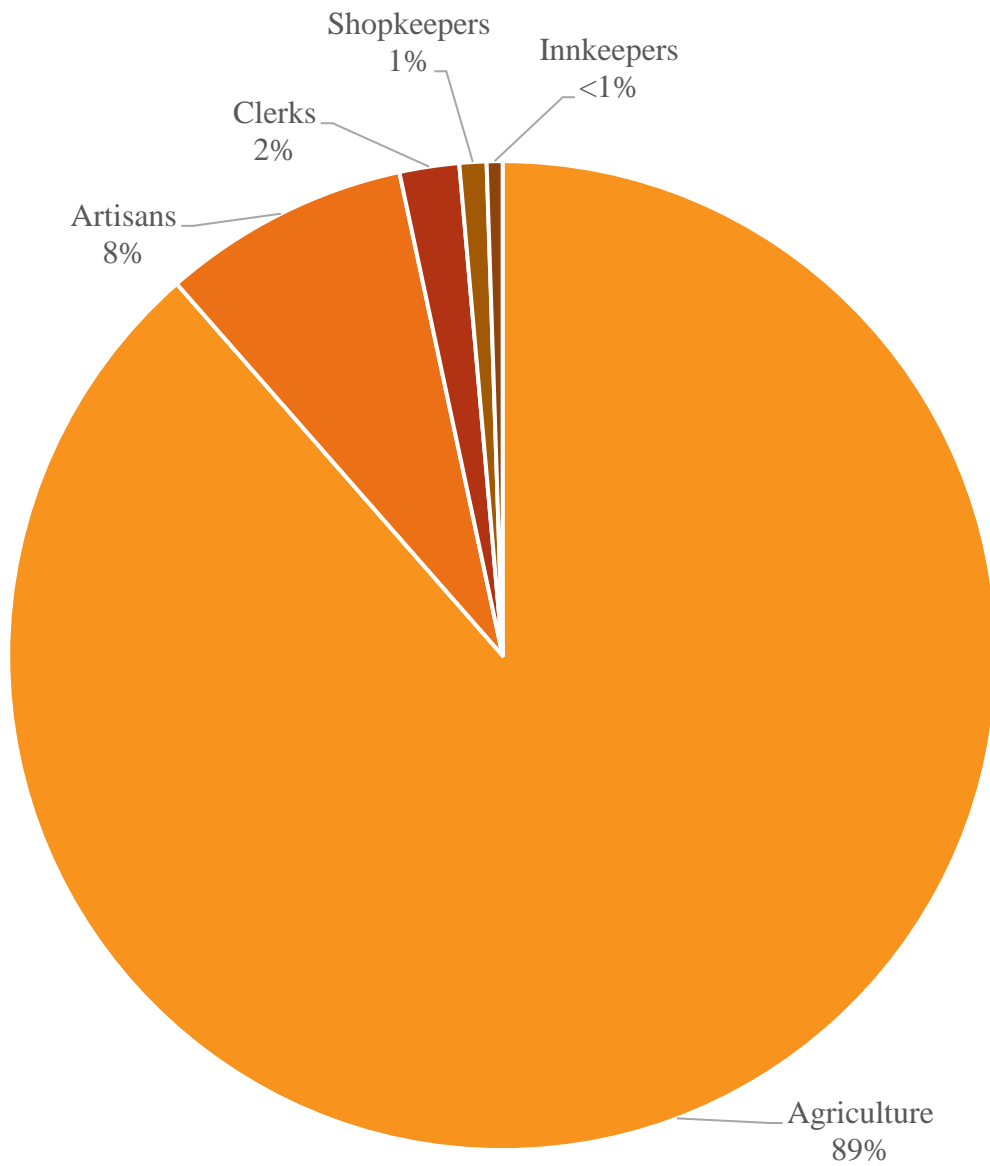


Table 16. Occupational structure of the population in Rupea during the Interwar period



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Nonetheless, the economic situation of the Romanian ploughmen from the second half of the nineteenth century also reveals a widening gap between poor and well-to-do households. This situation continued in the following decades, establishing clear variations between peasant categories. By the eve of the Second World War, the local authorities in Rupea estimated that a wealthier peasant household could record a net income of Lei 30,000 and a middle peasant household of Lei 15,000 annually, while for poorer households, their incomes were estimated at only Lei 4,000.⁵⁹³ When analysing the situation of the property transactions in Rupea during the Interwar period, one of the most striking aspects was that 17 years after the Reform process started, out of the 230 families that benefited from this law, only 112 managed to keep their property integral – despite the difficult legal procedures to register land transactions, particularly the plots resulted from the allotment.⁵⁹⁴ This reality shows that for some small landowners, the effect of the Reform was not what they anticipated, with their properties often being reduced through sales. In this sense, the Reform had only partial success in creating independent familial units of production that were able to self-sustain. In the context of the Great Depression, the state intervened in the agrarian crisis and enacted a law in 1934 that aimed to solve the problem of the debts in agriculture by cutting them in half while the remaining half was to be paid in 17 years.⁵⁹⁵ This situation confirms the financial hardships and limits of the peasantry when adapting to a market economy. On the other hand, it is revealed that during the 1930s, around 50 peasant families

593. Chestionar al primăriei din 26.5.1938 referitor la starea locuitorilor, File 1938/9, Ordine, procese verbale și corespondență cu privire la folosirea izvorului de apă sărată [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania. By comparison during the early 1930s, in the context of the economic crisis, the GDP per capita in Romania was estimated between Lei 11,000 and Lei 4,800. Ioan Scurtu and Gheorghe Buzatu, *Istoria Românilor în secolul XX* (București: Paideia, 1999), 98.

594. Statistică din 21.8.1938, File 1938/7; Raport al primăriei Rupea din 3.5.1938 către prefectură privind repartitia proprietății funciare, File 1938/7, Situații statistice agricole și table cu proprietăți de terenu între 10 și 15 ha și peste 50 ha, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

595. Daniela Comșa, “Acțiuni ale reuniunilor de meseriași pentru promovarea clasei mijlociei românești în Ardeal după Marea Unire,” *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 37-38, *Istorie*, II (2000-2001): 228.

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in Rupea found the financial sources to buy new parcels of land and extend their proprietries, signifying that some more entrepreneurial ploughmen managed to take advantage of this situation and improve their condition.⁵⁹⁶ Out of these families from Rupea, before the Second World War, only five managed to acquire land above the local average, owning properties between 10 and 20 hectares.⁵⁹⁷

The reason for the limited success of the Reform to modernise peasant households is the sum of a series of factors that eventually obstructed the expected result. First, the allotted land that had to be paid back by the peasants over a maximum period of 20 years was, in many cases, of inferior quality – both the arable land and the pastures – and was found at distances that made it harder to be accessed.⁵⁹⁸ Although the authorities tried to provide closer parcels by swapping plots from the communal property, the lack of modern agricultural tools and the state's inadequate support in this matter kept agriculture during the entire Interwar period in a backward state.⁵⁹⁹ Despite the pre-war efforts of some Romanian credit institutes to finance investment in modern agriculture, their results should be considered exceptions rather than having a wide effect at the province level.⁶⁰⁰ Third, the

596. Statistică din 21.8.1938, File 1938/7.

597. Tabel din 30.9.1938, File 1938/7. Keith Hitchins, *România 1866-1947* (București: Humanitas, 2013), 167.

598. Tabel din 30.9.1938, File 1938/7; Listă din 7.10.1932, File 1932/27; Ordine și corespondență cu privire la mișcarea comunistă, Listă din 12.10.1932 a proprietarilor români de pământ care dețin cel puțin 18 iugăre de teren arabil – Ioan Repede (născut 1877), Ioan Stan Spornic (născut 1868), Gheorghe Forsea (născut 1875), Zachie Pop (născut 1855), Gheorghe Danciu (născut 1879), File 1932/27, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Tabel din 30.9.1938, File 1938/7; Onofrei, “Legislația agrară,” 232; Marius Borzan, “Pășunile comunale din Sălaj în legea de reformă din 1921,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu din Cluj-Napoca*, LIII, Series Historica (2014): 181, 193.

599. Borzan, “Pășunile comunale,” 181, 193; Atestat de dare și valoare pe numele lui Pavel Hohoi și al soției din 19.2.1937, File 1936/5, Certificate comunale cu privire la mărimea suprafețelor proprietăților agricole, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Balog, “Efectele politicilor,” 213-214; Producțiunea mijlocie la hectar pe anul agricol 1937/1938, File 1938/7, Situații statistice agricole și table cu proprietăți de terenu între 10 și 15 ha și peste 50 ha, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

600. Valentin Orga, “Societatea românească orăștitană până la Unirea din 1918,” *Revista Bistriței*, XIV (2000): 107-108.

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cultivation of new plant varieties, which was part of the state's project of modernisation – at the end of the First World War in Rupea were cultivated plants such as wheat, barley, oats, rye, corn, potatoes, peas, beet, alfalfa, clover – often faced a series of educational and financial constraints of the small landowners.⁶⁰¹ Taking into consideration that in the late 1930s, the net revenue per hectare was estimated at around Lei 320-640 when juxtaposed with the price of land in Rupea during the same period, which varied between Lei 4,000-20,000/ha for arable land and Lei 6,000-25,000/ha for meadows, it can be suggested that many improvements in agriculture remained unattainable in the absence of a proper financial aid to boost technical modernisation.⁶⁰² Finally, a notable problem of agriculture in the Romanian communities was related to a certain type of outdated mentality perpetuated from generation to generation by the lack of proper instruction.⁶⁰³

Although a renowned outlet for **cattle** trade, in Rupea, the economic conflict between the divergent Romanian and Saxon agricultural production methods that culminated during the first half of the nineteenth century with the consolidation of private property and the subsequent reduction of common pastures affected the animal husbandry sector.⁶⁰⁴ During the eighteenth century, the delimitation between the two production types – namely husbandry and crop production – became associated with the Romanian and, respectively, Saxon

601. Statistică din 12.3.1921 privind producția pe hectar la produsele agricole, File 1921/3, Ordine, tabele și corespondență cu privire la suprafețele agricole care fac obiectul reformei agrare, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Marin Pop, “Încercări de modernizare a ruralului sălăjean în ultimul deceniu al perioadei interbelice,” *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, Istorie-Etnografie, XLII (2020), 127.

602. Raport al primăriei, File 1938/7.

603. Reșegan, “Aspecte ale stratificării, 328; Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

604 *Dictionnaire général de géographie universelle ancienne et moderne, historique, politique, littéraire et commerciale. accompagné d'une introduction à l'étude de la géographie dans ses rapports avec l'histoire*, eds. Charles Cuvier and Ennery Jonas, Tome 4 (Strasbourg: Baquol et Simon, 181), 380; *Dictionnaire encyclopédique usuel*, ed. Charles Saint-Laurent, Tome 2, L-Z (Paris: Lacroix-Comon, 1858), 1182.

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populations.⁶⁰⁵ From the eighteenth century, when a massive increase in the number of cattle, horses, swine, beehives, sheep and goats was recorded in some cases even by as much as almost 50%, the two agriculture practices entered a protracted conflict that was not solved until the second half of the nineteenth century.⁶⁰⁶ Accompanied by an increase in population, the province entered a period of crisis of agricultural land, which initially led to significant deforestation, draining of marshes and wetlands, and fallowing of uncultivated soil on the steep sides, but also very important to cultivating the pastures – which was one of the most common ways of extending the arable surface.⁶⁰⁷ At the province level between 1720 and 1830, the surface of arable land increased by 142% and another 90% between 1842 and 1865, while the surface of the meadows during these two periods grew by 160%, respectively, of 187%.⁶⁰⁸ At the end of the 1860s, it became clear that the two agricultural methods could not survive simultaneously, and for the Saxon population, who owned most of the land in the King's Land, it was clear which one was to be sacrificed. In conclusion, the large number of cattle owned by Romanians forced the limits of crop production at a time when the King's Land population could not obtain new plots, resulting in the Saxon administration limiting animal husbandry.

605. Popan, "Coexistență și confruntare," 119.

606. Gyemant, "Contribuții statistice," 166. For instance, between 1721 and 1830, the number of horses increased by 48% and cattle by 47%. Balog, "Efectele politicilor," 212.

607. Dorin-Ioan Rus, "Forestry Legislation and its consequences in Transylvania between 1753 and 1867," *Acta Musei Sabesiensis*, 11 (2019): 379; Gyemant, "Contribuții statistice," 167; Balog, "The Agrarian Reforms," 16; Andorka, "The historical demography," 328.

608. Ciupea, "Observații," 293-295; Imreh, "Contribuții," 163-164; Nägler, "Transilvania," 64-65; Pop, "Transilvania," 260. An early phase of the same process in the Rupea Seat is observed during the fifteenth century when an arable land plot found between Dacia and Fișer appears in a taxation document dating from 1501 under the name *Novo Campo* (New Land or New Field), indicating a relative newer appearance of this plot. *Litterae fassionales Magistratus Sedis et Oppidi Keohalom ad Universitatem Saxonum datae, 1501*, File 1231, Seria U IV, Colecția de documente medievale, SB-F-00001-1-U4-1231. Magistratul orașului și scaunului Sibiu. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Sibiu, Sibiu, Romania; Gyemant, "Contribuții statistice," 162. Theresian regulations on forestry forbade in Transylvania, starting from 1748, deforestation for the purpose of agriculture or for the creation of new house plots, with further regulations that applied in the King's Land being issued between 1795 and 1805, until 1852 when the Habsburg forestry legislation was fully introduced in the entire province. Rus, "Forestry Legislation," 370, 372-376; Balog, "Efectele politicilor," 210.

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The Saxon authorities imposed a series of restrictions such as the taxation for the use of communal meadows for shepherding, the permission to use the communal lands only during the cold season, the offering of pastures that lacked water sources for shepherding, the banning of sheep from grassland reserved for cattle, the limitation of the number of sheep per household between three and eight, the limitation of the number of sheep owned by each family according to the number of cattle owned and the interdiction of sheep owners to hire shepherds.⁶⁰⁹ In other cases, the measures taken by the local Saxon authorities went even further and obliged the owners, who were almost all Romanian families, to sell their sheep and goats or forbade them to raise cattle for selling.⁶¹⁰

This tensioned economic situation was not without repercussion, with local violent conflicts being identified in the Seat during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while in Rupea, the Romanian community carried since 1770 an uninterrupted legal action through petitions forwarded to the provincial authorities and even to the Aulic Council, that was only partly solved through an imperial decree from 1836 which decided the increasing of the pasture surface.⁶¹¹ Nonetheless, the 1836 decision remained a temporary and local victory because, at the scale of the province, the tendency in the post-revolutionary period saw a drastic decrease in the practice of shepherding – particularly between 1850 and 1870 when the population of sheep in the province decreased by around 410,000 from an estimated 2,000,000 in 1842.⁶¹² With the continuous growth of the number of cattle and swine after the Revolution, the general tendency was to move fast towards the modernisation of animal

609. Gyemant, “Integrarea țăranimii,” 239.

610. Gyemant, “Integrarea țăranimii,” 239.

611. Gyemant, “Integrarea țăranimii,” 246-247; Rețegan, “Aspecte ale stratificării,” 309; *Archiv* (1909), 389. Cărlan, *Monumentul*, 23.

612. Gyemant, “Contribuții statistice,” 166; Balog, “Efectele politicilor,” 214; Balog, “The Agrarian Reforms,” 20-21.

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husbandry, in which this vocation characteristic to the Romanian peasantry lost its importance.⁶¹³ The introduction of new animal breeds confirms the state's interest in finding solutions to this crisis, which sought to increase the efficiency of agriculture production. A notable example in this sense was the replacement of the Grey Steppe breed of beef cattle. Despite remaining the dominant breed in Transylvania until the twentieth century, the Grey Steppe started to be gradually replaced from the Neoabsolutist period (1849-1860) with the more efficient cow breeds Siementhal and Pinzgau brought by the authorities from Upper Austria and Switzerland.

Nonetheless, even the adoption of new cattle breeds follows a modernisation trend rooted in the cultural distinction that characterises the different population groups in this area. Hence, by 1909, the Romanians from Rupea owned a total of 537 cattle heads, but only 27% adopted a new cattle breed, while the Saxons, who held 369 cattle heads, adopted the new breeds in a proportion of 83%.⁶¹⁴ Highlighting a series of cultural and economic differences, the modernisation in agriculture, when it happened, was conditioned by deep-rooted historical realities that could not be overcome over the entire period studied.

Nonetheless, this does not cancel the existence of a modernising factor at the level of agriculture practices. In 1920, the number of cattle recorded in Rupea exceeded the number of sheep, confirming that between the 1848 Revolution and the Great War, the Romanian community passed through a series of changes with profound effects at the level of the collective cultural identities and household economics.⁶¹⁵ At the end of the decade, when the Agrarian Reform was officially finalised, the situation indicated that in only nine years, the

613. Between 1842 and 1865 the cattle in Transylvania increased by 43%, while pig farming saw an increase of 42%. Gyemant, "Contribuții statistice," 167.

614. *Archiv* (1909), 321.

615. Radu Totoianu, "Aspecte privind evoluția păstoritului și a creșterii animalelor pe valea Sebeșului în secolele XIX și XX," *Acta Musei Sabesiensis*, 2 (2010): 539-542.

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number of sheep in Rupea decreased from 1,213 to 300.⁶¹⁶ Ultimately, the transition of the Romanian peasants towards a different type of agriculture can be understood as a long process that unrolls over a long period, which is at one end identified with the mid-seventeenth century shepherds and at the other with the eve of the collectivisation of agriculture in communist Romania. Herding remained part of the complex agrarian landscape of Rupea until the end of the period studied (figure 8), with a diverse and significant number of bovines and ovine being bred that required the organisation of four different types of herds – “oxen separately, cows with milk separately, young cattle separately, sheep separately”.⁶¹⁷ This situation highlights that modernisation was there and altered the rural landscape; it just was not a uniform process.

616. A statistic of the domestic animals found in Rupea in 1929 finds 220 horses, 3 donkeys, 1,240 cattle (179 oxen, 568 cows, 159 calves, 322 water buffalos and 12 bulls), 300 pigs, 331 sheep, 211 goats and 30,064 poultry (2,940 chickens, 49 ducks, 48 geese, 27 turkeys). *Statistică Rupea*, File 1929/2.

617. Ioan Sisea and Ana Sisea (nee Fișărean) in discussion with the author.

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Figure 8. Author unknown, *Group photo of a ploughmen family from Bănuț kin with their cattle*, twentieth century, Dan Bănuț private collection, Rupea, Romania.

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Given the agricultural productivity and average size of the land properties, the rural population at the beginning of the eighteenth century was frequently unable to produce enough cereals to satisfy the needs of their household.⁶¹⁸ When this situation occurred, the only solution to make ends meet was to trade their products at the closest **market** towns where intermediaries would have purchased them.⁶¹⁹ Naturally, this type of activity was greatly influenced by the geographic position of the village and the distance to these outlets, but the presence of the peasants in the markets of the province cannot be denied. Nonetheless, given the precarious infrastructure of Transylvania during the eighteenth century and in the first part of the nineteenth century, it seems that only the villages that were positioned on the main roads or in the proximity of market towns were able to be involved in this type of activity, while for the others these contacts took place less frequent.⁶²⁰ In Hațeg Land, in the 1820s, the serfs from areas closer to the main roads traded porcelain and terracotta acquired from a local manufacturing company owned by Baron Naláczy, while in Sebeș area, the villagers resold trading glass products for profit.⁶²¹ In Sibiu's Borderland, some Romanian peasants who engaged in these activities developed into a class of merchants who sold animal derivative products.⁶²² In Brașov District, it was estimated that more than 30% of the small landowners were selling products to the markets, while data from Bistrița District estimates that around 70% of the peasants from that area were producing for sale, attending the market in Bistrița which was the nearest town to them.⁶²³ Much influenced by local conditions, they

618. Wolf, "Productivitatea agricolă," 287.

619. Garda, "Aspecte," 285.

620. Liviu Botezan, "Aspecte ale antrenării gospodăriilor țărănești din Transilvania în economia de mărfuri între 1785-1820," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XIX (1976): 149-150.

621. Botezan, "Aspecte," 156-158.

622. Botezan, "Aspecte," 158.

623. Balog, "The Agrarian Reforms," 22; Mureșan, "Aspecte," 152.

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encompassed many products such as eggs and poultry, milk and derivate products, swine, sheep, lamb, calf and fruits, being among the most common.⁶²⁴ Naturally, the benefits of the contacts made when they attended these markets go beyond economic gain, being sometimes the only way for the peasants to be exposed to new information and ideas. In addition, the contact with the market economy began to produce structural changes at the level of mentalities, finding an original expression in the innovations that appeared during this period at the level of the lexicon. By integrating older terms into new market realities and endowing them with new significance or by adopting neologisms, the contact of the peasantry with the latest developments that took place in the towns of the province connected them to a new economic reality.⁶²⁵ While the complex communal norms resulted in the adoption with scepticism of the idea of engaging in new occupations outside agriculture – apart from the priesthood – the trading of products to complete their income announced the beginning of a more significant social change among the peasantry that took place in the post-Revolutionary period after the abolishment of serfdom.⁶²⁶ The existence of these economic exchanges and the presence of the peasants in the market economy might not significantly have changed the structures of the rural world, which continued to be dominated by a spirit of autarchy. Still, they confirm the socially diverse space of the Transylvanian village in the nineteenth century.

624. Botezan, "Aspecte," 153-155, 159-164; Ioan Neagu, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

625. Gyemant, "Habitat," 165-169.

626. "De theatro et de ...quibusdam aliis..." *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Decembrie 23, 1911.

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Figure 9. Author unknown, *Main square during a market day*, Interwar period, Photograph, Private collection of the author.

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Despite the governmental resolution that, starting in 1802, determined the acceptance of Romanians as guild members in the King's Land, the Saxon population delayed their integration into this economic sector for decades.⁶²⁷ As a result of the Saxon protectionist policies, the restrictions set by the guilds in King's Land continued to exclude Romanian apprentices while at the same time forbade them to organise guilds of their own.⁶²⁸ Not being a guild member limited their access to the annual markets and, most importantly, hindered access to the weekly markets, discouraging local competition and the Romanian population from pursuing other occupations outside agriculture.⁶²⁹ This crisis deepened after 1851 when the Monarchy abolished custom taxes to increase the internal competition for the products – a decision that appeared against the background of the late industrialisation phase in the Central European space.⁶³⁰ With the elimination of the monopolies in 1852, the guild system, which characterised the King's Land economy from the Middle Ages, entered its final phase and eventually ended in 1872 when the guilds were abolished.⁶³¹ The transformations became visible shortly after, and it is no coincidence that in 1852, the oldest Romanian commercial company in Transylvania, Ioan Comşa & Son, was founded in the village Sălişte (near Sibiu).⁶³² The protectionist policies of the Saxons reveal a weakness of the guild system that, during the nineteenth century, was outdated and could barely face the competition of industrial production.

627. Gyemant, "Reorganizarea," 421.

628. Gyemant, "Integrarea," 239-240; Orga, "Societatea," 96.

629. Balog, "Political," 248-249.

630. Călin Anghel, "Ocupații la Sebeș la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea," *Acta Musei Sabesiensis*, 3 (2011): 421; Egyed, "Transformări," 195.

631. Anghel, "Ocupații," 421.

632. Deteșan, "Povești," 144-145.

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Nonetheless, due to a lack of proper transport infrastructure investments, the guild system continued to function for most of that century, making Transylvania one of the less industrialised provinces in the Monarchy.⁶³³ The effect of this situation on the Romanian population living in the King's Land was the narrowing of their professional possibilities and the prolonging of the agrarian character of this society. For this population living in the King's Land, occupational mobility was exceptional – those forced to abandon agriculture had to search for professional opportunities further away from home, which had complex social implications for the individual. Constrained to find economic opportunities further away from their hometown, once the communication infrastructure permitted it, the population from this area set in motion. The effects of this situation are manifold, but the demographical implications caused by temporary migrations abroad and the inflow of capital that entered the rural household contribute to understanding the original circumstances in which the modernisation of ploughmen's society took place.

In the context of the timid industrialisation that took place in the province during the Neoabsolutist period, starting from the 1850s, the migration to urban centres intensified, giving birth to what the Marxist literature calls the first working-class generation.⁶³⁴ At first, the working migrants came from the villages found in the proximity of the main industrial centres of the period – Braşov, Sibiu and Cluj – that looked for better wages in emerging sectors of textiles, leather and paper industry.⁶³⁵ For the population from Rupea Seat – which had one of the lowest levels of urbanisation in the King's Land – in the wake of the urban migrations that began after the mid-nineteenth century, the two main urban centres from

633. Balog, "Political," 248-249.

634. Egyed, "Transformări," 197; Prahoveanu, "Evoluția," 77; Demșea, "Burghezia," 96; Iosif Marin Balog, "Modernizarea economică și construcția căilor ferate în Transilvania: Aspecte social-economice ale disputei dintre sibieni și brașoveni la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea privind traseul primei căi ferate," *Țara Bârsei*, Nr.2, serie nouă (2003): 48, 50, 53.

635. Egyed, "Transformări," 197; Prahoveanu, "Evoluția," 77; Demșea, "Burghezia," 96.

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southern Transylvania, Braşov and Sibiu, might have also been the preferred local destinations, given the geographical proximity.⁶³⁶ Generally, the former landless peasantry – composed of two groups, contractual workers and day labourers – formed the first generation of urban working migrants that found in the urban centres an escape from their dire economic situation at home.⁶³⁷ In Hungary alone, between 1870 and 1910, the population that engaged in agriculture decreased from 80% to 64.5%, orienting towards sectors such as industry, trade and transport that doubled in percentage during this period.⁶³⁸ While in Transylvania, this development took place at a slower pace and with variations, the Romanian rural population's participation in this wider modernisation process cannot be underestimated.⁶³⁹

Although the process was much more visible in urban centres, the change produced by this phenomenon became part of the day-to-day life of inhabitants in all types of settlements, from larger towns to villages. In smaller towns such as Rupea, where the modern industry was virtually absent, the Saxon craftsmen remained active – mostly in the reparation sector – while diversifying their occupations to adapt to new market needs that emerged during the neo-absolutist era.⁶⁴⁰ Starting in the 1860s in the provincial towns of Transylvania, new occupations such as barbers, hairdressers, pastry chefs, upholsterers, tinsmiths and publishers appeared in a matter of years.⁶⁴¹ Even in the villages that until the first quarter of the century lacked even a general store, after the Revolution, began to appear such

636. Andea, "Habitat," 134.

637. Egyed, "Transformări," 193; Bideleux, *A history*, 258.

638. Bideleux, *A history*, 258.

639. Anghel, "Ocupații," 426.

640. Egyed, "Transformări," 195.

641. Demşea, "Burghezia," 63.

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establishments, usually within the local pubs.⁶⁴² Preceding the assimilations of other trades in the southern part of Transylvania, during this period, innkeeping began to be practised by the Romanian population, being one of the first occupations accepted in the rural normative system.⁶⁴³

Having a series of implications for peasant life, the diversification of the occupations in the second half of the nineteenth century limited personal time, affecting not only the working migrants who left the village temporarily but also villagers who stayed behind.⁶⁴⁴ Time starts to be quantified and be understood as a valuable resource. Influencing the modes of household production, the peasantry became aware of its economic importance, as it happened with the workforce in agriculture during this period when paid labour and urban migration were now a common phenomenon in this rural landscape.⁶⁴⁵

Following the abolition of serfdom in 1848 and the introduction of the peasantry to a new economic system, the core function of the ploughmen families became the preservation of the propriety inherited and the production of goods necessary to self-sustain.⁶⁴⁶ For this reason, the wealthier ploughmen worked more to maintain a household than poor labourers who did not own land or animals, the former even hiring labourers to fill the necessary workforce, which the family members could not cover.⁶⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the principal workforce remained the husband, who was also the household's representative in the external

642. Botezan, "Aspecte," 170; Balog, "The Agrarian," 22.

643. Anghel, "Ocupații," 421.

644. Ioan Muscă, "Activitatea reuniunii femeilor române sălăjene între anii 1881-1918," *Musei Porolissensis X* (1986): 559; Jude, "Prima reuniune," 529.

645. Balog, "The Agrarian," 19.

646. Bolovan, "Atitudini," 528.

647. Rețegan, "Elita satului," 102.

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economic relations and was seconded in all the working activities by the other family members capable of physical **labour**.⁶⁴⁸ Often working in inadequate working conditions that sometimes endanger their life, the wife, the children and the elders worked together, each having a precise role in the household.⁶⁴⁹ In his memoirs, a member of the Iosif kin from Rupea, born in 1914, depicted these aspects in detail: – “[...] it was often cold, or it was raining, and I was barefoot with the wool trousers soaked in water, and the shirt greased in sheep’s tallow that was becoming black but waterproof [...]”⁶⁵⁰ The wife, who arguably carried the largest range of responsibilities – raised the children, administrated the household, worked in the fields and when constrained by financial difficulties, engaged even in commercial activities such as pedlary – was the fundamental element in the functioning of this economic system.⁶⁵¹ Working alongside her husband, even when pregnant – are known cases when women gave birth in the fields – her private time was limited even further after the mid-nineteenth century when families became obliged to maximise their efforts to survive in the new economic system put in motion after 1848.⁶⁵²

Although the official minimum age for children to be used as workforce during the Interwar period was twelve years old, their involvement in household activities started much earlier.⁶⁵³ The infants were taken by their mothers to the fields, and starting from the age of

648. Pop, “Femei,” 317; Iosif, “Memorii,” 24.

649. Elisabeta Iosif (nee Stoica), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

650. Iosif, “Memorii,” 8, 16.

651. Răspuns negativ al prefecturii județului Târnava Mare privind cererea înaintată de Maria Bălica prin care solicită autorizație în vederea exercitării comerțului ambulant cu textile, 11.3.1943, File 1943/9, Corespondență, asigurări sociale, autorizații de construcție, refugiați [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Pop, “Femei,” 317.

652. Pinca, “Aspecte,” 145; Elisabeta Scurtu, “Mortalitatea infantilă din Sangeorz în secolul al XIX-lea.” *Revista Bistriței*, XXIX (2015): 171.

653. Notă referitoare la proprietățile care trec de 90 iugăre din comună, File 1927/1, Secretari, propaganda baptistă, Societatea Invalizilor de Război, sărbătorirea Zilei Eroilor [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

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four or five, they were used as workforce: “I don’t even remember how old I was when she first put the buckets or the jugs in my hand to bring water from the pump that was two hundred meters away. I feel like I was born with them in my hand.”⁶⁵⁴ Apart from their offspring, some ploughmen families took into their home children of a poorer condition, sometimes kin and sometimes children of Roma that lived in the house at least during the working season. In the case of children of kin members whose families had a lesser condition, this formative practice, which was equally meant to ease the burden of maintaining another child, could extend for years.⁶⁵⁵ The involvement of the children in fieldwork and household activities was usually perceived as an honour, but staying in consonance with Henry Miller’s coincidental comment that “youth may be glorious, but it is also painful to endure,” both the boys and girls were introduced, from an early age to a diverse range of often difficult household activities: “I enjoyed [the work] in the field. I was strong and able to carry all types of work. I was sowing, digging, mowing, carrying hay and wheat, taking manure to [fertilise] the fields. [...] We were bringing water, taking the cattle to drink water, chopping woods, taking the manure out of the stable, working in the field.”⁶⁵⁶ This introduction early in life to burdensome household responsibilities directly affected the children's school performance, who were not encouraged by their parents to attend it anyway. In Rupea, around the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the two Romanian confessional schools that functioned were opened mostly between the Nativity Fast and Easter when the children were not involved in major work activities.⁶⁵⁷ In addition, in times of war, the level

654. Iosif, “Memorii,” 7; Pop, “Încercări,” 125; Sabău, “Atitudinea,” 178.

655. Ana Burlacu (nee Borcoman), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019; Suci, “Aspecte,” 169.

656. Iosif, “Memorii,” 7, 14-16, 40-41.

657. Sabău, “Atitudinea,” 189; Iosif, “Memorii,” 22; Peteanu, “Statut,” 99; Rețegan, “Clerul,” 107.

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of school abandonment – having also the state's consent – was increasing to an even higher level given that the children's workforce was becoming vital to the household's survival.⁶⁵⁸

A day in the life of a boy who was growing up in a ploughmen's family would have started with the first light of the day when he took to the well by turning the cows and oxen, then the horses and finally the pigs.⁶⁵⁹ When he finished this activity, which normally ended before eight in the morning, he would have gone back in the house to have breakfast – which normally consisted of an omelette, cheese, milk and polenta – after which the family would have left for work in the fields.⁶⁶⁰ He would have worked in the field from an early age – “since I was able to hold the hoe with the arms” – together with his family.⁶⁶¹ While the elders carried the main workload, the children mostly took care of the animals, feeding them, giving them water and, when this was finished, refilling the containers from the closest springs.⁶⁶² At noon, after they had lunched and the older members of the family would have rested “for an hour,” the children would have enjoyed pastime activities – “I was looking for wild bird nests” or fruits.⁶⁶³ As it often happened that the fields of the Romanians were further away from the village, when the night came, together with their family, they would have slept near the working place – “I was sleeping under the clear sky, covered with a coat, sitting on straws or hay, depending on the work, if we found ourselves at mowing or reaping.”⁶⁶⁴ For the children of families that owned sheep, the fieldwork was alternated with

658. Mirela Popa-Andrei, “Elite rurale și învățământ confesional în societatea românească din Transilvania în anii Marelui Război (I),” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu din Cluj-Napoca*, LVII, Series Historica (2018): 101-102, 105-106.

659. Iosif, “Memorii,” 7.

660. Iosif, “Memorii,” 7.

661. Iosif, “Memorii,” 7.

662. Iosif, “Memorii,” 7.

663. Iosif, “Memorii,” 7.

664. Iosif, “Memorii,” 7-8.

periods spent at the sheepfolds – “I had an older brother who sometimes was taking me to the sheepfold to drive the sheep to the milking parlour [...] he was allowing me to milk the sheep, and even to make curd [...]”⁶⁶⁵ The long-term costs of this lifestyle equated with high rates of school dropout which combined with the simplistic mentality of the ploughmen – “he will not become priest anyway” or “I only have one, and I would not want to trouble him with going to school” – and with the financial difficulties of the families to pay for the school's costs, these children had from an early age a reduced possibility to adopt another lifestyle than that of their parents.⁶⁶⁶

The importance of children's workforce was not an isolated case in the previous centuries, with examples from diverse landscapes such as Ottoman Bulgaria or colonial Massachusetts indicating that this source of labour was so crucial during the agrarian period that families avoided marrying their children before finishing the fieldwork.⁶⁶⁷ The working activities extended over the entire year, and as the children grew, their involvement in the household economy also increased. Having an important economic contribution from an early age, according to an estimation of the Romanian authorities, during the Interwar period, a working day of a child was evaluated at Lei 30.⁶⁶⁸ But for the children of the peasants, these activities were not quantified as such since they represented a lifestyle that they assumed since infancy as their call. The daily working activities were understood as apprenticeships for the life they were preparing for. Lazar Iosif, writing about his childhood during the Great

665. Iosif, “Memorii,” 8, 41.

666. Iosif Uilacan, “Școlile confesionale românești în perioada comitatului Bistrița-Năsăud (1876-1918),” *Revista Bistriței*, XX (2006): 253-255; Ioachim Lazăr, “Învățământul confesional ortodox din satul Hârțăgani (1861-1921),” *Acta Musei Corvinensis*, VIII (2004): 236-237.

667. Todorova, *Balkan*, 35; Pakot, “Family Composition, Birth Order,” 104.

668. Comisiunea Județeană de Învoielii Agricole Târnava-Mare. Prețurile muncilor agricole, arenzilor și învoielilor agricole stabilite pe perioada 1.9.1938-30.8.1941, File 1938/7, Situații statistice agricole și table cu proprietăți de terenuri între 10 și 15 ha și peste 50 ha, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

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War, recalled that “[...] from spring to autumn I was more often in the fields” – and eventually, the working days would become seasons, and seasons would become years until they were old enough to establish a household of their own.⁶⁶⁹

The categories of labourers hired in agriculture differed by the period they contracted work – the possibilities extending from day labourers working in agriculture to permanent labourers living in the employer's household. The visible increase of **seasonal labourers** after the abolition of serfdom highlights a new socioeconomic reality that characterises the entire province. Unable to uphold their land and support their household, many former serfs were forced to rely on other methods to gain an income. Existing in the Padan Plain in Italy as an established seasonal migratory phenomenon from the seventeenth century, in Transylvania, the development of this category of seasonal workers, who were, in essence, hired labourers in agriculture, is the result of the social and economic realities that characterise the history of the province in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁶⁷⁰ Coming from parts of the province where the effects of serfdom were most poignant, they were at first hired by wealthier Saxon landowners of the King's Land, but by the early twentieth century, they were employed as well by Romanian families.⁶⁷¹

In addition, there is also recorded a separate category of Roma day labourers, who activated in agriculture and came to Rupea mostly from nearby villages such as Cuciulata and

669. Iosif, “Memorii,” 7.

670. Reșegan, “Aspecte,” 331-332. Luigi Lorenzetti, “Migrazioni di mestiere e economie dell'emigrazione nelle Alpi italiane (XVI-XVIII secc.)” in *Oeconomia Alpium I: Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Alpenraums in vorindustrieller Zeit. Forschungsaufriß, -konzepte und -perspektiven*, eds. Markus A. Denzel, et al. (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2017), 153; For a complete list of average salaries for a day of work in agriculture between 1875 and 1880, see Iosif Marin Balog, “Criza economică din 1873. Manifestarea și percepția ei în economia și societatea din Transilvania,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "George Barițiu" din Cluj Napoca*, L, Series Historica (2011): 73-74.

671. Botezan, “Aspecte,” 165; Iosif, “Memorii,” 57.

Bogata.⁶⁷² Employed by Romanian families who had more land, this category worked with the ploughmen in the fields, aiding them in completing their duties on time.⁶⁷³ Sometimes, these Roma workers, who generally belonged to the Bayash caste, helped with household work – carrying works such as the opening of the corn – but this mainly happened after fieldwork was finished.⁶⁷⁴ The payment of the seasonal workers for a day of work during the Interwar period can be estimated at around Lei 50 for a man, Lei 40 for a woman and Lei 30 for a child under 16 years old, but they were likely paid, at least partially, in products.⁶⁷⁵ In addition, during the Second World War, the families were equally able to request and receive Russian war prisoners to compensate for the loss of the workforce and use them for fieldwork.⁶⁷⁶ Those entitled to request the prisoners were obliged to provide food and pay the workers with Lei 10 per day.⁶⁷⁷ In Transylvania around the mid-nineteenth century, wealthier peasants also used permanent or semi-permanent paid labourers, usually having one or two workers that were regularly accompanying them. Still, in the cases of larger estates, the

672. Ioan Sisea and Ana Sisea (nee Fișărean) in discussion with the author.

673. Ioan Sisea and Ana Sisea (nee Fișărean) in discussion with the author.

674. Ioan Sisea and Ana Sisea (nee Fișărean) in discussion with the author.

675. Comisiunea, File 1938/7; Pop, “Încercări,” 127; Nicolae Bălica, in discussion with the author; Ioan Sisea and Ana Sisea (nee Fișărean) in discussion with the author; Vasile Borcoman, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019; Traian Forsea, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019; Nicolae Stoica, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019; Gheorghe Tempea, in discussion with the author; Ioan Neagu, in discussion with the author; Gheorghe Suma “Țăreanu”, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019; Otilia Sabău (nee Buzea), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019; Cornelia Băia (nee Băia), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019; Victoria Pălășan (nee Spornic), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019; Maria Stoica (nee Frățilă), in discussion with the author.

676. Tabel cu agricultorii, File 1941/8; Circulară Nr.1015, Camera Agricolă Târnava Mare 26.6.1941, File 1941/8, Ordine și corespondență cu privire la folosirea prizonierilor de război la munca câmpului, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Tabel Nr.2, 5 Primăria comunei Rupea Nr.182/1941. Mob. Tabel de proprietari care solicită prizonieri ruși pentru muncile agricole 3.8.1941, File 1941/19, Ordine, tabele și corespondență cu privire la rechiziții și cantonarea trupelor germane [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

677. Circulară a prefecturii județului Târnava Mare privind condițiile de întrebuințare a prizonierilor de război, 29.7.1941, File 1941/19, Ordine, tabele și corespondență cu privire la rechiziții și cantonarea trupelor germane [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

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number could have been significantly higher – for instance, the Saxon family Flagner hired as many as 30 workers at a time during the Interwar period.⁶⁷⁸

In addition, permanent **domestic servants** (Ro. slugă) who were encountered equally in the service of Romanian ploughmen families were primarily present in Saxon households.⁶⁷⁹ In the urban milieu of Rupea, local craftsmen and traders' families usually hired unmarried young women as house servants, the practice going back at least to the seventeenth century and continuing to be part of the local social and economic landscape during the Interwar period.⁶⁸⁰ In the case of the Romanian ploughmen, they usually hired Roma, and more rarely Romanians, who assisted the family with household duties and fieldwork.⁶⁸¹ These permanent house servants lived and ate together with the members of the family, being essentially a part of the household.⁶⁸²

As an important element of rural household economics, the various types of hired workers confirm the functioning of complex hierarchies specific to each population group. The workforce that was indispensable to the proper functioning of the rural economy

678. Notă despre numărul de servitori aflați pe moșia Flagner în funcție de criteriul etnic și gen, File 1926/7, Situații statistice demografice, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

679. Iosif, "Monografia," 26.

680. Tabel cu mențiuni despre situația numărului de servitori din Rupea, File 1926/7, Situații statistice demografice, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Notă din 4.5.1926 către primăria Rupea, referitoare la servitorul familiei Heinrich Christiani, File 1926/2, Corespondență cu privire la statistică, biblioteci, recrutări, acordarea cetățeniei, exproprieri, emigrări [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Proces verbal din 1.3.1929 încheiat în cancelaria primăriei Rupea între Tontsch Gheorghe din Mercheașa ca tată al numitei Tontsch Sara, fostă servitoare la Ernst Weber, File 1929/2, Ordine, procese verbale, tabele și corespondență cu privire la restituirea bunurilor [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; *Archiv* (1910), 195.

681. Notă emisă de notariatul Ștena în 4.3.1925 către Cercul de Recrutare Făgăraș, înregistrată în 10.3.1925. Raportează că Scârnciu Vasile locuiește în Cohalm ca servitor la Săracu Ioan, File 1927/5, IOVR, societăți comerciale, recrutări, împrumuturi, dezertări, rechiziții, ACR, autorizații, admiteri [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Ana Burlacu (nee Borcoman), in discussion with the author; Iosif, "Memorii," 9-10.

682. Rețegan, "Elita," 103.

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developed along with the rest of the Transylvanian social structures; with new categories appearing in the service of well-to-do families from Rupea, while older categories were being integrated into the new economic structures. For instance, with the development of industry and communication infrastructure, some seasonal labourers and domestic servants found different opportunities in the larger urban areas from the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Romania, abandoning their old lifestyle.

The labour practices remain closely associated with the development of **working tools**, among which the plough remains the quintessential agrarian device that defines European rural society. The late modernisation of agriculture in Transylvania and the dominance of the outdated wooden plough as late as the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century determined the setback of agriculture in this part of the continent.⁶⁸³ While iron blades have been used in Transylvania since the fourteenth century, the moderate technical progress and the limited widespread of this tool over the following centuries seem to have contributed to the historical setback of this space.⁶⁸⁴

Despite remaining some of the most valuable possessions of the peasant, the majority of working tools were produced locally until the nineteenth century, with limited advancement.⁶⁸⁵ While, in 1850, iron ploughs were used by only 30% of households at the province level, from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it became rapidly adopted in the southern part of Transylvania when the growing number of horses used in agriculture

683. Balog, "The Agrarian," 18.

684. Nicolae Edroiu and Pál Gyulai, "Evoluția plugului în Țările Române în epoca feudală," *Acta Musei Napocensis*, II (1965): 315.

685. Imreh, "Contribuții," 174; Mihail Bardoș, "Tehnologii utilizate la atelierele de unelte agricole din zona Hunedoarei, în secolul XIX și prima jumătate a secolului XX," *Acta Musei Corviniensis*, no.2 (1996): 121.

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favoured this tool.⁶⁸⁶ Given that the mechanisation of agriculture after the development of steam engines had a limited impact in the province, over the entire period studied – only larger noble estates had the capacity to make real investments in mechanised agriculture – the plough remained the main tool of the common peasants.⁶⁸⁷ Although, during the 1870s, the economic crisis contributed to the lowering of the prices in agriculture, resulting in the following decade in investments in modern technology by some medium-sized landowners, for the majority of the peasantry, animal traction continued to dominate agriculture until Interwar.⁶⁸⁸ The modernisation initiatives that took place in the context of the Agrarian Reform during the 1920s had as principal stakes the survival of the small peasant household, the state providing subsidies and organising a national lottery to encourage the use of modern agricultural machines.⁶⁸⁹ The absence of tractors at the Romanian ploughmen from Rupea – the only two recorded tractors found in Rupea in the 1930s were owned by two landowners, a Saxon and a Hungarian – and the existence of only four threshing machines owned by five local Romanian families confirm the limited success of the mechanisation of agriculture during the Interwar.⁶⁹⁰ The causes for this situation cannot be entirely attributed to a lack of

686. Balog, “The Agrarian,” 18; Imreh, “Contribuții,” 176; Natalia Giurgiu, “Conscriptiile urbariale ca izvoare demografice. Urbariul domeniului fiscal Gherla in prima jumătate a secolului al XVIII,” in *Din istoria statisticii românești. Culegere de articole*, eds. Manea Ionescu Mănescu and Mircea Constantin Biji (București: Direcția Centrală de Statistică, 1969), 302; Balog, “Efectele,” 213.

687. While on the large estates, the agriculture machines were introduced starting from the 1860s, in 1875, in all of Transylvania there were only 28 steam threshers and 3,967 iron ploughs. Balog, “Efectele,” 212.

688. Balog, “Criza,” 67; Statistică Rupea, File 1929/2; Notă, File 1927/1.

689. Ciculară din 25.10.1926 de la prefectura județului Târnava Mare – Serviciul Administrației Generale către primăriile comunelor rurale privind organizarea loteriei naționale “Loteria plugarului” cu scopul de ajutorare a sinistraților, File 1926/1, Împroprietăriri, consilierii comunale, recrutări, IOVR, rechiziționări imobile, tabele cu soldații căzuți în război [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Pop, “Încercări,” 127.

690. Statistică a mașinilor agricole din Rupea pe anul 1928, File 1928/1, Recrutări, ajutorarea sinistraților, activitatea societății Invalizii de Război [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Statistică Rupea, File 1929/2; Primăria Rupea, File 1938/7; Despre proprietarii de garnituri de treierat din comuna Rupea, 3.8.1941. Suma Gheorghe, proprietar batoză Magyar Gazdasági și Danciu Ilie, proprietar batoză Magyar Gazdasági, File 1941/19, Ordine, tabele și corespondență cu privire la rechiziții și cantonarea trupelor germane, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale

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finances, although proper financial subsidies and programmes were a key factor, but are equally the result of an outdated mentality and of the dominance of popular beliefs that governed rural imaginary in the absence of proper instruction.⁶⁹¹

The possibility of temporal mobility allowed many peasants to improve their conditions and use the capital to improve their household infrastructure and expand their land property. The modernisation of the rural household from the second half of the nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century is a reality that can hardly be contested. It was certainly not a uniform process; it certainly developed slower than some expected, but it happened. Considering that a major moment in the modernisation of the agrarian society came only after the abolishment of serfdom during the mid-nineteenth century, the relative backwardness of the Romanian household economy during the Interwar period is justified. Nonetheless, this research is about inquiring if and how modernisation takes place in a specific historical context, and the conclusion is that from the perspective of agriculture, modernisation was present. Society experienced fast mutations within the studied time frame, and new categories of workers emerged. In the nineteenth century, proto-capitalism came to touch the lives of the peasantry, even in the small villages of the province, showing that far from stagnating, the population engaged with capitalist ideas in various ways, such as showing a valuation of time and developing a competitive spirit. Where the Romanian peasantry visibly failed to improve was agriculture technology; perhaps for this reason, the small peasant household did not become the envisaged production unit.

Serviciul Judeţean Braşov, Braşov, Romania; Statistică a primăriei comunei Rupea privind situaţia căruţelor din localitate 1.6.1944, File 1944/8, Situaţii statistice cu privire la caruţele din Rupea, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naţionale Serviciul Judeţean Braşov, Braşov, Romania.

691. Alina Ioana Şuta, "Problematika alimentaţiei populaţiei rurale româneşti transilvănene reflectată în presa vremii la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea şi începutul secolului XX," *Acta Musei Devensis*, XXXIV (2006): 840; Balog, "Efectele," 213; Gyemant, "Contribuţii," 168.

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The core theme of research of this sub-chapter in the broader narrative of the thesis examines the definitory element of the ploughmen's society: land ownership. Its strategic placement in the middle of the thesis underscores also the land's pivotal role in the narrative of the ploughmen's society.

Commencing with the historical evolution of land ownership in the Romanian population from the King's Land, the study navigated through cattle production, market hubs, labour structures and the technological state of Transylvanian agriculture. The findings shed light on the dynamic evolution of the rural space, depicting the transition from feudal norms to a varied rural economic landscape.

The next sub-chapter will explore the impact of mobility on familial economic structures, building upon the foundation laid thus far. Constructed around the findings of the preceding sub-chapter, the study of temporary migration investigates the determinants and effects of ploughmen's mobility starting from the final quarter of the nineteenth century until the Interwar period.

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Figure 10. Author unknown, *Woman ploughing*, Interwar period, Photograph, Vasile Danciu private collection, Rupea, Romania.³

3.2. The Effects of Mobility on the Family Economy

The second sub-chapter investigates how rural society used temporary migration to capitalise on economic opportunities and enhance domestic circumstances. This research theme shifts focus from agriculture to investigate the emergence of this form of human mobility that played a substantial role in the household economics system adopted by the Romanian population in southern Transylvania from the final quarter of the nineteenth century.

In the first part, the investigation establishes a historical context for temporary mobility among the Romanian population in southern Transylvania, spanning from the Principality period to the late nineteenth century. The narrative transitions into the dynamic landscape of modern migration of the late 1800s Transylvania. This part examines the wider economic causality and communication infrastructure developments that lead to a new migratory culture. In addition, a sex-based dimension is introduced to understand better the intricate cultural, economic, and social realities of the rural Transylvanian society. In the second part, three directions of emigration are studied – Central Europe, the Kingdom of Romania, and the United States of America – each providing an original perspective through which temporary migration's challenges, aspirations, and consequences are assessed. The closing part discusses in a separate section the broader social ramifications of this phenomenon, offering a comprehensive perspective on the impact of temporary migration in rural Transylvania.

A constant phenomenon in rural society, mobility during the Principality period and later under the Habsburg rule was formed of both temporary and permanent

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migration. The importance of mobility was manifold, with economy and culture being the prime criteria assessed in this current investigation. The effects of modern temporary migration on the development of the household economy are discussed from the perspective of the returning migrants who used their accumulations to improve their situation at home.

If, generally, until the development of communication infrastructure in the final quarter of the nineteenth century, the mobility of the population was defined by permanence or long intervals of time, with the arrival of the steam engine, this period shortened radically. The cartmen were an exception to the short-term mobility in the Transylvanian rural world before the arrival of the steam engine. Practised in the King's Land generally by individuals who did not possess arable land or pastures, many cartmen were identified by the Göttingen educated historian Christian von Engel as Romanian free tenants.⁶⁹² Discussing their situation in the late eighteenth century, Engel remarked that, especially in the autumn, they were found around the province, while other accounts mentioned their presence further away in important European markets such as Pest, Vienna, Brno and Leipzig.⁶⁹³

The economic drive for mobility was at various times augmented by different types of migration caused by natural calamities, religious conflicts, and wars.⁶⁹⁴ From a demographic point of view, these periods of instability triggered large population displacements with damaging effects on the province's economy. For instance, according to some estimates, in Rupea Seat, in the context of the instability period that defines the late Principality era, the

692. Bozac, "Știri," 381.

693. Rețegan, "Elita satului," 109.

694. Mureșan, "Aspecte," 154.

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emigrated population produced a demographic decrease of 30% only between 1687 and 1698.⁶⁹⁵ Despite establishing stronger frontiers, the arrival of the Habsburgs in Transylvania was not accompanied by a similar management of the internal situation in the province. Hence, the intensification of the conflicts between the Hungarian nobility and peasantry resulted in social unrest in the eighteenth century with direct implications on the local demographics.⁶⁹⁶ In addition, the religious conflict that emerged in the Romanian communities of Transylvania following the creation of the Greek-Catholic Church led in the first years of the eighteenth century to significant emigrations to the Romanian principalities.

Nonetheless, this period's main social challenge remains the conflict between the Hungarian nobility and peasantry. The increased burdens of serfdom in the aftermath of the Rákóczi's War (1703-1711) directly affected the intensification of mobility of the Transylvanian rural population and led to a wave of emigration from Transylvania in Moldavia and Wallachia that extended over the entire eighteenth century.⁶⁹⁷ In addition, factors such as the general increase in birth rate, the decrease in the mortality rates and the reduction of the communal lands (occupied by force by the magnates under pressure to respond to market competition) contributed to this result.⁶⁹⁸ While most often this mobility was short distanced, the neighbouring county being the most likely location to settle, the crossing of the Carpathians was by no means stranger to the Transylvanian peasants,

695. *Archiv* (1909), 379.

696. Ranca, "Abuzul," 178, 184-185; For instance, in Rupea Seat, one peasant from Crăciunel village flees from the estate of Pál Ugron and settles in the King's Land in the nearby village Drăușeni (in Rupea Seat). *Archiv* (1909), 387.

697. Mureșan, "Aspecte," 152, 154; Bozac, "Știri," 379, 383; Ranca, "Abuzul," 178; Totoianu, "Mărginenii," 365; Virgil Șotropa, "Bejenii în secolul XVIII," *Arhiva Someșană*, No.16 (1932): 55-56, 58.

698. Ranca, "Abuzul," 179-181.

including those from Rupea Seat who found in the Romanian principalities a less rigorous and organised fiscal apparatus, and no military obligations.⁶⁹⁹

The rapid demographic increase of the eighteenth century set in motion population movements that directly influenced the structural modernisation that characterised European society.⁷⁰⁰ This demographic reality, an effect of agricultural improvements that contributed to better diets – which provided a better immunity of the population against diseases – positioned Habsburg Transylvania within a series of developments characteristic to other parts of the European continent.⁷⁰¹ In addition, the innovations in transportation and communication, along with social reforms such as the abolition of serfdom and other global economic developments such as the post-Civil War emergence of the United States as an industrial superpower, provide a historical context for the mass mobility that defines nineteenth-century Europe.⁷⁰² For the Romanian peasantry from Transylvania, the integration into this modern circuit took place relatively late in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, driven by specific demographic, economic and political factors. The demographic boom that followed after the 1848 Revolution, together with economic factors such as the Panic of 1873 – a financial crisis that extended in the province until the late 1880s – the dissolution of the guild system in the King’s Land during the 1870s, the intensification of the arable land

699. Rudolf Wolf, “Obligațiile fiscale ale țărănimii din comitatul Crasna în prima jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea,” *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XI (1987): 246; Bolovan, “Transilvania,” 417; Livia Ardelean, “Aspecte ale migrației din comitatul Târnava între anii 1764-1774,” in *Sabin Manuilă. Istorie și demografie. Studii privind societatea românească între sec. XVI-XX*, ed. Ioan Bolovan and Sorina Bolovan (Cluj-Napoca, Fundația Culturală Română, 1995), 91; Viorica Goicu and Simona Goicu-Cealmof, “Originea numelui de familie Muntean(u),” *AUT*, XLVIII (2010): 178; Iorga, *Studii și documente*, 198.

700. Bodnar, *Immigration*, 34; Alan Kraut, *The Huddled Masses: The Immigrant in American Society, 1880-1921* (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1986), 39.

701. Bodnar, *Immigration*, 34.

702. Bodnar, *Immigration*, 34; Kraut, *The Huddled Masses*, 39.

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crisis and the perpetuation of backward agriculture, was seconded during the late nineteenth century by an increasingly tensioned political environment caused by Budapest's Magyarization policies.⁷⁰³

Following the demographic boom that was becoming perceptible in the economy between the third and fourth quarter of the nineteenth century, the lack of opportunities in the industry in a predominantly agrarian region forced this post-revolutionary generation to seek opportunities further away from home, stimulating the large migratory movements that characterise this area starting from the 1880s.⁷⁰⁴ Benefiting from the recent arrival of the railway, the distinguishing trait of this modern mobility differed from anything before for having a character of immediacy. The train made migration faster and cheaper, and most importantly, it allowed individuals to transform it into a temporary process without great effort. Better transport infrastructure not only meant higher and safer mobility of the rural population but equally better transport of goods and food, together with social and cultural developments produced by establishing a permanent link between the village and the outside world. The information flowing through the new communication mediums touched even the lives of the inhabitants from more secluded rural spaces. These revolutionary innovations announced to the peasants that there was a world filled with economic opportunities waiting for them beneath the perceivable symbolic borders of the village and that it could be reached with only one train

703. Gherghina Boda, "Periodice Transilvănene. Despre emigrația românească în America," *Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis*, V (2016): 348; Gheorghe Faraon, "Contribuții la istoria Țării Făgărașului. Emigrarea Vădenilor în America," *Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis*, IX (2020): 188.

704. Bodnar, *Immigration*, 10; "Diverse. Miscarea poporatiunii romane." *Biserica si Scola. Foia bisericesca, scolastica, literara si economica*, Mai 25/Iunie 6, 1886.

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ticket. The change was groundbreaking, and in a matter of decades since it first started to touch people's lives, these innovations altered entire societal structures.⁷⁰⁵

From a demographic perspective, the Transylvanian population between 1850 and 1910 increased by 40.2% but taken into consideration only the period after the inauguration of the Oriental Train Line, which opened on the axis Oradea-Cluj-Braşov (in June 1873), between 1880 and 1910 the population grew with as much as 28.9%; by comparison in England and Wales during the same interval, the population increased by 40% while in Italy by 21.4%.⁷⁰⁶ This situation, which positions the society in Transylvania on the same level as the urbanisation models encountered in other European spaces, provides a historical context for the analysis of the economic effects of temporary mobility in the Romanian population of southern Transylvania.

The effects of integrating the masses into the capitalist economy through temporary and permanent migratory movements had expansive socioeconomic and demographic implications, transforming the rural landscape irreversibly at the end of the nineteenth century.⁷⁰⁷ For instance, by the late nineteenth century, temporary migration in Central Europe took such a magnitude that in 1885, Chancellor Bismarck decided to expel the Polish seasonal workers from Prussia, imposing a ban that lasted five years – the number of these temporary migrants that were found in Germany on the eve of the Great War being

705. Bodnar, *Immigration*, 34.

706. Bodnar, *Immigration*, 34; Bolovan, "Transilvania," 417; Ioan Bolovan, *Transilvania între Revoluția de la 1848 și Unirea de la 1918. Contribuții demografice* (Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Fundația Culturală Română: Cluj-Napoca, 2000), 37; "Varietăți," *Transilvania*, 1873; Bolovan, "Evoluția demografică a Transilvaniei," 201.

707. See for a broader analysis of the economic effects in the immigrant's country of origin, Tara Zahra, *The Great Departure: Mass Migration from Eastern Europe and the Making of the Free World* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016).

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estimated to as much as half a million.⁷⁰⁸ Moreover, while men engaged in temporary economic migration in a significantly higher number than women, the late nineteenth-century temporary mobilities saw a better inclusion of the latter group in new economic activities.⁷⁰⁹ Determined by the widening occupation possibilities, these sex-based differences also upheld different types of mobility. If short-distance mobility was dominated by women, by contrast, the transatlantic voyage was distinguishably characteristic of men.⁷¹⁰ In aid of this argument comes the U.S. Census report that shows that in 1910, immigration from both southern and eastern Europe was dominated by men with a difference of 190.6 to 100 in the case of the immigrants from Italy, 160.8 to 100 in the case of Hungary and 154.6 to 100 in the case of Austria.⁷¹¹ The participation of men in the transatlantic migration positioned the Romanian population from Transylvania at around 91% (between 1899 and 1910), being close to the situation in the Balkans that recorded even higher male participation but above the average from regions such as Bohemia and Moravia, where men represented around 57% of the total number of emigrants.⁷¹²

Hence, this sex-based perspective on transatlantic immigration indicates a higher similarity of the Transylvanian Romanians to the Balkan space than that of Central Europe. Highlighting a series of economic and cultural realities, the Romanian peasantry at the turn of the century shared at least at the level of mentalities a series of common traits that attached

708. Mark Wyman, *Round-Trip to America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 19.

709. Philippe Jarnoux, “Migrants et migrations dans les villes bretonnes sous l’Ancien régime,” in *Le monde en Bretagne, la Bretagne dans le monde. Voyages, échanges et migrations*, ed. Elsa Carillo-Blouin (Brest: CRBC, 2006), 67.

710. Bolovan, “Evoluția demografică a zonei Lechința,” 186.

711. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 39.

712. Ulf Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe: Emigrants, America, and the State since the Late Nineteenth Century* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Book, 2016), 75; Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 39-40.

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them to both the Balkan space and Central Europe. In the Romanian rural communities, women mainly remained grounded in their area of origin, sometimes even in their village, for most of their lives. This situation was encountered equally in Rupea, which, despite being a market town, until the Interwar period, there were situations of women who did not go outside the town's boundaries since they were responsible for the administration of the household.⁷¹³ On the other hand, men left the village, the county, and even the country more often since they were obliged to complete military service.

Moreover, as representatives of the household, they were engaged in various entrepreneurial activities such as attending cattle markets or, in the case of the shepherds who practised transhumance, moving their flocks in the large area that for centuries extended between Crimea and Constantinople.⁷¹⁴ The changes in the Transylvanian rural society starting from the end of the nineteenth century coexisted for decades with the older mentalities conditioned by economic and educational realities. Speaking with a member of the Romanian community from Rupea, he recalled a story that emphasised the existing differences between men and women in terms of mobility, existent even during the Interwar period:

[A veteran from the Great War] he was a prisoner in Rio de Janeiro. [...] Poor man, he went there. Once, he went with his cattle to the animal market because it was there that people sometimes made money, those who had animals for sale. He went with his wife. The women, the girls, they didn't leave the village, rare. The man went to the market, cattle on the carriage, cattle behind the carriage and when he arrived on that hill when you come down in Cața, it's not such a big hill as Gherghelău, but it's still a hill, and you can see a couple of villages. And [when they arrived at the top] she says towards her husband: "Man, this world is so vast." And he replied: "Oh woman, now imagine how far it is from here to Rio de Janeiro." So, this is the story of the old

713. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing*, 60.

714. Deteșan, "Povești," 144.

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*woman, when she went on the hill, because she never left the village, probably not even at animal markets. She saw the villages and thought the world was vast.*⁷¹⁵

With the development of the train network in Central Europe, a new type of temporary mobility was established among the population living in the King's Land. During the periods of agricultural rest, the Romanian community started to embark on voyages towards the more industrialised areas of the Habsburg Empire, where they acquired goods from factories and traded them in the rural mountain regions from the proximity.⁷¹⁶ Being found around local or regional industrial centres such as Katowice, Kościan and Skarżysko-Kamienna, these itinerant traders – Romanians and Roma alike – sometimes even remained in those areas for years and sometimes settled there permanently.⁷¹⁷

715. Gheorghe Suma "Drăghici", in discussion with the author.

716. Certificat din 6.11.1937, eliberat de primărie prin se care confirmă ca Ana Lazăr, domiciliată în Rupea, fiind în etate, trăiește din banii pe care-i primește de la fiica sa, Domnica Curcă n.Lazăr care actualmente are domiciliul în Kościan, Polonia, File 1937/5, Certificate comunale cu privire la mărimea suprafețelor proprietăților agricole [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Adresă a Deutsche Konsulat Kronstadt către primăria Rupea din 2.12.1938 privind cetățenia Wilheminei Homorozean, domiciliată in Spillendorf, Germania [today Oborná, Czech Republic], File 1938/9, Ordine, procese verbale și corespondență cu privire la folosirea izvorului de apă sărată [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Răspuns al primăriei Rupea în cazul semnalat de prefectură, privind cetățeanul Maria Balint nee Danciu, care locuiește în Germania și a cerut Consulatului General din Berlin eliberarea unui pașaport și pentru soțul său Ioan Balint, File 1938/9, Ordine, procese verbale și corespondență cu privire la folosirea izvorului de apă sărată [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

717. Certificat din 17.8.1937, eliberat de primărie pentru Maria Curcă (n.Curcă) pentru a putea obține autorizația de a trimite din străinătate valută pentru cei doi copii Maria și Gheorghe, locuitori în Rupea, File 1937/5, Certificate comunale cu privire la mărimea suprafețelor proprietăților agricole [...], Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Certificat din 8.3.1937 al primăriei prin care se atestă că Gheorghe Boldea, în prezent domiciliat în Katowice, Polonia, are soția și un copil domiciliți în Rupea, aceștia trăind din banii pe care-i primesc de la sus-numitul, File 1937/5, Certificate comunale cu privire la mărimea suprafețelor proprietăților agricole [...], Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Certificat din 24.3.1927 eliberat de primăria Rupea la cererea lui Frederic Baltres, născut în Rupea, actual locuitor in Košice, Cehoslovacia plecat din Rupea din 1894, pentru confirmarea faptului că a renunțat la cetățenia română, File 1927/1, Secretari, propaganda baptistă, Societatea Invalizilor de Război, sărbătorirea Zilei Eroilor [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Scrisoare din 26.3.1928, înaintată de Mihail Marian, ginerele a lui Z.Homorozean, actual locuitor în Haan, Cehoslovacia, către primăria Rupea privind o sumă de bani neachitată la o clinică din Praga, File 1928/1, Recrutări, ajutorarea sinistraților, activitatea societății Invalizii de Război [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Scrisoare din 11.4.1928, înaintată de Mihail Marian, actual locuitor în Haan, Cehoslovacia, către primăria Rupea prin care confirmă achitarea sumei lipsă cerută de clinica din Praga, File 1928/1, Recrutări, ajutorarea sinistraților, activitatea societății Invalizii de Război [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Certificat din 30.1.1937 al primăriei Rupea privind situația cetățeanului Eduard Chirilă, absolvent al unei școli de muzică din Aussig (Ústí nad Labem),

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The quantification of this phenomenon over a long period reveals that between 1882 and 1938, from the Galician village Zaborów, which counted around 160 households, were recorded as many as 2,168 seasonal migrants, in addition to the 721 long-term migrants who eventually returned to their homes and another 782 who emigrated permanently.⁷¹⁸ This trading practice identified in Central Europe was also encountered in the French Savoy region at the beginning of the twentieth century, where the peasant families tried to obtain an extra income during agricultural rest.⁷¹⁹ Known colloquially in Rupea as “hânzărit” – arguably the etymological explanation is related to trading in towns that formerly belonged to the Hanseatic League or simply because their activity was trading – the practice enjoyed particular popularity during the Interwar period with both the Romanian and Roma populations.⁷²⁰ Adopted by the former group as a full-time activity, becoming the only income source for some Roma families, the diverse destinations of these temporary migrants indicate the intense mobility of the population from Rupea in Central Europe during that period.⁷²¹ As the number of destinations diversified during the Interwar period, the residents

Cehoslovacia, File 1937/5, Certificate comunale cu privire la mărimea suprafețelor proprietăților agricole [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Certificat din 18.5.1937 eliberat de primărie prin care se adevărește că supusa cehoslovacă Maria Hollomutz este domiciliată în Rupea fiind întreținută de Petru Porumb, cetățean român, care dorește a se căsători cu ea, File 1937/5, Certificate comunale cu privire la mărimea suprafețelor proprietăților agricole [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

718. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 17.

719. Bodon, *La Modernité*, 20.

720. Certificat din 16.2.1937, prin care se atestă că întreținerea Mariei Frunzea cade în sarcina fiul său Gheorghe Frunzea, domiciliat în Germania, File 1937/5, Certificate comunale cu privire la mărimea suprafețelor proprietăților agricole [...], Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Certificat din 6.11.1937 eliberat de primărie prin care confirmă că Ana Lazăr, domiciliată în Rupea, fiind în etate, trăiește din banii pe care-I primește de la fiica sa, Domnica Curcă n.Lazăr care actualmente are domiciliul în Koscian-Polonia, File 1937/5, Certificate comunale cu privire la mărimea suprafețelor proprietăților agricole [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania. Elisabeta Iosif (nee Stoica), in discussion with the author; Maria Danciu (nee Iosif), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019; Ironim Sisea, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

721. Certificat din 16.2.1937, File 1937/5; Certificat din 6.11.1937, File 1937/5; Tabel intern, File 1926/7; Victoria Beian, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, May, 2019; Victoria Pălășan (nee Spornic), in discussion with the author.

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from Rupea were found in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Germany, and, exceptionally, France and Yugoslavia.

Nonetheless, out of these locations, the one with the most significant impact on the collective memory of the residents from Rupea was Bohemia, known colloquially to the local population as “Bemia”, a region that was the most industrialised area of Czechoslovakia.⁷²² Attracting during the Interwar period both Romanians and Roma, in 1923 alone, 7 out of 15 passport holders from Rupea left towards that area of Czechoslovakia.⁷²³ While France remained a less popular destination for the residents from Rupea – only George Borcoman, a Romanian, and George Cozac, a Roma, are known to have worked there – during the second half of the 1920s, the increased number of immigrants from Romania that were heading to France and Belgium became such a preoccupation to the local authorities that they sought to limit their departure to these two countries by refusing to grant them passports.⁷²⁴

To pursue this itinerant trading, the population requested documents from the authorities that allowed them to cross multiple borders, revealing important aspects about the distances these individuals covered.⁷²⁵ Usually practised by married couples, this itinerant

722. Maria Terchilă (nee Pălășan), in discussion with the author; Gheorghe Borcoman, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

723. Tabel al primăriei din 20.6.1923 privind cetățenii plecați cu pașaport din Rupea care nu s-au mai întors, File 1923/1, Încurajarea industriei, participări la Primul Război Mondial, repatrieri în Ungaria, exproprieri locuri de casă [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

724. Circulară. Ordin al Ministerului de Interne Direcția Generală a Poliției, Serviciul Poliției Generale și de Frontieră. No.54004, 24.8.1929, File 1929/5, Ordine si corespondență cu privire la eliberarea pașapoartelor [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Tabel intern, File 1926/7; Victoria Beian, in discussion with the author; Prefectura județului Târnava Mare către primăria Rupea înaintează un comunicat al Consulatului Cehoslovac privind oferirea unor informații legate de Anna Mureșan, din Rupea, în prezent aflată pe teritoriul Cehoslovaciei care numita cere eliberarea unui brevet de industrie, File 1927/1, Secretari, propaganda baptistă, Societatea Invalizilor de Război, sărbătorirea Zilei Eroilor [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

725. Ordin circular al prefecturii județului Târnava Mare către polițiile de stat și notarilor cercuali și comunali din 27.2.1928 privind eliberarea pașapoartelor în județ, File 1928/1, Recrutări, ajutorarea sinistraților, activitatea societății Invalizii de Război [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

temporary mobility implied that the children were separated from their parents for long periods. Usually, the children remained in the care of grandparents or in their absence in that of local caretakers found close to the areas where their parents carried out economic activities.⁷²⁶ As confirmed by Elisabeta Iosif, whose parents took her as a child to join them abroad during the Interwar period, the emotional and cultural implications of temporary migration left an imprint on the child's memory:

“They went to trade. When I saw them coming, I couldn't recognise them anymore; we were little. Our parents didn't stay for that long, but some people stayed longer. I was saying that it was the Gypsies who came because they wore the clothes from trading. “Mommie, the Gypsies are coming!” I was speaking Czech, I wasn't speaking Romanian anymore, and I didn't remember a word in Romanian anymore. Only Czech, I was speaking. They left us with a Czech woman, but she took good care of us; she dressed us nicely. [...] They gave us in the care of that woman. [...] And then I didn't know Romanian anymore because she was speaking only Czech and I was saying in Czech that the Gypsies were coming because I used to see them with those, with the bundle of cloth on their back. “The Gypsies are coming, mommy, the Gypsies are coming!” I was saying in Czech. I was calling the lady mommy.”⁷²⁷

The association of this practice with Roma is explained through the extended involvement of this population group, who made itinerant trading a full-time activity. In contrast, for the Romanian ploughmen, who practised this economic mobility during agricultural rest, it generally remained a side venture meant to complete their incomes.⁷²⁸

Around the same period, the railroad connection between Transylvania and Romania opened a new possibility of movement for the Romanian rural population from southern Transylvania. The extension of the train line from Braşov to Bucharest connected the capital

726. Certificat din 4.1.1937, eliberat de primărie prin care se atestă că Maria Curcă domiciliată în Rupea întreţine pe nepoţii săi Nicolae şi Iustina David, a căror părinţi sunt stabiliţi în oraşul Scarjiska [sic], Polonia [posibil Skaryszew, Poland], File 1937/5, Certificate comunale cu privire la mărimea suprafeţelor proprietăţilor agricole [...], Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naţionale Serviciul Judeţean Braşov, Braşov, Romania; Certificat din 16.2.1937, prin care se atestă că Chirilă Radu întreţine pe nepoţii săi Chirilă Radu şi Elisabeta, părinţii acestora fiind în Katowice, Polonia, de unde trimit bani pentru întreţinere, File 1937/5, Certificate comunale cu privire la mărimea suprafeţelor proprietăţilor agricole [...], Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naţionale Serviciul Judeţean Braşov, Braşov, Romania;

727. Elisabeta Iosif (nee Stoica), in discussion with the author.

728. Tabel intern, File 1926/7; Victoria Beian, in discussion with the author.

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of Romania with Central Europe. For the Romanians from Transylvania, this line also provided access to a new job market in the largest Romanian-speaking urban centre. While the migration of Transylvanian Romanians to the Old Kingdom certainly predates the train line, this communication innovation provided a mass character to the phenomenon, facilitating transportation in safety and short periods.⁷²⁹ As recalled by one octogenarian, who heard the story from older people from Rupea: “They say the first people of Rupea went to a boyar in the south; that boyar came here to baths, to the baths of Jacobi, for treatment; and then he spoke with one man to give him his son to take him there to work as a servant, and he went there and when they saw how much money he gained, then more offered to go there to be servants at the Wallachians.”⁷³⁰ Involving equally men and women – the former were generally employed as guardians while the latter as house servants – when severe financial constraints did not force them to stay at home, the practice developed as a transitional phase for the young to save some money before their marriage.⁷³¹ Associated sometimes with the lower tiers of rural society, the continental migration to the nearest areas promised economic development to those who could not afford to embark on transatlantic voyages.⁷³²

Besides the imminent danger of being attacked by bandit groups in Bogata Forrest, in the first part of the nineteenth century, only the distance from Rupea to Braşov took a day and

729. For instance, in 1873, Ioan Văsii from Rupea died of cholera in Bucharest at the age of 60 and is buried at Hagiu Church by the Priest Ioan IV Popescu (from Rupea), who at that time was serving in the capital of Romania. Rupea – Protocol morţi Ortodocşi, 1873-1950.

730. Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author.

731. Pop, “Încercări,” 126; Iosif, “Memorii,” 60, 131; Instances of this practice reveal the complex effects of temporary urban mobility at the level of social behaviours. For example, one illustrative case is that of Ana Borcoman, a servant at the Mihalovici family who was living on No.1 Doamnei Street in the central area of Bucharest and was accused by her employees of petty theft. “Intamplari din Capitală,” *Universul*, Februarie 7, 1901.

732. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 22.

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a half, but in the 1880s when a train line was connecting Rupea to Bucharest all these impediments were gone.⁷³³ After the union of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania, particularly in the context of the effects of the Great Depression, the migration of the rural population to Bucharest only intensified.⁷³⁴ The magnitude of the phenomenon is proved by the reaction of the authorities that decided to take action to reduce the flow of migrants from Târnava Mare County, who were worried by the increased rates of unemployment in Bucharest.⁷³⁵ Having clear demographic evidence from the final quarter of the nineteenth century, between 1881 and 1891, as much as 18.2% (or 9,211 out of 50,513) of the total number of Romanian emigrants from the eight Transylvanian counties that resettled in the Kingdom of Romania came from Târnava Mare.⁷³⁶ The county, which represented from the eighteenth century one of the main sources of immigration to the Romanian principalities, continued over the Interwar period to represent a supply of workforce despite the negative effects of the Great Depression in the Romanian capital.

An analysis of the situation in Rupea during the Interwar period, specifically between 1917 and 1938, confirms the overall situation registered at the county level since 15% of the

733. "Atacul banditesc din pădurea Bogății," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Iunie 28, 1929; Karl von Szepeshazy and I.C. von Thiele, "Neuester Wegweiser durch das Konigreich Ungarn und nach allen angrenzenden Landern mit statistischen Angabe der Zahl der konighchen Freistadte, Marktflecken, Dorfer und Pradzen nebst einer Postkarte von Ungarn und Siebenburgen verbunden, mit eater ausfuhrlichen Beschreibung aller Mineral-Bader, Gesundbruennen und Heilquellen des Konigreiches Ungarn, Croatien, Slavonien und Siebenburgen, Košice, 1827," in *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea*, Vol.2, 1822-1830, ed. Paul Cernovodeanu and Daniela Bușă (București: Editura Academiei Române, 2005), 323.

734. Pop, "Încercări," 126.

735. Copie după ord. Min. de Interne No.11423A din 23.12.1931 către prefectul județului Târnava Mare, înaintat primăriei comunale Rupea, File 1933/1, Vânzări terenuri, planul de sistematizare a comunei, activitatea teatrală, școala de ucenici [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

736. Egyed, "Problema," 371, 373.

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local Romanian population was engaged in this type of mobility.⁷³⁷ While it cannot be established what proportion of the emigrants from Rupea headed to the capital of Romania, an analysis of the situation in the nearby Făgăraș Land for the period 1899-1913 revealed that an estimated 36% of the total number of emigrants headed to Bucharest.⁷³⁸ In addition, in the first decade of the twentieth century, demographic data from two villages in the former Rupea Seat, Cața and Jibert (Ger. Seiburg), shows higher rates of Romanians engaged in continental mobility than their Saxon neighbours who emigrated in higher number to America.⁷³⁹ This situation, suggesting a relation between the destination of emigration and the economic situation at home, lays the ground for the third direction of migration and arguably the one with the highest economic impact – America.

Starting around the same period as the other two destinations, the Eastern European migration to America promised the peasantry a rapid socioeconomic boost, providing a solution to paying debts, acquiring land and constructing new houses.⁷⁴⁰ Dominated by the migration to the United States of America, other destinations of the Romanian Transylvanians to the New World include Canada and Argentina.⁷⁴¹ With around 23 million European immigrants that arrived in the United States between 1880 and 1930, starting from

737. Tabel demografic, File 1938/15.

738. Faraon, "Contribuții," 187.

739. *Archiv* (1909), 332, 345.

740. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 21, 131; Pop, "Încercări," 125.

741. Tabel intern, File 1926/7; Tabloul emigranților din 1904-1928 din comuna Rupeni, în țările în afară din Europa (mențiuni America, Argentina, Canada), 19.6.1928, File 1928/1, Recrutări, ajutorarea sinistraților, activitatea societății Invalizii de Război [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Listă din 16.12.1931, întocmită de Delegația Regală a României din Rio de Janeiro, înaintată de prefectura județului Târnava Mare către primărie privind cetățenii români aflați fără lucru în Argentina, cu scopul de a raporta dacă numiții au rude apropiate în comună și în caz afirmativ a li se pune în vedere să trimită celor din listă banii necesari de drum spre a se întoarce în țară, întrucât se află în America de Sud/Argentina/ lipsiți de mijloace. Dumitru Bănuț – domiciliul Rupea – profesiunea agronom, Zaharia Morariu – domiciliul Ștena – profesiunea agronom, Ion Cernea – domiciliul Paloș – profesiunea agronom, File 1931/6, Repatrierea prizonierilor români din Rusia, repatrieri din Ungaria, exproprieri, secte religioase [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

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the turn of the century, America – as it was commonly referred to the North American nation by the Romanian immigrants – was “invaded” by Eastern Europeans, with Austro-Hungary being a great demographic source for this mobility.⁷⁴² The Empire's eastern, less industrialised provinces provided a higher rate of migrants; only from Transylvania alone between 1880 and the beginning of the Great War were officially recorded almost 380,000 emigres, out of which less than 20% returned home during that studied timeframe.⁷⁴³ The moving of the migration flows towards the southeastern part of the continent during the late nineteenth century resulted in a complete takeover by these populations of the migration, which by 1896 represented almost 80% of the total number of emigrants that arrived in the United States.⁷⁴⁴ Between 1899 and 1913, in the southern Transylvanian area of Făgăraş Land, as much as 62% of the total emigrants headed to America, while Rupea's neighbouring village Paloş, which during the heyday of the transatlantic emigration was known by the appellation “Little America,” also recorded a high proportion of working men heading to the same destination.⁷⁴⁵ Although an accurate number of the total number of emigrants cannot be established, given the cases of illegal emigration under false documents, it still is safe to assert that the period between 1904 and 1907 can be considered the climax of this phenomenon.⁷⁴⁶ In the following years, until the beginning of the War, it was estimated that

742. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing*, 42-43; Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 16.

743. Bodnar, *Immigration*, 10; Bolovan, “Considerații demografice asupra populației germane,” 306; Lovin, Minerva. “Imaginea,” 257, 261. By 1921 direct routes functioned between New York and Constanța starting from \$145 the ticket. “Intrarea României în război,” *America*, Septembrie 22, 1921.

744. Kraut, *The Huddled Masses*, 19.

745. Faraon, “Contribuții,” 187; Nicolae Codrea, Nicolae Băia and Albert Elekes, *Monografia satului Paloş-Ardeal* (Braşov: n.p., 2021), 125.

746. Lovin, “Imaginea,” 256; Paula Virag, “Aspecte ale migrației populației din Comitatul Satu Mare în America de Nord (1899-1913),” *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XXVII, Istorie-Etnografie-Arta (2005): 64; Eugen Lazăr, “Câteva considerații asupra fenomenului emigrației și a orientării românilor din Transilvania spre America de Nord în perioada 1848-1918,” *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, IV (1980): 522.

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two-thirds of the workers activating in twenty-one American industries came from this part of Europe.⁷⁴⁷

Despite these impressive figures, continental mobility remained dominant – estimates putting it at almost double in numbers against transatlantic migration – the economic situation of the migrants influencing their abilities to pursue the transatlantic voyage due to the travel expenses.⁷⁴⁸ In this sense, the emigrants from areas where small landownership prevailed, with an average property between two to five hectares, were more likely to head towards America than those from regions dominated by large estates that employed landless workers. In this sense, in the Bukovina region, which had one of the highest recorded emigration rates, around 90% of the peasants were small landowners with properties of up to five hectares.⁷⁴⁹ While temporary continental migration provided a smaller financial aid to those pursuing that type of mobility, returning transatlantic voyage workers could rapidly acquire arable land parcels and construct new houses.⁷⁵⁰ Given the returns of this investment, the families involved in the transatlantic migration could justify their physical and financial effort despite all the perils this voyage implied. As suggested by the folklore of the emigrants that went to America, far from an exciting adventure, the voyage was seen as a sacrifice that they were willing to pay – and sometimes did pay, even with the cost of their life – only to save the necessary money they needed at home. Speaking with a local, he offered to recite one of the songs that the returning migrants in Rupea sang, which expresses the deep longing of the departing peasants:

747. Kraut, *The Huddled Masses*, 12.

748. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 22.

749. Bodnar, *Immigration*, 10.

750. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 131.

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I left my home as a young man,/ I left the plough and the scythe,/ And my beautiful wife/ Was in tears near the window./ I went to be stifled by smog/ To earn the thousand for my journey [back]./ America is a good country,/ But it's far and foreign./ Many sturdy hearts,/ Remained there in the factories./ Those who do not know what longing is,/ Step on a ship/ cause on the top of ship/ Sits the mother of longing,/ Shoed in opanci,/ Gnawing young men's sturdy hearts.⁷⁵¹

Working mainly in the industrial centres from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and Indiana – or in agriculture in Montana – the routes of the Romanian migrants were sometimes opened by local Jewish families who later acted as travel agents and by the Romanian shepherds from the southern border of Transylvania.⁷⁵²

The inflow of cash that entered the country as an effect of immigration to America was immediate, and its consequences became visible at the village level soon after the first migrants returned home. The cash contributed to a rapid change at the level of the common practices, particularly when it comes to trading real estate, opening a different method of expanding private property.⁷⁵³ If, until this moment, the land was transferred through inheritance and only exceptionally sold, now the market opened the possibility of acquiring plots of land, permitting families to extend their property in a matter of years.⁷⁵⁴ On average, after spending three to five years in America, the peasants could return home to accomplish

751. Vasile Borcoman, in discussion with the author.

752. Boda, "Periodice," 349-351; Mihai Drecin, "Banca Albina din Sibiu între New York și București (1911-1912)," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XXVIII (1987-1988): 335; Lazăr, "Câteva considerații," 521; Paul Michelson and Gelu Neamtu, "Dorul de casă la românii din Transilvania emigrați în Statele Unite ale Americii (1907-1908)," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj-Napoca*, XXXII (1993): 199; Scrisoare a lui Gheorghe Borcoman, File Corespondență clopote; Scrisoare a comitetului parohiei Greco-Catolice din Rupea-Cohalm către Gheorghe Borcoman, din Montana, Snyder [Bros] Sheep Co., 25.3.1924, File Corespondență clopote biserica Greco-Catolică, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf. Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania. Egyed, "Problema," 375.

753. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 134.

754. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 130-131, 134; Scrisoare a Mariei Harrica din Rupea, actualmente aflată în Falkenau an der Eger (Sokolov) Cehoslovacia în privința cumpărării unei parcele de pământ, File 1929/5, Ordine si corespondență cu privire la eliberarea pașapoartelor [...], Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

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their objectives.⁷⁵⁵ The widespread saying “[save] the thousand and [then come home from] the voyage,” reveals the ambitions of the Romanian peasantry and how this temporary migration ideally ended.⁷⁵⁶ It is estimated that between 1897 and 1902, the returning Italian migrants brought back as much as \$100 million.⁷⁵⁷ On average, the savings of a returning emigree at the beginning of the twentieth century can be estimated at around \$400 to \$600, which, adjusted to the inflation rate, in 2022 represented around \$13,000 to \$20,000.⁷⁵⁸ By comparing the average wages in agriculture in Transylvania in 1910 with those of machinists in Cleveland, Ohio, the difference is striking – the male day labourers in agriculture were paid the equivalent of around \$0.07 per day, while for a machinist in an American factory, the salary was \$3.24 per day.⁷⁵⁹ These indicative numbers are meant to put into perspective the economic leap this voyage promised to the peasant families.

Regarding their economic situation at home, the trip to America promised these emigrants that they would benefit from better living conditions on their return. If, for poor cotters who had no or little land, the aim was to acquire some parcels, for the small farmers, the dream was of expanding, but for both, America meant change.⁷⁶⁰ In some areas, the cash inflow permitted a better dollar capitalisation, while in others, it was used for purposes other than land purchase and house construction. Hence, while some returning migrants managed to use the money to open small businesses, others used it to pay for medical care, for the

755. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing*, 72; Bodnar, *Immigration*, 54.

756. Virag, “Aspecte ale migrației,” 67; Lazăr, “Câteva considerații,” 521.

757. Kraut, *The Huddled Masses*, 10.

758. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 130. *Archiv* (1909), 332, 376.

759. U.S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Union Scale of Wages and Hours of Labor, 1907 to 1912*, No. 131, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913, 28; Iosif Marin Balog, “Prices, wages and consumption in Transylvania between 1850-1914. Trends and developments in rural and urban areas,” *Romanian Journal of Population Studies*, Supplement, V (2011): 85.

760. Ronald Bayor, *Encountering Ellis Island: how European immigrants entered America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 7; Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 132, 134.

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education of family members and for paying amassed debts to banks and usurers.⁷⁶¹ Those who opened businesses focused on barbershops, pubs, and convenience stores. Exceptional was the case of the Polish returnees from Wyszkwow who established steelworks or of a Hungarian returnee who used his savings to open a general store with fixed prices similar to the model found in America.⁷⁶² Nonetheless, even when returning migrants established no such businesses, the inflow of capital created a higher demand for goods, stimulating, at least temporarily, the overall development of the local economy.⁷⁶³

Leaving this aside, given that most of the returning migrants from Transylvania were ploughmen, none of the investments at home were more important than the acquisition of land. As recalled by the son of one participant in the transatlantic migration that went to the United States: “People craved to become wealthier, they went to America, they worked as servants everywhere [...], to make money to buy in Rupea a parcel, to have land, to be a man.”⁷⁶⁴ For these migrants, the land was the reason they left their native villages and embarked on this dangerous journey to the other side of the world and back. In southern Transylvania, in the former King’s Land, once the peasantry was put in motion and the inflow of capital started to make its presence, land prices began to increase. Land value grew from 1880 over the following decades, provoking disillusionment among the ploughmen who hoped for enrichment.⁷⁶⁵ Hence, despite having capital, the unjustifiable prices of land and the decreased production value created a market response that resulted in the continuation of

761. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 129; Kraut, *The Huddled Masses*, 10; Boda, “Periodice,” 352; Faraon, “Contribuții,” 208; Act din 11.3.1943 al primăriei comunei Rupea către prefectura Târnava Mare, File 1943/9, Corespondență, asigurări sociale, autorizații de construcție, refugiați [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

762. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 7, 136.

763. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 136.

764. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 120; Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

765. “Glosse la iubileul bancilor,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Decembrie 21, 1910.

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the ploughmen families working arable land in lease from the Saxons until the collectivisation ultimately integrated individual property into the newly established state farms.⁷⁶⁶ The increase in land price is by no means particular to southern Transylvania, with similar cases highlighted in Hungary, where between 1875 and 1900, land value increased by 50%, or in Croatia, where on average the increase was of as much as 470% (from \$60-\$80 to \$400/jugera) and in Calabria where the prices went up by 360% per parcel.⁷⁶⁷ In the absence of proper legislation during this period of rapid mutations, the speculators started to acquire large portions of land to parcel it and resell it at higher prices to the families of the returnees.⁷⁶⁸ In some cases, land parcels were also sold by poor peasant families that were abandoning agriculture to pursue other opportunities in the city, while in other cases, it was the members of the old nobility who poorly administrated their estates and failed to adapt to the new market challenges, who were forced to parcel and sell to sustain themselves or venture in other businesses.⁷⁶⁹

Bad investments in land plots that were now overpriced and sometimes of poor quality added to the general lack of modernisation in agriculture, which resulted in the limited success of the Transylvanian peasantry in improving categorically the economic situation of their household.⁷⁷⁰ In addition, external factors such as the overall decrease in grain prices due to the American market competition and the salary increase of the hired workforce in agriculture caused by the diversification of labour blocked many of the

766. Gail Kligman and Katherine Verdery, *Țăranii sub asediu. Colectivizarea agriculturii în România (1949-1962)* (Iași: Polirom, 2015), 103-104, 363-364; Scurtu, *Istoria*, 98.

767. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 135-136.

768. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 135.

769. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 133; Dionisie Bucur, *Scurtă monografie a comunei Crihalma* (n.p.: Editura Transilvania Expres, 2011), 17-18; Bucur, "Scurtă monografie," 11.

770. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 142-143.

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developments that the ploughmen envisaged.⁷⁷¹ Without affording to invest in modern pieces of machinery nor possessing the education to use fertilisers, the returnees were satisfied with acquiring some land parcels without foreseeing any longer-term developments.⁷⁷² Hence, after spending years working in the American factories, many peasants returned home with their hopes only partly accomplished – more land was acquired but not as much as predicted and not enough to improve their condition.⁷⁷³ This is not to say that the families involved in the transatlantic migration stagnated, only that the innovation in this agrarian society did not equate with the flow of dollars entering the country.⁷⁷⁴ The Eastern European peasants were members of an agricultural society bound to an intricate web of norms and rules on the one hand and of a series of market limitations on the other, which resulted in an incapacity to compete with modern industrial agriculture, even in those cases when theoretically they knew about the benefits technological improvement.⁷⁷⁵

Secondary in importance, yet the most visible remnant of the temporary migration to North America and Central Europe, the construction of houses reveals the adoption of a different aesthetic and confirms the approval of novelty as part of the rural world.⁷⁷⁶ Having more financial capacities, the families of the returning migrants started to build houses that either imitated the vernacular architecture of their Saxon neighbours (figure 12), either from Central Europe (figure 11) or even tried to adopt the architectural style of the American

771. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 133.

772. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 143.

773. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 143.

774. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 139.

775. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 138.

776. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 129

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houses.⁷⁷⁷ As a symbol of status, house construction during this period contributed to a better understanding of the local cultural standards. Providing better living conditions to the new house structures were sometimes added annexes that permitted better management of the household activity. These family achievements prompted the community's reaction, which sometimes reacted with envy and sometimes motivated and encouraged others to follow the same path as their peers.⁷⁷⁸



Figure 11. Author unknown, *Interwar period house on Market St. constructed by Nicolae Borcoman (1890-1956) and his wife Maria nee Danciu (1894-1975) after returning from trading in East Central Europe*, Interwar period, Photograph, Vasile Danciu private collection, Rupea, Romania.

777. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 7, 127.

778. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 129.

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Figure 12. Author unknown, *Group of Romanian women and children on Kozdgasse*, Interwar period, Photograph, Vasile Danciu private collection, Rupea, Romania.

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The trajectories of the returning migrants reveal a series of behavioural and health effects with multifaceted implications in rural society. The working migrants living in clusters, in boarding houses and slums, were isolated from the American culture even after they spent long periods in the United States.⁷⁷⁹ Since they left with an exact purpose in mind, most of these individuals who were so eager to return home from the moment they left their village spent their time in America between factory and accommodation to save as much money as possible to be able to return home.⁷⁸⁰ Rarely preoccupied with learning English, their contact with the American culture generally manifested through a visual experience of a limited time and space.⁷⁸¹ Nevertheless, even in these circumstances, some returnees distinguished themselves from their peers by paying more attention to personal hygiene and house cleanliness, indicating that limited as it was, the experience in America positively influenced their activities.⁷⁸² Adopting a social behaviour that was appreciated by their peers as more elevated and being considered diligent people, these individuals were recognised in their community for their efforts at their return home. In this sense, the opinion was shared even by local intellectuals, such as the doctor Lazăr Iosif, who made in his memoirs a similar observation: “My brother-in-law was an intelligent man, hard worker, travelled in his youth in the USA where he made some fortune.”⁷⁸³ The relationship between better hygiene, health,

779. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 63-64, 184.

780. Ioan Opreș, “Românii înspre și în America,” *Acta Musei Corviniensis*, III (1997): 158-160; Boda, “Periodice,” 351; Michelson, “Dorul,” 198, 201-203; Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 63.

781. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 63-64, 184.

782. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 183, 195.

783. Iosif, “Memorii,” 61; “Serbările culturale,” *Tribuna*.

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and economic growth represents a precondition of long-term social development, permitting the family unit to benefit from the household's members' workforce for longer periods.⁷⁸⁴

At the level of internal social hierarchies, the economic improvement of the returning migrants did not equate with a change in the pre-existing situation. When the Roma families returned to Rupea after spending some time trading in Central Europe to assert a better social position, they referred to notable Romanian ploughmen families to become their godparents.⁷⁸⁵ The working migrants who understood the privilege and benefits of the capital went back for another tour to America “where they can be gentlemen, not peasants like at home.”⁷⁸⁶ Hence, the definitive return of the migrants to their homes, even when they accumulated a higher amount of capital, did not equate with a change of status, at least not immediately.

Despite failing to create a market economy, the inflow of capital brought by the returning migrants left its mark on their community of provenance. Financial sources were used to contribute to developing the local material culture. Donating money for community-based projects was widespread during the Interwar period, with the Church being the preferred symbolic location for such a practice.⁷⁸⁷ The returnee, more concerned about improving his condition without abandoning the established hierarchies, participated in this social game without disrupting village norms. Despite the existence of efforts to implement new ideas, generally, the families that acquired capital in this context did not break the local

784. Suchit Arora, “Health, Human Productivity, and Long-Term Economic Growth,” *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol.61, No.3 (2001): 737-739.

785. Extras din matricula cununaților Greco-Catolici din 22.2.1948, File Stare Civilă II.

786. “Serbările culturale,” *Tribuna*.

787. “Colecte în America,” *Curierul Creștin*, Ianuarie 15, 1924; “Din Rupea,” *Unirea poporului*, Noiembrie 10, 1935; “Dare de seamă și mulțumită publică,” *America*, Iunie 28, 1913; Faraon, “Contribuții,” 208-209; Scrisoare a lui Gheorghe Borcoman, File Corespondență clopote; Ioan Repede, in discussion with the author.

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normative system, and when the flow of money resulting from temporary migration stopped, so did the development of that household.⁷⁸⁸

The effects of modern temporary mobility on the rural economy in southern Transylvania between the late nineteenth century and the Second World War shaped the development of the Romanian household and provided a temporary boost that enabled many families to improve their living conditions during that period. The lack of proper instruction did not allow the families involved in this process to use the capital for more profitable endeavours, and given the existing infrastructure of the Romanian households, before this period began, the construction of new houses seemed a more important priority. The acquisition of arable land was often deceptive, succeeding at most to buy them more time to ensure the dowry of at least one more generation, which in the system of norms of the Transylvanian village was more important than economic growth.

This sub-chapter offered an understanding of how migration shaped economic structures through the exploration of the connection between mobility and the economy. To achieve its research aims, the inquiry focused on the migration histories of the Romanian ploughmen from Rupea to the Kingdom of Romania, Central Europe and North America, shedding light on the motivations, challenges, and, most of all, the consequences that characterised this phenomenon. The chapter's inquiry into the families' experiences shapes a complex picture of mobility in rural Transylvanian society in the second half of the nineteenth and the first part of the twentieth centuries. The use of oral history provides an empathetic portrayal of the challenges the families involved faced while examining the vernacular architecture through historical photography adds an important cultural dimension to the narrative.

788. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 138.

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Concluding the sub-chapter, the following case study evaluates the economic transformations within a Romanian household from Rupea by connecting family experiences with broader historical events. Building upon the themes discussed in this chapter, such as private property and temporary mobility, the following examination reconstructs substantial developments from a micro-level perspective, contributing to the history of private life in the rural European space.

Generations of ploughmen: Economic transformations in a household from Kozdgasse between the 1870s and the 1940s

This investigation uses a microhistory perspective to connect four generations of inhabitants to broader historical developments. The narrative begins by studying the development of a sub-urban settlement from Rupea, known as Kozdgasse, formed in the eighteenth century through the extension of the existing Romanian settlement cores. The study then focuses on the Borcoman household, situated on Kozdgasse 502, offering a detailed exploration of their member's economic trajectory spanning several decades. The investigation looks at land transactions, family dynamics, and the impact of external factors like the transatlantic migration, the Agrarian Reform and the Great Depression. The study concludes with the household members' livelihood during wartime and the post-war period, facing economic difficulties, the beginning of collectivisation, and the eventual emergence of a new era under the communist regime.

Constructed as a case study that investigates the social and economic development of Rupea's Romanian community, this examination connects four generations of ploughmen to larger historical developments that define the history of Europe.⁷⁸⁹ A detailed understanding of the evolution of the sub-urban settlement inhabited by the Romanians in Rupea is imperative to appreciate the social context of how this household appeared.

Known as Kozdgasse, which can be translated as Kozd Lane, the street where the household was established was formed during the eighteenth century through the extension of

789. Martine Segalen, "Cycle de la vie familiale et transmission du patrimoine en Bretagne. Analyse d'un cas," *Ethnologie française*, Tom. 8, No. 4 (1978): 271.

the two suburban settlement cores inhabited by the Romanians.⁷⁹⁰ In the eighteenth century, the Saxon authorities drew a street line at the southern edge of the market town, on the floodplain area from the right bank of Kozd stream, to unite the two pre-existing Romanian settlement cores.⁷⁹¹

From the fourteenth century, the Romanian population was confirmed to have a significant presence in the markets and towns of the province, where it established compact suburbs.⁷⁹² Nonetheless, it was only during the end of the reign of Habsburg Emperor Leopold I that the Romanians were granted the right to construct and repair the houses owned in these suburbs and acquire land.⁷⁹³ Having a rural character, the people of these suburbs were predominantly engaged in agriculture, working as tenants on the lands owned by the Saxon population since only very few had land parcels in their property.⁷⁹⁴ With the enactment of the Edict of Concivility in 1781, Romanians were finally legally entitled to buy properties in towns, not only in the suburbs. In practice, this act did not generate visible

790. Cerere a unor cetățeni, File 1927/1; *Első Katonai Felmérés: Magyar Királyság (1763-1787)*, Scale 1:28800, georeferenced version, Budapest: Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2004, detail; Archiv (1909), 325; Archiv (1911), 657.

791. Rupea – Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852; Adresă din 13.11.1926 a primriei Rupea către Seviiciul Apelor Reg.VIII privind trimiterea unui expert care să studieze posibila reglementare a apelor/văilor care traversează comuna Rupea și provoacă inundații anuale, File 1926/10, Împroprietării, consilierii comunali, recrutări, IOVR, rechiziționări imobile tabele cu soldații căzuți în război [...], Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Cerere a locuitorilor români înaintată către primărie în vederea luării de măsuri contra inundațiilor anuale care produc pagube uriașe locuitorilor din zonele de șes, File 1925/10, Memoriul societății plugarilor din Rupea din 3.7.1925 cu privire la edificarea casei de cultură [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Cerere a locuitorilor, File 1925/10; Cerere a unor cetățeni din Rupea către primărie în vederea curățării alvenlui văii Krodenbach, File 1927/1, Secretari, propaganda baptistă, Societate Invalizilor de Război, sărbătorirea Zilei Eroilor [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; “De prin sate,” *Unirea poporului*, Septembrie 18, 1927; “Ploile din ultimele zile.” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Mai 25, 1930; Fișărean, Gheorghe and Ana Fișărean, “Family letters.” Unpublished correspondence, 1941-1942, handwrite.

792. Călin Anghel, *Evoluția urbanistică a orașului Sebeș* (Alba Iulia: Altip, 2011), 169-170; Orga, “Societatea,” 96; Ioan-Aurel Pop, “Considerații istorice asupra vocabularului politic din veacul al XVIII-lea în Scheii Brașovului,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XXIII (1980): 226-227, 230.

793. Pascu, *Voievodatul*, II, 456.

794. Orga, “Societatea,” 96.

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changes. Particularly in a small market town like Rupea, where the purchasing power of the Romanians was low, the effects of the Edict were delayed until the second half of the nineteenth century. Confronted with the conservative attitude of the Saxon community trying to preserve a homogenous character in these areas, the result was the perpetuation of this situation in the town until the twentieth century.⁷⁹⁵

795. "Serbările culturale," Tribuna.



Figure 13. *Első Katonai Felmérés: Magyar Királyság (1763-1787)*, Scale 1:28800. Georeferenced version, Budapest: Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2004, detail.

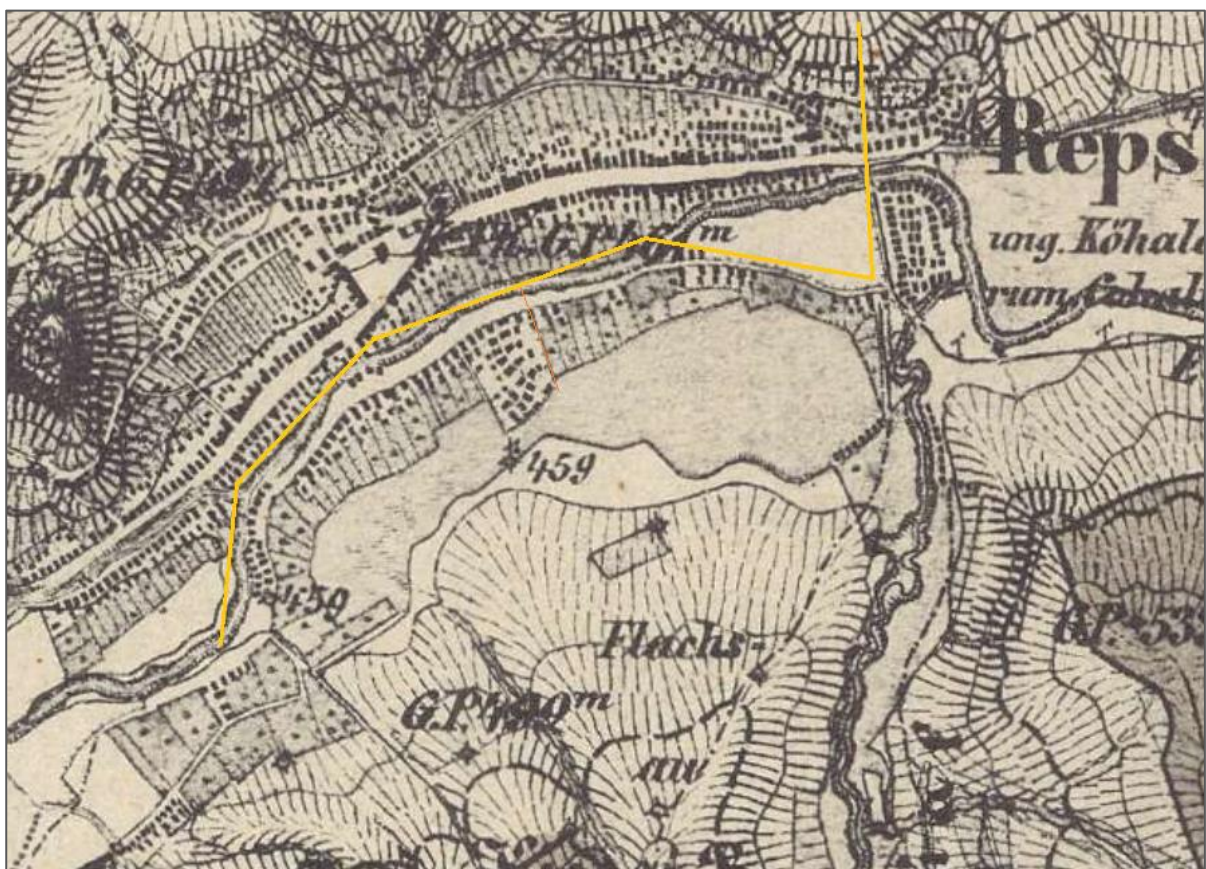


Figure 14. *Második Katonai Felmérés: Erdély (1853-1858; 1869-1870)*, Scale 1: 25000, Georeferenced version, Budapest: Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2006, detail.

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As a result, Kozdgasse remained culturally homogenous since its formation in the eighteenth century, concentrating an increasing Romanian population from the town's suburbs. Named after the main water stream that crossed through a floodplain, the current street was initially outside the medieval borders of the market town, being an area used for growing vegetables and fruit trees.⁷⁹⁶ Around the third quarter of the eighteenth century, Kozdgasse was partly formed, extending on a parallel line with Main Street from the west end to around the Market Square (figure 13). By that time, due to the lack of construction permits to extend further, it developed a "U" shape enclosing, perpendicular to the lane, commonly referred to as "the Angle."⁷⁹⁷ Starting in the 1840s, the Saxon owners began to sell parcels in their former gardens, resulting in the extension towards the east. Eventually, around the third quarter of the nineteenth century, it united with Market Street, another Romanian-inhabited area in the town's east end (figure 14).⁷⁹⁸

On the easternmost part of Kozdgasse, parallel with the right bank of the stream, remained a triangle-shaped parcel on which vegetable gardens continued to exist until after the Great War (figure 15, 16). The area that was prone to annual flooding (figure 18) and that was part of the old right bank floodplain was known colloquially as the Cabbagery (Ro. Verzerie) – a name that was initially adopted during the Interwar period for the new street that formed in that area.⁷⁹⁹ The development of this area, which was part of the last important urban planning developments in Rupea before the Communist period, was created due to the Agrarian Reform when the local administration allocated standard house parcels (20 square

796. Comisiunea Județeană pentru Expropriere și Împroprietărire a județului Târnava Mare răspunde în urma apelurilor făcute de moștenitorii Zink și Carol Falk, 14.2.1925, File 1925/5, IOVR, societăți comerciale, recrutări, împroprietări, dezertări, rechiziții, Automobil Club Român, autorizații construcții, admileri în școli [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

797. Elisabeta Iosif (nee Stoica), in discussion with the author.

798. *Archiv* (1909), 321.

799. Imreh, "Contribuții," 180-181; Mureșan, "Aspecte," 160.

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fathoms) to the entitled population.⁸⁰⁰ The expropriated land that was at that time in the possession of sixteen Saxon families and one Romanian family represented in total eight jugera and 1,589 f²m, out of which five jugera and 200 f²m were expropriated from a single Saxon proprietor.⁸⁰¹

800. (Ro. stânjen, in Transylvanian 1 fathom = 1.8 meters). Comisiunea Județeană pentru Expropriere, File 1925/5, A regulation dating from 1922, authorised the town halls to sell house parcels to widows, orphans, functionaries and war veterans. Onofrei, "Legislația," 233.

801. Comisiunea Județeană, File 1925/5.

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Figure 15. Author unknown, *Panoramic view of Rupea taken from the fortress, detail* [with the printed inscription “Reps-Köhalom. Ansicht von der 121 Meter über dem Orte gelegenen Burg”], cca.1897-1918, Postal card, Szegedi László Tamás private collection, Rupea, Romania, detail, the Cabbagery with Market Street in the background.

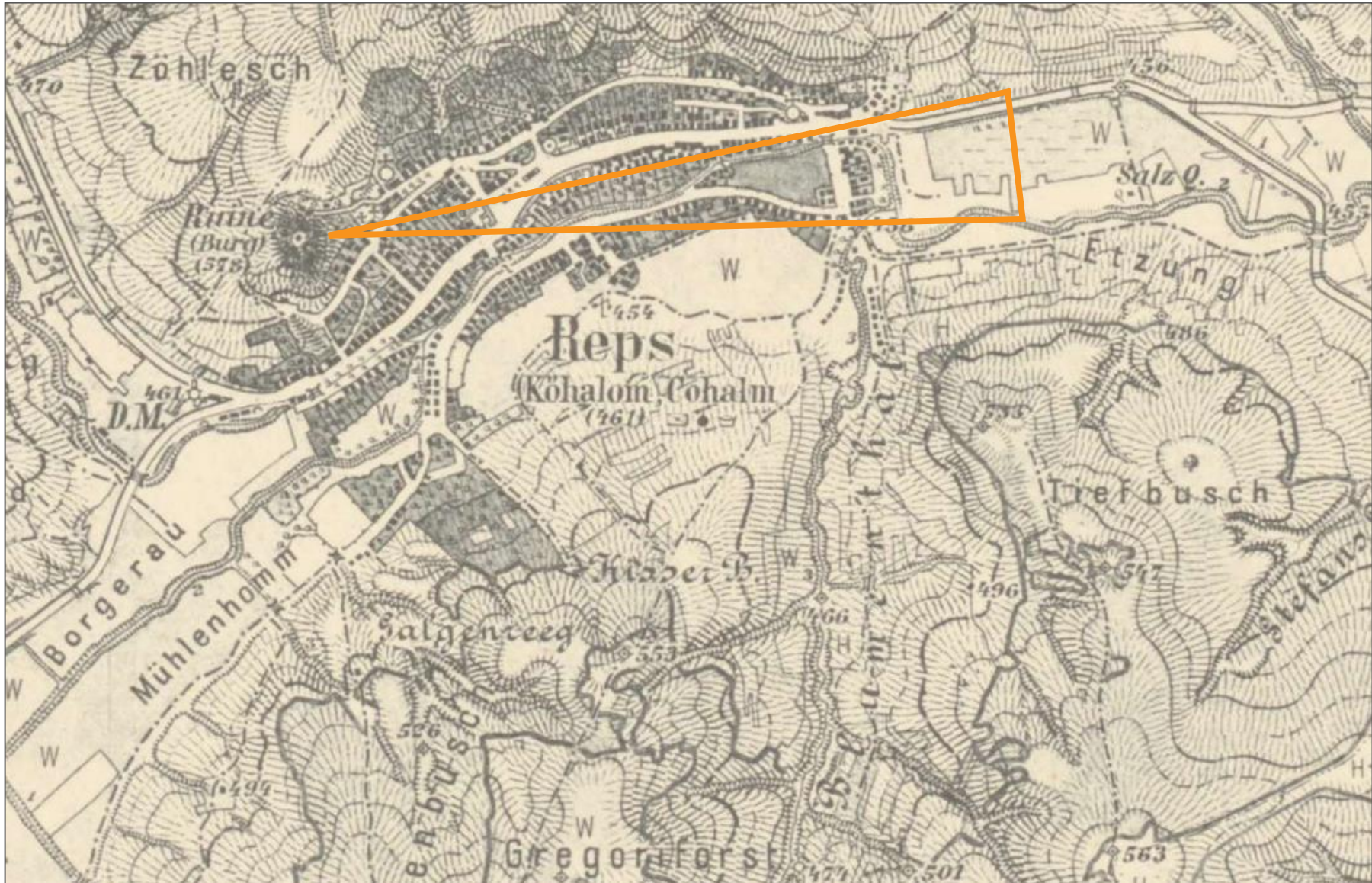


Figure 16. Harmadik Katonai Felmérés (1869-1887), Scale 1:25000, Georeferenced version, Budapest: Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2007, detail.

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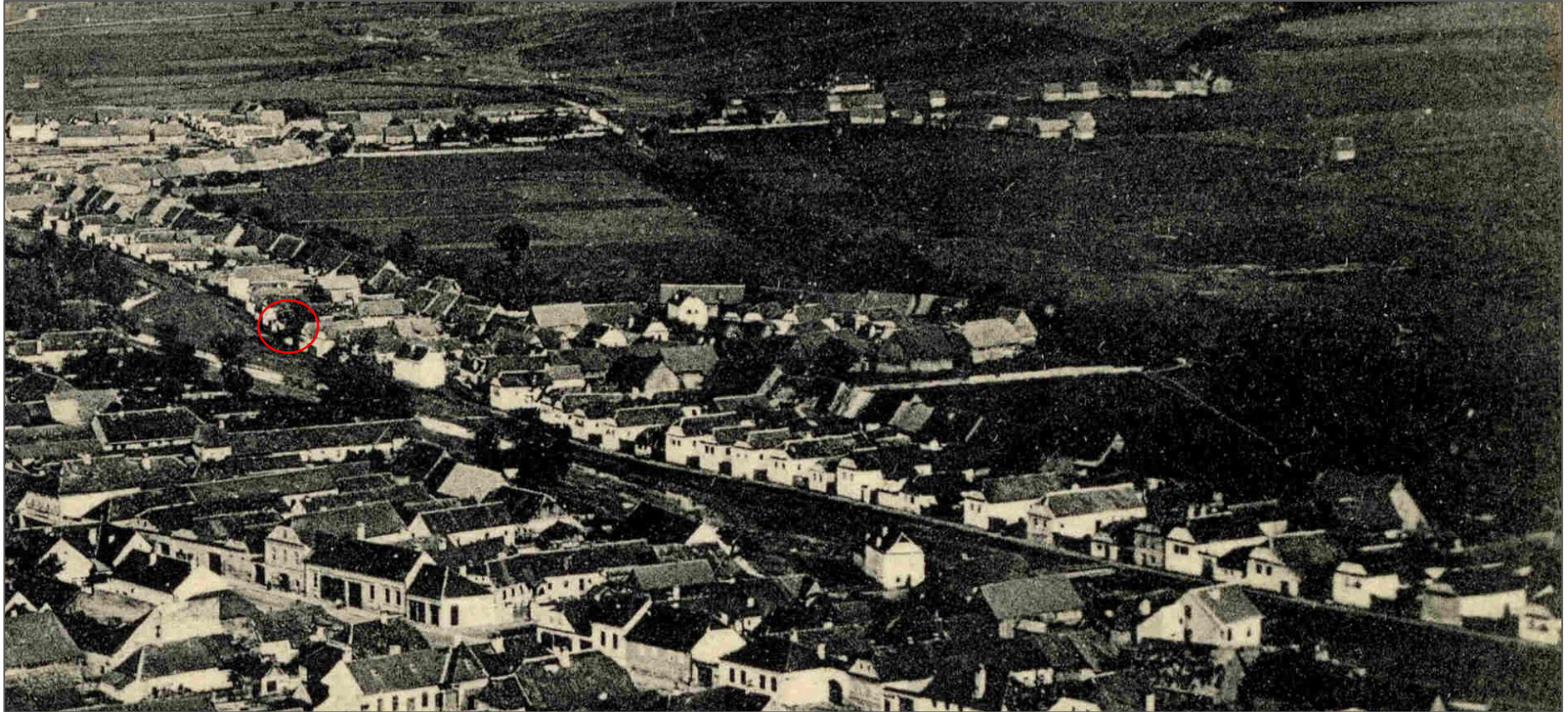


Figure 15. Author unknown. *Panoramic view of Rupea taken from the fortress, detail [with the printed inscription “Reps-Köhalom. Ansicht von der 121 Meter über dem Orte gelegenen Burg”]*, cca.1897-1918, Postal card, Szegedi László Tamás private collection, Rupea, Romania, detail Kozdgasse.

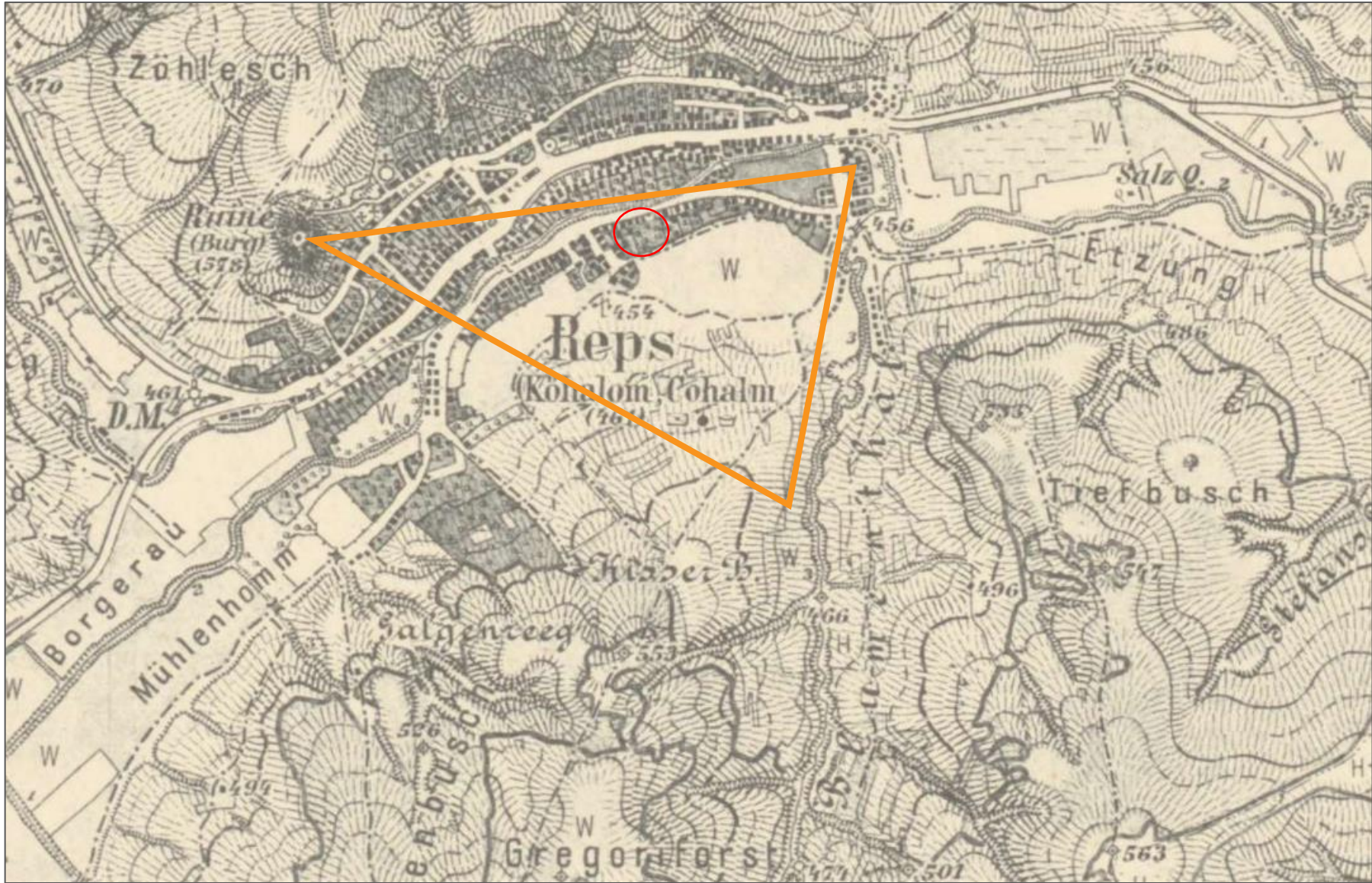


Figure 16. *Harmadik Katonai Felmérés* (1869-1887), Scale 1:25000, Georeferenced version, Budapest: Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2007, detail.

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Figure 17. Author unknown, *Panoramic view taken from Kozdgasse with the Kozd valley and a wooden bridge in the foreground, [with the printed inscription "Rupea-Reps" and on verso Verlag: Kasper & Kellner. România. Cartă Postală], Interwar period, Postal card (original coloured), Private collection of the author.*

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Figure 18. Author unknown, *West Kozdgasse flooded*, twentieth century, Photograph, Vasile Danciu private collection, Rupea, Romania.

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During the 1870s, in the suburban landscape of the market town, Kozdgasse was described as “[...] a long side street in a poetical disorder, but under no circumstances favourable to an economical modern household.”⁸⁰² After replacing the last thatched roofs in the second half of the 1840s, starting from the 1870s, the older Romanian wood houses began to be replaced by new brick structures modelled after the local Saxon architecture, gradually altering the landscape of the suburb.⁸⁰³

It is in this landscape that in February 1876, Dimitrie Borcoman (1850-1934) acquired together with his wife Domnica (b.1858) a house parcel on Kozdgasse (see the location encircled in red in figures 15 and 16).⁸⁰⁴ Not far from the Angle, found in the area that developed eastwards after the 1840s, the property seems to be one of the last parcels to be occupied in that area.⁸⁰⁵ A possible reason for this plot being left unoccupied for such a long time could have been influenced by the nearness of the house's front line to the then-course of the water stream, which passed just in front of the house.

802. “Serbările culturale,” *Tribuna*.

803. Deteșan, “Povești,” 144; *Archiv* (1909), 319-320, 323, 325; Adriana Stroe, “Les villages des serfs saxons. Un patrimoine moins connu,” *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Series Historica*, VIII (2011): 181; Alexandru Neamțu, “Mari incendii în Districtul Bistriței în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea,” *Acta Musei Napocensis*, XVI (1979): 644; Iosif-Marin Balog, “Habitatul și arhitectura rurală în Transilvania în noul context economic din a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea – interferențe și modernizare,” *Țara Bârsei*, Nr. 6, serie nouă (2007): 68-69. Balog, “The Agrarian,” 20; Balog, “Habitatul,” 69; Neamțu, “Mari incendii,” 640-644; Goldenberg, “Urbanizare,” 319; *Archiv* (1910), 118; Chiș, “Măsurile,” 48; Ordin circular către sinistrații din comuna Rupea, File 1943/9, Corespondență, asigurări sociale, autorizații de construcție, refugiați [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Propunere a instanței tribunalului Ibașfalău din 8.12.1921, privind pedeapsa minorului Ioan Borcoman (născut în 1909), File 1921/13, Ordine și corespondență cu privire la recrutări recensământ animale, stastistica agricolă, autorizații construcții și recensământ elevi, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; *Archiv* (1911), 674.

804. Dosar C.F. Nr.1606, Serviciul Județean Carte Funciară Brașov, Oficiul de Cadastru și Publicitate Imobiliară Brașov, Biroul de Cadastru și Publicitate Imobiliară Rupea. Rupea. Romania.

805. *Második Katonai Felmérés: Erdély (1853-1858; 1869-1870)*, Scale 1: 25000, georeferenced version (Budapest: Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2006). Detail; *Harmadik Katonai Felmérés (1869-1887)*, Scale 1:25000, georeferenced version (Budapest: Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2007).

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The existence of a connection between spatial location and kin is hard to confirm for that period in the absence of access to the relevant documentation, yet some observations can be made on this matter. A survey from 1930 that records all the families living in Rupea and their house number reveals essential aspects related to Dimitrie Borcoman's household. First, Borcoman was the most numerous kin in Rupea since at least the second half of the nineteenth century. The second and most interesting is that the area where Dimitrie's house was had the highest incidence of families that bore that surname in Rupea.⁸⁰⁶ The local household formation system indicates that new households were formed near the husband's family when the situation permitted it, suggesting that in Rupea, a connection existed between spatial location and kin and that the original court of the first Borcomans might have been somewhere in this area.⁸⁰⁷ Similar to other spaces in Eastern Europe where kin was preserving a certain spatial locality over multiple generations, this situation in Rupea suggests a similar practice.⁸⁰⁸ In summary, this reconstruction of the geographic and social surroundings can partly respond to how and why Dimitrie Borcoman established his household in that part of the market town.

The young couple known to have married in 1874 likely continued to live in the household of Dimitrie's parents for a period before they could establish a separate household and move on their own.⁸⁰⁹ Nonetheless, after having a son, Gheorghe, born in August 1875, the young family looked more eager to have their place. As in other East Central European spaces, the dominant household structures encountered during this period included parental

806. Liste cu locuitorii, File 1930/6.

807. Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *What is Antropology?* (London: Pluto Press: 2017), 107.

808. Liste cu locuitorii, File 1930/6; Wetherell, "Social Networks," 655.

809. Mureșan, "Aspecte," 173; Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author; During the fieldwork were interviewed three of Dimitrie Borcoman's (b.1851) great-grandchildren, Ana Burlacu (nee Borcoman), Ana Matei (nee Bănuț) and Ioan Magdun.

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egalitarian nuclear and stem families.⁸¹⁰ Thus, according to the local inheritance custom, the youngest of the male siblings was to remain in the household of his parents, while the other male descendants received slots of arable land out of the family's possessions, along with the support to build a house of their own.⁸¹¹ Data reveals that only two years after their marriage, in 1876, Dimitrie and his wife Domnica moved into their new home on Kozdgasse, at number 502, their decision being in concordance with the system of nuclear family structures.⁸¹² While it is not clear if there was an original timber house or if they constructed a brick house directly, what is relevant is that the new couple managed to establish an independent household in a relatively short period after marriage.⁸¹³ The peasantry benefited not as much from economic potency as from a benevolent mutual help system sustained through kindred and other local institutions such as the Vicinity, having an increased capacity to support their children compared to other social categories, such as industrial labourers.⁸¹⁴ In addition, in rural society, help came from both sides. Apart from the arable land and the support to build a house that the man's family provided, the woman's family contribution consisted of a dowry formed of a series of mobile goods and, in the absence of male siblings, also of arable land.⁸¹⁵

Built on a parcel of 0.4 jugera (0.25 acres), the family also owned at least 3.2 jugera (2 acres) of arable land, sold to them by Adolf Zekeli, a local Saxon, that was officially

810. Andorka, "The historical," 322; Gheorghe Tempea, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania. See also, Robert Wheaton, "Family and Kinship in Western Europe: The Problem of the Joint Family Household," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (1975): 603.

811. Bolovan, "Atitudini," 527-528.

812. Dosar C.F. Nr.1606, Serviciul Județean Carte Funciară Brașov.

813. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

814. Wall, "Beyond," 57-58.

815. Gheorghe Tempea, in discussion with the author.

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transferred in their property in 1882.⁸¹⁶ The couple's second child, Ana, was born a few years later. As the children grew up and they formed families of their own, Ana married into old Homorozean kin and left her parents' household.⁸¹⁷ According to the local inheritance custom, in the house remained George (1876-1927), the only male descendant, who in turn married Domnica nee Spornic, who also belonged to an old local kin.⁸¹⁸ The couple's two children, Maria, born illegitimate in 1904, and Domnica, born in 1908, almost two months after her parents officially married, were the only surviving descendants known to reach maturity.⁸¹⁹ The household structure evidently changed from a parental nuclear family to a stem family of three generations that lived under the same roof, that is reflecting a more difficult context of constructing a new home at the turn of the century.

After the creation of the two credit institutes in Rupea at the beginning of the twentieth century, like other ploughmen in the market town, the family made a loan to invest in the household's development. For many peasants, these loans were seen as a possibility to access capital but often were spent on goods that did not produce income, such as larger houses and movable property, and even on organising weddings and funerals and on food and forage.⁸²⁰ Without proper economic education, after a while, when the money was gone,

816. On average, the timeframe between the acquiring pledge and the official registration of the transaction was three to four years. Reșegan, "Aspecte," 323.

817. Anna Borcoman married Gheorghe Homorozean, having two children: 1. Ana, who married in Borcoman "Mocănelu" lineage, having one daughter named Ana; 2. Gheorghe, who married Maria Tempea, had one daughter, Maria (who married Homorozean "Foltea") and one son, Gheorghe. Melania Dumitru (nee Magdun), in discussion with the author.

818. Rupea – Protocol botezați Ortodocși, 1873-1950; Rupea – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1873-1950. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

819. Catalog școlar al elevilor dela școala elementară Greco-Catolică pe anul 1915/1915. Eugen Ciungan, director și învățător, File Clasificări și cataloage școlare 1918-1950, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924; Rupea – Protocol botezați Ortodocși, 1873-1950.

820. Ewa Morawska, "'For Bread with Butter': Life-Worlds of Peasant-Immigrants from East Central Europe, 1880-1914," *Journal of Social History*, Vol.17, No.3 (1984): 388; Virgil Mureșan, "Modernitate și arhaism în lumea năsaudeană în secolul al XIX-la și începutul secolului XX," *Revista Bistriței*, XVIII (2004): 358.

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family members were obliged to find paid jobs that allowed them to repay the interest rates. Thus, the initial hope of improvement promised by the local banks was soon met with discontentment and disillusion. Because the ploughmen relayed on selling cattle, harvest and other home-produced goods, in the context of the decrease of the food prices after 1880 and of high bank interests, one of the few available solutions found by the ploughmen was to embark on a voyage to America, to get the family out of this situation.⁸²¹ The loan taken from Cetatea Bank by the Borcoman family, sometimes after 1910, resulted soon in their incapacity to pay back the interest. As a result, after finding the necessary money to pay for the voyage, Gheorghe Borcoman left Rupea in the winter of 1914 with the destination United States of America.⁸²² He headed towards Le Havre in France, from where he embarked on a ship with the destination New York; once he arrived in America, Gheorghe went to Canton, Ohio, to join his cousin Ioan Spornic, who was already working there.⁸²³ While the precise duration and the details of his stay are unknown, given that after the beginning of the Great War, most Romanians who immigrated remained in the United States until 1919, Gheorghe Borcoman likely shared their destiny.⁸²⁴ How successful his endeavour was is hard to appreciate, yet since in 1922, George Borcoman worked 4 ½ jugera, and the average arable land surface of the Romanian family unit from Rupea was 3.2 jugera; this situation placed him in the 32% of the local ploughmen that worked more than four jugera per family.⁸²⁵

821. Lovin, "Imaginea," 256; Virgil Pană, "Bănci românești și bănci minoritare în Transilvania interbelică," *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XXVII (2005): 310; Mureșan, "Modernitate," 358.

822. List or Manifest of Alien Passengers for the United States Immigration Officer at Port of Arrival. SS France, sailing from Le Havre on 24.1.1914. Arriving at Port of New York on 30.1.1914, "Ellis Island Database," [Ellis Island National Museum of Immigration](#), accessed on 14.4.2023.

823. List or Manifest of Alien Passengers, "Ellis Island Database".

824. While a citizen named Gheorghe Borcoman was recorded by the local authorities from Rupea to have been in the United States between 1914 and 1919, it cannot be confirmed if it is the same person as Gheorghe Borcoman (1876-1927) who emigrated in 1914. Tabloul emigranților, File 1928/1.

825. Data statistice din 24.11.1922, File 1921/12.

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Nonetheless, to what extent this situation resulted from the transatlantic voyage remains to be determined.

If a precise economic assessment of the voyage's effect is hard to make, what can be measured is another unseen cost of the voyage. Given that Gheorghe returned infected with tuberculosis, which eventually ended his life in January 1927, it can easily be assessed that the price he had to pay was higher than the benefits.⁸²⁶ A widespread disease among the working migrants, the living conditions and the hardships of the transatlantic voyage had its say on Gheorghe, who died at 50 years old, before both his parents. Nevertheless, he lived enough to see both his daughters married first the elder, as it was the custom, married in the kin of Bănuț and left the house and then, not long before his death, the younger married in the kin of Magdun.⁸²⁷ Through these marriages, the family established close ties with members of some of the most notable kins of the Romanian community, namely with Spornic through Maria and Domnica's mother and with Bănuț and Magdun through the husbands of the two sisters.

According to the inheritance custom, when there were no male descendants, the rule of "bride grooming on the courtyard" favoured the youngest daughter to remain in the house.⁸²⁸ Hence, Domnica Borcoman (1908-1986), who married Gheorghe Magdun (1900-1948), stayed in her paternal home on Kozdgasse 502. The marriage arrangement seemed favourable for both parties. Magdun was one of the most notable kins in Rupea, which conferred to this alliance a strengthening of their social status. On the other hand, Gheorghe, who was in his family the second eldest child – he had an older sister, Maria (1896-1977) and

826. Rupea – Protocol morți Ortodocși, 1873-1950.

827. Bolovan, "Considerații privind vârsta la căsătorie," 119.

828. Bolovan, "Atitudini," 528; Stahl, "Sistemul," 84-85; Bolovan, "Considerații privind vârsta la căsătorie," 119.

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a younger brother, Ioan (1908-1985) – had, according to the local inheritance practices, to move away after marriage to establish his household.⁸²⁹ Soon, the living conditions of the new family will be more complicated.

With the decrease in average mortality rates from the second half of the nineteenth century, the new demographic realities challenged the intergenerational relationships in the Transylvanian rural space. The cohabitation of multiple generations in the same house became more common, and each generation often contested internal hierarchies, especially when they were all physically active.⁸³⁰ In Rupea during the Interwar period, the average size of a Romanian household can be estimated at 4.1 inhabitants, but on Kozdgasse 502 in 1930 lived six inhabitants, formed of four generations: Dimitrie Borocoman and his wife, Dimitrie's son widow Domnica, her daughter Domnica with her husband Gheorghe Magdun and their first born Gheorghe (1927-1999).⁸³¹ Gheorghe Magdun's departure to America around 1927 might indicate that the young family faced financial difficulties. While part of this situation can be linked to the inheritance of an unfavourable situation, the household structure during the Interwar indicates a separation of the family units that lived in the house, which suggests a different motivation.⁸³² A mark of modernisation that aligns the family to a Western model, in "Mitreă's court", as it came to be known the household, the family units

829. Bolovan, "Atitudini," 528.

830. Topan, "Problema," 236; Bolovan, "Familia," 303-304.

831. Tabel din 5.8.1930 privind numerotarea caselor care indică numărul nou al casei, numărul vechi al casei, numele de familie, numărul gospodăriilor sau familiilor care locuiesc în curte și numărul persoanelor din care se compun gospodăriile, File 1930/2, Corespondență cu privire la numerotarea caselor, nomenclatorul străzilor pe 1930 [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Liste cu locuitorii, File 1930/6; Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

832. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author; Data statistice din 24.11.1922, File 1921/12.

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had a separated income for as long as the older generation remained physically active and did not require special care.⁸³³

The departure of Gheorghe Magdun to America between 1927 and 1932, coinciding with the Great Depression, did not have the outcome the family expected. In addition, as recalled by his middle son, a series of complications related to the travelling papers put in peril the entire endeavour:

[my father] did not have a legal passport; he went with a false passport. They say that during that time, the Romanians didn't have access to passports, only the Hungarians, and with a Hungarian name with a false passport, he got to America; after five years, they tracked him down and put him in jail in America. It was illegal this [passport]. The Romanians, the ones that were there for a longer time, raised money and released my father on bail from jail and sent him home.

The return of Gheorghe from America in 1932 and the selling of a hayfield parcel by Dimitrie Borcoman for Lei 2,000 that same year cannot be a mere coincidence.⁸³⁴ During that period, there were not rare cases when families of working migrants from America had to send them money to return home, especially during the Crisis. Gheorghe's story can be equally understood in the context of the economic crisis that affected the population on both sides of the ocean. Transylvanian peasantry did not escape this dramatic period, with many middle-sized landowners having to mortgage their properties because they could not repay their credit to the banks.⁸³⁵ This situation triggered a decrease in the prices of arable land and contributed to the continuance of subsistence agriculture despite the government's efforts to

833. Tamara K. Hareven, *Families, History, and Social Change* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 142-143; Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

834. Act notarial din 18.10.1932 privind încheierea unui contract de vânzare-cumpărare dintre părțile Borcoman Dumitru și soția sa Borcoman Domnica din comuna Rupea ca vânzatori și Ioan Pumnea și soția sa Maria Pumnea născută Oancea din comuna Dăișoara ca și cumpărători. Vânzătorii vând prin acesta imobilul lor cuprins în cartea funduară a comunei Rupea cu Nr. 1646 A+ 2487/6986, 2487/4/b/6990, 2487/6988, 2487/6982, 2497/6984, a treia parte teren de 435 stânjeni pătrați fânăț clasa VI, cu prețul de 2000 Lei, File 1932/24 Contracte de vânzare-cumpărare, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

835. "Ploile," 1930.

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combat this tendency.⁸³⁶ For instance, in Rupea, out of the 526 identified Romanian landowners listed on the eve of the Second World War, only seven had holdings larger than 10 hectares, and Gheorghe Magdun was not among them.⁸³⁷

Contracting tuberculosis, like his father-in-law, and like many other migrants living in poor conditions in America, Gheorghe Magdun's health weakened in years after his return.⁸³⁸ During the turbulent years from the late 1930s and 1940s, Gheorghe and his family, which became more numerous after the birth of their second son Ioan (1933-2017) and their youngest Nicolae (1941-1977), were confronted with a series of economic difficulties that characterise the Transylvania peasantry during these years, leaving its mark on the health of the head of the family.

The wartime period was no less filled with challenges. As shared by many residents who saw the Soviet armies' arrival, the Russians' presence provoked prejudices in many households in the town, including Magdun's neighbours.⁸³⁹ The powerful images evoked by eyewitnesses only consolidate in collective memory the prejudice of almost Lei 14 million provoked by the passing of the Soviets through Rupea.⁸⁴⁰ The acts of violence against the local population caused by the Russian troops replaced at the level of mentalities the barbarism of the Tatars, as the archnemesis which dominated the fears of the rural world for

836. "Ploile," 1930.

837. Statistică din 21.8.1938, File 1938/7.

838. Lovin, "Imaginea," 255; Michelson, "Dorul," 201.

839. Ioan Sisea and Ana Sisea (nee Fișărean) in discussion with the author; Declarație a lui Gheorghe Borcoman (Nr.626/Nr.vechi504) din 18.3.1945, căruia i-au fost ridicate de către trupele sovietice în trecere bunuri în valoare de 152.000 Lei, File 1945/15, Declarații procese verbale și tabele cu privire la bunurile rechiziționate cu forța de trupele sovietice, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

840. Situația Nr.1, de bunurile ridicate fără forme de armatele sovietice dela autoritățile pendinte de Ministerul Afacerilor Interne, precum și dela particularii din comuna Rupea, județul Târnava Mare, File 1945/15, Declarații procese verbale și tabele cu privire la bunurile rechiziționate cu forța de trupele sovietice, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

much of the previous centuries.⁸⁴¹ The inhabitants from number 502 felt this disquieting presence intensely since on the left side, behind Mitrea's court, during the Interwar, an empty parcel used by the local population as a passageway for carts was occupied by the Russian troops as a bivouac.⁸⁴²

With the War coming to an end, the financial situation of Gheorghe Magdun seems to have balanced being able to acquire a barn from a Saxon farmer – “he bought it, from the field we brought it [to our house], with our kin [...] my father bought it with a million and a half in 1946, something like this; when it was that great draught [...] a barn with two stables.”⁸⁴³ Unfortunately, this apparent recovery of the family was short-lived, as his smoking addiction, which contributed to his degrading health, led to Gheorghe's death two years later.⁸⁴⁴ It was 1948 when the collectivisation process began, and the land of the ploughmen started to be integrated into state-owned farms, radically reforming the rural economic and social structures that characterised ploughmen's society for centuries. Domnica Magdun, who now headed the family, remained responsible for the three children, Gheorghe, Ioan, and Nicolae, who helped take care of the household. In the context of the War that ended just a few years before, these situations of women assuming the headship of the family were a relatively common sight, and so was the longing for lost husbands and fathers. The child of a war veteran from Rupea, recalling fragments of the family life in the post-war

841. *Relatare despre pătrunderea tătarilor și turcilor în zonă, 1529*, File 305, Seria U V, Colecția de documente medievale, SB-F-00001-1-U5-305, Magistratul orașului și scaunului Sibiu. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Sibiu, Sibiu, Romania; *Archiv* (1909), 338, 375; *Archiv* (1910), 178, 195; Iosif, “Memorii,” 298; Maria Terchilă (nee Pălășan), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, May 2019; Elisabeta Iosif (nee Stoica), in discussion with the author; Ioan Costea, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019; Ioan Sisea and Ana Sisea (nee Fișărean) in discussion with the author; Ioan Repede, in discussion with the author; Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author; Traian Forsea, in discussion with the author, Rupea.

842. Ioan Sisea and Ana Sisea (nee Fișărean) in discussion with the author; Declarație a lui Gheorghe Borcoman, File 1945/15.

843. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

844. Lovin, “Imaginea,” 259.

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period, described these sights with emotion: “When she was alone, or thought she was alone, my mother was singing, but always they were mourning melodies... and it was so overwhelming [to hear her] that I was starting as well to cry. The songs were always trying to express the sorrow for losing my father.”⁸⁴⁵

That year, the middle son, Ioan Magdun, a few months after his father passed away, was forced by the circumstances to find employment at Thomas, Scheeser & Galtz, a hardware store from Braşov that still had a functioning branch in Rupea.⁸⁴⁶ This symbolic transition was announcing the beginning of a new era dictated by the communist regime, in which the peasant society was to integrate quickly into unfamiliar social and economic structures, into structures that sought to form a New Man.

The case study examined a Romanian household's economic development and transformations over several generations to understand broader shifts that characterised the Transylvanian rural landscape. This micro-history investigation examined the centrality of land as a valuable possession, approaching themes such as agriculture, labour and mobility. By connecting economic aspects with familial dynamics, inheritance practices, and broader historical events, the case study provides a nuanced understanding of how rural households

845. Iosif, “Memorii,” 46; Extract din registrul actelor de morţi pe anul 1941 referitor la soldatul Haizea Pavel care a încetat din viaţă la vârsta de 28 de ani în Ambulanţa 38 Munte din comuna Procowka, Ucraina, File 1944/14, Decizii şi state de plată cu privire la ajutorarea familiilor celor concentraţi [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naţionale Serviciul Judeţean Braşov, Braşov, Romania; Fişă din 18.6.1943 a soldatului Haizea Pavel, Bat.10 V.M, căzut în război privind averea imobilă şi situaţia familiei, completată de notarul comunal Fr.Timpernagel, File 1944/14, Decizii şi state de plată cu privire la ajutorarea familiilor celor concentraţi [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naţionale Serviciul Judeţean Braşov, Braşov, Romania; Decizie din 4.9.1943 a comitetului IOVR al comunei Rupea, privind urmaşii cu drept de pensie a soldatului Haizea Pavel, aceştia fiind văduva Maria Haizea născută Băia în Paloş la 10.12.1920 şi minorii Elisabeta (născ. 1938) şi Maria (născ. 1940), File 1944/14, Decizii şi state de plată cu privire la ajutorarea familiilor celor concentraţi [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naţionale Serviciul Judeţean Braşov, Braşov, Romania.

846. Cerere din 24.12.1946 a firmei “Thomas, Scheeser & Galtz S.I.N.C. Mare Magazin de Fierărie Rupea” către primăria Rupea, File 1946/36, Ordine, declaraţii procese verbale şi corespondenţă cu privire la pagubele produse locuitorilor din Rupea de către trupele străine [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naţionale Serviciul Judeţean Braşov, Braşov, Romania; Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

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adapted to and navigated the challenges posed by modernisation. Given that the third chapter of the thesis aimed to offer a comprehensive perspective on the long-term process of rural modernisation, the study concludes this effort in an original way.

This third chapter underscored the centrality of land in defining the peasant's society. Exploring various themes like agriculture, labour, and mobility, it revealed that modernisation is not inherently constant or uniform. In contrast to the linear narratives, the chapter presented modernisation as a non-uniform process contributing to understanding how rural societies respond to change and adapt to evolving circumstances. The Romanian peasantry faced diverse constraints, from external political impediments to the absence of adequate educational infrastructure and the delayed industrialisation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Consequently, economic modernisation in this context did not unfold with the intensity observed in industrialised Western Europe. The study of the modernisation of Romanian households in Rupea enriches the understanding of the region's history and contributes to the larger historiography of economic modernisation.

The third chapter also serves as an overture to the final part of the thesis, where the focus will shift towards examining how rural communities, deeply rooted in their normative institutions, navigate the challenges of a changing landscape. The institutions that have long upheld their economic, cultural, and social foundation will be the main subject of the next inquiry.

The final part investigates religious and secular space, shaping a narrative that resonates beyond the economic sphere. The ideas of continuity and change, integral to the economic decisions of the Romanian peasantry, remain at the core of the next two chapters, providing a better understanding of this population's social, cultural, and political aspirations.

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Hence, the final part will conclude the exploration of how modernisation manifested in Transylvanian rural society while offering a new perspective on this process.

PART III

LOCAL INSTITUTIONS

4. A Tale of Two Churches: Competing Interests and National Solidarities at Greek-Catholics and Orthodox

The final part of the research investigates religious and secular institutions in two distinct chapters, shedding light on their historical evolution in southern Transylvanian society from the eighteenth to the twentieth century.

This chapter unfolds through two sub-chapters, exploring the interconfessional dynamics of the Romanian population from Rupea. The first sub-chapter traces the local interconfessional evolution from the mid-eighteenth century to the beginning of the communist period when the Greek-Catholic Church was abolished in 1948. Using a microhistory perspective, it reveals the relationship between the Greek-Catholics and Orthodox against a changing political climate. The sub-chapter first examines the broader confessional landscape in southern Transylvania, then the evolution of local religious infrastructure, and then directly addresses the relationships among the members of the two confessions in the Romanian community from Rupea. The second sub-chapter investigates the political climate on the eve of the Great War until the Interwar period, analysing the evolving dynamic between the Church and parishioners amid a growing secularisation. The narrative is formulated against the peasantry's integration into the capitalist economic cycle, advancing new constructive dynamics between the local Greek-Catholic and Orthodox populations.

Chronologically approached, the first sub-chapter opens with a concise introduction to the confessional atmosphere of the eighteenth-century Romanian population in Transylvania. It concludes in the closing decade of the nineteenth century, marking a pivotal period when

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leaders of the local Orthodox and Greek-Catholic parishes cultivated a modern sense of reciprocity. Subsequently, the second sub-chapter extends the inquiry until 1948, exploring the evolving dynamics within the Romanian community in Rupea.

4.1. Religious Climate During the Habsburg Catholic Patronage

This sub-chapter investigates the evolution of interconfessional dynamics in the Romanian community from Rupea between the mid-eighteenth century and the closing of the nineteenth century. The analysis begins with a historical introduction to the social and demographic changes produced by the Habsburg occupation and the establishment of the Greek-Catholic Church in Transylvania. The narrative then shifts to examine the evolution of the religious infrastructure and institutions in Rupea, exploring the dynamics between the local Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Romanian population in the process. The final section addresses the development of the relationship between the two local religious communities from the Neoabsolutist period until the final decade of the nineteenth century. Contextualised within the broader political changes in the Empire, the attention in the final section turns toward analysing broader realities, highlighting how political forces and socio-religious dynamics influenced the trajectory of the relationship between the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Church.

A direct effect of the Habsburg occupation of Transylvania, at the end of the seventeenth century, the Catholic monarchs proceeded with the establishing of the Greek-Catholic Church, a sort of political compromise meant to balance the Protestant influence in the province by appealing to the Orthodox population with a series of rights. For the Romanians, the act provoked a rupture that had long-term consequences for this group, which was now divided into two confessions, each with its agenda to follow.⁸⁴⁷ On the other hand, the Union with Rome favoured the possibility of the church leaders

847. Keith Hitchins, *România 1774-1866* (Bucureşti: Humanitas, 2011), 202.

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publicly addressing the Romanians' aspirations as a nation, opening the road towards the national emancipation project later assumed by a secularised elite. The benefits and disadvantages of the Union were publicly debated in the nineteenth century by the leaders of the two Churches and later, during the twentieth century, by a series of Romanian academics.⁸⁴⁸ In the twenty-first century, there is a consensus that the acceptance of the Union corresponded with a period when the progressive ideas of the Enlightenment challenged the status quo in European societies. This contributed decisively to the establishment of a Romanian leadership defined by that *republique des lettres* milieu in which they formed as intellectuals and that shaped the intellectual identity of the local elites until the twentieth century.⁸⁴⁹ While the rift between the Orthodox and Greek-Catholics went through different phases during the two-hundred-fifty years of coexistence that ended with the dissolution of the Greek-Catholic Church in 1948, for both Churches, the essential goal was to represent the interests of the Romanians – although their methods differed for long periods due to the dissimilar political and legal status they benefited from.

The evolution of the relationship between the Orthodox and Greek-Catholics found an original expression among the peasantry, which saw the Church as the most stable institution they could reach. The political dynamism between the two Churches develops at the village level alongside a series of local solidarities and rivalries that define the rural society.

848. Radu Nedici, *Formarea identității confesionale greco-catolice în Transilvania veacului al XVIII-lea. Biserică și comunitate* (București: Editura Universității din București, 2013), 29-48. See for instance the 1904 doctoral thesis of Ioan Lupaș, *Biserica ortodoxă română din Transilvania și unirea religioasă în cursul veacului al XVIII-lea* (Târgu-Mureș: Tipomur, 2004).

849. See, Greta Miron, '*poruncește, scoale-te, du-te, propoveduește...*' *Biserica greco-catolică din Transilvania. Cler și enoriași (1697-1780)* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2004); Greta Miron, "Renașterea unei biserici. Formarea identității confesionale ortodoxe în secolul al XVIII-lea," in *Societate-cultură-biserică. Studii de istorie medievală și modernă*, edited by Doru Radosav and Radu Mârza (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2014).

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While a conflict between the Orthodox and Greek-Catholics is possible to have taken place in Rupea in the first part of the eighteenth century, in the absence of any local evidence to confirm this, the assumption can be only made based on the more extensive evolution of the interconfessional relations specific to the southern part of the province. Therefore, the Romanian population of Rupea Seat, which was culturally drawn to the sphere of influence of the borderland regions (figure 19) – Făgăraș Land, Bârsa Land and Sibiu's Borderland – that served as genuine strongholds of Orthodoxy in the province, must be integrated into the same narrative with these neighbouring areas.⁸⁵⁰



Figure 19. Johann Christoph Müller and S.C.M. Ingen, *MAPPA GEOGRAPHICA// TRANSYLVANIAE// QVAM// IN COMITATVS SEDES AC DISTRICTVS// NVNC PRIMA VICE DISTINCTAM / IOSEPHO I.// AVGVSTISSIMO INVICTISSIMOQVE// ROMANOR: IMPERATORI// GERMANIAE HVNGARIAE BOHEMIAE REGI// TRANSYLVANIAE PRINCIPI ETC.*, size 119 x 157 cm, Digitized version, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, c.i. 180tb., 1712, detail on Făgăraș Land (District. Fogaras.) and Bârsa Land (Districtus Saxon. Coroniensis.) in green; Rupea Seat (Sed: Saxon. Kóhalom.) in orange.

850. Constantin Băjenaru, "Biserica românească din sud-estul Transilvaniei în prima jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea. Contribuții," *Țara Bârsei*, Nr.1, serie nouă (2002): 132.

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An anti-Uniate movement began as early as the 1720s in the hermitages and monasteries of Făgăraș Land, and it culminated in 1744 with the activity of the Orthodox monk Visarion Sarai, of the shepherd Oprea Miclăuș from Săliște, and of the priests Moise Măcinic from Sibiel and Ioan Varvorea from Galeș. Then, in 1759-1761, in the aftermath of the popular unrest instigated by the Orthodox monk Sofronie from Cioara, the course of the Union was jeopardised irreversibly in this part of the province.⁸⁵¹ The return to Orthodoxy of the population in southern Transylvania between the 1740s and 1760s can be explained by relating this situation to the military and political decisions of the Habsburgs. Some directly affected the Romanian population, such as the establishment of the 2nd Border Regiment, which during its formation recruited only Greek-Catholics, while others, such as the permanent exile in Rome of the Greek-Catholic bishop Inocențiu Micu-Klein – that produced partly because of his passive response to Sarai’s activity – left an institutional void between 1744 and 1751, time in which no priests were ordained.⁸⁵² When Vienna became concerned about the situation and decided to respond to these religious perturbances, the Empress sent the general Adolf von Buccow, who, in 1761, suppressed the Orthodox activity by destroying the numerous hermitages and monasteries – which by some estimates were over one hundred – that expanded along the Carpathians in southern Transylvania.⁸⁵³ That brutal response created a spiritual void in the Romanian communities living in these parts after the

851. Dumitran, “Forme,” 163; Vasile Oltean, “Mărturii inedite despre Dionisie Novacovici – primul episcop sârb al Transilvaniei instalat în Scheii Brașovului,” *Țara Bârsei*, Nr.9 (2010): 52; Bârlianu, “Biserica,” 453; Sorin Ioan Crișan and Vasile Dan Alb, “Câteva aspecte ale ortodoxismului și greco-catolicismului în Transilvania în prima jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea,” *Acta Musei Devensis*, XXV (1992-1994): 287; Feneșan, Izvoare, 208.

852. Băjenaru, “Biserica,” 136; Bârlianu, “Biserica,” 477.

853. Bârlianu, “Biserica,” 455.

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departure of the Orthodox priests from some towns and villages.⁸⁵⁴ Nonetheless, despite this disruption among the Orthodox and the state's permanent efforts to encourage the propagation of the Union in this part of the province, in 1762, the authorities in Rupea Seat recorded only 15 Greek-Catholic to 872 Orthodox families, representing 1.7% of the total Romanian population.⁸⁵⁵

The mass return of the population to Orthodoxy in the southern part of the province indicates that any success the Union had in the first part of the eighteenth century among the Romanian families from Rupea, by the second half of the century, statistical data revealed clearer the confessional situation in this market town, where Orthodoxy seems to have “triumphed.”⁸⁵⁶ Sometimes this “triumph” was obtained through acts of barbarism, such as the banishing of the Greek-Catholic priests from churches and villages, the refusal of the community to attend to the spiritual care of the “papists”, and exceptionally, in moments of general crisis, such as the 1784 peasant revolt of Horea, Cloșca and Crișan, in enacting scenes of violence against the Greek-Catholics population.⁸⁵⁷ In addition, in the south-eastern part of the province, the Uniates

854. Bârlianu, “Biserica,” 455; Extractus Sumarum omnium in Incl. Principatus Transilvaniae, commitatibus, Districtibus, sedibus saxonicalibus et siculis Unitorum et non Unitorum vallachicorum popparum, laicarum, familiarum templorumque iuxta repertum Religionis statum, distributorum ut et horum beneficiorum seu fundorum una cum donibus parochiallibus reperibilium, 1762, in *Transilvania. Organul asociațiunii pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român*, ed. Ilarion Pușcariu (Sibiu: Tipariul Tipografiei Archidieceesane, 1902), 40-41.

855. By comparison, at the level of the province, in 1762, 25,223 Greek-Catholic families and 128,653 Orthodox families were recorded, although the proportion of priests was in the case of Greek-Catholics 1 to 11 families and in the case of Orthodox population 1 to 84 families. Extractus. [Ad Nr. Aul. Transil. 485 ex. a. 1762] Summarum omnium in Incl. Pricipatus Transilvaniae, commitatibus, Districtibus sedibus saxonicalibus et siculis Unitorum et non Unitorum vallachicorum, popparum, laicarum familiarum tempolorumque iuxta repertum Relligionis statum distributorum ut et horum beneficiorum seu fundorum, una cum donibus parochiallibus reperibilium, in *Foisoara Telegrafului Roman*, Septemvrie 4, 1877; “Statistica românilor din Transilvania în anul 1762,” *Transilvania*, Aprilie 30, 1902; Extractus, *Transilvania*, 40-41.

856. James Niessen; “Relațiile interconfesionale și procesul formării națiunii române în Transilvania,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj-Napoca*, XXXI (1992): 83-84; Suciu, “Aspecte,” 174-178; Răduțiu, *Repertoriul*, 701.

857. R.J.W. Evans, *Austria, Hungary and the Habsburgs. Essays of Central Europa c.1683-1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 163; Hotea, “Manifestări,” 175-176; The term papist (Ro. papistaș) was used in

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were also challenged by Roman-Catholic missionaries, who interfered with the Greek-Catholics in the areas with a sizeable Roman-Catholic population, such as in the Szekler Land, where they attracted the Romanian people in the minority to Roman-Catholicism and integrated them in the dominant group.⁸⁵⁸

While it is hard to assess how widespread were these types of confrontations between the Orthodox and Greek-Catholics and if they manifested in a violent form in Rupea, what can be assessed is that in the aftermath of Sofronie of Cioara's movement, for the next six decades, the Orthodox character of the local Romanian population defines this space, integrating it the same historical development identified in the borderland areas from the southern Transylvania, Făgăraș Land and Bârsa Land. The association of the Uniates with heretics by the Orthodox population might seem, at first glance, to be a prolongation of medieval mentalities that made their way into the later part of the eighteenth century.⁸⁵⁹ Nonetheless, the scepticism of the population in some areas from the southern half of the province was also fuelled by the fear of being resettled to the villages of the border regiments, which can partly explain this attitude. As confirmed by the Orthodox population from Mediaș Seat, Orthodoxy represented a guarantee against potential forced resettlement and enrollment, which they tried to avoid.⁸⁶⁰

Until the closing of the eighteenth century, the situation in Rupea seems to have preserved a status quo highlighting equally the proactive period through which the

the eighteenth century in a derogatory sense by the Orthodox opposers to refer to the Greek-Catholics, Băjenaru, "Biserica," 133-134.

858. Radu Nedici, "Confesiune și promovare socială. Elita laică greco-catolică din Transilvania în disputa latinizării de la mijlocul secolului al XVIII-lea," *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Series Historica, 14/I (2010): 112, 115; Daniel Dumitran, *Un timp al reformelor. Biserica Greco-Catolică din Transilvania sub conducerea episcopului Ioan Bob (1872-1830)* (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2007), 198.

859. Hotea, "Manifestări," 175-176.

860. Suci, "Aspecte," 174, 176-177.

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Orthodox Church in Transylvania was going under the four Serbian bishops starting with the naming of Dionisije Novaković in 1761 and ending with the death of Gherasim Adamovici in 1796.⁸⁶¹ With the official recognition of Orthodoxy in 1791 by the Habsburgs, the confessional landscape in southern Transylvania seemed to favour this confession, which was also unfolding against the backdrop of a lack of meaningful progress of the Greek-Catholic Church during that time.⁸⁶²

The local confessional mapping reveals variations regarding the confessional proportion among the Romanian population, confirming a more complex scenario. If in the entire Rupea Seat, the Greek-Catholic population represented only 1.7%, the rest being Orthodox, in Rupea alone, as a market town, more exposed to outside influence, the Greek-Catholics represented as much as 10% of the entire Romanian population.⁸⁶³ While the precise structure of this population cannot be determined, considering that in the early stages, the Greek-Catholic Church enjoyed the sympathy of individuals of lesser condition who were promised rapid economic improvement and knowing that the Roma people were particularly responsive to this new confession, it can be assumed that some of the eight Greek-Catholic families recorded in Rupea during the 1760s belonged to this group, while the others might have been Romanian newcomers.⁸⁶⁴ On the other hand, the promise of the Union was also appealing to those individuals on the opposite spectrum of society, who understood more thoroughly the possibilities of cultural and political emancipation that came with this confessional compromise.⁸⁶⁵ Although

861. Extractus, *Foisoara Telegrafului Roman*.

862. Extractus, *Foisoara Telegrafului Roman*.

863. In the early 1760s, in Rupea, there were 8 Greek-Catholic families and 73 Orthodox families. Nicolae Iorga, *Scrisori*, Vol.II, 223-224.

864. Extractus, *Foisoara Telegrafului Roman*; Covaci, "Relații," 217.

865. Hotea, "Manifestări," 175-176.

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theoretically, these individuals could have been equally found among well-to-do ploughmen families or families formed through mixed confessional unions with members from outside Rupea, the available information remains inconclusive and does not allow a more precise evaluation of the background of the eight Greek-Catholic families recorded in Rupea.⁸⁶⁶

The geographical location of Rupea Seat near the two Orthodox hotbeds, Făgăraş Land and Bârsa Land, favoured the presence of priests who could carry the religious service for the local population, although they were not able to establish parishes in most of these villages due to the local political situation. Covering larger areas, these priests took into their care the Romanian communities found in the different villages in the proximity of their parish. Until 1788, the Orthodox community from Rupea seems to have also been served by outside priests who attended spiritually to the devotees at important moments. In the absence of precise data that can confirm the presence of a local priest – regardless of his confession – until that moment, it can be suggested that during this stage, the members of the two religious communities were attended by priests based in nearby villages.⁸⁶⁷ Situated in villages with a more significant Romanian population than Rupea – such as Paloş, Dăișoara and Crihalma, which were found on the territory of Alba County, and Ticușu Nou and Șona that were part of Rupea Seat, during mid-eighteenth century functioned a series of parishes in proximity that possessed churches in which served more priests.

866. Nicolae Iorga, *Scrisori*, Vol.II, 223-224.

867. Daniel Dumitran, Ana Dumitran and Florean-Adrian Laslo eds., “*virtuti decreti tollerantiae beneficia clero Greci restituenda...*” *Biserica românească din Transilvania în izvoarele statistice ale anului 1767* (Alba-Iulia: Editura Altip, 2009), 194; Togan, *Români*, 41; Conscriptio, *Transilvania*, 246; Iorga, *Scrisori*, Vol.II, 223, 245.

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Given that the parishes of some of these villages, such as Paloș and Ticușu Nou, not only had a church but also recorded as many as four active priests, it can be suggested that the priests from these locations provided the necessary spiritual assistance for the population from neighbouring villages which lacked a local priest.⁸⁶⁸ On the other hand, based on the field observations made by the Silesian Jesuit monk Andreas Freyberger at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Romanian priests were present even in the newest settlements where only a few families lived.⁸⁶⁹ While this field observation encourages further research to be carried out until new information appears, the religious life of the Romanians in Rupea during the eighteenth century – until the installation of the first priest in 1788 – shall be treated according to a more general historical pattern.

Given that Sighișoara, an important Saxon market town from the northern part of the King's Land, saw the creation of an Orthodox parish only in 1771, establishing the parish in Rupea in 1788 should not be surprising given the local demographic and economic realities.⁸⁷⁰ This chronological development remains plausible in the context of the late development of the Romanian community, which did not justify the existence of a local parish before the eighteenth century. Combined with the absence of clerical figures during the four available official surveys – 1733, 1750,

868. Extractus, *Anuarul*, 627, 695; Horea Teculescu, *Pe Târnăvă-n jos. Oameni și locuri* (Sighișoara: Ed. Tipografia Miron Neagu, 1934), 32; Cârlan Ticușanu, *Monumentul*, 20; Extractus, *Transilvania*, 40-41; *Șematismul veneratului cler al Archiepiscopiei Metropolitane Greco-Catolice Române de Alba-Iulia și Făgăraș* (Blaj: Tipografia Seminarului Teologic Greco-Catolic, 1932), 83; Augustin Bunea, "Statistica românilor din Transilvania în anul 1750," *Transilvania. Organul asociațiunii pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român*, Nr. IX, 1901.

869. Andreas Freyberger's work is entitled *Historica Relatio unionis walachicae cum Romana Ecclesia factae a. 1701 eorumque, quae in unionis negotio subsecuta sunt usque ad novembrem anni 1702di*. Toader Nicoară, *Transilvania la începuturile timpurilor moderne (1680-1800). Societate rurală și mentalități colective* (Cluj: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1997), 90.

870. Daniel Dumitran. "Spre o reală toleranță pentru răsăriteni? Problema concivității în orașele libere din Transilvania," *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, 15, Series Historica, 15/II (2011): 297.

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1762 and 1767 – the Romanian community from Rupea is part of a larger historical reality encountered in southern Transylvania during that period.⁸⁷¹

With a total population in the 1760s that can be estimated at around 400 individuals, the establishing of a local parish became more and more a pressing matter, yet given the political situation of the Romanians in the King's Land (especially those living in mixed Saxon-Romanian villages and towns), this was unlikely to materialise.⁸⁷² The adversity of the Saxon authorities, both for the Greek-Catholics – out of insecurity of what the new confession was promising to its converts – and for the Orthodox, was juxtaposed by the general interests of the Habsburg monarchs who supported the propagation of Catholicism.⁸⁷³ With cases of expulsion from villages of the Romanian priests by local Saxon authorities during the first half of the eighteenth century, the confessional situation of the Orthodox and Greek-Catholics was not very favourable in the King's Land.⁸⁷⁴

Specifically, to the Greek-Catholics, the attitude of the Saxons had a pragmatic explanation – a possible conflict of interests with the Romanian (Greek-Catholic) population that enjoyed the support of the Catholic monarchs. Acts such as the 1743 decree issued by the empress Maria Theresa through which the local magistratures were to provide parcels for this religious community to build their churches where it was necessary and for their priests to be granted arable land parcels to insure them an

871. Togan, *Românii*, 41; Conscriptio, *Transilvania*, 246; Extractus, *Foisoara Telegrafului Roman*; Dumitran, *virtuti*, 194; Feneşan, *Izvoare*, 258, 371.

872. Iorga, *Scrisori*, Vol.II, 223-224; Feneşan, *Izvoare*, 407; Dumitran, *virtuti*, 194.

873. Popan, "Unele considerații," 98.

874. Popan, "De la petenți," 199.

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income, were found scandalous by the Saxon administrations from the King's Land.⁸⁷⁵ The tardiness of the local authorities to implement these regulations, confirmed by the 1750 survey, points towards an evident intolerance for the Greek-Catholics and their priests, particularly in the King's Land, where the Protestant Saxon population found this decision was against their group interests.⁸⁷⁶ In the case of the Orthodox, the effect of the 1759 Edict of Tolerance, which formally granted them recognition as a distinct confession, was not accompanied by any right, yet internally, the act had an important symbolic value that established a more balanced situation between the two Romanian confessions.⁸⁷⁷ Concerning the Saxon population, the situation of the Romanians in the coming decades continued to reveal the limited effect of the Habsburg regulations in the territory, which is confirmed by the slow-paced material progress of both the Greek-Catholics and Orthodox. An analysis of the institutional development of the two Romanian confessions in Rupea through their material accumulations reveals important aspects of these evolutions and the bilateral relations between the two confessional groups.

The absence of a church in Rupea until the end of the eighteenth century comes as no surprise given the similar situation encountered in other mixed Saxon-Romanian villages.⁸⁷⁸ This situation does not cancel the existence of praying houses, house-looking structures whose permanent purpose was to uphold the religious service or private houses of well-to-do families who offered a space for the permanent use of the

875. Bunea, "Statistica românilor"; Rețegan, "Remediarea unei inechități," 295.

876. Bunea, "Statistica românilor"; Rețegan, "Remediarea unei inechități," 295.

877. Keith Hitchins, "The Court of Vienna and Confessional Problems in Transylvania, 1744-1759," *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Series Historica, 11/II (2007): 267; Hossu, "Nobili," 681; Băjenaru, "Biserica," 134. Bunea, "Statistica românilor"; "Remediarea unei inechități," 295; Extractus, *Foisoara Telegrafului Roman*.

878. Conscriptio, *Transilvania*, 246-247; Dumitran, *virtuti*, 194; Nicoară, "Orizonturi," 246.

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community for the same purpose. The practice, encountered in other mixed villages of the King's Land, required the consent of the Saxon authorities, who allowed the functioning of the praying houses as long as they were not transformed into separate buildings accompanied by belfries.⁸⁷⁹ Without being endowed with specific church symbols, such as a belfry, these *domus ecclesiae* that remind of the early Christians fulfilled the same purpose as a church. Using oral tradition and written sources, in Rupea, it can be confirmed that such structures existed for each of the two confessions and functioned during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The presence in 1750 of two sacristans (Lat. *aeditui sacristani*, Ro. *paracliseri*) that safeguarded the sacred ritual vessels of the community represents a first clue that reveals the existence of a praying house for at least one of the two confessions.⁸⁸⁰ Whether it was only a single structure or they were two is yet to be determined, but the oral tradition describes the functioning of a structure built of wood in the south-western extremity of the town – in the area known as Cohălmel, adjacent to the “well of Cozebran” – which could have served the community for religious purpose.⁸⁸¹ If this building existed in 1750 or appeared later, possibly in the context of General von Buccow's destruction of the Făgăraș Land monasteries in 1761, it cannot be determined.

Nonetheless, in the neighbouring village Crihalma (located juridically in Alba County), in the context of Buccow's actions, a wooden church was moved from one of the monasteries located in Făgăraș Land on a dale near Comăna de Sus village.⁸⁸² While it cannot be determined if the materials of a wooden monastery church were

879. Extractus, *Anuarul*, 695; Dumitran, *virtuti*, 194; At. Popa, “Biserica de lemn din Reghin,” *Acta Musei Napocensis*, XIV (1977): 406; Nicoară, “Orizonturi,” 246.

880. Nicoară, “Orizonturi,” 246.

881. Ciungan, “Istoricul.”

882. Bucur, “Scurtă monografie,” 17-18.

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reused by the Romanian population in Rupea to construct their own praying house at a time when the growing population was seeking to construct a church, the events that happened a few kilometres away in the nearby Făgăraş Land and its effects on villages neighbouring Rupea cannot be ignored either. The purpose and the age of the structure are yet to be determined by archaeology, yet given that in some villages from the King's Land during the final quarter of the eighteenth century, the two confessions shared the church alternatively, it cannot be excluded that this structure served both the Orthodox and the Greek-Catholics alternatively.

On the other hand, according to local tradition before the mass conversion to Greek-Catholicism in the early 1820s, the few Uniate families from Rupea were known to hold their religious service in the house of the Hohoi family in the eastern periphery of the town.⁸⁸³ Concerning the Orthodox population, given that the closest church in the 1760s was four hours away, the functioning of a praying house that belonged to this confessional group that was counting in the early 1760s around 350 believers must be accepted as a reality.⁸⁸⁴ The position of the two praying houses on the two opposite sides of the town corresponds with the two core areas of the Romanian settlement in Rupea, which, according to oral tradition, could be divided on a confessional basis – “the Greek-Catholics were more in the lower part of the town and the Orthodox concentrated more towards Grigore,” which until the nineteenth century were separated by a marshy floodplain unfit for habitation.⁸⁸⁵

883. Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author.

884. Extractus, *Anuarul*, 695; Dumitran, *virtuti*, 194; Popa, “Biserica,” 406.

885. Gheorghe Suma “Drăghici”, in discussion with the author.

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The abandoning of the Orthodox praying house seems to have been less caused by economic factors and more by political decisions that contributed to larger infrastructure adjustments at the province level. At the end of the eighteenth century, the Habsburg authorities carried out intense activity to limit the spread of epidemics, which provoked significant economic losses in the Empire. Hence, one policy related to this problem was moving the burial grounds to the periphery of the settlements.⁸⁸⁶ Knowing that before the end of the eighteenth century, burial grounds often surrounded the churches, the accidental discovery in the late nineteenth century during a series of public works in the south-west periphery of the town of human remains, found around a larger wooden foundation provided a link to the existence of the presumably Orthodox praying house in that area.⁸⁸⁷

The fate of this praying house differs according to three different oral traditions. The first suggests that this structure was moved to the cemetery on the hill at the current east end of the town, from where it was sold later to the Romanian community from Roadeș. The second version proposes that the praying house from the cemetery was sold to the Orthodox community from Lovnic sometime between the 1790s and 1820s.⁸⁸⁸ The third version is that a structure was indeed at some point found in that cemetery, but the one sold to the Romanian community from Roadeș was a later wood construction that was found in Martin's court on Main Street until its replacement at the end of the nineteenth century with the current Holy Trinity Church. Whatever the exact fate of the first Romanian praying house, the 1819-1822 mass conversion of the Romanian community from Orthodoxy to Greek-Catholicism also meant a transfer of the

886. Mureșan, "Aspecte," 183-184; Chiș, "Remedii," 413.

887. Gheorghe Suma "Drăghici", in discussion with the author; Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author.

888. Cernea, "Cohalm".

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material patrimony, leaving the remaining Orthodox families without a place of worship. A contested situation that remained futile, the Orthodox were forced to regroup for half a century around the house of Gheorghe Bănuț on the east end of the town until the appearance in 1871 of a small wooden church (figure 21) on the property acquired on the Main Street by the Romanian community from the Martin family (figure 20).⁸⁸⁹ While the precise origin of this church is yet to be determined, the three oral traditions could partially provide a clue towards a possible relation between the Cohălmel praying house, the chapel from the cemetery on the north hill and Martin's court church. How this situation influenced interconfessional relations is yet to be determined. However, no matter which oral tradition is closer to what happened, they highlight an essential aspect: the poor religious infrastructure was a reality that dominated the Romanian rural world until the end of the nineteenth century.

The entering into the history of the Romanian churches came with the construction of a proper stone structure at the end of the eighteenth century. Its emergence must be understood in the more significant political developments that took place in Transylvania during the age of the Enlightened absolutist monarchs, being a direct effect of Joseph II's 1781 Edict of Tolerance. Constructed during a period when similar religious edifices appeared in other Saxon towns of Transylvania, such as in Brașov ("The Dormition of the Mother of God" Church of Brașovechi, 1783; "Holy Trinity" Church, 1786-1789) and Sighișoara ("Entry of the Theotokos into the Temple" Church, 1780-1788), the first steps taken for its construction started as early as 1782, when Orthodox community in Rupea applied for a construction permit.⁸⁹⁰ The

889. Cernea, "Cohalm". The house of Gheorghe Bănuț was side by side with the house of Vasile Hohoi, where until around the 1819-1822 mass conversion functioned as the Greek-Catholic praying house. Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author.

890. Dumitran, "Spre o reală," 296-297; *Archiv* (1911), 347.

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construction, which took place roughly between 1790 and 1794, enjoyed the financial support of the Greek Company members from Șchei (in Brașov), with whom the local population was in permanent contact through the renowned annual fairs organised in Rupea that these merchants attended.⁸⁹¹ Patrons of Orthodoxy, the financial sponsorship of the Greek Company merchants, remains during this period a practice characteristic to this potent mercantile community whose headquarters in Transylvania were found in the two main economic hubs on the southern border of the province, the towns of Brașov and Sibiu. Funding similar projects in many other locations around Transylvania, including in the northern Seats of the King's Land, Mediaș and Sighișoara, their patronage in these communities became visible even before the ratification of the Edict of Tolerance.⁸⁹² The critical importance of the Orthodox community from Brașov in this process should not be undermined. Being the only town in Transylvania with a relative Romanian majority, who for centuries played a central role in the preservation and dissemination of the Romanian culture in the province, during the eighteenth century, its potent class of merchants were among the main financiers of these infrastructure projects of the Transylvanian Orthodox population.⁸⁹³ It is not without significance that St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the new Orthodox church in Rupea constructed during the 1790s, was the same as that of the main church of Șchei, located in the heart of the Romanian settlement from Brașov.

891. Teculescu, *Pe Târnava-n jos*,” 41-42; “Relațiile bisericii românești ortodoxe din Ardeal cu Principatele române în veacul al XVIII-lea,” *Revista Teologică, Organ pentru știință și viață bisericească*, August-Octombrie, 1927; The year of the construction varies according to different sources between 1790 and 1794. The former Priest Ioan Popescu indicating the year 1794. Popescu, “Corespondinție.” An Interwar period source indicates the year 1793. *Șematismul* (1932), 83.

892. “Pentru un șematism,” *Revista Teologică*; Hristodol, “Românii-macedoneni,” 68, 70; Popa, “Biserica,” 408; Dumitran, “Spre o reală,” 299; Gheorghe Suma “Drăghici”, in discussion with the author.

893. Hitchins, *România*, 199; Doru Radosav, “Cultura românească din Transilvania în secolul al XVII-lea,” in *Istoria Transilvaniei vol.II (de la 1541 până la 1711)*, ed. Ioan-Aurel Pop, Thomas Năgler and Magyari András (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2016), 313.

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Table 17. Chronology of the places of worship of the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic population from Rupea (eighteenth to the twentieth century)					
Orthodox Parish			Greek-Catholic Parish		
Period	Building	Observations	Period	Building	Observations
Eighteenth-century or before	Wood Chapel/Praying House in the Cohălmel-Cozebran area	Unconfirmed archaeological site; possibly, the structure was moved into the cemetery.	-	-	-
Pre-1790 – 1790/1794	Wood Chapel in the cemetery	Sold to the Romanians from Lovnic.	-	-	-
1790/1794 – 1819/1822	“St.Nicholas” Church	Stone structure; built with the aid of the Greek Company Merchants.	Until 1819/1822	Vasile Hohoi’s Praying House	Positioned on the east end of the town, next to Gheorghe Bănuț’s house.
1819/1822 – 1871	Gheorghe Bănuț’s Praying House	Positioned on the east end of the town, next to Vasile Hohoi’s house.	1819/1822 – 1948	“St. Nicholas Church”	A stone structure built with the aid of the Greek Company Merchants, taken from the Orthodox community.
1871 – 1897	Wood Church	Positioned in Martin’s court on Main Street; sold to the Romanians of Roadeș.	-	-	-
1896/1897 – present	“Holy Trinity” Church	Stone structure positioned in Martin’s court on Main Street in the place of the former wooden church.	-	-	-

List compiled based on the sources used in the text.

In addition to having a new church building, the parish received liturgical books, which have been recorded as part of its patrimony from the age of the construction of the edifice. The identification of these objects reveals aspects of the state of the material culture of the Romanians but also of the economic developments that take place in this community. Out of these objects of patrimony identified so far, the oldest

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was an apocrypha manuscript – known to historiographers as the Codex of Cohalm (Lat. Codex Kohalmiensis) – that was kept in the Orthodox parish in Rupea from the final decade of the eighteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth century – the document itself dating the earliest from the second half of the sixteenth century and the latest from the eighteenth century.⁸⁹⁴ Having originated in a Slavic version, which in turn was translated from Greek, the intangible value of the Codex is doubled by its valuation as a religious artefact, which at one time was traded for the substantial sum of 6 Florins.⁸⁹⁵ While at this point no additional items were identified from that period, the conclusion of the first inventorial effort of the situation of the book patrimony from the Romanian churches of Transylvania, which took place in the second part of the 1850s, was that part of the items identified in the epoch were already in a bad state of conservation, so it is very likely that part of the local patrimony was lost over time.⁸⁹⁶

The construction of the first stone church took place during the pastoring of the Priest Ioan I, who was installed in function in 1788.⁸⁹⁷ His arrival had visible and long-term effects on the development of the local Romanian community. Having contributed to the enlargement of the patrimony, his tenure also coincides with the

894. “Cronică.” *Revista istorică*, Aprilie-Iunie, 1933; Nicolae Drăganu, “Critica științifică în filologia noastră actuală,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională*, I (1921-1922): 363; Simionescu, *Monumente*, 12-16; Scrisoare din 8.3.1938 către prof.univ. Ilie Bărbulescu de la Iași înaintată de către preotul Eugen Ciungan care cere restituirea Codicelul de la Cohalm pe motiv că ar fi fost predat de către învățătorul Ioan Haizea temporar doar pentru a fi studiat, File Corespondență IX 1930-1939, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Scrisoare din 13.3.1938 către părintele protopop Eugen Ciungan înaintată de către prof.univ. Ilie Bărbulescu de la Iași, prin care refuză cererea preotului susținând că i-a fost sustras din bibliotecă, File Corespondență IX 1930-1939, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Diomid Strungaru, “Slaviștii români Ioan Bogdan și Ilie Barbulescu în lumina unei corespondențe inedite,” *Romanoslavica*, XVIII (1972): 343-344.

895. Some estimations indicate that 6 Florins could have acquired 300 kilograms of wheat in the eighteenth century. Simionescu, *Monumente*, 19-20.

896. Bârlea, “Andrei,” 242.

897. Ilarion Pușcariu, *Documente pentru limbă și istorie*, Tom I (Sibiu: Tipariul Tipografiei Archiepiscopale, 1889), 146, 150.

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beginning of a long period of petitioning by a Romanian community motivated to stand up for their rights.⁸⁹⁸ In the context of the transition of the Saxon population towards the manufacturing sector, the Romanian ploughmen population from the neighbouring villages were attracted by the possibility of cultivating more land. This situation and overall demographic growth at the province level resulted in the enlargement of the Romanian community from Rupea, surpassing the other Romanian communities living in the area by the end of the eighteenth century. The transition of the centre of power from the older local cores of the Romanian community in the area – such as Ticușu Nou and Șona in the south and Cața, Drăușeni and Paloș in the north – can be observed equally through the changes that took place during this period at the level of the local Church hierarchies.

The recasting as a new symbolic centre of the Romanian population from the area overlapped on the juridical, administrative, military and economic role that the Saxon market town was already playing, which was expressed through the emergence during the second half of the eighteenth century of new local institutions. From the 1760s, it has functioned in Rupea, a Greek-Catholic and an Orthodox deanery, confirming this location's development as a local centre of power for the Romanians. As representatives of the bishop in the territory, the chairmen of these deaneries, named protopopes, embodied the highest local authority. However, in the eighteenth century, the protopopes' activity in Transylvania went beyond religious affairs, acting equally in secular areas for the interests of the local Romanian population.⁸⁹⁹ Proof of their involvement in political life stands the participation of thirty priests from the Rupea area

898. Gyemant, "Integrarea," 243.

899. Bârlianu, "Biserica," 461.

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at the 1784 Peasant Revolt, who gathered in a secret meeting held in the house of the protopope from Paloș, near Rupea.⁹⁰⁰

The earliest mention of a deanery in the area dates from 1761 when in Ungra, a village in the south-eastern part of the Rupea Seat, was found the Orthodox protopope Iov.⁹⁰¹ While it cannot be established if his jurisdiction encompassed the Romanian Orthodox community from Rupea, nor the precise period of its functioning, its presence in the proximity of Rupea provides a historical context for the later institutional development in the area. Given the ephemeral steadiness of the deaneries in one location until the beginning of the nineteenth century, its disappearance from later documents is far from surprising.⁹⁰² Whatever its fate, only six years later, it was confirmed that in Rupea functioned an Orthodox deanery chaired by Bucur Mardan, the priest from the village Felmer (Ger. Felmern, in Rupea Seat).⁹⁰³ If Protopope Bucur is the same person as Protopope Bucur from Grânari mentioned in a document six years earlier – the two villages Felmer and Grânari (Ger. Mukendorf, Hu. Moha) neighbouring each other – then it can be asserted that it was around his tenure during the 1760s when the centre of power of the Romanian communities from the area made a symbolical transition towards the Rupea.⁹⁰⁴ The Orthodox establishment was soon met with a response from the Greek-Catholic side, who in 1770 moved forward with the creation of vice-deanery, chaired by

900. “Comemorarea celor 30 ‘popi valahi’ din vremea lui Horea.” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Aprilie 4, 1935; “Lămuriri nouă privitoare la revoluția lui Horea.” *Revista Teologică*, Iulie, 1933.

901. Hitchins, “Documente,” 35-37, 44.

902. Dumitran, *Un timp*, 179-180.

903. Mircea-Gheorghe Abrudan, “Organizarea administrativă și dimensiunea demografică a protopopiatului ortodox Sebeș între anii 1766 și 1920,” *Astra Sabesiensis*, I, nr. 1 (2015): 39; Hitchins, “Documente,” 35-37, 44; Iorga, *Scrisori*, Vol. II, 261.

904. Hitchins, “Documente,” 35-37, 44; Iorga, *Scrisori*, Vol. II, 261; *Șematismul* (1900), 601.

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the Protopope Maniu III Lupu “Mitarcă” (1741-1827) from Ticușu Nou.⁹⁰⁵ If this was a symbolic response or if Protopope Maniu was already a present figure that activated in Rupea and took in his spiritual care, the few Greek-Catholic families living there is yet to be determined.

The functioning of two deaneries seated in Rupea was a political gesture that failed to produce any visible improvement in the local Romanian community. Nonetheless, these acts – fleeting as they were – saw for the first time the Romanian community from Rupea associated with more developed administrative institutions for both the Orthodox and Greek-Catholics, suggesting the development of a structured ploughmen community living in the suburbs of this market town. While the precise date when the existence of the Orthodox deanery was interrupted is not known, nor when the date when the Greek-Catholic deanery ceased to function, it is known that by 1784, an Orthodox deanery was operating in the neighbouring village Paloș, while the Greek-Catholic deanery, which continued to be chaired by Protopope Lupu was operational by 1807 in his native village Ticușu Nou with the official status of vice-archidiaconate.⁹⁰⁶ The period of the functioning of the Orthodox deanery can be confirmed with certainty to have ceased in the spring of 1788 when the Priest Ioan I assumed the position in Rupea, given that the parish was subordinated at that time to Corbi Deanery from Făgăraș Land.⁹⁰⁷ Following a gap of several decades, an Orthodox deanery in Rupea was functioning again in the mid-1830s, when it was chaired by the Protopope David Popovici, the priest from Cața. This position was taken over later by Stan Iosif, the priest from Cața, who acted as

905. Maniu III Lupu was active as a priest between 1770 and 1827. Cârlan Ticușanu, *Monumentul meu*, 22.

906. “Lămuriri,” *Revista Teologică; Calendarium Novum Exhibens, Seriem Festorum, Profestorum, Phafes Lunae, Observationes utiles nec non Dies Nundinarum & Postarum Cursum. Addito omnium Dicasteriorum et Officialium in hoc M. P. Transsylvaniae fungentium Titulo* (Claudiopoli: Typis Matini Hochmeister, 1807), 171.

907. Pușcariu, *Documente pentru limbă*, 150.

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Administrator Dean, while the full deanery was functioning in the neighbouring village Paloș, under the Protopope Nicolae Gheaja, on the eve of the 1848 Revolution.⁹⁰⁸ The transfer of the deanery's location in the Rupea area between the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century expresses an instability that characterised the two Churches during that period but also highlighted the transformation experienced by the Romanian population of both confessions, who lacked steady religious institutions until the nineteenth century.

The installation of Priest Ioan I in 1788, followed by the construction of the stone church in the first years of his tenure and then the construction of a confessional school, contributed to preserving a confessional status quo confirmed from the early 1760s.⁹⁰⁹ The predominant Orthodox character of the Romanian community from Rupea at the end of the eighteenth century can be explained through external factors – such as the general stability brought by the activity of the four Serbian bishops – and internal – such as the development of the religious infrastructure with the help of the Greek Company merchants. Nonetheless, at the beginning of the 1820s, the local confessional landscape suffered a significant transformation with long-term effects on intracommunity relations. The death of bishop Adamovici (1733-1796) was followed by a fifteen-year hiatus, during which time the position remained vacant, which opened the perspective of the adoption of Greek Catholicism in this part of the province again.⁹¹⁰ Following the period of hunger that hit Transylvania between 1813 and 1817, the local population was more motivated during the

908. Aloysium Reesch de Lewald, *Universalis Schematismus Ecclesiasticus Venerabilis Cleri Orientalis Ecclesiae Graeci Non Uniti Ritus I. Regni Hungariae Partiumque Eidem Adnexarum nec non Magni Principatus Transilvaniae item literarius, seu nomina eorum, qui rem literariam et fundationalem scholarem ejusdem ritus procurant sub benigno-gratiosa protectione excelsi consilii regii locumtenentis hungarici* (Budae: Typis Regiae Scientiarum Universitatis Hungaricae, 1847), 152, 184; Codrea, *Monografia*, 237; Corespondență bisericească, 1835, File Corespondență veche.

909. In 1807 the school teacher was Vasile Popovici. *Calendarium Novum*, 190.

910. Extractus, *Foisoara Telegrafului Roman*.

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second half of the 1810s to answer to the Greek-Catholic promises of economic improvement.⁹¹¹ Benefiting from greater financial stability and lowering the taxes that concerned the various religious services seemed attractive enough for the locals to question their confessional allegiance in the aftermath of the humanitarian crisis that hit the province just a few years before.⁹¹² The outcome of the 1821 Diocesan Synod of the Greek-Catholic Church, whose main aim was to promote the restoration of Catholicism, committed to its declared objective witnessed between that period and the 1848 Revolution, a series of mass conversions in southern Transylvania, including in Rupea and the neighbouring village Homorod.⁹¹³ While, sometimes, a personal dispute with the local priest or his moral conduct were reasons good enough to determine the parish members to switch between the two confessions, the conversion in Rupea also of the priest, highlights a different motivation of the local population.⁹¹⁴ Decided through popular vote one year after the Synod, most of the Orthodox parishioners from Rupea and Homorod moved in 1822 to Greek-Catholicism, taking with them the patrimony of the former Orthodox parish.⁹¹⁵ The situation was by no means exceptional, with other villages from the King's Land going through the same transformation – in Târnava, the entire Orthodox community moved to Greek-Catholicism in

911. For the effects of the Great Hunger of 1813-1817 see Ioan Ciorbă, "Alimentația de criză din timpul marii foamete din Transilvania dintre anii 1813-1817," *Caiete de Antropologie Istorică*, 8-9 (2006): 271-279; Alexandru Neamțu, "Date noi despre foametea din anii 1814-1816 pe domeniul Zlatnei," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XIX (1976): 315-330.

912. Covaci, "Relații," 223-225; Marcel Morar, "Aspecte ale relației biserică-naționalitate în Transilvania și Banat la jumătatea secolului al XIX-lea," *Acta Musei Devensis*, XXVIII-XXIX/2 (1999-2000): 108; Cosmin-Cătălin Lazăr, "Protopopiatul Ungurașului în a doua jumătate a secolului XIX. Organizare, tensiuni și mutații confesionale," *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, Istorie-Etnografie, XXXIX (2017): 63.

913. Covaci, "Relații," 223-225; Morar, "Aspecte," 108; Lazăr, "Protopopiatul," 63; Dumitran, *Un timp*, 202.

914. Covaci, "Relații," 223-225; Morar, "Aspecte," 108; Lazăr, "Protopopiatul," 63.

915. Popescu, "Corespondinție"; Other sources indicate 1821 as the year of conversion. *Semantismulu* (1871), 252. According to the 1865 Greek-Catholic almanac, the community in Rupea "returned to Union in the year 1790". *Siematismulu* (1865), 108; *Șematismul* (1900), 603; Extractus, *Foisoara Telegrafului Roman; Schematis Venerabilis Cleri Graeci Ritus Catholicorum Dioeceseos Fogarasiensis in Transilvania pro anno a Christo nato MDCCCXXXV* (Blasii: Typis Seminarii Dioeceseos, 1835), 146; *Schematis Venerabilis Cleri Graeci Ritus Catholicorum Dioeceseos Fogarasiensis in Transilvania pro anno a Christo nato MDCCCXLII*, 2nd ed. (Blasii: Typis Seminarii Dioeceseos, 1842), 155; *Șematismul*, 609; Gyemant, "Integrarea," 247.

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1822; in Agârbiciu in 1823, the Orthodox priest moved to Greek-Catholicism with only a part of the parishioners; in Copșa Mare most of the Orthodox population moved to Greek-Catholicism in 1823 while the remaining families remained in their old faith until 1847 when they accepted the confession of the majority.⁹¹⁶ In Rupea, the conversion process was neither instant – the process spanning for several years – and neither absolute – with around twenty families, or roughly 15% of the population, remaining attached to their old faith during the 1820s, their number decreasing in the following decades to represent only 7% by 1850.⁹¹⁷ Entering in the spiritual care of the Priest Stan Iosif (1785-1848/49) from Cața, who also acted as protopope of Rupea, after his death in 1848, the community was pastored until 1859 by his son, the Priest Ioan Iosif (1822-1909) who occupied the same parish as his father.⁹¹⁸

The effect of the mass conversion resulted in the establishment of a continuous antagonism within the Romanian community that, despite going through different stages and eventually transformed into a more neighbourly relation, endured as a defining mark of the Romanian community relationships at least until the dissolution of the Greek-Catholic parish

916. Suci, "Aspecte," 174, 177-178.

917. In 1805, before the 1822 mass conversions were recorded in Rupea 128 Orthodox (Romanian and Roma) family units (around 640 inhabitants). In 1846, the number of Orthodox in Rupea was estimated at 20 families (around 100 inhabitants). Lewald, *Universalis*, 184. In 1850, the number of Romanians was 732 individuals (estimated at around 146 family units), to which can be added 218 Roma inhabitants. Of these two groups representing the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic population, 63 individuals (or around 12.6 families) were Orthodox, and 887 individuals (or around 177 families) were Greek-Catholic. This situation indicates a decrease in the Orthodox population during the 1840s, which can be attributed to the death of the older generation that refused the conversion in the 1820s, while interconfessional marriages of the younger generation provided equally a possible explanation for this new situation. Secondly, the data shows that by 1850, only around 7% of the Romanians (and Roma) remained attached to the Orthodox faith. While this cannot precisely establish how many of the 63 individuals recorded in 1850 were Romanians, if calculated based on the general population ratio between Romanians and Roma in Rupea (77%-23%), then around 48.6 individuals were Romanians (or around 9.7 families). *Protocullum universalis regulationis Ecclesiarum Transilvanico-Disunitarum Poporumque, item Archidiaconatum pro complemento altissimi Rescripti Regii sub dno 18. Aprilis Anno 1786 clementer elargiti, per demandatum ab Excelso Regio Gubernio medio gratiosorum sub nris 1610 et 3129 anni 1805 emanatorum decretorum mixtam Commissionem sub ordinario Praesidio et manuductione exmissi ab eodem exc. Commiss. Exactor. Ingrossistae Alexandri Dósa susceptae et terminatae*, in *Transilvania. Revista Organul asociațiunii pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român*. Nr.3, Sibiu, 1911, 284; Rotariu, *Recensământul*, 80-81; Popescu, "Corespondinție".

918. Lewald, *Universalis*, 184.

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by the communist authorities during the mid-twentieth century.⁹¹⁹ One of the main reasons behind the interconfessional dispute that defined the period after the mass conversion was the contestation by the remaining Orthodox families of the Church patrimony transfer.⁹²⁰ The conflicting interests of the members of the Romanian community of both confessions might indicate that doctrine played a lesser role in this affair, being subordinate to political and economic considerations. While cases of members from the same family whose confessional options differed from one generation to another might not be conclusive enough to determine how much the individuals were motivated by doctrine and how much was rural pragmatism, what can surely be affirmed is that a divergence existed and not only in the interior of the Romanian communities but equally in the interior of the families.⁹²¹

Although they passed through a resurgence period from the 1820s until the 1848 Revolution, the Greek-Catholic community started at the very end of this period to be again challenged by an increasing number of Orthodox families. Confirmed by the declining number of Greek-Catholic priests in Rupea Seat from eight to five, but also by the increase of Orthodox priests from none to eight, the situation of the Orthodox population during this period was far from desperate.⁹²² Despite a continuous rise in the number of Greek-Catholics at the level of the province during the first part of the nineteenth century and the local institutional situation in Rupea, which saw the interruption of the functioning of the Orthodox

919. Arhiepiscopia, File Corespondență IV (1940-1949).

920. Popescu, "Corespondintie".

921. Dumitran, "Uniți," 130.

922. In the Rupea Seat in 1842 were recorded 5,345 Greek-Catholics and 5,841 Orthodox. "Istoria bisericeii gr.or. române din Transilvania și Ungaria dela 1810-1846." *Biserica și Școla. Foiă bisericescă, școlastică, literară și economică*, Decembre 8/20, 1896.

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parish, the Orthodox population was able to benefit from the spiritual care of priests from nearby villages and continue their existence in a format they experience before.⁹²³

In the aftermath of the 1848 Revolution, the rural Romanian communities formulated appeals that were forwarded by the local leaders to the provincial authorities, demanding to be granted the right to return to Orthodoxy.⁹²⁴ This political situation, characteristic of the Neoabsolutist period, manifests in the King's Land as a continuation of the petitionary activity that begun at the end of the eighteenth century, with the Orthodox parishes now requesting to be granted parcels of land or an equivalent remuneration to be able to function correctly.⁹²⁵ Following the supplicant path, the Orthodox leadership in the Rupea area eventually succeeded in having their demands approved by the Saxon University (Ger. *Sächsische Nationsuniversität*) – the central administrative body of the King's Land – yet due to the disruption caused by the 1848-1849 events, the implementation of the decision that stipulated the granting of the parishes with land parcels (or remuneration), was delayed until the early 1860s.⁹²⁶

While the conversion to Orthodoxy in 1859 of the Greek-Catholic chaplain Ioan III Popovici (1810-1881) was not accompanied by the official re-establishing of an Orthodox parish, this situation reveals the confessional realities existent in Rupea in the late 1850s – confirming that the mass conversion of the 1820s never finalised and the Orthodox families waited for better times.⁹²⁷ These better times came some years later during the dynamic

923. Mihai-Octavian Groza, "Un ierarh transilvănean și epoca sa. Viața și activitatea episcopului Vasile Moga (1774-1845)," *Astra Sabesiensis*, Supliment 1 (2017): 26.

924. Gelu Neamțu, "Tendențe de unitate religioasă la românii din Transilvania în timpul revoluției de la 1848," *Acta Musei Devensis*, XXV (1992-1994): 505-506.

925. Rețegan, "Remedierea," 295.

926. Rețegan, "Remedierea," 295, 298.

927. *Siematismulu* (1865), 108; *Semantismulu* (1871), 252.

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tenure of the Orthodox bishop Andrei Șaguna (bishop 1848-1864, metropolitan 1864-1873).⁹²⁸ Moreover, the revival of the Orthodox Church in this part of the province during the third quarter of the nineteenth century was also favoured by the historical circumstances that characterised this area in the previous century when Greek-Catholicism experienced a drawback from which it never fully recovered. Hence, despite the conversion, Greek-Catholicism was never as steady as in the northern half of the province.

While the Habsburgs, through their policies, were able to maintain during this period a scission between the Greek-Catholics and Orthodox at the level of leadership, the complex situation in the territory at the level of local communities necessitates a history of its own.⁹²⁹ Even in the first half of the nineteenth century, when a clear delimitation between the two confessions was evident in Rupea, the situation at the population level was more complicated. Given that, among villagers, the doctrine differences remained mostly abstract and kinship relations, and economics remained pivotal in determining their allegiances, the scission must have felt less intense among the Romanian families.⁹³⁰ While the authorities did not support the idea of a united Romanian nation, the political agenda of the Court and the economic interests and allegiances of the commoners were often incompatible.⁹³¹ In addition, with the gradual development of modern national consciousness, the idea of the Romanian nation started to manifest in the territory through the community's leaders. For instance, when the

928. Reșegan, "Clerul," 107; *Șematismul* (1900), 602; Protocol, File Date demografice; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872; Insemnare Tabelare, a sufletelor dela alte religi la religia greco-rasariteană, si dela aciassta la alte religi indecursulu anului 1865 in Parochia Cohalmului, File Treceeri religioase din Cohalm (1865), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf. Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1852-1866; Rupea – Protocol cununați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852.

929. Neamțu, "Tendințe," 509.

930. Lucian Turcu, "Familia greco-catolică românească: reperele identității confesionale," in *În căutarea fericii. Viața familială în spațiul românesc în sec. XVIII-XX*, eds. Ioan Bolovan, et al. (Cluj: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2010), 77.

931. Neamțu, "Tendințe," 509.

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authorities presented in 1842 a project to introduce the Hungarian language both for church service and in schools, the leaders of the minority groups rejected the project, motivating the project as daunting to the preservation of their national identity.⁹³²

A few years later, in the aftermath of the 1848 Revolution in Transylvania that consolidated the national emancipation ideas, the political leaders of the Romanians reinforced a symbolic national pantheon of martyrs, which contributed to the modernisation of the official discourse of both Greek-Catholics and Orthodox.⁹³³ During the Revolution, the losses on both sides brought the church leaders together, experiencing the first significant moment of solidarity between the two groups. The critical contribution of the Orthodox bishop Andrei Şaguna, who, at the end of 1849, intervened successfully at the Governor of Transylvania to demand the release of the arrested Romanian priests of both confessions, indicates the future direction of the relationship between the two confessions.⁹³⁴

While in their strive to obtain metropolitan status, a conflict at the level of the leadership of the two Churches defined the entire Neoabsolutist period (1849-1860), the institutional consolidation of both the Greek-Catholic and the Orthodox Church during the 1850s and 1860s set the foundation for a new phase at the level of the official relations.⁹³⁵ As both Churches eventually obtained metropolitan status – the Greek-Catholics in 1853 (in Blaj) and the Orthodox in 1864 (in Sibiu) – competition was replaced by coexistence.⁹³⁶ From this moment on, the national cause, highlighted by both Churches, will take precedence

932. Ladislau Gyemant, "Problema tipăririi memoriului din 1842 în favoarea românilor de pe Pământul Crăiesc," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XX (1977): 331-334.

933. Evans, *Austria*, 166-167.

934. Bârlea, "Andrei," 213-214.

935. Bârlea, "Andrei," 215.

936. Bârlea, "Andrei," 215-216, 220.

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despite a series of ups and downs that mark this rapprochement period over the following decades.⁹³⁷ This is not to say that the new form of coexistence was without conflictual episodes, but with the secularisation of the Romanian intellectual elite's political thought, national interests began to be prioritised more often than in the past.⁹³⁸

In the Romanian community of Rupea, the interconfessional dynamics between the Greek-Catholics and Orthodox during the third quarter of the nineteenth century echoes the general atmosphere encountered at the level of the province's leadership. This period – whose extreme years extended from the beginning of the Neoabsolutist period and concluded with the death of the metropolitan Șaguna, and in Rupea, specifically with the official re-establishing of the Orthodox parish in 1873 – highlights the new confessional dynamics following the revival of Orthodoxy under the former Greek-Catholic chaplain Ioan III Popovici, who converted in 1859. After the death of the Greek-Catholic priest Ioan II Popovici in 1863, the Uniate parish was occupied after one year of vacancy by Ioan III's nephew Ioan IV Popescu, who was the son of Dumitru Popovici, his brother. Given these strong family ties, it can be argued that the spiritual care of the Romanian community in Rupea was, from 1859 until 1873, a family business since individuals from the same family acted as priests both for the Greek-Catholic and the Orthodox community. Ioan III continued to serve the Orthodox community until September 1872, when his son-in-law, the Priest George Spornic (1838-1922), briefly took over for one year until the local parish was officially reorganised. This arrangement shows how the extended Popovici priest family ensured the spiritual care of both confessions during this period and defined community relations. In 1873, with the departure of his wife's first cousin from the Greek-Catholic

937. Bârlea, "Andrei," 212-213; Mirela Popa-Andrei, "Aspecte privind relațiile interconfesionale la românii transilvăneni în perioada post-pășoptistă," *Țara Bârsei*, 10 (2011): 46-47; Băjenaru, "Biserica," 54; Evans, *Austria*, 166-167.

938. Evans, *Austria*, 166-167; Bârlea, "Andrei," 217.

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parish, George Spornic converted to take over that position, which he held until retirement in 1914, on the eve of the Great War.⁹³⁹ These circumstances, in which one family monopolised the religious life of an entire community regardless of their confession, were possible due to a pre-existing family network in which professional and personal interests often collided. The local population trusted a family that fulfilled their mission as spiritual leaders for generations and the economic implications of preserving local priests who did not require special financial care represented motives solid enough to consent to a familial monopoly of the sacerdotal function and even the conversions of these priests.

Nonetheless, the establishment of the Metropolitan in Sibiu, which strengthened the Orthodox Church in the territory – an Orthodox deanery with a seat in Rupea was confirmed already by 1863 – provoked a wave of consternation to the young Greek-Catholic priest Ioan IV Popescu, who was dissatisfied with this institutional development. Soon after this event, Priest Ioan IV complained about the departure of entire families from his parish that wanted to “return” to Orthodoxy, without blaming the individuals per se, only the new situation he was facing.⁹⁴⁰ The clergyman, who served the local community in Rupea between 1864 and 1873, witnessed these events first-hand, transmitting to the Vicar of Făgăraș the existence of a real demographical crisis in his parish.⁹⁴¹ Nonetheless, a closer look reveals that the conversions might be partly caused by his hard-line approach regarding the organisation of the parish, being known during that age for his determination to restructure the confessional

939. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1859-1872; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; “Știri mărunte,” *Unirea*, 1922.

940. Insemnare Tabelare, File Treceeri religioase din Cohalm (1865); *Siematismulu Veneratului Cleru Catholicu de Ritulu Orientale alu Archi-diecesei metropolitane a Albei-Julie* (Blasiu: Tipariulu Seminarului Achi-Diecesanu, 1865), 108; *Semantismulu* (1871), 252; Protocol despre clerul și populația ortodoxă, File Date demografice protopopiat 1896-1897, 1923, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania;

941. Popescu, “Corespondintie”; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923.

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school and the use of the state authorities to impose his strict principles.⁹⁴² Causing the reaction of the parishioners and equally of his superior hierarchs, the cleric seems to have been partly the reason behind the return to Orthodoxy of some families who now could choose again their confessional allegiances.⁹⁴³ Naturally, this should not transform Priest Ioan IV into a culprit; far from that, he was barely a witness to the alteration of the confessional landscape experienced by the entire Romanian society. The ratification by Emperor Franz Josef of the establishment of the Orthodox Metropolitan, headed by the dynamic personality of Andrei Şaguna, revitalised the possibility of choice, and people reacted.⁹⁴⁴ The concerns raised by Ioan IV were shared by many other Greek-Catholic priests that seemed to refer to the same worries related to the elevation of the Orthodox Church to the same institutional rank as the Greek-Catholic church, highlighting the existence of a wave of returns that was leading to internal frictions in the village communities.⁹⁴⁵ However, given that for most of the rural population, the differences between the two confessions were often indiscernible, the return to Orthodoxy must have been determined by many other factors, including their relation to their spiritual leader.⁹⁴⁶

The fluidisation of the confession allegiances contributes to a series of developments in the relationship between the Church and parishioners, which sees the turn of the priests towards their flock. Moving from a horizontal dialogue, defined by ongoing dynamics between clerics, that characterised the confessional landscape until this age, a new type of dialogue emerged where the clerics had to answer in the face of their congregation.

942. Reţegan, "Clerul," 107.

943. Reţegan, "Clerul," 107.

944. Popescu, "Corespondintie".

945. Popescu, "Corespondintie".

946. Evans, *Austria*, 163.

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Nonetheless, the turn of attention towards their parishioners also meant the decrease of a series of interconfessional tensions. For instance, in 1873 in Rupea, the Greek-Catholic Priest Ioan IV Popescu carried the service when the Orthodox priest was away with duties.⁹⁴⁷ Thus, the improvement of the relations between the two Churches in Rupea continued in the following years under the tenure of the new priests that came from outside – Nicolae Mircea and Clemente Raicu.⁹⁴⁸

947. Register, Rupea – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1873-1950; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1890-1924.

948. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; In a celebratory publication dedicated to George Barițiu, the Orthodox Priest Nicolae Mircea and the Greek-Catholic Priest Clemente Raicu publish a common message in the honour of the revered Transylvanian journalist. *George Barițiu 12/24 Maiu 1812-1892. Foi comemorative la Serbarea din 12/24 Maiu 1892* (Sibiu: Tipariul Tipografiei Archidieceșane, 1892), 55.

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Figure 20. Author unknown, *Main Street*, [with the printed inscription “Gruss aus Reps. 29952 Verlag Johanna Gunesch, Buchhdlg., Reps.”], Between 1867-1901, Postal card, Private collection of the author.



Figure 21. Carl Muschalek, *Vedere dinspre răsărit spre târgul Rupea cu cetatea sa. În mijloc stânga piața centrală, turnul bisericii luterane și biserica luterană, pe panta de sub cetate în dreapta o altă biserică mică cu turn*, Date unknown, Photography, BV-F-00001-46-K-IV-188, Colecția de fotografii și vederi, Albumul mic, vol.4, Fond Primăria Brașov 1353-1951, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

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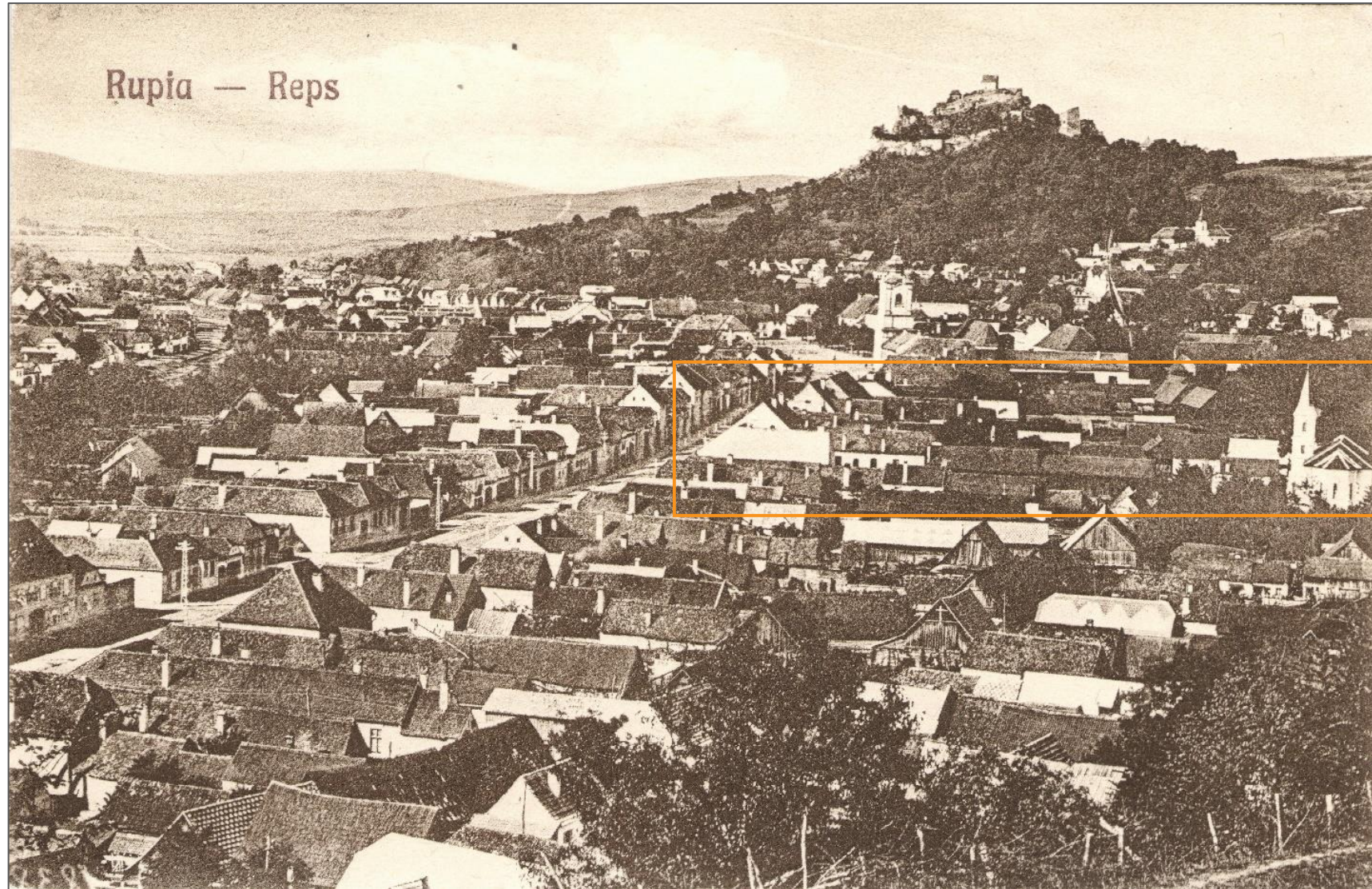


Figure 23. Author unknown, *Panoramic view taken from the cemetery hill, [with the printed inscription “Rupia – Reps,” and on verso “Verlag Kasper & Kellner, Rupia – Reps. România. Cartă Postală.”]*, Interwar period, Postal card, Private collection of the author.

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The official re-establishing of the Orthodox parish in Rupea in 1873 under the Priest Nicolae David Mircea from Cața (1842-1906) did not officially reopen the question of the ownership of the St. Nicholas church, given that the Orthodox community had already purchased since 1871 the house of a Saxon that lived on the Main Street named Martin, (figure 20), and raised that same year in the garden of the property a wooden church (figure 21).⁹⁴⁹ The abandoning of the idea of re-entering in possession of the old Orthodox church could be related to the general economic growth that took place in the province, but also to the success of the parishioners in securing a permanent church which was closer to the Market Square than the older church which was at the east end of the town.⁹⁵⁰ While the reaction of the Greek-Catholics to this acquisition is not known, to the Saxons, the potential construction of an Orthodox church on Main Street closer to the central square caused a wave of disapproval, a reaction that, in any case, was far from unexpected.⁹⁵¹ With the arrival of the new parish priest, the next objective of the Orthodox community was the construction of a stone church. The long fundraising period was finalised in the final decade of the nineteenth century after the approval by the archdiocesan consistory for the proposed architectural plans (figure 22).⁹⁵² Part of a more extensive programme of development of the religious infrastructure that began during this period, these achievements are positioned in collective memory as a common success of one nation rather than one confession. In the collective memory, the construction of the new Orthodox church was represented as the success of the Romanians, formulated in antithesis with the authorities and the other nations, and not vis-à-

949. Rupea – Protocol morți Ortodocși, 1873-1950; Cernea “Cohalm”.

950. Vedere dinspre răsărit spre târgul Rupea cu cetatea sa. În mijloc stânga piața centrală, turnul bisericii luterane și biserica luterană, pe panta de sub cetate în dreapta o altă biserică mică cu turn, Carl Muschalek, date unknown, photography, BV-F-00001-46-K-IV-188, Colecția de fotografii și vederi, Albumul mic, vol.4, Fond Primăria Brașov 1353-1951, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

951. Popa, “Biserica,” 405.

952. Plan arhitectural aprobat de către senatul episcopesc din Sibiu pentru biserica ortodoxă din Rupea, profil, 11.5.1894, File Documente vizuale, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf. Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania.

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vis the Greek-Catholics. Speaking with Ioan Magdun, one of the last patrilineal descendants of Magdun kin, whose predecessors actively participated in the process, he reproduced the event as follows:

The Magduns were four brothers, and the Romanians say that there was a wooden church. And the Romanians, hand to hand, made the church as you can see it nowadays. With the [personal] contribution, every house number was compelled to make one thousand gipsy bricks to take them to the church, in addition to providing workforce and food for the workers. They say that people entered under the scaffold, and the service was not interrupted. The priest was conducting the service at the altar, and the people passed under the scaffold until it was completed. In the garden, there is a bend. They didn't have space to build the altar and bought from the neighbour a Saxon, two meters. And so, they made the new church. They say that all four brothers had horses, and at night, during the Empire that was, they stole wood from Tufa Forest. I liked it so much when I heard that four brothers, all with horses, went to steal wood for the church.⁹⁵³

The construction of the new Orthodox church (figure 23, 24) at the end of the nineteenth century is the pinnacle of a series of achievements that brought the two Churches closer.⁹⁵⁴ The cooperation between the local Orthodox and Greek-Catholic priests positions them within the larger evolution of the relations that define the Romanian elite of the province. During this period, in the context of an ongoing secularisation process, the national project took primacy to the confessional identity that defined Romanian society.⁹⁵⁵ With the adoption of legislation such as the 1894 Civil Code, which introduced mandatory civil marriage and Art.4 from Law XIV/1898, which introduced fixed salaries for priests (of Kr 1,600 and Kr 800 according to their level of studies), some of the last significant causes of

953. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author; Listă contribuții pentru construirea bisericii ortodoxe, 1872, File Registru venituri, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania. On the King's Land, unlike the Saxon population, the Romanians were not allowed to freely use timber from the communal forests for the construction or maintenance of their schools and churches. Rus, "Forestry," 370, 379; Gyemant, "Integrarea," 240.

954. The construction that was coordinated by an architect from Sighișoara had to be completed according to the contract in July 1896. "Noutăți," *Telegraful Roman*, Iunie 8/20, 1895.

955. Covaci, "Relații," 218, 219.

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the conflict between the two confessions were settled, having immediate effects at the level of the rural communities.⁹⁵⁶

When it was organised a fundraising for the Greek-Catholic high school in Blaj, in 1894, among the donors list were found equally the Uniate priests George Spornic and Clemente Raicu and the Orthodox Priest Nicolae Mircea.⁹⁵⁷ Clemente Raicu, who also served as honorary vice-protopope during the entire period he occupied the parish in Rupea (1873-1896), after ten years of his tenure, was selected as one of the two candidates of Rupea to the electoral circle for the Romanian's representatives in the Diet in 1884.⁹⁵⁸ These examples are meant to show that the national interest of the Romanians, regardless of their confession, was prioritised at a time when their cultural continuity was under question. While interconfessional quarrels remained a presence in the Romanian community during this period, their nature was translated into a more intellectual medium, finding its original expression in the satirical press of the age.⁹⁵⁹ Despite remaining the target of the attacks, the priests were now opposed by the secular local intellectual elite that emerged during the final quarter of the century, diminishing the previous confessional antagonism. The establishment of a new force ratio and the political pressure from the state authorities during the final years of the Austro-Hungarian Empire repositioned the official discourse of the two confessions

956. This sum was calculated, including the incomes obtained by each priest from his parish, receiving from the state only the difference. Melenti, "Obști," 34.

957. "Colecta pentru gimnasiulu din Blașiu," *Unirea. Foe bisericescă-politică*, Ianuarie 27, 1894.

958. *Actele conferenței electorale a reprezentanților alegătorilor români din Ungaria și Transilvania. Ținută în Sibiiu la 1, 2 și 3 iuniu 1884* (Sibiiu: Tiparul Institutului Tipografic, 1884), 9; *Semantismul Veneratului Cleru alu Archidiecesei Metropolitane Greco-Catolice a Alba-Juliei și Fagarasiului* (Blasiu: Tipariulu Seminariului gr.cat., 1890), 234.

959. "Sus Marcule!" *Calicul. Humor și satiră*, Octombrie 1/13, 1892; "Poșta calicului," *Calicul. Humor și satiră*, Februarie 1/13, 1887; "Poșta calicului," *Calicul. Humor și satiră*, Iuniu 1/13, 1887; "Stichuri celebre cu fotografia-n spate!" *Calicul. Humor și satiră*, Aprilie 1/13, 1887.

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towards each other, confirming the institutional modernisation of the Orthodox and the Greek-Catholics.

This sub-chapter explored the religious transformations in the Romanian community of Rupea during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the institution of the Church as the central research theme. The relationship between the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic communities, dominated by a period of conversions, local conflicts, but also cooperation, provides a picture of the complex facets of the rural society in Transylvania. The coexistence of the two communities proves a prioritisation of their secular interests over confessional differences, suggesting a clear understanding of their collective identity during the nineteenth century.

Hence, this study contributes beyond the local history of Rupea, providing a deeper of religious pluralism and the relationship between different religious communities. Investigating the historical religious dynamics in the Romanian community from Rupea in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries contributes to understanding the institutional transformation in the rural space. Examining the institutional development of the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Churches in the Rupea area contributes to historiography when contextualised within the broader history of Transylvania. This investigation is necessary when exploring the rural world since the two Churches acted as religious institutions and as administrative, cultural, and political agents. Hence, the investigation of the institutional trajectories of these two Churches provides a more comprehensive understanding of how modernisation was experienced in rural East Central Europe.

The following sub-chapter focuses on the rapid modernisation of the local confessional discourse during the early twentieth century. This period, dominated in Transylvania by Hungarian nationalistic policies, resulted in the development of stronger

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political consciousness in the rural space. However, the idea translated into reality in more nuanced forms since improving their socio-economic conditions remained a chief preoccupation for the broader population, particularly the peasantry.

4.2. Modernisation of the Local Confessional Discourse During the First Part of the Twentieth Century

This sub-chapter is formulated around three main sections. The first explores the political climate in rural Transylvanian Romanian communities in the years around World War I. The second explores the economic progress of the Romanian community in Rupea until the Interwar period against the broader social, cultural, and political landscape. In essence, this second section investigates the integration of the peasantry into the capitalist economic cycle, using the Church as the main research theme. The final section concludes the sub-chapter with a discussion of the evolving dynamic between the Church and parishioners during a period marked by the growing secularisation.

The move towards a more aggressive nationalistic discourse that characterised the turn of the century in Central Europe was expressed in Transylvania by an evident pressure of the Hungarian authorities who imposed an assimilatory nation-building programme.⁹⁶⁰ In this context, multi-confessional groups living in the eastern part of the Empire, among which the Romanians, found the necessary congruence to address their concern with one voice as a nation.⁹⁶¹ When a branch of the “Junimea” Literary Society was inaugurated in 1911 in Rupea, the local intellectual elite called symbolically for peace and unity among the two confessions.⁹⁶² Perhaps the word “peace” did not do justice to the relations between the two groups since, in recent history, there has been no open confessional war or any violent

960. Balázs Trencsényi et al., *A History of Modern Political Thought in East Central Europe: Volume I: Negotiating Modernity in the 'Long Nineteenth Century'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 499-500

961. Vlad Popovici, “Elita politică românească din Transilvania (1861-1881). O perspectivă alternativă,” *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, 14/I (2010): 213.

962. “Din Cohalm.Reprezentanța societății de lectură ‘Junimea,’” *Tribuna*, Mai 8/21, 1911.

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conflict for that matter. On the other hand, when it comes to the latter term – unity – the local leadership was indeed eager to achieve it in those years of uncertainty if only they knew how. Nuanced by political and economic interests, a real unity was often subdued to the elite's personal interests, which attracted the Church into its affairs. While witnessing the political rhetoric and sometimes participating in it, the awareness of these ideas among the common people is harder to evaluate. Nonetheless, the drawing of clearer delimitation between the two social groups developed a series of symbolic boundaries that started to set apart their class aspirations. Despite this, when it comes to their national identity, both groups found common ground.

The peasantry's unity was expressed through a specific pragmatism that this category never ceased to show, often motivated in its actions by its personal agenda. After all, it was these characteristics that made the rural population tolerant of the dogmatic difference between Orthodox and Greek-Catholics. Perhaps this situation was caused by a limited theological education combined with the similarities that characterise the two confessions. Possibly, the answer resorts simply to the indifference of the rural society towards the dogmatic differences, being more preoccupied with existential challenges. No matter the exact answer, the elite's political discourse resonated only partially with local ploughmen. Looking at the high number of mixed confessional matrimonial unions that took place in Rupea, the primal interests of the ploughmen seem to have been to improve their economic and social condition rather than preserve their confessional identity. In addition, the population's involvement in community life by supporting different cultural projects confirms a higher interest in assessing status than simply enhancing the material patrimony of their confession.⁹⁶³ Therefore, that idea of unity expressed in the discourse of the upper strata of

963. Tabel cu proprietățile parohiilor din Rupea Nr.675/1941, 30.4.1941, File 1941/31, Tabel cu proprietățile parohiale din Rupea [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Primăria comunei Rupea înaintează către pretură un tabel privind starea materială a parohiilor

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the local society was merely a symbolic syntagm of an educated elite replicating an overused political discourse, whose echo was secondary on the ploughmen's agenda.⁹⁶⁴ Suggesting a separate development between the two social categories that only occasionally intersected, the diversification of the structures of the ploughmen's community at the beginning of the twentieth century is proof of the more significant developments that characterised Romanian society in the years before the Great War.

With the peasantry entering the capitalist economic cycle, the spread of capital in the rural world contributed to the creation of a constructive rivalry that found a structure to manifest in the Church. More than a local competition between parishes, in the first part of the twentieth century, the Romanians in Rupea were involved in an intensive process of expanding the public patrimony of their community and found in the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic parish the right institutions to help them accomplish that.⁹⁶⁵ Partly a mode to publicly expose a status, partly the result of an elite-driven nervousness to combat the government's nationalistic policies, the peasantry made use of its limited funds and launched a series of public works.⁹⁶⁶ Benefiting from the modernisation of the financial system, which in Rupea was expressed through the creation of the two Romanian credit institutes at the

din comună, File 1940/4, Corespondență, prefectura, pretura [...], BV-F-00037. Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

964. Tabel societăți și asociații românești din comuna Rupea, File 1943/2, Corespondență Asistență Socială, BV-F-00037 Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Burian, "Emanciparea," 53; "Serbarea religioasă dela Rupea," *Unirea poporului*, August 30, 1936; Raport din 20.7.1937 al Reuniunii Mariane a Femeilor Române Unite din parohia Rupea despre situația și activitatea desfășurată în anul 1936, File Corespondență VI 1930-1939, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Notă privind delegația comitetului Reuniunii Sfânta Maria din Rupea privind participarea acesteia la Uniunea Reuniunilor Femeilor Române Unite din protopopiatul Brașov, File Corespondență IV (1930-1939), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania.

965. Conспект donațiuni pe seama bisericii Greco-Catolice în anul 1929, File Documente contabile I (1920-1929), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; "Din Rupea," *Unirea poporului*; Ciungan, "Informațiuni," *Unirea*. Notă din 15.3.1943 despre donații primite de parohie în timpul preoților Eugen Ciungan și Simion Nicoară, File Registre, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Nicolae Rupea, Rupea, Romania.

966. "Știri. Petreceri," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Aprilie 18/Mai 1, 1910; "Cronică socială și artistică," *Tribuna*, Aprilie 18/Mai 1, 1910.

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beginning of the twentieth century, the two parishes and the population used this service to better achieve their common aims.⁹⁶⁷

Having secured proper religious buildings, chief among the preoccupation of the community leaders at the turn of the century was the development of the education infrastructure, which in Rupea found a finality through the construction in 1910 of the new building of St. Demetrius Orthodox confessional school (figure 24, 25).⁹⁶⁸

967. Tabel budget pe anul 1929, File Documente contabile II (1920-1929), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Chitanță din 31.12.1934 în valoare de 783 lei, bani primiți de George Suma (casier) din partea bisericii Greco-Catolice ca spese de deplasare la București în ziua de 12.9.1934 pentru încasarea sumei dela "Cetatea Miniera", File Chitanțe V (1930-1939), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania.

968. "Știri," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Octombrie 23/ Noiembrie 5, 1910; "Știri," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Octombrie 14/27, 1911.

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Figure 24. Author unknown, *The Orthodox Church, the Orthodox Confessional School and the church's interior*, 1910-1919, Postal card, Szegedi László Tamás private collection, Rupea, Romania.

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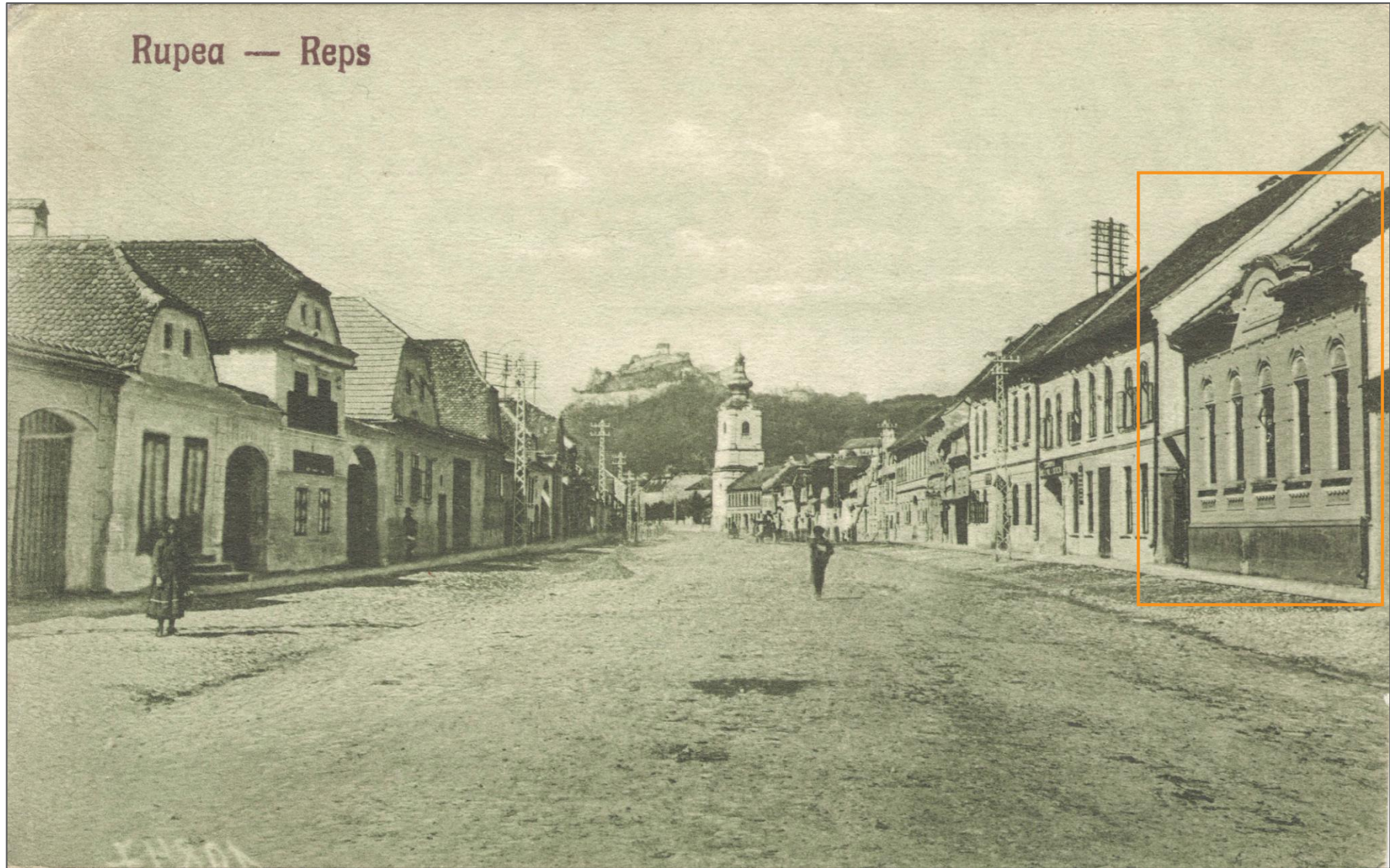


Figure 25. Author unknown, Main Street, [with the printed inscription “Rupea – Reps” and on verso “Verlag Kasper & Kellner, Rupea – Reps. 19847. România. Cartă Postală.”], Interwar period, Postal card, Private collection of the author.

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To these series of local achievements can be added the intention to engage in an even larger project, which, although it never materialised, provides a more comprehensive image of the financial potency and ambitions of the Romanian community. Shortly after the union of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania emerged the idea of raising a larger Greek-Catholic church to replace the eighteenth-century stone structure that did not correspond anymore to the standards of the time.⁹⁶⁹ To realise this project, Priest Eugen Ciungan – whose tenure lasted from 1915 to 1939 – started to collect the necessary funds and deposit them at the local Cetatea Bank, managing to save until 1931 more than half a million lei.⁹⁷⁰ While this project eventually failed to be accomplished, given the effects of the Great Depression that resulted in the enforcement of laws such as the liquidation of agricultural debts, which resulted in the loss of as much as 70% of the bank deposits, the financial efforts of this community cannot be unrecognised, remaining together with the construction of the Meeting Hall one of the most ambitious projects assumed by the Romanians in Rupea until the Interwar period.⁹⁷¹ Even so, with the rest of the funds that were not lost, Priest Ciungan completed the restoration of the church in 1934. The idea of constructing a new church was postponed for another decade until Priest Boian brought it up again and started to take official steps and collect the necessary material.⁹⁷² While the project of constructing a new church was never accomplished until the dissolution of the Greek-Catholic Church, this cannot be

969. Scrisoare a parohului Eugen Ciungan din 12.1.1938, către Revss. Mihail Hodârnu referitoare la proiectul construirii unei biserici noi în paroshia Greco-Catolică din Rupea, File Corespondență V (1930-1939), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania.

970. Scrisoare, File Corespondență V; Conspect despre veniturile capitale ale cultului Greco-Catolic pe anul 1929, File Documente contabile I (1920-1929), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; “Diverse,” *Unirea*, August 5, 1915; Proces verbal de la sedinta comitetului parohial al bisericii Greco-Catolice din 11.12.1938, privind preluarea unei mașini de scris de tip Noiseless dela Mon. Eugen Ciungan (care a servit aproape 24 de ani), acesta fiind numit director al Cancelariei mitropolitane din Blaj, File Corespondență I (1930-1939), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923.

971. Scrisoare, File Corespondență V.

972. Cernea, “Cohalm”.

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seen as a failure of the community but as an effect of the confrontation of the ploughmen with a larger historical reality. The Great Depression and the persecution of the Greek-Catholics by the Communist regime are larger-than-life historical events that blocked the course chosen by the Romanian population in Rupea.

Nonetheless, the impossibility to construct a new church should not overshadow the finalised projects of the Greek-Catholic community, such as the replacement of the three bells confiscated by the Austro-Hungarian Army during the First World War.⁹⁷³ Despite the substantial costs of these valuable percussion instruments, the parish managed in 1924 to acquire two new church bells and, later, in 1936, a new semantron, these purchases being realised following an energetic fundraising campaign carried by the Priest Ciungan together with the church committee who successfully addressed to the local parishioners that lived Rupea and abroad.⁹⁷⁴ Benefitting from a large donation provided by Dumitru Pălășan, a local emigree living in Detroit, Michigan, who provided the entire sum to acquire the smaller bell, the Priest Ciungan focused on fundraising for the second church bell. Once the necessary amount was achieved, Priest Ciungan, together with Ioan Mitri Danciu and the cashier of the church George Suma Jr., travelled to Timișoara in August 1924 at the “Fiul lui Antoniu, Anton Novotny” Bell Foundry where they ordered a bell of 240 kg costing Lei 48,000 and one of 450 kg costing Lei 85,000.⁹⁷⁵ This considerable expenditure can be fully appreciated

973. Scrisoare a comitetului, File Corespondență clopote.

974. Scrisoare din 7.12.1923 către parohia Greco-Catolică trimisă de la Palace Hotel Constanța, File Corespondență clopote biserica Greco-Catolică, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Scrisoare din 5.10.1923 către parohia Greco-Catolică de la familia răposatului Gheorghe Danciu privind imposibilitatea de a îndeplini dorința numelui. Trimisă de la Palace Hotel Constanța, File Corespondență clopote biserica Greco-Catolică, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Scrisoare a lui Gheorghe Borcoman; File Corespondență clopote, Scrisoare a comitetului, File Corespondență clopote; Scrisoare din 7.1.1937 a preotului Eugen Ciungan către Firma Novotnyi, File Corespondență XI (1930-1939), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania.

975. Scrisoare din 27.8.1924 a preotului Eugen Ciungan către Dumitru Pălășan privind prețul celor două clopote pe care parohia intenționează să le achiziționeze, File Corespondență clopote biserica Greco-Catolică, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Scrisoare din 28.10.1924 a firmei “Fiul lui Antoniu, Anton Novotny, Turnatorie de Clopote Glockengiesserei – Harangöntöde – Timișoara” prin care îl înștiințează pe

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only when compared with the reconstruction in 1920 of the older parish stone house built in 1876, a project which in 1924 was estimated following inflation adjustment to have cost Lei 500,000.⁹⁷⁶

The politicisation of these investments by the supporters and opponents of each confessional group is the expression of an identarian duality constructed on religious foundations. Its persistence in the years following the Great War brings to the surface the unsophisticated character of the Romanian elites, whose provincial mentality could not escape its religious identity and of a peasantry that resorted to the pre-existent religious structures to manifest their status and identity in the public space. In the Jubilee year 1933, on the feast of Synaxis of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, the Greek-Catholic parish celebrated the construction of a five-meter-tall crucifix on Ghiuțel Hill (figure 26).⁹⁷⁷ The event was followed by a symbolic response from the Romanian Orthodox Brotherhood (Ro. *Frăția Ortodoxă Română*), who in 1935 raised in their turn a memorial dedicated to the 1784 peasant revolt of Horea, Cloșca and Crișan, who in its turn was followed by a counter-response from the Greek-Catholic parish, who took the initiative for the construction of a memorial in Lențea Forest and reburied the soldiers that fell in battle in that area (on the 15th September 1916) during the First World War (figure 27).⁹⁷⁸ These accomplishments, summed

preotul Eugen Ciungan de expedierea celor două clopote, File Corespondență clopote biserica Greco-Catolică, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania.

976. "Clopotele din Cohalm," *Unirea poporului*, Ianuarie 25, 1925; *Semantismul Veneratului Cleru alu Archidiecesei Metropolitane Greco-Catolice a Alb'a-Juliei și Fagarasiului* (Blasiu: Tipariulu Seminariului Archidieceșanu, 1876), 240; "Revistă bisericească." *Unirea*, Iulie 23, 1921.

977. *Ion Borcoman*, "Sfiișirea crucii ridicată în orașelul Rupea cu prilejul Anului Sfânt," *Unirea poporului*, Noiembrie 19, 1933.

978. "Informațiuni," *Renașterea. Organ național bisericesc săptămânal*, Iunie 23, 1935; Cerere din 24.8.1937 către Societatea Cultul Eroilor din București pentru primirea aprobării de exhumare a eroilor căzuți în luptele din Padurea Lențea în ziua de 15.9.1916, cu scopul de a fi inhumati într-un singur loc unde se va ridica un monument, File Corespondență IV (1930-1939), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Invitație din către primăria comunală, înaintată de protopopul Emilian Stoica referitor la sărbătorirea Zilei Eroilor, 2/15.5.1923, File 1923/1, Încurajarea industriei, participări la Primul Război Mondial, repatrieri în

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up in the press, involved multiple actors, from ploughmen to priests and other local intellectuals. However, the political discourse of the time seized them in a coordinated politicised media effort to take into the new century an old proselyte campaign.⁹⁷⁹

Ungaria, exproprieri locuri de casă [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

979. "Noutăți," *Unirea, Foe bisericască-politică*, Februarie 21, 1903; "Bilanțul unui an de munca. F.O.R. Secția Sibiu," *Viața ilustrată*, Octombrie, 1935; "Scirile Dilei," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Decembrie 22, 1905; Recapitulare oficială din 28.12.1937 întreprinsă de către preotul paroh Greco-Catolic Eugen Ciungan către protopopul Mihail Hodârneau privind colectele întreprinse în parohia Rupea în decursul anului 1937, File Corespondență II (1930-1939), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Chitanță din 9.12.1937 pentru suma de 100 Lei primiți de la parohia Rupea pentru scopurile Asociației Generale a Românilor Uniți – AGRU, File Chitanțe II 1930-1939, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Listă contribuții din 10.12.1933 pentru parohiile Greco-Catolice din Vechiul Regat, File Corespondență XI (1930-1939), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania.

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Figure 26. Author unknown, *Group photo of the Crucifix raised by the Greek-Catholic community in the Jubilee year 1933, 1933*, Photograph, Vasile Danciu private collection, Rupea, Romania.



Figure 27. Author unknown, *Group photo of Romanian ploughmen at the war memorial from Lențea Forest, Interwar period, after 1937*, Photograph, Vasile Danciu private collection, Rupea, Romania.

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Regardless of the politicised endings envisioned by the local religious leadership and intelligentsia, the union of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania – which saw the transition from a state with a Catholic majority, ruled by an apostolic monarch, to a state with an Orthodox population roughly ten times larger – had contributed to a reconsideration of the official relations between the two Churches after 1918.⁹⁸⁰ The cultural forefront that defined the dynamics between the Greek-Catholic and Orthodox in Rupea over the entire period until the Second World War must be understood as a condition of a new national political reality which was confronted by older local divergences. This duality that once defined the Transylvanian Romanian identity came to an end in the context of a historical turn that marked the destiny of Eastern Europe with the establishment of communism.

From a confessional perspective, starting from the 1940s, the existing duality of the local confessional landscape was contested equally by the emergence of new confessions that were adopted by the local Romanian population. Often attributed by Transylvanian clerics as an effect of temporary mobility across the ocean, the inflow of protestant denominations such as Baptist, Methodist, Mormon or Pentecostals entered the Transylvanian rural society. Gaining adherents, among the peasantry in Rupea during the Interwar period were identified two women, Maria Danciu and Maria Homorozean nee Magdun, who belonged to local ploughmen families who adhered to these protestant movements.⁹⁸¹ While limited in popularity, the effects of their propagation among the Romanian population, taken together with the reduction of the Greek-Catholic community in favour of Orthodoxy, was labelled by the last Uniate priest, Marian Boian, as “catastrophic” – foreshadowing the fateful year of

980. Lucian Turcu, “Alone, Among its Own: The Greek-Catholic Church in Transylvania Between 1918-1940,” *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 55/II, *Historica* (2018): 103.

981. Wyman, *Round-Trip*, 169-170; Dumitran, *Un timp*, 203; “Colecte,” *Curierul Creștin*; Grigorie Comșa, “Baptismul în descompunere,” *Foaia Diecezană*, Decembrie 11, 1927; “Botezuri cu Duh Sfant,” *Cuvântul Adevărului*, Noiembrie, 1935; “Vîndecări divine.” *Cuvântul adevărului. Revistă religioasă*, Iunie, 1935.

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1948 when the communist authorities abolished the Greek-Catholic Church, and the believers were integrated into the Romanian Orthodox Church.⁹⁸²

Orthodox Parish				Greek-Catholic Parish			
Name	Age	Tenure Period	Observations	Name	Age	Tenure Period	Observations
1733 – no permanent priest or church				1733 – no permanent priest or church			
1767 – no permanent priest or church				1767 – no permanent priest or church			
Ioan I	1758-1824	1788-c.1822	Priest	Ioan II Popovici	1789-1863	1822-1863	Priest
Ioan II Popovici	1789-1863	1813-1822	Priest	Ioan III Popovici	1810-1881	Cca. 1837-1859	Chaplain
Nicolae Popovici	1787-1813	1811-1813	Priest	Ioan IV Popovici (Popescu)	b.1844	1864-1873	Priest
Ioan III Popovici	1810-1881	1859-1872	Priest	George Spornic	1840-1922	1873-1914	Priest
George Spornic	1840-1922	1872-1873	Priest	Clemente Raicu	b.1842	1874-1896	Vice-Protopope
Nicolae Mircea	1842-1905	1873-1904	Protopope	Eugen Ciungan		1915 – 1939	Protopope
Ioan Bercan Sr.		cca.1876-1917	Chaplain	Simion Nicoară		1939 – 1945	Priest
Ioan Bercan Jr.	1871-1917	1907-1917	Protopope	Iacob Boian		1945 – 1948	Priest
Ioan Mircea		cca.1917-after1945	Chaplain	-	-	-	-
Emilian Stoica		1920-1928	Protopope	-	-	-	-
Alexandru Brotea	1892-1980	1928-1968	Protopope	-	-	-	-

The list was compiled based on the sources used in the text.

982. Răspuns, File Corespondență II; “Comunicatul Sfintei Patriarhii despre reintegrarea bisericii greco-catolice în biserica ortodoxă.” *Renașterea, organul Episcopiei Ortodoxe Române a Vadului, Feleacului și Clujului*, Octombrie 3, 1948.

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As a mark of the Romanian identity, the Orthodox and the Greek-Catholic churches served simultaneously as religious and cultural institutions and, for a long time, as bearers of the political discourse. The peasantry referred to these two institutions from the perspective of their status and occupation interests, highlighting the importance of the Church not only as a divine institution but as a medium that fulfilled a series of administrative, cultural and political purposes. The interconfessional dynamics between the Orthodox and the Greek-Catholic population highlight the primacy of these purposes in the rural world, indicating at the same time that at a local level, the Church administered a series of secular functions in the time when secular community-based institutions were not developed enough to assume this task.

A complex narrative emerges in tracing the trajectory of the confessional landscape in Rupea during the first part of the twentieth century. The dominant nationalistic discourse in Central Europe pushed the development of a new relationship between the Romanian peasantry and the Church. Expressed through economic and socio-political evolutions, the peasantry followed a pragmatic agenda whose focus on economic improvement most often surpassed confessional identity. Ultimately, the dynamics between confessional identity, socio-economic factors, and broader historical events highlight a spiritual experience confronted with the rural space's secularisation.

In the broader context of the ploughmen's history, this chapter investigated the valuable contributions of the religious institutions to the larger social and political transformations of the rural space. The focus on the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Churches provides an understanding of an interconnected development of the religious institutions under the umbrella of a shared cultural identity.

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The first sub-chapter explored the period between the eighteenth and the end of the nineteenth century, focusing on identity dynamics, cooperation, and political evolutions of religious institutions. While the research contributes to local history, it also provides valuable historiographic input, contributing to broader themes of the history of religion and cultural studies. The second sub-chapter moved chronologically forward and focused on the early twentieth century. The investigation revealed a more dynamic peasantry capable of representing its interests, whereas the Church emerges as a nexus for its religious and secular aspirations. Together, the two sub-chapters provide a comprehensive exploration of the religious landscape in East Central Europe during the modern period, revealing the continuous negotiation process between the religious and secular spheres.

The following chapter moves away from the religious sphere to explore the modernisation of local secular institutions. Investigating the institutional transition from religious to secular in the nineteenth-century southern Transylvanian space, the first sub-chapter focuses on the gradual development of a local secular elite. The second sub-chapter focuses on the evolution of local administrative, cultural, and economic institutions in the King's Land, offering an insight into how secular institutions developed in Transylvanian rural society until the end of the Second World War.

5. Path to a Secularised World: The Progress of Normative Institutions

In the final chapter, the research continues the exploration of institutional modernisation, studying the historical context that paved the way for the development of modern secular institutions and educated elites within the Romanian population. The shift from religious to secular was not linear but a complex interaction where the religious and secular dimensions overlapped and coexisted, expanding from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries.

The chapter thoroughly examines the historical evolution of the Romanian secular elites and institutions in Transylvania through two sub-chapters. The first sub-chapter begins the investigation by introducing the development of a secular elite within the province's political landscape during the Principality period and the eighteenth century. This first section investigates the concept of knowledge transfer and analyses the emergence of an educated Romanian laic category from the late seventeenth century. The second section of the first sub-chapter comprises two biographical case studies that offer an insight into the contribution of the educated secular rural elite in their home communities. The second sub-chapter explores the historical evolution of secular institutions and modern forms of associationism among the Romanian rural population in Transylvania from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. Following an introductory exploration of pre-existing local administrative institutions, the analysis investigates modern forms of associationism through local societies from Rupea, such as the Society of the Ploughmen, the Assembly of the Romanian Craftsmen and Traders, the Prince Michael Society, and the credit institutes Economica Bank and Cetatea Bank.

This final chapter builds upon the preceding efforts and studies the context in which these institutions emerged, the social background of the individuals behind them, and their

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evolution. The chapter aims to reveal how institutional modernisation manifested in the southern Transylvanian rural society from the late Principality era to the beginning of the communist period.

Modern associationism in the province is directly related to the development of a secular elite and the lower level of urbanisation that characterised the eastern part of the Empire in the nineteenth century. Understood as social and cultural structures whose membership was determined by the geographic, occupational, and personal interests of the individuals affiliated, these modern associations developed over older structures with whom they share similarities. Hence, the establishment of professional and later cultural associations was nothing else than the formation of new types of solidarities that emerged in the face of a changing social, economic and political culture.⁹⁸³ In the King's Land, the two main population groups, the Saxons and the Romanians, facing Habsburg's intervention in public life, adopted the state discourse while promoting an agenda that corresponded with their group interests.⁹⁸⁴

For the Transylvanian Saxons, who were in uninterrupted contact with the rest of the Germanic world, the model of modern associationism adopted was the one proposed in Austria during the Enlightenment period that corresponded with the necessities of a politically active bourgeoisie that was emerging during that period.⁹⁸⁵ Having established an urban culture soon after they arrived in Transylvania, the Saxons formed an educated elite

983. The first credit institute in Transylvania was founded in 1835 in Braşov, followed in 1842 by a similar institution in Sibiu and in 1851 in Bistriţa. Crafts and industrial associations were established in 1840 in Sibiu, in 1841 in Braşov, in 1844 in Mediaş and Bistriţa and in 1847 in Sighişoara. Teşculă, "Asociaţionismul săsesc în perioada," 310-311.

984. Nicolae Teşculă, "Între libertate și constrângere. Statutul asocianismului din Transilvania (1850-1900)," *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XXXVI, Istorie-Etnografie (2014): 107; Teşculă, "Asociaţionismul săsesc în perioada," 307-308.

985. Teşculă, "Între libertate," 104, 106.

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that attended renowned Central European universities from the High Middle Ages.⁹⁸⁶ For this reason, the Transylvanian Saxons living in the urban centres of the province were the most likely to adopt earlier these modern association models, being followed in the King's Land by the Romanian communities who lived in the suburbs of the urban centres and who were in direct and uninterrupted contact with this Germanic population.

Hence, the west-to-east cultural influence overlapped over an urban-to-rural direction, with the first associations being found in the cities with a significant Romanian bourgeoisie – for instance, in Pest, by 1815, a Romanian women's society was already functioning.⁹⁸⁷ In southern Transylvanian, the continuous cultural exchange between the Saxon and the Romanian inhabitants gave the latter group solid institutional and organisational models.⁹⁸⁸ However, as a small market town, in Rupea, the level of urbanisation and the smaller number of university-educated individuals determined relative tardiness regarding the assumption of modern associationism, even compared with other urban centres of the King's Land.⁹⁸⁹

986. Adinel Dincă, "Unknown Books from Medieval Universities. Some Transylvanian Examples," in *University and Universality. The Place and Role of the University of Pécs in Europe from the Middle Ages to Present Day*, ed. Ágnes Fischer-Dárdai, István Lengvári, Éva Schmelzer-Pohánka (Pécs: Virágmandula, 2017), 165-166; *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* (Kronstadt: Verlag von Johann Gött, 1864), 291-297; Răzvan Mihai Neagu, "Noi considerații despre studenții din Sebeș la marile universități europene în epoca medievală (1383-1516)," *Acta Musei Sabesiensis*, 7 (2015): 316; Răzvan Mihai Neagu, "Studenți din Sebeș la marile universități și școli superioare europene între anii 1520 și 1700," *Acta Musei Sabesiensis*, 8 (2016): 255-256; *Archiv* (1864), 295-297; Dragoș-Lucian Țigău, "New information concerning the presence of students from Cluj at the University of Vienna prior to 1550," *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 50 Historica II (2013): 103, 112; *Archiv* (1864), 295-297; Răzvan Mihai Neagu, "German students from Turda at German Universities between 1848 and 1918," *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 51, Historica, II (2014): 146.

987. Răducu Ruset, "Societatea Petru Maior. Rol semnificativ pentru formarea intelectualității românești din Transilvania," *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XXXIX (2017): 92; Ioan Lupaș, *Din istoria Transilvaniei* (București: Editura Eminescu, 1988), 189.

988. Răzvan Mihai Neagu, "Formarea intelectualității din Sebeș în epoca modernă. Studenți din Sebeș la universități europene între anii 1700 și 1849," *Acta Musei Sabesiensis*, 10 (2018): 169-171, 173, 184; Vlad Popovic and Ovidiu Iudean, "The Elective Representation of the Romanians in the Hungarian Parliament," *Studia Universitatis Petru Maior*, Historia, 11 (2011): 126.

989. The universities attended by the 80 known the students from Rupea Seat from the late fourteenth century until the mid-nineteenth century were: Altdorf, Breslau (Wrocław), Cracow, Danzig (Gdansk), Erlangen, Frankfurt an der Oder, Heidelberg, Jena, Königsberg (Kaliningrad), Leipzig, Pressburg (Bratislava), Strasbourg, Tartu, Toruń, Tübingen, Vienna, Wittenberg. *Archiv* (1911), 662-666; *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Neue Folge, Band 10, No. 1-3 (Hermanstadt: Gedruckt in der Buchdruckerei der v. Closius'schen

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The first known cultural association of this kind established by the Transylvanian Saxons was the Saxon Society for History of the Homeland (Ger. Verein für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, Ro. Societatea săsească pentru cunoașterea patriei). Established in 1840, the association opened a branch in Rupea during the early 1850s, which was followed in 1870 by the Saving Credit Bank (Ger. Spar Kredit Bank A.G. Repts, initially named Repser Stuhlsvorschußverein), the oldest local economic institution. The latter was a credit institution that appeared in the context of an early phase of economic modernisation that characterised Saxon society before the Panic of 1873 when throughout the province established credit institutes aimed to support financially small farmers and craftsmen.⁹⁹⁰ While the Romanian population in Transylvania soon adopted these models and created their own cultural and economic institutions (such as the Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People, established in 1861 and Albina Bank, established in 1871), the institutional development of the two populations until the nineteenth century could not be more different due to the specific political and administrative situation in the King's Land.

Erbin, 1872), 176; Szabó Miklós and Tonk Sándor, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban 1521-1700*. *Fontes Rerum Scholasticorum IV* (Szeged: József Attila tudományegyetem, 1992), 23, 30, 50, 78-79, 82, 91, 93, 126, 128, 138, 140, 142, 146, 154, 167-169, 175, 194-196, 220, 230, 238, 241; Gernot Nussbächer, *Aus Urkunden und Chroniken*, Vol.IV (Braşov: Verlag Aldus, 1994), 102-103; *Archiv* (1872), 411; *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Neue Folge, Band,12, Heft II, No. 1-3 (Hermanstadt: Gedruckt in der Buchdruckerei der v. Closius'schen Erbin, 1875), 348-349, 351.

990. George Barițiu, *Calendariu pentru poporul românesc pe anul 1856: întocmitu pe gradurile și clima Transilvaniei, Ungariei, Țărei Românești și Moldaviei* (Braşov: Römer și Kanner, 1856), 52; Chestionar al societății SPAR Kredit Bank A.G. Rupea din 20.4.1931, File 1931/7, Voluntari români în Primul Război Mondial, construirea școlii, exproprierea terenului [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Braşov, Braşov, Romania; Teșculă, "De la națiune," 309; Balog, "Political," 251; Balog, "Criza," 55, 59.

5.1. Varieties of Rural Secular Elites and Their Social Functions

This sub-chapter explores the evolution of the Romanian secular elite in Transylvania, emphasising broader political factors that have impacted its development. The investigation begins by providing a historical introduction of the situation during the Early Modern Period and continues with evaluating different knowledge transfer methods in the Romanian population. Subsequently, the sub-chapter highlights southern Transylvania's most important learning centres and outlines the emergence of an educated Romanian laic category from the late seventeenth century. The narrative then unfolds chronologically and highlights key developments that contributed to the emergence of a self-conscious secular Romanian elite in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The sub-chapter concludes with two biographical case studies that offer a microhistory perspective on the impact of an educated secular rural elite in their home communities. These two cases contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the modernisation of institutions and broader societal shifts in the Transylvanian rural space during the late nineteenth century.

The political status of the Romanians from Transylvania established a different parcours for developing its elite, whose presence remained modest for centuries until a renaissance of the Romanian culture began around the Transylvanian School during the 1700s. Given the absence of a Romanian *natio* from the recognised estates of the province until the eighteenth century, educated Romanians were very likely to integrate into the pre-existing structures without maintaining a transgenerational cultural identity of a political *Natio Valachica*.

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The causes of this situation can be found during the High Middle Ages, at the time of the expansion of Catholicism in Transylvania under the Hungarian monarchs. If, until the fourteenth century, the Orthodox monasteries played an essential role as veritable centres of learning for the Romanian population attached to a Byzantine education tradition, the new political context altered the importance of these institutions. The political developments that took place in the province after the Fourth Crusade, continued during the Angevine period and culminated in the aftermath of the 1437-1438 Transylvania Peasant Revolt of Bobâlna with the act of the Transylvanian estates known as *Unio Trium Nationum* (1438) saw the decline of the Orthodox monasteries as centres of learning.⁹⁹¹ While the Catholic world was making a transition towards the secularisation of education – establishing the medieval universities – in the specific political context that characterised the Orthodox world continued the dissemination of knowledge through the prism of the Church until the nineteenth century when the former institutional model was eventually adopted in the dominant secular atmosphere of the time.

Understanding the diverse profile of the local Romanian elite from the province before the eighteenth century requires the assessment of this category outside the classical Western canons of higher education. Hence, one way that permits the identification of signs of a Romanian learned society is the examination of the existent book market in terms of circulation, subject and content of these items. In a market dominated by theological subjects, book autographs and other similar written testimonies provide valuable insights into the characteristics of the local higher culture. These items, mainly religious books preserved in parishes, indicate, among other aspects, that apart from members of the clergy, the manifestation of erudite preoccupations in the rural world goes beyond this occupational category, including among the owners, donors and readers, also other groups such as village

991. Mureșanu, "Rolul," 21.

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teachers, notaries, clerks and nobles.⁹⁹² Readers, or just patrons of culture with a strong understanding of the spiritual needs of the community, these individuals represent the equivalent of their educated Saxon peers who were better integrated into Western canons.⁹⁹³

For the Romanians living in southeast Transylvania, the border with the Principality of Wallachia enhanced the possibility of knowledge transmission, given that the Carpathians served as borders only to the empires of the time, but for the population, they were simply a bridge. The import of books through this part of the province contributed to the preservation of a solid association between Romanian cultural identity and Orthodoxy in this area. Hundreds of volumes were brought to Transylvania by the traders, shepherds, and priests who travelled to Wallachia to be ordained, making a prime contribution to the development of these communities.⁹⁹⁴ Between the mid-seventeenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, more than 175 book titles circulated in the province, a large part of which originated in the printing presses of Bucharest and Râmnic.⁹⁹⁵ Meanwhile, the functioning in southeast Transylvania of two important Romanian learning centres provides insight into the emergence of an institutionalised school system that set the emergence in the coming centuries of an educated rural category. The oldest, found in Șchei – the most important Romanian urban settlement in Transylvania from the High Middle Ages – developed around St. Nicholas Church, assuming the education of priests, cantors and notaries (Ro. grămățici)

992. Nicolae Cătălin Rișcuța, “Considerații privind însemnările pe cărțile vechi românești din Zarand și Hunedoara,” *Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice și Studentești*, Arheologie-Istorie, 1 (1995): 160.

993. Corina Turc, “Destin livresc în secolul al XVII-lea în sudul Transilvaniei,” *Acta Musei Devensis*, XXI-XXIV (1988-1991): 165-167.

994. Iacob Mârza and Cornel Tatai Baltă, “Răspândirea tipăriturilor românești vechi în Transilvania (mijl. sec. XVII-lea primele decenii ale sec. al XIX-lea). În lumina unui material arhivistic,” *Acta Musei Napocensis*, XVII (1980): 760, 762-763.

995. Susana Andea and Avram Andea, “Cartea românească veche în inventare bisericești,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj-Napoca*, XXXV (1996): 75.

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that after the completion of their courses returned to their home communities.⁹⁹⁶ Among these literati eventually appeared some who managed to occupy higher positions and were found in the service of the local magistratures of larger towns – such as Braşov and Sibiu – acting as translators in the context of their intense diplomatic and commercial affairs with the two Romanian principalities.⁹⁹⁷ A second institution of prime importance in the history of this area was established later, in 1657, in Făgăraş, where Susanna Lorantffy, the Calvinist princess consort of Transylvania, opened a Romanian school destined to serve the thirty-nine village from Făgăraş Land, that assumed the task to educate teachers and notaries.⁹⁹⁸ While it was not the only Romanian school from southern Transylvania to attract students from a larger area, the educational institution from Făgăraş was the most renowned in these parts of the province and likely at that time was the most important Romanian school in the province, attracting during its heyday students from as far as Wallachia and Moldavia.⁹⁹⁹ Replaced in the context of the Greek-Catholic Union by a confessional school, during its half-century of functioning, this institution became renowned outside the borders of Transylvania, being together with the Orthodox monasteries of Făgăraş Land – destroyed by the General Buccow

996. Vasile Oltean, *Prima şcoală românească din Şcheii Braşovului* (Iaşi, Ed. Tipo Moldova, 2004), 40-42, 45-47, 125, 139; Ioan Moruş, *Cărturari braşoveni (sec.XV-XX): ghid bibliografic* (Braşov: n.p., 1972), 65-66, 83, 212-213, 215; George Andron, “Frământări şi controverse în sânul bisericii şi comunităţii româneşti din Braşov,” *Cumidava*, XXIX (2007): 175; Ioan-Aurel Pop. “Influenţe ale culturii saşilor braşoveni asupra românilor din Şchei în secolul al XVIII-lea.” in *Tentaţia istoriei: în memoria profesorului Pompiliu Teodor*, eds. Nicolae Bocşan, Ovidiu Ghitta, Doru Radosav (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003), 558.

997. Sigismund Jakó, “Editarea cărţilor româneşti la Sibiu în secolul al XVI-lea. Noi rezultate în domeniul cercetărilor cu privire la prima carte tipărită în limba română,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj*, VIII (1965): 116, 121-122.

998. Radosav, “Cultura,” 313-314.

999. Nicolae Albu, *Istoria învăţământului românesc din Transilvania până la 1800* (Blaj: Tipografia Lumina, Miron Roşu, 1944), 76; Alexandru Bucur, “Contribuţii la istoria învăţământului braşovean. Şcolile de grăniceri şi grănicereşti (1773-1921),” *Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis*, III (2014): 361; Ioachim Lăzar and Aurelia Pavlovschi, “O familie de preoţi greco-catolici din satul Ciula Mare (Ţara Haţegului),” *Acta Musei Corviniensis*, II (1996): 127.

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in the eighteenth century – and the Romanian learning centre of Șchei a bastion of learning in Transylvania that served the Romanians on both sides of the Carpathians.¹⁰⁰⁰

Starting from the late seventeenth century, these institutions prepared the rise of an educated Romanian laic category that occupied positions in the local administration, the central administration of the province, and the chancelleries of the two Romanian principalities.¹⁰⁰¹ In Făgăraș Land, where most of these individuals who pursued this type of education belonged to the local noble families (*boyars*) – whose statuses were reconfirmed during the Principality era or who belonged to a new nobility of arms – are encountered activating in the district and even in the central administration of the province as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁰² Adopting Calvinism or Catholicism as a mark of assuming a new estate identity, some of them even managed to pursue their studies further in European academic centres.¹⁰⁰³ Nonetheless, these educated individuals some of whom succeeded in achieving the same levels as the high elite of the Hungarians or the Saxons and who, after finishing their studies, assumed higher positions in administration, would, until the eighteenth century, abandon partially or entirely their Romanian cultural identity and adopt a new estate identity – associated with *Natio Hungarica*. For this reason, it becomes difficult to precisely establish when one relinquished one estate's interests for another or if this was a transgenerational process when a future generation relinquished its association with the

1000. Constantin Băjenaru, *Țara Făgărașului în timpul stăpânirii austriece (1691-1867)* (Alba-Iulia: Editura Altip, 2013), 32.

1001. Avram Andea, "Scripte și dieci pe domeniile Făgăraș și Gurghiu în secolul al XVII-lea," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu din Cluj-Napoca*, LIII, Series Historica (2014): 219.

1002. Andea, "Scripte," 219-222.

1003. Radosav, "Cultura," 314-316; Emilia Pop and Valeria Pop, "Prezențe culturale românești creștine ale secolului al XVII-lea: Pater Ioan Căianu-Valahus," *Angustia*, 13 (2009): 39-46. More on the background on some of these personalities see for exemple Dragoș Lucian Țigău, "O familie de orășeni nobili: Ivul de Caransebeș (secolele XVI-XVIII)," In *Studii și cercetări. Actele Simpozionului "Banatul – trecut istoric și cultural" – Studije i israzivanja, – Novi Sad – 2008, Reșița – 2009, Novi Sad – 2010*, 73-82. Zrenianin – Novi Sad: Editura ICRV, 2010. For Nicolaus Olahus (and Csáky Valahul) see Ioan Lupaș, "Doi umaniști români în secolul al XVI-lea," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională*, IV (1926-1927): 337-363.

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Romanian identity.¹⁰⁰⁴ While this process often happened during or after the first generation, these individuals timidly announced the arrival of the Enlightenment-era Romanian scholars that appeared in the first decades after establishing the Greek-Catholic Church (Act of Union, 1698). Assuming a modern concept of the nation, these Greek-Catholic scholars, who benefited from a theological higher-education background, made a radical turn in the modernisation of the Romanian culture.

While these developments present themselves as a general characteristic of the age that can be applied to the province level, they require further explanation when referring to the Romanian community from Rupea Seat. The political context of the King's Land and the demographic evolutions and economic situation of the Romanian community in the Seat during the seventeenth century indicates a tardiness regarding the emergence of a locally educated secular elite. The presence of a translator of Romanian origin in the magistrature of Rupea cannot be excluded given the commercial activities of this market town, yet his theoretical presence implied a form of integration into one of the recognised estates and cannot be, therefore, considered a member of the rest of the *Natio Valachica*.¹⁰⁰⁵ The proximity of Rupea Seat to both Făgăraş Land and Braşov favoured, in theory, the presence of educated individuals who would have attended the schools from Făgăraş or Şchei on the condition that the Romanian population in that village was large enough to justify the presence of a teacher and notary. Nonetheless, in Rupea Seat, during the seventeenth century, the only villages that achieved a demographic and arguably economic situation that could theoretically justify the presence of such individuals were Şona and Ticuşu Nou.

1004. Remus Câmpeanu, "Elementul românesc în administrația Transilvaniei în veacul al XVIII-lea," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj-Napoca*, XXXVII (1998): 148; Andea, "Scripte," 222-223.

1005. For instance, among the citizens from Rupea, in 1640-1641, three families whose surname is Mailat [*Maylath*, *Mailathen*] are recorded suggesting a relation with the illustrious Romanian family Mailat de Comăna from Făgăraş Land (whose members include Ştefan Mailat, the Voivode of Transylvania between 1534 and 1541). Enchiridion, File Registre Sibiu Nr.10; Puşcariu, *Date istorice*, Partea III, 223-226.

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From the late seventeenth century to the eighteenth century, the Romanians were also enrolled in the Catholic, Reformed and Unitarian gymnasiums that functioned in the province. Apart from the Catholic college of Cluj – known between 1698-1786 as *Universitas Claudiopolitana*, and after this date as *Lyceum Regium Academicum* – which was the most important Catholic learning institution in Transylvania, the Romanian students were also found in the Catholic gymnasiums of Aiud, Alba-Iulia, Arad, Baia Mare, Bistrița, Carei, Odorhei, Oradea, Sibiu, Șimleul Silvaniei, Târgu-Mureș, the Reformed gymnasiums of Dej and Orăștie and the Unitarian Gymnasium in Turda, but also at the monastery schools from Wallachia and Moldavia in Bucharest, Argeș, Iași and Vâlcea.¹⁰⁰⁶ A never-realised project that nevertheless highlights the stage of the development of a Transylvanian Romanian-educated elite at the turn of the eighteenth century was a plan to establish a Latin gymnasium in Iași with the academic staff formed of Romanian teachers educated in the gymnasiums and colleges of Transylvania.¹⁰⁰⁷

The founding of the Greek-Catholic Gymnasium in Blaj in 1754 and the Military Institute in Năsăud (Ger. Militärerziehungsanstalt) in 1784 represent the most important educational achievements of the Romanians in terms of the institutions developed until that date. In the intellectual milieu of Blaj, a town appellation by the poet Mihai Eminescu, “the little Rome,” the Romanians rediscovered their Latinity, establishing a new intellectual

1006. Remus Câmpeanu, “Tineri români la școlile confesionale din Transilvania în secolul al XVIII-lea,” *Acta Musei Devensis*, XV (1992-1994): 313-328; Remus Câmpeanu, “Contribuții la istoria învățământului bistrițean în secolul al XVIII-lea,” *Revista Bistriței*, IX (1995): 205; Cornelia Vlașin, “Fondurile grănicerești năsăudene și formarea elitelor românești din Țara Năsăudului,” *Revista Bistriței*, XXX-XXXI (2016-2017): 180; Remus Câmpeanu, “Contribuții la istoria intelectualității române din Transilvania în secolul al XVIII-lea,” *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 31, Istorie II (1994): 45-46, 49-51, 53-57; Remus Câmpeanu, “Învățământul sibian în secolul al XVIII-lea. Aspecte bibliografice și arhivistice,” *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 33, Istorie II (1996): 206-208; Câmpeanu, “Tineri,” 313; Ladislau Gyemant, “Elita intelectuală românească din Transilvania. Evoluție comparativă 1848-1918,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj-Napoca*, XXXII, (1993): 143-145; Ioan-Vasile Leb, “Contribuția bisericii ortodoxe la formarea elitelor românești din Transilvania,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj-Napoca*, XXXII (1993): 83/

1007. Remus Câmpeanu, “Sursele intelectualității române din Transilvania în secolul al XVIII-lea. Trecut, prezent și perspectivă istoriografică,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj-Napoca*, XXXIII (1994): 307-308.

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direction. If, in the case of the Catholic, Reformed and Unitarian schools attended by the Romanians from the seventeenth century, the geographical origin of the pupils indicated a certain proximity of the students' home to these institutions, the Greek-Catholic Gymnasium rapidly developed a regional character. After 1760, attracting around 300 students every year from different parts of Transylvania, the school consolidated its status as a regional learning centre of the Transylvanian Romanians.

These gymnasiums that functioned in Transylvania from the seventeenth century, together with the school in Blaj, were open to all candidates who could afford to pay the costs of education, regardless of their confession or belonging to a specific population group or social status.¹⁰⁰⁸ Nonetheless, the investigation of the candidates' social origin reveals that they represented the higher social spectrum within Romanian society. Children of nobles, priests or well-to-do peasants, after graduating from their studies, most returned to their home villages where they acted as notaries (*logothete*), which represented at that time the utmost secular position one could hold in their village, possessing a higher level of literacy than the *judex* (Ro. *jude*) whose work would imply more practical aspects of the village organisation.¹⁰⁰⁹ Apart from becoming village notaries, following an increasing presence of the Romanians at these schools during the eighteenth century, some of the students made way in the local administration of the province, including in the King's Land, where this progress happened at a slower pace than in the rest of Transylvania.¹⁰¹⁰

1008. Câmpeanu, "Contribuții la istoria învățământului," 205; Câmpeanu, "Contribuții la istoria intelectualității," 54; Niessen, "Relațiile," 85. For instance, at the Piarist School in Cluj at the end of the eighteenth century classes with a Romanian majority were identified, confirming that the criteria for attending these schools was related to the affordability of the fees by the families of the students. Câmpeanu, "Tineri," 320, 324.

1009. Aurel Răduțiu, "Actele țărănești în limba română din Transilvania până la 1848 și importanța lor documentară," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XIX (1976): 84, 87; Rețegan, "Contribuții," 214.

1010. Câmpeanu, "Elementul," 128-130, 147.

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The system of the medieval estates that defined the Transylvanian society prolonged well into the eighteenth century, but change started to make way. If the Romanian-educated individuals who aimed to occupy higher positions in the administration of the province were still conditioned in the first part of the century by the conversion to Catholicism and to culturally integrate into the *Natio Hungarica* estate, the benefits of the Union with Rome did not take long to appear and produce a visible change.¹⁰¹¹ Despite the long protraction of a system disadvantageous to the formation of a secular Romanian elite, Empress Maria Theresa granted in 1744 to the Greek-Catholic noble families the possibility to occupy positions in the local and central administration of the province, laying the foundations for the development of a Romanian educated secular elite. Renouncing later to the nobility requirement, starting from 1767, any Romanian of Greek-Catholic confession who benefited from the required education level was permitted to enter administration. The decision, which saw in the following year the fill of the positions in administration by Romanians to around 10% at the level of the province, confirms the extent of the presence of this population group in administration even in the years before this moment, but also the magnitude of the assimilation of the Romanian educated elite into the medieval estates of the province. As the century was unfolding, these educated individuals, whose names are often skipped by the grand historiographical narratives, became preoccupied with reconstructing their past without being conditioned professionally to adopt the identity of a recognised estate. In 1780, when the members of the commercial companies from Braşov (established in 1671) and Sibiu – the so-called Greek Companies – were also permitted to enter the administration, the number of Romanians active at the province level reached 12%.¹⁰¹² While this can be understood as a

1011. Câmpeanu, "Elementul," 129, 132-135; Nedici, "Confesiune," 216; Câmpeanu, "Elementul," 132-135.

1012. Lajos Gecsényi, "Turkish Goods" and "Greek Merchants' in the Kingdom of Hungary in the 16th and 17th centuries," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Vol.60, No.1 (March 200): 63; Câmpeanu, "Elementul," 131-132.

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general trend applicable to the development of the Romanian society in Transylvania when referring explicitly to the King's Land, these developments did not find an equivalent due to the specific political and administrative situation in this territory. Here, the Saxons seized the positions in administration and kept their dominance for another century – the Romanians having by 1800 a presence of only about 3% in the administrative body of the King's Land.¹⁰¹³ For this reason, in Rupea, in the absence of an educated laic secular elite, the priests continued to act as de facto leaders of the community, representing the interests of the Romanians to the local authorities until the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁰¹⁴ Despite having only a limited effect on the political situation of the Romanians from Rupea, the emergence of an elite active in the administration of the province that was no longer obliged to renounce their cultural identity announced the cultural modernisation of the society even in this market town.

The emancipation process of Romanian society that started in the eighteenth century was consolidated in the following century through a diversification of the study curriculum.¹⁰¹⁵ The typical theological educational background diversified during this period, encompassing a broader category of secular professions. While the Saxons already attended in the second half of the eighteenth-century education degree at European universities to become doctors, pharmacists, engineers, military or artists, the Romanians entered this phase about a century later.¹⁰¹⁶ Among the first efforts in this direction were found in Banat, where

1013. Câmpeanu, "Elementul," 128-130.

1014. Costin Feneșan, "Cărți de mărturie' românești din Ardeal (1691)," *Arhiva românească*, Tom II, Fasc. I (1996): 168-179.

1015. Ana Dumitran, "Activitatea elitei culturale românești transilvănene din secolul XVII ca paradigmă pentru intelectualitatea veacului următor," *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, 13, Series Historica (2009): 15.

1016. Neagu, "Formarea," 161. For instance, between 1861 and 1914, around half of the total number of students from Valea Bârgăului area (Nășăud District), studied law and medicine, while the other half studied theology, humanities, arts, agriculture, silviculture, engineering or commerce. Poșircă, "Condițiile," 260. An exception for that period was Ioan Piuariu-Molnar (1749-1815, born in Sadu, near Sibiu), the first Romanian to

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the Aromanian Nako family established in 1801 the first agricultural school in the province in the town Sânnicolau Mare (Ger. Groß Sankt Nikolaus, Hu. Nagyszentmiklós).¹⁰¹⁷ The institution received annually three Romanian students, functioning in this system until 1855 when its activity was interrupted for eight years before being reopened by the same family under the name Kristof Institute.¹⁰¹⁸ These efforts of the entrepreneurial potent noble families of Aromanian origin from Banat and Hungary consolidated the diversification of the curriculum of the Romanian students during the nineteenth century and contributed to the increase of their presence in European learning centres.¹⁰¹⁹

Returning to the King's Land, the knowledge of the German language remained over the eighteenth century, one of the main impediments for the educated Romanians to occupy positions in local administration. In 1804, the decision that stipulated that knowledge of German was the only precondition (apart from the specific studies) to become eligible for a position in administration was welcomed by the Romanian population but was difficult to accomplish given the existent educational infrastructure.¹⁰²⁰ Except for a few children of the members of the Greek commercial companies encountered in Sibiu and Sebeş, who were able to enrol at the local Lutheran schools, the only Romanian education institutions where German was taught were in the Border Regiment territories that were established only in the final quarter of the eighteenth century and served the families of the members of the

be awarded a medical degree from a university, who came from a priest family, studied at the University of Vienna, and later taught at the medicine school in Cluj. Leb, "Contribuția," 83.

1017. Ciprian Glăvan, "Familia Nako. Dinastie de întreprinzători și oameni de cultură," *Țara Bârsei*, Nr.14, serie nouă (2015): 86-87.

1018. Glăvan, "Familia Nako," 87-88.

1019. Sașa Iașin, "Familia nobiliară Mosca de Ivanda," *Banatica*, 25 (2015): 319-320.

1020. Gyemant, "Reorganizarea," 425.

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regiment.¹⁰²¹ As a solution to this situation, an aulic decree was issued in 1816, and reiterated in 1820, through which the Romanians were permitted to study at the Saxon superior schools to learn German, which made them eligible to occupy positions in the administration.¹⁰²² Hence, the lack of access to Saxon schools until the final two decades of the eighteenth century was one of the main causes that postponed the development of a Romanian secular elite in this space. Still, once this situation changed, the Romanian communities from the Saxon urban centres rapidly took advantage of the new opportunities.¹⁰²³

The opening in Braşov in 1834 of the first Romanian commercial school in Transylvania and the establishment of the Latin-German Gymnasium in the same town in 1837 under the patronage of the emperor and with significant help from Iacob Mureşianu contributed categorically to recover from historical setbacks and establish a local secular, educated elite.¹⁰²⁴ Opened not far from that century-old den of Romanian culture in Transylvania, which was the Orthodox church in Şchei and its adjacent school, the Latin-German Gymnasium was established to balance the dominance of the Lutheran schools in town, being during its first years of existence highly frequented by Romanian students who until 1867 represented around a third of the total.¹⁰²⁵ With more schools starting to provide German courses, the effects did not take long to appear in the administrative structures.¹⁰²⁶

1021. Bucur, "Contribuții," 354-355. Some exceptions were recorded with the few Romanian or Aromanian students belonging to local merchant families, members of the Greek companies, who were found at the Lutheran Gymnasium in Sibiu from the eighteenth century, some moving after their studies in Wallachia where they became teachers. Câmpeanu, "Învățământul," 207; Mărginean, "Mobilitate," 111.

1022. Ladislau Gyemant, "Proiecte dietale de reformă a învățământului românesc din Transilvania între 1790 și 1840," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj*, XIV (1971): 109.

1023. Gyemant, "Reorganizarea," 425.

1024. Ovidiu Savu, *Situația învățământului românesc din Braşov la jumătatea secolului al XIX-lea, Țara Bârsei*, V, serie nouă (2006): 66.

1025. Savu, "Situația," 65.

1026. Savu, "Situația," 66.

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During the first part of the century, the presence of Romanian notaries in some larger villages from this area, which were named by the Saxon authorities, confirmed the positive effects of these educational policies and the formation of a first-generation educated rural secular elite.¹⁰²⁷ Soon, with the opening of the Academy of Law in Sibiu in 1844, it became possible for more students from King's Land to pursue higher education in proximity. Being responsive to these possibilities once they became available, already by mid-century, over a quarter of the students enrolled at this institution were Romanians.¹⁰²⁸ Furthermore, with the liberalisation of the politics in the King's Land, in 1862, the representatives of the Romanians became eligible for the first time to run for deputy positions in the Saxon University, opening the possibility for this population to have their political interest represented in the highest local legislative forum.¹⁰²⁹

In 1850, the former Orthodox Theological School from Sibiu, opened in 1786 by Dimitrie Eustatievici from Șchei, was elevated to a superior rank, becoming the Theological-Pedagogic Orthodox Institute.¹⁰³⁰ From the time of Eustatievici's successor, Radu V Tempea, also from Șchei, the school created two separate sections, one for teachers and one for candidates for the priesthood.¹⁰³¹ As the province's most important educational centre for Orthodox clergy, starting in 1852, the courses were extended to two years, and from 1861, they were extended to three years for the theological section.¹⁰³² This institution is of particular significance also for the Romanian community from Rupea, whose members were

1027. Simion Reșegan, "Recunoașterea limbii române ca limbă oficială a Transilvaniei în dieta de la Sibiu," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj*, XVI (1973): 190.

1028. Goția, "Interferențe," 217; Neagu, "Formarea," 162.

1029. Teșculă, "De la națiune," 304.

1030. Melenti, "Obști," 37; Câmpeanu, "Contribuții," 56; Leb, "Contribuția," 84, 88-89.

1031. Leb, "Contribuția," 85-86; József, "Formația," 147;

1032. Melenti, "Obști," 37; Câmpeanu, "Contribuții," 56; Leb, "Contribuția," 84, 88-89.

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encountered during the second part of the nineteenth century among its students. Pursuing both pedagogical and theological studies, the presence of members of the Romanian community from Rupea confirms the ongoing process of emancipation in the rural space. Apart from children of priests, among the students enrolled now were also found a number of children of ploughmen from Bercan, Borcoman, Buzea and Spornic kins.¹⁰³³

By 1848, the Romanian education infrastructure in Transylvania included a gymnasium, a high school, a pedagogical institute and five theological institutes.¹⁰³⁴ The diversification of the curriculum in the second half of the nineteenth century came with a variation of the social background of the students, with peasantry representing between 1867 and 1919 as much as 26%.¹⁰³⁵ An expression of the rapid social developments through which the rural world passed after 1848, the modernisation of the rural space, and the formation of a secular, educated Romanian elite defined this entire period. The study of law, which after theology remained until the First World War the most common educational path followed by the Transylvanian Romanians, was nothing more but the continuation of an intellectual tradition opened during the sixteenth century by the Romanian literati, notaries and translators that found employment in the magistratures of the larger Saxon towns, in the administration of the province and some larger Romanian villages.¹⁰³⁶

1033. Roșca, *Monografia*, 148, 152, 160, 174, 179, 181, 189, 192.

1034. Gyemant, "Elita," 142.

1035. The study was carried out on a sample of 3,250 Romanian students from Transylvania and Banat. Cornel Sigmirean, "Satul și formarea intelectualității românești din Transilvania în epoca modernă. Cazul comitatului Bistrița-Năsăud," *Revista Bistriței*, XV (2001): 223. Poșircă, "Condițiile," 263, 267; Neagu, "German," 153. The

1036. Ioan Chiorean, "Aspecte privind dinamica intelectualității juridice din Transilvania în perioada dualismului Austro-Ungar," *Revista Bistriței*, VIII (1994): 131. The professional track of 200 graduates from Cluj for the period 1794-1848 reveals that 43% of them became clerks working in administration, 27% priests and 17% teachers. In Oradea, between 1790 and 1858, out of the 72 graduates of the law academy, 47% became clerks, 28% lawyers, 16% priests, and the rest pursued other career paths such as teachers and militaries. Gyemant, "Elita," 143.

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The numerous local educational institutions that provided juridical studies during the nineteenth century, such as the Piarist Highschool in Cluj, the academies of law from Oradea, Timișoara and Sighet or the Greek-Catholic high school from Blaj and the Reformed College in Târgu Mureș contribute together with the Academy of Sibiu to the development of a generation of jurists who starting from 1848 consolidate the emancipation project of the Romanians begun in the previous century by the clerical leaders of the Greek-Catholic Church.¹⁰³⁷ In 1872, the University of Cluj was established, following the incorporation of the Piarist High School into the new educational institution, which by 1890s was the most popular study destination for Transylvanians.¹⁰³⁸

The Dualist period saw the diversification of the academic destinations for Romanian students, now found in significant numbers in various European learning centres. Apart from common destinations such as Vienna and Budapest, Romanian students were also found in significant numbers in Prague, Graz, Chernivtsi, Zürich, Leoben, Pisa, Turin and Paris.¹⁰³⁹ One estimation established that between 1867 and 1919, the number of Romanian students from Transylvania and Banat who studied abroad was 7,778, being enrolled at no less than 82 different universities.¹⁰⁴⁰ Compared with the pre-Revolutionary situation, the students during the Dualist period pursued their education in a broader range of secular domains, highlighting the overall evolution of Romanian society during the nineteenth century until the Great War. If before 1848, the clergy and primary school teachers formed 70% respectively, 24% of the total educated individuals, in the first years of the twentieth century, the same two categories

1037. Chiorean, "Aspecte," 129-130.

1038. Poșircă, "Condițiile," 260; Chiorean, "Aspecte," 130; Cornelia Vlașin, "Bursele de studiu acordate de fondurile născătoare între anii 1861-1948," *Revista Bistriței*, XXIV (2015): 177; Chiorean, "Aspecte," 131-132.

1039. Eugenia Glodariu, "Mărturii privind poziția tinerimii române universitare din Austro-Ungaria față de dualism," *Acta Musei Napocensis*, XXIV-XXV (1987-1988): 696, 698; Eugenia Glodariu, "Socetăți culturale românești din Monarhia Austro-Ungară," *Acta Musei Napocensis*, XI (1974): 289

1040. Sigmirean, "Satul," 223.

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taken together represented 65%.¹⁰⁴¹ With the development of a category of traders and craftsmen, the social spectrum of the secular, educated elite expanded even more, gradually detaching from the existing social representation that positioned the rural world at its core.¹⁰⁴² Hence, the nineteenth century saw the appearance of a socially diverse Romanian secular elite attached to its rural origins, who, after finishing their studies in Transylvania or abroad, was, at least part of it, heading back to their home villages and towns to activate in the local administration structures or as teachers and to assume at the same time a leadership role in the process of national emancipation.¹⁰⁴³

An inquiry into the background of the families who send their children to studies points towards a series of antecedents that prepared these individuals to take a social leap during the nineteenth century. The high number of Romanian priests and nobles made Transylvania during that period one of the most original spaces on the continent from the point of view of the social structures, with 1 in 9.1 individuals in the province holding the noble status and with one priest for every 434 inhabitants, making in both cases this space particular in comparison the situation encountered various other spaces such as France, England, Russia, Prussia or Norway.¹⁰⁴⁴ For this reason, when discussing the formation of a

1041. Gyemant, "Elita," 143.

1042. Demșea, "Burghezia," 81, 95.

1043. More than half of the Romanian students enrolled at the Roman-Catholic Gymnasium in Sibiu between 1790-1848 belonged to priest families. Câmpeanu, "Contribuții la istoria intelectualității," 57. In addition, during the Austro-Hungarian period it is estimated that almost 62% of the Romanian students recorded at universities abroad belonged to priest or peasant families. Sigmirean, "Satul," 223; George Cipăianu, "Stipendiile acordate de familia Mocioni și formarea intelectualității românești în perioada 1860-1870," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XXII (1979): 430.

1044. Nedici, "Confesiune," 120; Dumitran, "Forme," 158. In 1843, in Transylvania, there was, on average, a priest for every 434 inhabitants, making it the region with the highest density of clerics by comparison with other spaces such as Prussia, where in 1847 was one priest for every 1,729 inhabitants, France where in 1848 was one priest for every 752 inhabitants, Norway where in 1855 was one priest for every 3,164 inhabitants, Russia where in 1860 was one priest for every 1,371 inhabitants or England where in 1861 was one priest for every 1,054 inhabitants. Rețegan, "Clerul," 104. Only in Ireland was the ratio higher, but this situation dates from 1900 when there was recorded a cleric (priest, monk and nun) for every 235 individuals, while half a century before the ratio was 1 to 1,000. Emmet Larkin, *The Historical Dimensions of Irish Catholicism*

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modern secular elite during the nineteenth century, these two categories – priests and nobles – ensure the social background for many of this educated category that rises. Sometimes through patrilineal descendants, but often through matrilineal and indirect descendance, a genealogical analysis reveals the complex context for the emergence of a new category in Romanian society. Taking into consideration that during the mid-nineteenth century, as much as 25% of the Romanian university students were coming from priest families alone, hence had a father who was a priest, when considering other forms of kinship such as matrilineal and indirect affiliations, the percentage of individuals with noble or priest family background increases considerably.¹⁰⁴⁵

For the rural world, the return of these students from Vienna, Budapest, Prague or Graz has a categorical impact on the modernisation of the local institutions.¹⁰⁴⁶ Being in close connection to their space of origin, they can communicate and disseminate new ideas to their peers who are more responsive to these familiar voices.¹⁰⁴⁷ The same situation applies in Rupea Seat in the aftermath of the 1848 Revolution with the appearance of an educated group of Greek-Catholics and Orthodox alike, who, by the early 1870s, had entered the mature phase of their career.¹⁰⁴⁸ While still dominated by clergy, the transition towards laity in Rupea found an organic path, being strengthened during this period by matrimonial alliances

(Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1984), 27. Referring specifically to the number of Orthodox and Greek-Catholic priests, in 1762, were estimated to be 1,365 Orthodox priests and 2,238/2,250 Greek-Catholic priests, nonetheless, by 1847, their number decreased to 1,043 for the Orthodox and 1,490 for the Greek-Catholics. Răduțiu, *Repertoriul*, 751.

1045. Poșircă, “Condițiile,” 263, 267.

1046. Câmpeanu, “Contribuții la istoria învățământului,” 204.

1047. Câmpeanu, “Contribuții la istoria învățământului,” 204.

1048. “Protocolul statisticeii lunare a comit. asoc. trans.,” *Transilvania. Foi’a Asociațiunei transilvane pentru literatur’a romana si cultur’a poporului romanu*, Aprilie 1, 1871.

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between the two educated categories of the rural world – priest families and professionals engaged in secular occupations.¹⁰⁴⁹

The investigation is carried on as a case study using biography to understand the larger societal developments during this period. Looking at two representatives who belonged to local Romanian families from Rupea and were part of what can be considered the second generation of secular intellectuals in this area, this biographical effort integrates the lives of Aurel P. Bănuț and Ioan Iosif in a larger historical narrative. The purpose of these case studies is to understand better the institutional development of the rural Romanian communities from the King's Land and the context in which the generation of the Union of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania appeared. Remaining active members in their communities over a period that extends between the late nineteenth century and the mid-twentieth century, their contribution is establishing a new understanding of the role of the modern secular elites in provincial towns by consolidating a middle-class bourgeois lifestyle and mentality.¹⁰⁵⁰ Despite being overlooked by the historiographical narratives, Bănuț and Iosif are representatives of a generation whose contribution to the modernisation of the institutions cannot go unnoticed and deserves particular attention from the perspective of the larger societal developments in the province.¹⁰⁵¹

Publisher, writer, thespian and later in life magistrate, the contribution of **Aurel Paul Bănuț** (1881-1970) (figure 28) in any of these fields did not have a long-lasting impact at the

1049. "Reuniuni de consum," *Unirea, Foe bisericască-politică*, Martie 30, 1895.

1050. Peteanu, "Statut," 89, 96.

1051. Ioan Popa, ed., *Apoldu de Jos. Texte Monografice* (Sibiu: Editura Techno Media, 2007), 24, 28, 30 ; Popovici, "Considerații privind funcționarii publici români din Transilvania. Studiu de caz: Comitatul Sibiu și Scaunele Săsești care l-au format (1861-1918)," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu din Cluj Napoca*, LV, Series Historica (2016): 171.

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level of the province despite a prodigious activity during his heyday.¹⁰⁵² A forgotten literary personality, his role in organising the Romanian theatre in Transylvania in the years before the First World War represents perhaps the main achievement worthy of being remembered by history.¹⁰⁵³ Nonetheless, for the Romanians of Rupea, A.P.Bănuț was part of the first generation of intellectuals who achieved wide recognition for their professional activity, remaining for decades at the heart of the cultural life in this community. While he was physically absent from Rupea for long periods during his formative years, his presence was again felt during the Interwar period when he returned to the area and became an important public figure in Târnava Mare County.

Rising from the ranks of the peasantry, the history of his family illustrates the complex familial structures of this space. A.P. Bănuț was accepted as part of the local Romanian ploughmen community of Rupea, yet his social background reveals some characteristics that set him apart and influenced his life. To define his identity, Bănuț, in an autobiographical exercise, took a realist stance against the existence of two precise identity structures that originated in the social background of his parents.¹⁰⁵⁴ Born in Rupea into the old local kin of Bănuț, his father Paul (1841-1883) was a graduate of the Law Academy of Sibiu, working first as a jurist in Sibiu and later as Royal Vice Judge in Rupea, positions which granted him high esteem among his peers; on his mother side, he belonged to a noble (*boyar*) and priest family from Făgăraș Land.¹⁰⁵⁵

1052. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923.

1053. Bănuț, *Scrieri*, 7.

1054. Pierre Bourdieu, “What Makes a Social Class? On The Theoretical and Practical Existence Of Groups,” *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 32 (1987): 2.

1055. Aurel Pavel Bănuț, “Dela cei ce un mai sunt. Scrisori de-ale lui Aron Pumnul,” *Lucefărul. Revistă literară*, Iulie 1, 1902; Rupea – Protocol botezați Greco-Catolici, 1812-1852; “Prefecții noștri,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, August 23, 1929; “De teatro,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, 1911; Pușcariu, *Date istorice*, Partea II, 62;

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Despite being born into a ploughmen family, his father's achievement as a law graduate from Sibiu was made possible due to the financial aid provided by Aron Pumnul (1818-1866), professor at the German Highschool in Chernivtsi, born in Cuciulata, a village in the north-eastern part of the Făgăraș Land, around 15 km away from Rupea.¹⁰⁵⁶ In spite of a degrading health state, out of a sense of duty but also out of sympathy for their common provenance, Pumnul found the necessary funds to help Paul Bănuț in his studies, allowing him to become the first known Romanian from Rupea to attend a higher education institution and occupy a position in a secular administration office, before his early death at 42.¹⁰⁵⁷

Having lost his parents from an early age, young Aurel's educational track did not seem to be affected by his loss, indicating a possible link between favourable social background, economic stability, and career success rates.¹⁰⁵⁸ With the death of his mother, young Aurel, now an orphan of both parents, was taken to Făgăraș Land in the care of his grandfather, the priest Ioan Comșa from Copăcel.¹⁰⁵⁹ Continuing to study during the second grade at the German school in Făgăraș, he then moved to Copăcel to be closer to his grandfather.¹⁰⁶⁰ Returning to Făgăraș to continue secondary school, Aurel enrolled at the state school in town, learning to speak German and Hungarian fluently and becoming

Greta Miron, "Puterea exemplului. Preotul Unit și enoriașii săi din dieceza de Făgăraș în secolul al XVIII-lea," *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Series Historica, 6/II (2002): 177.

1056. "Dela cei ce nu mai sunt," *Luceșărul*, Iulie 1, 1902; Aurel Pavel Bănuț, "Dela cei ce nu mai sunt. Scrisori de-ale lui Aron Pumnul," *Luceșărul. Revistă literară*, Septembrie 1, 1902. Linguist, pedagogue and leader of the Romanians during the 1848 Revolution in Transylvania, Pumnul was a renowned personality, being equally known to the Romanian public as the teacher and mentor of the national poet Mihai Eminescu.

1057. Dela cei ce un mai sunt," *Luceșărul*, Iulie 1, 1902; Bănuț, "Dela cei ce un mai sunt," *Luceșărul*, Septembrie 1, 1902.

1058. Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; "Prefecții noștri." *Gazeta Transilvaniei*; "Necrologe," *Familia*, Mai 15/27, 1888; *Rupea – Protocol botezați, cununați, morți Greco-Catolici, 1886-1895*.

1059. Bănuț, *Scrieri*, 42. Ioan Popa Comșa occupied the Greek-Catholic parish in Copăcel between 1853 and 1895. *Șematismul* (1900), 604.

1060. "Prefecții noștri," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*.

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knowledgeable in Latin.¹⁰⁶¹ With this educational foundation finalised, A.P. Bănuț followed in the footsteps of many illustrious personalities from the history of the Transylvanian Romanians and headed to Blaj, “the Romanian Mecca.”¹⁰⁶² Leaving in 1899 from Blaj to Cluj, he enrolled at the Faculty of Law, but after two years of studies, spent more in the bohemian circles of the “Grand, Europa and Kikaker cafes,” he decided to leave that “[peripheral] nest of Hungarian gentry” after he obtained a scholarship from Blaj.¹⁰⁶³ It was 1901 when he arrived in Budapest and enrolled there at the university to continue his law studies.¹⁰⁶⁴ Ever present in the Romanian student circles, young Bănuț was elected vice-president of the students – finding during this period a particular attachment for the literary circles from Gambrinus café.¹⁰⁶⁵ In the company of fellow students, some who later became prime figures of Romanian public life, such as the future Minister of Finance and Governor of the National Bank of Romania, Ion Lapedatu (1876-1951), A.P. Bănuț established the Morning Star literary magazine.

Nonetheless, this early success came with a price caused by the neglect of his studies in law: the loss of his Kr 300 scholarship from Blaj. This outcome forced Bănuț to leave Budapest in 1902 and abandon his Morning Star editorial activity.¹⁰⁶⁶ His departure from Budapest placed the editorial activity of his soul project in the more than competent hands of Ioan Lupaș and Octavian Goga.¹⁰⁶⁷ While his educational development was not quite over,

1061. Bănuț, *Scrieri*, 17.

1062. Bănuț, *Scrieri*, 17.

1063. Moruș, *Cărturari*, 33; Bănuț, *Scrieri*, 47.

1064. Aurel Pavel Bănuț, “Autobiografie,” *Transilvania. Organul societății culturale “Astra”*, Iulie-August, 1928.

1065. Bănuț, *Scrieri*, 18.

1066. Bănuț, *Scrieri*, 18.

1067. “Prefecții noștri.” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*; The historian Ioan Lupaș (1880-1967), was from Săliște (near Sibiu) and studied at Budapest and Berlin (PhD). He was a member of the Romanian Academy, Minister of

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the final act was interrupted by an endeavour characterised as either bold or naïve. With the hope and restlessness characteristic of youth, instead of returning to his native Transylvania, he took the train in the opposite direction, heading towards Vienna – from there to Zurich and then to Paris, where he spent a longer period.¹⁰⁶⁸ Unlike so many young men his age, Aurel did not seek the French capital for the intellectual gratification offered by the Latin Quarter, but he found a base to prepare a grand voyage with an even grander ambition in mind. Heading to Cherbourg, he embarked on the Saint-Paul transatlantic liner, whose destination was New York. Arriving in the American metropolis, where he resided for a month, he visited the city and sought to patent an invention. Succeeding in the former experience but failing lamentably with the latter business endeavour, Bănuț hastened the end of this voyage whose costs exceeded his financial possibilities – perhaps being accommodated in a Broadway hotel contributing to this situation.¹⁰⁶⁹ Embarking back to Europe on a transatlantic liner, he arrived penniless in Boulogne-sur-Mer at the end of 1902.¹⁰⁷⁰ After benefiting from the goodwill of a French innkeeper who borrowed money to return to Paris to cash his allowance, the young Bănuț seemed to have long forgotten his ploughmen origins, assuming during those years a bohemian persona. Seemingly unwearied from the periplus, he remained “to admire for around two weeks the wonders of Paris and of course of Moulin Rouge” instead of hurrying to return home.

However, the periplus paid its toll and financial problems – due to this voyage, he was forced to sell the rest of his lands and his house – were not the only concern for Bănuț since

Culture and Arts (1937-1938) and Minister of Health and Social Security (1926-1927). The poet and politician Octavian Goga (1881-1938) was originally from Rășinari (near Sibiu) and studied in Budapest and Berlin. He was Minister of Culture and Religious Affairs (1919), Minister of Interior (1926-1927) and Prime Minister of Romania (1937-1938).

1068. “Bănuț, “Autobiografie,” *Transilvania*.

1069. Bănuț, “Autobiografie,” *Transilvania*.

1070. Bănuț, “Autobiografie,” *Transilvania*.

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his health started to deteriorate shortly after returning to Transylvania – being diagnosed with rheumatism, appendicitis and stomach problems.¹⁰⁷¹ During those days of agony, in a moment of epiphany, against the advice of his friend, the future Prime Minister Alexandru Vaida-Voevod (1872-1950), Bănuț applied for a scholarship offered by the Romanian Theatre Society.¹⁰⁷² If, for his friend and mentor Vaida-Voevod, passing the bar exam to become a lawyer was the path to follow, Bănuț decided to return to a passion he discovered during his days in Blaj – theatre.¹⁰⁷³ Passing an interview held in 1905 by three leading personalities of the Transylvanian cultural life, Vasile Goldiș, Iosif Vulcan and Valeriu Braniște, he was awarded a three-year scholarship – out of which two years were to be spent in Bucharest and one in Berlin. The end of these studies concluded an educational path that started in the days he was heading to Blaj as a young high-school student.¹⁰⁷⁴

The period between his arrival in Budapest and the Great War can be considered his most productive in terms of cultural activity. With the launching of the Morning Star in July 1902 – using personal family finances and the contribution of the members of the “Petru Maior” Cultural Society – he carried an intensive activity as the first editor of the magazine, a work he continued in 1904 when he established the newspaper The Romanian Nation (Ro. Poporul Român) and after the Great War with the creation of the Romanian Rebirth (Ro. Renașterea Română) periodical.¹⁰⁷⁵ Nonetheless, his most significant contribution to the development of the Romanian culture in Transylvania during this period came after the finalisation of his theatre studies when he was named artistic director of the Romanian

1071. Bănuț, “Autobiografie,” *Transilvania*.

1072. Bănuț, “Autobiografie,” *Transilvania*.

1073. Bănuț, “Autobiografie,” *Transilvania*.

1074. “Prefecții noștri,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*; Bănuț, “Autobiografie,” *Transilvania*.

1075. “Prefecții noștri,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*; Bănuț, “Autobiografie,” *Transilvania*.

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Theatre Society in Transylvania and Hungary.¹⁰⁷⁶ Unfortunately, his tenure as coordinator of the Romanian theatre activity in the province, a medium considered time by the Hungarian authorities filled with political nuances, was interrupted in 1913.¹⁰⁷⁷ Arrested for a short period – under the accusation of publicly reciting the poem *The Voice of the Nation* (Ro. *Graiul Neamului*) by the Romanian Transylvanian poet George Coșbuc, soon after this moment, with the war-time mobilisation, Bănuț was enrolled in the Second Infantry Regiment of the Austro-Hungarian Army.¹⁰⁷⁸ Based in Prague, he completed his military duties for about a year until Romania became belligerent, which motivated him to desert and join the Romanian Army.¹⁰⁷⁹

The outcome of the war and the overall political context of the 1920s was a favourable period in Bănuț's career. After obtaining a doctorate in law and political sciences from the University of Cluj in 1925, he was named in the same year ASTRA's director of the cultural propaganda in the united territories, being elected life-member and president of Târnava-Mare County committee of the Association.¹⁰⁸⁰ His attachment to the Romanian community of Rupea was once again proven by being involved in various cultural activities during this period.¹⁰⁸¹ Bănuț intended to contribute to his people's cultural enrichment by taking advantage of these events. For instance, during his time as coordinator of the Romanian Theatre Society, he organised a general meeting of the society in the building of

1076. "Prefecții noștri." *Gazeta Transilvaniei*; Bănuț, *Scieri*, 18.

1077. I Bănuț, "Autobiografie," *Transilvania*; "Prefecții noștri," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*.

1078. Bănuț, *Scieri*, 50.

1079. I Bănuț, "Autobiografie," *Transilvania*; "Prefecții noștri," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*.

1080. Bănuț, "Autobiografie," *Transilvania*; "Prefecții noștri." *Gazeta Transilvaniei*; "Activitatea despărțămintelor în cursul anului 1925," *Transilvania*, August-Septembrie, 1926.

1081. "Cronică socială și artistică," *Tribuna*; "Știri," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, 1911; "Din România," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Martie 22/ Aprilie 4, 1915;

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the German school from Rupea and invited renowned personalities of Transylvanian cultural life, such as Virgil Onițiu, the director of the Romanian Gymnasium in Brașov, who held public lectures.¹⁰⁸² Recognised for his cultural activity, three years later, he was named the first director of the newly created State Theatre of Oradea and, soon after, education inspector.¹⁰⁸³ Eventually, in 1928, he was named prefect of the Târnava-Mare County position he held until 1930, while between 1931 and 1932, he occupied the same position in Someș County, these moments marking the highest public office held in his career.¹⁰⁸⁴ This zenith moment stimulated local enthusiasts to name him an “apostle of the Romanian culture”, confirming his recognition and popularity during the Interwar period in the Rupea area.¹⁰⁸⁵ Being revered by the local Romanian community, A.P.Bănuț eventually achieved the same level of esteem as his father had enjoyed half a century before, providing a better understanding of how status was preserved once that social leap was made.¹⁰⁸⁶

Heading to the final part of his career, Aurel focused on writing, a call he had enjoyed since his student days. Recognised for his two books – whose action takes place in part in Rupea – he was awarded two literary prizes – for the volume *Tempi Passati* he received in 1931 the prize of the Romanian Academy and for *Good People* (Ro. *Oameni de ispravă*) the ASTRA prize. Gaining the appreciation of literary circles who recognised the value of his satirical playwrights, some critics went as far as to compare him with renowned dramatist Ion

1082. “Orfelinatul din Blaj,” *Unirea*, Iulie 15, 1916; “Știri,” *Țara noastră*, Noiembrie 4, 1907; “Stirile Zilei. Societatea pentru fond de teatru român la Cohalm,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Octombrie 26/ Noiembrie 8, 1907.

1083. *Bănuț*, “Autobiografie,” *Transilvania*.

1084. *Bănuț*, *Scrieri*, 52.

1085. “Prefecții noștri,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*.

1086. Chitanță semnată de V. Fulgoș din 1.10.1929, File Documente contabile I (1920-1929), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania.

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Luca Caragiale.¹⁰⁸⁷ Retiring from public life shortly after the death of his wife, he moved in 1950 to Bucharest, where he lived for eight years.¹⁰⁸⁸ Aged and with no direct descendants, he relocated closer to his kin, settling in Braşov close to his niece Melania Bidu (nee Bercan), with whom he kept close ties until he died in 1970.¹⁰⁸⁹ Recognised by his peers as a local personality of prime importance, a street in Rupea was named in his honour.

1087. "Un Caragiale al Ardealului: Aurel P. Bănuţ," *Cosinzeana*, Ianuarie 1-8, 1928; Bănuţ, *Scrieri*, 5, 53-54.

1088. Cerere de eliberare a unui certificat de naştere din 30.5.1950, înaintată către comitetul provizoriu al comunei Rupea de Dr. Aurel P. Bănuţ (născut în 23.10.1881, domiciliat în Bucureşti pe Bd. Magheru 22, File Cerere eliberare acte – stare civilă II, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; Bănuţ, *Scrieri*, 8.

1089. Rupea – Protocol botezaţi, cununaţi, morţi Greco-Catolici, 1864-1923; Moruş, *Cărturari*, 34; Bănuţ, *Scrieri*, 8, 38-39; Constantin "Dr.Valeriu Bidu," 204.



Figure 28. Author unknown, *Photograph of Aurel P. Bănuț*, Communist period, Ioan Moruș, *Cărturari brașoveni (sec.XV-XX): ghid bibliografic* (Brașov: n.p., 1972).

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The other representative personality of the Romanian community that is part of the larger process of rapid modernisation of the institutional structures in the former King's Land was **Ioan Iosif** (1887-1968) (figure 29).¹⁰⁹⁰ Having an intense economic, political and cultural activity in Rupea for around a quarter of a century, Ioan Iosif has been the representative par excellence of Romanian society's rural educated elite from the beginning of the twentieth century. Being an essential actor in the modernisation process of the financial institutions in Transylvania, Iosif was present for most of his active life in the Rupea, which served as a headquarters for his activities. Economist and politician, he was elected delegate of the Romanians to the Great Assembly of Alba Iulia in 1918 and served as a member of the parliament in the first government led by Alexandru Vaida-Voevod, but his most notable achievement was the establishment of the local Cetatea Bank where he acted as director.¹⁰⁹¹ From his return to Rupea in 1909 until his short-term arrest in 1931, Ioan Iosif was a central figure in the public life of the local Romanian community.¹⁰⁹² Described posthumous as a “distinguished intellectual,” the achievements and limitations of Ioan Iosif permit us to frame from the perspective of biography the larger developments that characterised southern Transylvanian ploughmen society from the Austro-Hungarian period until the mid-twentieth century.¹⁰⁹³

1090. Certificat al primăriei din 15.5.1937 prin care se atestă că dl. Dr. Ioan Iosif, domiciliat în comuna Rupea, este născut la 1.9.1887 din părinții Gligor Iosif și Ana Iosif n.Bănuț, File 1937/5, Certificate comunale cu privire la mărimea suprafețelor proprietăților agricole [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

1091. Curriculum Vitae depus de Ioan Iosif la primăria Rupea în vederea certificării documentului, necesar în procesul de aplicare pentru un loc de muncă în mediul universitar, 2.7.1932, File 1932/27, Ordine și corespondență cu privire la mișcarea comunistă, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania;

1092. Iosif, “Memorii,” 70; Curriculum Vitae, File 1932/27.

1093. Iosif, “Memorii,” 2, 36.

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Belonging to the local branch of Iosif of Drăușeni kin, his father Gligor (1852-1922) was the first generation to settle in Rupea, marrying in 1876 in the old local kin of Bănuț.¹⁰⁹⁴ A shepherd originating in Drăușeni village, Gligor Iosif belonged to one of the most esteemed families in Rupea Seat. Their origins are to be searched at the end of the seventeenth century, during the Great Turkish War, which led to the occupation of Transylvania by the Habsburgs, when groups of Aromanians were pushed to the north.¹⁰⁹⁵ In this historical context, an Aromanian man arrived in the village of Drăușeni with Habsburg forces as part of a “battalion of Macedonians.”¹⁰⁹⁶ The most famous descendant of this near-legendary Aromanian man was the poet Ștefan Octavian Iosif who reimagining a dialogue with his grandfather, the Protopope Stan Iosif (1785-1848/49) recited as a veritable bard the story of the family’s days of refuge: “And it’s long, it’s long since then, my grandson!/ The sword was entering the country.../ Rebellion...plague...plunder and grieving!/ All my [family] has perished,/ All that I had was plundered by thieves/ And the Turks ruled in the country...”¹⁰⁹⁷ Supposedly dying in battle around 1718-1720, the man was survived by his two sons Darie (1706-1730) – who allegedly died in Rupea – and Iosif (b.1704) who settled in Drăușeni and who can be considered the founder of the local kin.¹⁰⁹⁸ Through his grandchildren are established both the Drăușeni lineage and the Rupea lineage, with the former achieving a high status in the community already during the time of Iosif’s nephew, Stan Iosif Omul (1754-1829), who was remembered as the builder the stone church from

1094. Rupea – Protocol botezați Ortodocși, 1873-1950; Rupea – Protocol cununați Ortodocși, 1873-1950; *Tombstone of Gligor Iosif*, Carved inscription.The Romanian Cemetery, Rupea. Viewed April 2023.

1095. Pop, “Înființarea,” 129; Adrian Deheleanu, “Familia Mocioni. Istoria uneia dintre cele mai vechi familii nobiliare din istoria românilor,” *Țara Bârsei*, Nr.14, serie nouă (2015): 216.

1096. Curriculum Vitae, File 1932/27; Maxim-Burdujanu, “O piatră,” *Țara Bârsei; Archiv* (1911), 303, 305-306, 311.

1097. Șt. O. Iosif, *Poezii* (București: Fundația pentru literatură și artă ‘Regele Carol II’, 1939), 27.

1098. Iosif, “Monografia”; Maxim-Burdujanu, “O piatră,” *Țara Bârsei*.

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Drăușeni (1795).¹⁰⁹⁹ His son, the Priest Stan Iosif (1785-1848/9), continued this line of notable deeds, being elected the protopope of Rupea and participating in the 1848 Transylvanian Revolution.¹¹⁰⁰ Stan Iosif married into the family of the Priest Aron Popovici, consolidating the newly achieved status. This union integrated his descendants into the local priest families network – his son Ioan Iosif (1822-1909) became, in his turn, a priest and occupied the parish of Drăușeni and Cața and participated with his father at the 1848 Transylvanian Revolution; while another child of Priest Stan, Iustina married the son of the Priest Ioan Mircea from Cața, named Nicolae David Mircea (1842-1905) who became the first priest of the re-established Orthodox parish of Rupea and was elected protopope of Rupea.¹¹⁰¹ Apart from Ioan and Iustina, another child of Protopope Stan was professor Stan “Ștefan” Iosif (1832-1918), who studied at the universities of Leipzig and Vienna, being named the director of the Romanian Gymnasium of Brașov. Ștefan’s son with Paraschiva Mihăileanu was the poet Ștefan Octavian Iosif (1875-1913), the most renowned member of this kin, who pursued his studies in Bucharest and Paris, and who is considered one of the representatives of the neo-romanticism in Romanian literature.¹¹⁰²

The Rupea branch of Iosif kin did not share the same level of achievement, yet the entire kin assumed the prestige of the main lineage as part of a constructed identity

1099. Iosif, “Monografia”.

1100. Maxim-Burdujanu, “O piatră,” *Țara Bârsei*; Iosif, “Monografia”; Mercheașa – Protocol botezați ortodocși, 1812-1876, Register, BV-F-00259-1-00305, Fond Colecția registre parohiale și de stare civilă (1663-1980), Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

1101. Rupea – Protocol morți Ortodocși, 1873-1950; “Știrile Zilei.” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Februarie 25/ Martie 10, 1909.

1102. Paraschiva Mihăileanu was the daughter of a priest from Vingard (in Alba County). On her mother’s side, Paraschiva was the niece of Gavril Munteanu (1812-1869), a participant in the 1848 Revolution, the first director of the Seminary of Buzău (1836-1844), the first director of the Romanian Gymnasium in Brașov, founding member of the Romanian Academy and the co-author (with George Barițiu) of the first German-Romanian dictionary (1855). Maxim-Burdujanu, “O piatră,” *Țara Bârsei*; Iosif, “Monografia”. Paraschiva’s grandfather, Gavril Munteanu, was the cousin of Florian Aaron (1805-1887, from Rod, near Sibiu), historian and publicist, the first editor of *Telegraful Român*, the most important Orthodox newspaper in the province. Bârlea, “Andrei,” 219, 242; Leb, “Contribuția,” 87.

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process.¹¹⁰³ Being associated with the kin's social status in Drăușeni, the Rupea lineage was rapidly assimilated into the Romanian community from Rupea. The association of the Rupea branch with their more renowned relatives from Drăușeni served as both symbolic and social support for the young Ioan Iosif, the 3rd cousin of the poet. The brief encounter with his famed cousin Șt. O. Iosif, whom he once met as a teenager in Rupea, had a strong effect and contributed to the construction of his personality cult during maturity.¹¹⁰⁴

After finishing primary school in Rupea, Ioan Iosif continued his education in Baraolt, and with financial aid provided by Economica Bank of Rupea, he enrolled at the Superior Commercial School in Brașov, which he graduated in 1908.¹¹⁰⁵ A polyglot, according to his declaration, Iosif was fluent in five foreign languages, these skills permitted him to pursue his education abroad without being obstructed by linguistic barriers.¹¹⁰⁶ Ioan Iosif was part of a generation found in-between the tradition of the Transylvanian School attached to Vienna and the German culture and a new direction that emerged in the post-1859 period, formulated around “Junimea” Literary Society, whose concept of cultural axis mundi looked towards Bucharest, who in its turn found a model to follow in the French culture.¹¹⁰⁷ Deciding to continue his studies in economics, he left for Switzerland, where he enrolled at the University of Lausanne, which granted him an undergraduate diploma and a doctorate in commercial studies and applied economics.¹¹⁰⁸ Leaving Switzerland for Hungary, he headed to Budapest,

1103. Stan Iosif Omul (1754-1829) had a younger brother Mihai who, in his turn, had a son, Sivu, nicknamed Negru (the Black), who was the Ioan Iosif's grandfather. Iosif, “Monografia,” Annex.

1104. Iosif, “Memorii,” 26-27.

1105. Curriculum Vitae, File 1932/27. Established in 1837, the Superior Commercial School of Brașov was the oldest and only commerce school in Transylvania during that period; today, it is named the National College of Economics “Andrei Bârseanu”. Bucur, “Protopopul”.

1106. Curriculum Vitae, File 1932/27.

1107. Bocșan, “Transilvania,” 493-494; Goția, “Interferențe,” 217.

1108. Curriculum Vitae, File 1932/27.

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where he continued his studies in economics at the Royal Joseph University while attending courses at Eötvös József College and the Faculty of Letters of the University of Budapest during the same period.¹¹⁰⁹ As the first Romanian graduate of the Faculty of Political Economy of the prestigious Hungarian university, he was celebrated for this achievement by the press.¹¹¹⁰ During the final period of his peregrinatio academica, he succeeded in financing a voyage to Paris, where he completed his studies in economy at the Sorbonne.¹¹¹¹

Upon his return from studies, one of his first initiatives was launching a subsidiary of “Junimea” Literary Society in Rupea, through which he contributed to creating a local library and a choir.¹¹¹² Furthermore, assuming a paternalist pedagogical role during this period, Ioan Iosif held public lectures and speeches on national history, literature and economy.¹¹¹³ In parallel, an open position waited for him at Economia Bank in Rupea, which he took.¹¹¹⁴ Nonetheless, his stay at the bank was short-lived as in 1910, following a series of disagreements with the board members of Economia Bank, he began to look for financial support to establish a second credit institute in Rupea, which he succeeded in opening the same year – which was named Cetatea Bank.¹¹¹⁵ After gaining the support of the leadership of the Romanian National Party, this modest credit institute achieved a national level of

1109. Probably he refers to the Royal Joseph University (established in 1782), the world oldest institute of technology. Curriculum Vitae, File 1932/27. According to Vasile Dobrescu, he studied at the Commercial Academy in Budapest. Vasile Dobrescu, *Funcții și funcționalități în sistemul de credit românesc din Transilvania până la Primul Război Mondial* (Târgu-Mureș: Editura Universității Petru Maior, 2006), 306.

1110. “Informațiuni,” *Biserica și școala*, Iulie 1/14, 1918.

1111. Curriculum Vitae, File 1932/27; Iosif, “Memorii,” 2.

1112. “Cronică socială și artistică,” *Tribuna*; “Dare de seamă și mulțămintă publică,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*; Curriculum Vitae, File 1932/27,

1113. Curriculum Vitae, File 1932/27.

1114. “Chestiunea băncii ‘Cetatea’ Brașov,” *Revista Economică*, Iunie 13, 1931.

1115. “Chestiunea,” *Revista Economică*; Bucur, “Protopopul”; “Știri,” *Tovărășia*, Noiembrie 4/17, 1910.

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importance between the Great War and the Great Depression.¹¹¹⁶ As the founder and leader of this ephemeral but once-notorious institution, Ioan Iosif can take credit for its rise and fall.

Politically active, in the tense climate from the last days of Austro-Hungary, following the entering of Romania in the war on the side of the Allies, Ioan Iosif was accused of high treason and arrested, spending eight months in prisons in “Innsbruck, Vienna, Dumbrăveni, Târgu Mureș” and Sopron, where he suffered the “most terrible tortures.”¹¹¹⁷ Imprisoned with his pregnant wife Maria, the couple was arrested “in the middle of the night” and “transported in a cattle wagon for eight days” to the infamous Sopronkőhida prison.¹¹¹⁸ Giving birth in prison due to the harsh conditions of her imprisonment, Maria Iosif died “in her husband’s arms,” followed shortly by the two infant girls who shared their mother’s fate – her martyr being immortalised by the priest and poet Vasile Muntelescu – a political prisoner himself.¹¹¹⁹ The injustice of war, translated into the sufferings of the families that become part of it, creates an antagonist – here, the Austro-Hungarian administration – whose image is reinforced and perpetuated through the acts of commemoration created and recreated by each generation.¹¹²⁰ Remembering this moment of his family’s past, Lazăr (b.1914), the nephew of Ioan Iosif, recounted in his memoirs, written later in life, about this personal tragedy in more intimate and subjective terms: “He had to endure because of the patriotism that was possessing him. [...] It was that cruel the terror of the oppressors that not even the

1116. “Însemnări.” *Țara noastră*, Octombrie 29, 1922; “Chestiunea băncii ‘Cetatea’ Brașov.” *Revista Economică*; Iosif, “Memorii,” 56.

1117. Curriculum Vitae, File 1932/27; Iosif, “Memorii,” 3.

1118. Curriculum Vitae, File 1932/27.

1119. Curriculum Vitae File 1932/27; Iosif, “Memorii,” 3; Vasile Muntelescu, *Din teminiță și exil (1916-1918) Solovăstru 1930* (Reghin: Tipografia Libraria Nouă, 1930), 4-5.

1120. Michelle LeBaron and Paulette Regan, “Reweaving the past,” in *Memory*, ed. Philippe Tortell, Mark Turin and Margot Young (Vancouver, BC: Peter Wall Institute for Advanced Studies, 2018), 217-218; Iosif, “Memorii,” 3, 12;

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perspective of the death of a mother, in the most distinct moments of her life, couldn't determine them to be human."¹¹²¹

A turning point in Ioan Iosif's life, the death of his wife and children, determined his future public engagements. After being released from prison, Iosif headed to Braşov, where, at the beginning of 1918, he was found teaching political economics, law and French at his alma mater, the Superior Commercial College.¹¹²² With the academic year ending and the Romanian army entering Transylvania again, Ioan Iosif assumed the leadership of the local volunteer unit of the National Guard and prepared for the arrival of the Romanian troops.¹¹²³ Taking advantage of this position, Iosif faced his "archenemy" Istvan Tompa, the first-pretor of Rupea, a long-time supporter of the Magyarisation policies of Budapest and the person behind the arrest of Ioan Iosif and his wife.¹¹²⁴ Disarming the local guards, the National Guards led by Iosif took over the public services, proceeded to arrest Tompa and publicly proclaimed the rupture of Transylvania from Hungary.¹¹²⁵ Proof of the emotional dimension of memory, the account of the final act of this personal drama was recounted by his nephew Lazăr:

He [Ioan Iosif] could take revenge. [...] The only thing that he did was to take Tompa in a carriage to the village of Paloş, where was buried his wife and the twins. He ordered him to kneel in front of the grave and say his prayer. [Tompa] thought that vengeance would follow as they were accompanied also by an armed soldier. But, no! He only asked him to recognise his guilt for the death of his wife and daughters and ask for forgiveness. Tompa obeyed, and then they returned home. The commander of

1121. Iosif, "Memorii," 3.

1122. Curriculum Vitae, File 1932/27,

1123. Curriculum Vitae, File 1932/27, Iosif, "Memorii," 3.

1124. "Maghiarisare," *Tribuna poporului*, Aprilie 5/17, 1897.

1125. Curriculum Vitae, File 1932/27; Iosif, "Memorii," 2, 12-13.

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the troops in Rupea asked [my uncle] to shoot him, but he opposed it. Shortly after, Tompa left for Hungary."¹¹²⁶

A tribunal sentenced the former pretor to the death penalty soon after the Union, under the accusation of being responsible in 1916 for the death of 500 Romanians.¹¹²⁷

Recognised by his peers for his actions during wartime, Ioan Iosif was elected to represent the Romanians from Rupea with George Repede on the 1st of December 1918 at the Great National Assembly of Alba Iulia.¹¹²⁸ From this moment onwards, his career took off, the following year being included in the delegation of Romania to the Peace Conference in Paris, where he worked as an economic counsellor.¹¹²⁹ Having during this event an intensive collaboration with prominent figures from Romanian politics – such as the minister Eftimie Antonescu (1876-1957) – and gaining the sympathy of the leaders of the Romanian National Party, Iosif was elected member of the parliament on the lists of this political group in 1919.¹¹³⁰ During his time as a deputy in the first parliament of Greater Romania – he held this office until 1922 – Iosif had an intensive activity that confirmed his ambition to develop Cetatea Bank, which reached its pinnacle during this decade.¹¹³¹ However, after a lawsuit filed by a bank client, which resulted in Iosif's eventual arrest in 1931, he retired from public engagements in the final years of his life.

1126. Iosif, "Memorii," 3; Maria Iosif was buried in her native village of Paloș. "Viața la sate," *Cultura poporului*, Februarie 13, 1927.

1127. "Știri," *Alba-Iulia. Organ al proclamării unității naționale*, Ianuarie 8/21, 1919; Iosif, "Memorii," 12.

1128. Georgescu, *George*, 202; *Marea Adunare Națională Întrunită la Alba Iulia în ziua de 1 Decembrie 1918. Acte și documente* (n.p.: Tipografia F.C.F., 1919), 20-21.

1129. "Chestiunea băncii 'Cetatea' Brașov." *Revista Economică*.

1130. Curriculum Vitae, File 1932/27; Paul Dicu, "Din biografiile profesorilor universitari Emanoil N. Antonescu, Eftimie N. Antonescu, Mihail A. Antonescu și Istrate N. Micescu," *Argesis. Studii și Comunicări*, seria Istorie, Tom VIII (1999): 343-377.

1131. Curriculum Vitae, File 1932/27; "Rezultatul alegerilor de Cameră," *America*, Aprilie 4, 1922.



Figure 29. Author unknown, *Funeral of Barta Grigore, detail Ioan Iosif*, Cca.1954.
Photograph, Ioan Toma private collection, Rupea, Romania.

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As the first representatives of the local Romanian secular elite that achieve wider recognition, the biographies of Aurel Paul Bănuț and Ioan Iosif indicate a tardiness that characterises the social and economic community in Rupea in comparison with their peers from areas such as Sibiu Borderland, Făgăraș Land and Năsăud District where the historical context was more favourable to the earlier emergence of such a category. In Rupea, the late formation of a potent Romanian community and the specific economic and administrative realities that define this population in the King's Land pushed the entire process in the second half of the nineteenth century. The case of the Bănuț family is a fine example of the broader transformations that took place in this part of the province in the century between the 1848 Revolution and the establishment of communism – Paul Bănuț (1841-1883) followed in the tradition of the village notaries and served as a Royal Vice Judge in Rupea, while his son Aurel (1881-1970) embraced a liberal career and was involved in politics at a regional level.

The relatively late formation of a local secular elite in the villages from the King's Land resulted from economic and political constraints that delayed this process for the Romanians that lived there. Nonetheless, in the nineteenth century, a new category emerged among the priests and well-to-do peasants who pursued careers other than clerical and became receptive to modern nations' new identity constructs. The delay of these developments in the Rupea Seat resulted from a dominant mentality of the ploughmen who, due to the long exclusive policies of the Saxon administration, were sceptical to direct their children towards other occupations. Nonetheless, following the 1848 Revolution, even in Rupea, the appeal for new occupations that required the completion of higher education made its presence felt. The two biographies of Aurel P. Bănuț and Ioan Iosif highlighted the social background that favoured the emergence of a local secular elite. Investigating what the role of such personalities in the development of the local community was, the study also showed that their arrival was prepared generations before them by their ancestors, who formed an

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elite structure at the level of the village composed of categories such as priests, notaries, nobles (*boyars*) and well-to-do peasants.

This sub-chapter presented a historical narrative that captures the ever-evolving modernisation process in the King's Land during the modern period. The first part revealed a series of causes that delayed the emergence of a local secular elite. The reluctance of the ploughmen to direct their offspring towards other pursuits outside agriculture was directly influenced by the longstanding exclusive policies of the local Saxon administration. After the 1848 Revolution, however, a visible shift in attitudes towards new professions became apparent, stimulating subsequent major social transformations in the rural space. In the latter part, the two biographical explorations provide a narrative for the changing societal landscape from the final part of the nineteenth century. Beyond the microhistory character, these life stories resonate with the broader East Central European historical developments of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Transylvania as part of Greater Romania.

The following sub-chapter will focus on the institutional processes of modernisation within the Romanian community from Rupea, transitioning from individual trajectories to a broader examination of community-based institutions. The investigation will address the emergence of new secular organisational structures, starting with the final quarter of the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, the relationship between individual agency and larger societal forces will remain at the core of the narrative, providing a global perspective on the evolution of the East Central European rural space.

5.2. The Modernisation of the Community-Based Organisation Systems

Aurel P. Bănuț and Ioan Iosif were representatives of a larger modernisation process of the rural space that found an expression in a series of novel social, cultural and economic associations and institutes. At the end of the nineteenth century, the older solidarities needed to be reformulated based on new norms in the context of the alteration of the rural landscape by a series of economic and social changes. Consequently, modern associationism entered the Romanian community as an expression of institutional continuity rather than simply adopting the new models. Replacing older institutions that sometimes retained a symbolic status, the new solidarities responded to the present desideratum of the masses.

This sub-chapter explores the evolution and dynamics of secular administrative institutions and modern associationism models found among the Romanian rural population in Transylvania. Tracing their transformations from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, the initial section provides a foundation by introducing pre-existing administrative institutions within this population group. Subsequently, the research's attention shifts to the institution of Vicinity, which was initially a Saxon institution but was adopted by the Romanian population in the eighteenth century. Remaining a central structure of public life in southern Transylvanian rural space until the twentieth century, the study of Vicinity reveals an exceptional institutional capacity for adaptability. The narrative then addresses modern forms of associationism, investigating five local institutions that reflect broader societal changes during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The first association examined is the Society of the Ploughmen from Rupea, which provides an understanding of the organisational dynamics of the agricultural sector. The second, the Assembly of the Romanian Craftsmen and Traders from Rupea District, reveals the emergence of a local trading and craftsmen

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community, explaining its socio-economic significance among the Romanian families from Rupea. The third explores the evolution of the cultural sphere organisation through the Prince Michael Society, highlighting its impact on the community's reformulated aspirations. Finally, in the economic domain, a focused analysis of two local credit institutes, Economica Bank and Cetatea Bank, reveals their roles in a modernised local financial landscape, marking the conclusion of this investigation.

Before the priests took precedence as leaders of the communities, the rural elites of the Transylvanian Romanians had a dominant laic character upheld by its secular autochthonous institutions. Between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when these institutions became subordinated to the feudal lords, the Romanian rural secular elite entered a crisis period. The former voivodes (Ro. voievozi) and knyazs (Ro. cnezi) began during this period to be downgraded to the ranks of village judex (Lat. judex pagi, Ro. jude), this latter institution remaining until the seventeenth century central in the process of continuity a secular rural leadership able to represent the interests of the Romanian community.¹¹³²

As appointed leader of the village, the judex – aided by the council of the elders (“the venerable and wise ones”, Ro. “cei bătrâni și buni”) – had during the sixteenth century a wide array of administrative, judicial and executives attributes, being as well the representative of

1132. Ioan-Aurel Pop, “Statutul cnezilor supuși pe domeniile feudale din Transilvania în secolul al XIV-lea,” in *Civilizație medievală și modernă românească. Studii Istorice*, ed. Nicolae Edroiu, Aurel Răduțiu and Pompiliu Teodor (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1985), 114; David Prodan, “Judele satului iobăgesc în Transilvania în secolele XVII și XVIII,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj*, IV (1961): 218-219, 221-223, 229. Ethnographic field research indicates that in Rupea it is still used the term of jude (Lat. judex or judex pagi) to designate the leader of local young's men Christmas caroling band. For more on the development of the institution of the knyaz after the conquering of Transylvania by the Hungarians and the introduction of the Western administrative model see, Vasile Lechințean, “Cnezi și juzi din zonele de munte ale comitatelor Cluj și Turda în procese judecătorești la scaunele comitatense în prima jumătate a veacului al XVII-lea,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XXVIII (1987-1988): 189-215; Virgil Mureșan, “Modernitate și arhaism în lumea năsăudeană în secolul al XIX-lea și începutul secolului XX,” *Revista Bistriței*, XVIII (2004): 354. The institution of the voivode and knyaz functioned also in the King's Land, being referred to by the Orthodox bishop Vasile Moga and the Greek-Catholic bishop Ioan Lemeny in a memoir from 1842 forwarded to the Diet, with a knyaz being mentioned even in Rupea Seat, in the village Șona (1477). Pascu, *Voievodatul*, III, 355, 570.

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the village in the external affairs.¹¹³³ In practice, being the upholder of the *jux valachicum* in the community, his attributes encompassed various aspects of community life, such as the personal obligations of the villagers in the community, the agrarian relationships between villagers and issues related to propriety, being equally responsible for family law, criminal law and procedural law.¹¹³⁴ While not directly remunerated, the position assured the holder an immense social prestige and a set of privileges that allowed him to develop economically better in comparison with his peers.¹¹³⁵ Annually elected, the position was usually seized by a limited number of families. For instance, in Făgăraș Land, where a class of boyars existed, the judex was elected from one of these families.¹¹³⁶

In the mixed Saxon-Romanian villages from the King's Land, where the leader of the village was sometimes named vilic (Lat. villicus), was mentioned another autochthonous institution known as the "council of the elders" who advised the judex in various administrative matters that concerned the community. According to the specific demographic situation of the village, in some larger Romanian communities, during the sixteenth century, the council had an equal number of seats reserved for Saxons and Romanians, elected by their peers based on their social status.¹¹³⁷ In Rupea Seat, where this institution functioned as well, the attributes of the Romanian members of the council seem to have included, at some point, important tasks such as the election of the Seat judge.¹¹³⁸ Given the symbolic use of the title

1133. Valeria Căliman, "Dovezi ale continuității românilor în Țara Bârsei," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XXVIII (1987-1988): 452.

1134. Livia Magina, "Prerogativele juridice ale judeului sătesc în legislația secolului al XVII-lea în Transilvania," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "George Barițiu" din Cluj-Napoca*, Series Historica, LI (2012): 62-63.

1135. Prodan, "Judele," 218.

1136. Prodan, "Judele," 218.

1137. In Avrig in 1589, the Council of the Elders was formed of 32 members, and in Daneș in 1680, it was formed of 16 members, in both cases half being Saxons and half Romanians. Nussbächer, *Din cronici*, 90, 130.

1138. Iorga, *Sate*, 107.

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and function of judex until present-day, in the form of the leader of the local lad's company that performs community-based rituals specific to a local set of customs, it can be argued the existence of this institution also in the Romanian community from Rupea at some moment in history. Most likely, based on the main function of this institution, the judex in Rupea served as the representative of the Romanian community to the Saxon authorities. In addition, in Rupea, the leader of the local lad's company was aided by a vice-judex, an institution that first developed in larger Romanian communities around the mid-seventeenth century.¹¹³⁹

Nonetheless, based on the local demographic realities and the larger evolutions in the province, the institution of judex in Rupea can be assumed to have operated towards the end of the seventeenth century.¹¹⁴⁰ Then, losing its political relevance in the King's Land, its administrative attributes were integrated into the pre-existing organisation forms characteristic to the Saxon population that the Romanian population living in mixed communities or the Romanian villages from the area of influence of the Saxon culture adopted. The transition from older structures to new types of community-based forms of organisation concluded the first phase of modernising administrative institutions in the rural world.

In Rupea, territorial organisation institutions known as Vicinities (Ger. Nachbarschaften, Ro. Vecinătate/-ăți) were functioning by the first part of the seventeenth century.¹¹⁴¹ The local Saxon population was organised, at least from the time of the Royal

1139. Prodan, "Judele," 226.

1140. In Rupea, the institutions survived into the twenty-first century in a symbolic form, the jude being yearly elected by the lads from the community to lead them – mainly during the Christmas carolling ritual. The Jude is aided in his duties by a vice-jude (Lat. vice judex, Ro. Jude mic). The institution of the vice-jude appeared around the mid-seventeenth century, first in the market towns and bigger villages and then in smaller settlements. Prodan, "Judele," 226.

1141. Colloquially in Rupea, the position was known among the Romanians, also as Neben, importing the term from the Saxons. Nicolae Bălica, in discussion with the author.

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Judge Zacharias Filkenius, into seven Vicinities, which benefited from a set of written regulations or statutes dating from 1640 and that were updated in 1695.¹¹⁴² A highly adaptable institution that at some point might have involved kindred criteria, over the centuries, it adjusted to the new social realities, becoming a street association that served the local population as the main form of communal organisation.¹¹⁴³ Encountered in areas such as the King's Land and Făgăraş Land, the Vicinities were first mentioned in 1498 in the village Prejmer (Ger. Tartlau, in Bârsa Land, near Braşov) and starting from the sixteenth century in the major towns of Sighişoara, Braşov and Sibiu.¹¹⁴⁴ An institution with similar characteristics also appeared in the northern part of the province in the towns of Cluj and Zalău, known under the name of *kalandos*. First mentioned in the fourteenth century, its initial purpose was to provide funeral aid to its members, but later extended its activity to include other administrative attributes.¹¹⁴⁵

The adoption of the Vicinity by the Romanian population commenced relatively late, under the impulse of the Habsburg authorities during the eighteenth century – the earliest Romanian Vicinity was recorded in Braşov, with statutes dating from 1778.¹¹⁴⁶ Characteristic of the areas of cohabitation with the Saxon population, the adoption of this association model based on the spirit of *bruderschaft* became the principal system of internal organisation in the

1142. Enchiridion, File Registre Sibiu Nr.10; *Archiv* (1910), 113.

1143. Mihăilescu, *Vecini*, 7, 12, 29.

1144. Viorel Ştefu and Diana Macarie, "Piese de vecinatate din colecția Muzeului Municipal Mediaş. Mărturii ale organizării sociale a saşilor din Mediaş și împrejurimi," *Acta Musei Sabesiensis*, 2 (2010): 345; Aurel Răduțiu, "Un 'articuș' în limba română de vecinătăți din scaunul Mediaş la sfârșitul veacului al XVIII-lea," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XVII (1974): 226.

1145. In Cluj, this type of street association was mentioned since 1368 and survived until the twentieth century, while in Zalău, it was still functioning in the nineteenth century, with some activities still taking place at the beginning of the twentieth century. Still, in other towns such as Sibiu and Sighişoara, this institution disappeared, most likely during the sixteenth century. Éva Lakó and Ernest Wagner, "Asociațiile de stradă ('kalandos') din orașul Zalău (sec.XVII-XX)," *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, IX (1985): 395, 397-398.

1146. Mihăilescu, *Vecini*, 14; Gyemant, "Reorganizarea," 419; Răduțiu, "Un 'articuș'," 226.

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Romanian communities in the nineteenth.¹¹⁴⁷ If initially, in the eighteenth century, the leadership of the Romanian Vicinities seemed to have been headed by Saxons, during the early nineteenth century, they became autonomous in the sense that they elected their headmen.¹¹⁴⁸ Known as *Nachbarvater*, *Niebervater*, or simply as Vicinity Father, and in some Romanian communities as *Gogiman* (from Ger. *Gottsmann*), the headman coordinated the activity of the Vicinity for the length of its mandate.¹¹⁴⁹ Elected for a period of one or two years from among the older members of the Vicinity, in the larger communities, the headman was supported by an assistant – *jungerer Nachbarvater* (younger Vicinity Father) – in this case, the former being differentiated with the opposite appellative *alter* (older).¹¹⁵⁰

The initial Saxon headship of the Romanian Vicinities indicates that, at least in some mixed settlements, this process was coordinated by the authorities, which aimed to integrate the Romanian population into the established state structures to facilitate the functioning of the administrative apparatus.¹¹⁵¹ As an effect of this, the inheritance of the Saxon denominations by the Romanian vicinities came with the adoption of a specific mode of

1147. Henri Stahl, “Vecinătățile din Drăguș,” *Sociologie Românească*, Nr.1 (1936): 18; Mihăilescu, *Vecini*, 14.

1148. Mihăilescu, *Vecini*, 14.

1149. Aurel Bodi, “Vecinătatea în Rupea,” *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai – Sociologia*, 1-2 (1997): 178; Ștefu, “Pieșe,” 346; Ticușu Nou – Protocol morți Ortodocși, 1852-1883. The term *gociman* or *goșman* was used in south-east Transylvania (and in some regions of contact from northern Wallachia) and designated a church trustee, the term originating in the German equivalent *Gottsmann*. In Ighișul Nou village (Ger. Eibesdorf, in Mediaș Seat), where the Vicinities had statues preserved starting from the late eighteenth century, the elected leader of the vicinity was not named *Niebervater*, but *Gociman*. Răduțiu, “Un ‘articuș’,” 230;

1150. Ștefu, “Pieșe,” 346. Gheorghe Borcoman, in discussion with the author; Ioan Costea, in discussion with the author; Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author; Traian Forsea, in discussion with the author; Nicolae Bălica, in discussion with the author; Gheorghe Suma “Drăghici”, in discussion with the author; File 1929/11, Circulară din 5.12.1926 a primăriei Rupea către președinții vecinătăților din comuna Rupeni, Statistica industrială, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania. Proces verbal din 23.2.1927 privind strângerea de fonduri de către Vecinătățile din Rupea pentru Societatea “Marăști, File 1929/11, Statistica industrială,” BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

1151. Mihăilescu, *Vecini*, 69.

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communal organisation and administration that was implemented to a certain extent by all populations living in this space.¹¹⁵²

Adapting to the imperatives of the age, among the more specific functions that this institution enacted during the eighteenth century can be included that of guardian of moral conduct and the participation of the members at the religious service.¹¹⁵³ In addition, other functions, such as the implementation of regulations for the prevention of fire, the authorisation for construction permits and the responsibility to maintain public and private hygiene norms meant to prevent the spread of epidemics, were preserved in the following century when they became the characteristic attributes of the Vicinity.¹¹⁵⁴ Other nineteenth-century chief functions that survived into the twentieth century were the mutual support provided for house construction, funeral aid, the regularisation of the grazing periods and areas, and its role as an intermediary between authorities and inhabitants and even as a space for socialisation.¹¹⁵⁵ Assimilated eventually in other areas outside the former King's Land, the importance of this institution increased in the Transylvanian rural space at the beginning of the twentieth century, becoming central in the aftermath of the Great War in the organisation of the village's internal affairs in neighbouring areas such as Făgăraş Land.¹¹⁵⁶

During the Interwar period, the Vicinity continued to preserve a closed cultural character due to urban development realities. Hence, separate Roma, Romanian and Saxon Vicinities existed in areas of cultural interference such as Rupea. The effects of this

1152. Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author.

1153. Răduțiu, "Un 'articuș'," 228.

1154. Răduțiu, "Un 'articuș'," 228.

1155. Mihăilescu, *Vecini*, 22-25, 29-30, 74, 91. Nicolae Bălica, in discussion with the author; Gheorghe Suma "Drăghici", in discussion with the author; Ioan Costea, in discussion with the author; Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author; Orga, "Societatea," 110.

1156. Răduțiu, "Un 'articuș'," 225.

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segregationist situation dated from before the 1781 Edict of Concivility, when the Romanians and Saxons lived separately in different parts of the town and endured to some extent until after the Second World War. The institution of Vicinity contributed to this situation by being directly involved in the property acquisition process since Vicinity's father could obstruct the settlement of families that did not belong to the dominant population group.¹¹⁵⁷ For this reason, in Rupea, the twelve functioning Vicinities, whose organisation follows a geographical logic, continued during the Interwar period to have a dominant closed population group character: “There was a vicinity, then further on another one and then another [...]” – each encompassing a number between thirty and fifty family heads that with few exceptions were either entirely Roma, Romanian or Saxon families.¹¹⁵⁸

While preserving a dominant closed-group character during the entire Interwar period, the exceptional presence of families of different cultural backgrounds illustrates this institution's limits to implementing its mandate.¹¹⁵⁹ Membership was more desired than generating outcasts, and the new candidates shared the same feeling. Considering that exclusion would have constrained the individual from enjoying the benefits of community life, the conservative attitude and general reluctance towards strangers were not as high as that towards outcasts that could not be controlled. Speaking with a member of the local Suma kin about the role of the Vicinities in the life of the community, he stated that “[...] if you were a man, you were keeping up with the company, if you were a scum, no one was looking

1157. Mihăilescu, *Vecini*, 22; Tabel din 5.8.1930, File 1930/2.

1158. Nicolae Bălica, in discussion with the author; Gheorghe Suma “Drăghici”, in discussion with the author; Mihăilescu, *Vecini*, 19; Tabele colecte Vecinătăți, File 1929/11, Statistica industrială, BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Proces verbal din 23.2.1927, File 1929/11, Statistica industrială.

1159. Nicolae Bălica, in discussion with the author; Hotărâre din 18.2.1927 a preturii plasei Rupea privind organizarea unei petreceri a Vecinătății a V-a cu scopul de a strânge fonduri pentru Societatea “Mărășești”, File 1929/11, Statistica industrială, BV-F-00037. Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

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at you; as the saying goes: without one you can manage, but without all... [...]; if you were keeping with the company you were among men if you were the chaff of the society, you are put aside, [...] they wouldn't pay attention to you, and you were alone.”¹¹⁶⁰

For the Saxon population living in larger urban settlements, the social developments in the province, which included the intensification of urbanisation and the abolishing of the guild systems, made the Vicinity a redundant institution by the late nineteenth century. In areas where it survived, it was reformed by the intellectual elite as an institution meant to preserve the population's cultural and religious identity.¹¹⁶¹ On the other hand, in the rural space, the institution remained viable, retaining many of its original attributes well into the twentieth century. However, to survive the social and political changes that appeared during the communist period, this community-based institution had to adjust or perish. Having the ability to respond to the challenges of the age, the former territorial, cultural and sex-based principles, together with their symbolic and active roles, adapted to the social necessities of the time, limiting its activity eventually often to only providing funeral aid for its members.¹¹⁶²

Simultaneously to the increase in the importance of the Vicinity in the Romanian communities from southern Transylvania, during the nineteenth century, in other rural parts of Europe emerged new associationism models that could respond to the challenges of a rapidly changing landscape.¹¹⁶³ Without delaying to react to change, after the 1850s, these

1160. Gheorghe Suma “Drăghici”, in discussion with the author; Mihăilescu, *Vecini*, 20.

1161. Mihăilescu, *Vecini*, 19.

1162. Mihăilescu, *Vecini*, 19, 30; Ioan Costea, in discussion with the author; Nicolae Bălica, in discussion with the author; Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author.

1163. Marcel Vigreux, *La société d'agriculture d'Autun (1833-1914)* (Dijon: Editions universitaires de Dijon, 1990), 5-7, 24-26; Temma Kaplan, “De l'émeute à la grève de masse: conscience de classe et communauté ouvrière en Andalousie au XIXe siècle,” in *Campagnes et sociétés en Europe: France, Allemagne, Espagne*,

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new institutional models started to be implemented equally by the Romanian and later Roma population from some areas in southern Transylvania following the available Saxon models.¹¹⁶⁴ In the age of nationalism, the reconstruction of identities in this space of cultural interference sees the emergence of new institutions meant to answer to the ambitions and interests of the various existing population groups who sought to preserve their culture.¹¹⁶⁵ The Romanian population in southern Transylvania, emulating the available Saxon models, found the answer to their ambitions in these new forms of organisation.

In the Romanian community of Rupea, the oldest and most enduring association, named the **Society of the Ploughmen from Rupea** (*Societatea plugarilor români Rupeni-Cohalm, Societatea Agronomilor Română din Rupea Cohalm*) was established in 1888.¹¹⁶⁶ Created to administrate the three sections of the land owned by Romanians and protect their interests in agriculture, its creation can be put on the decision taken between the 1870s and 1880s by the authorities from the King's Land to merge the agricultural lands from

Italie, 1830-1930, ed. Michel Pigenet and Gilles Pécout (Paris: Les Editions de l'Atelier/Editions Ouvriers, 2005), 193-200.

1164. Deteșan, "Povești," 144; Cerere către primărie a Societății de Cultură și Ajutor "Înfrățirea" din 6.1.1937, File 1936/21, Ordine și corespondență cu privire la Societatea de Cultură și Ajutor "Înfrățirea", edificarea bisericii [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Cerere către primărie a Societății de Cultură și Ajutor "Înfrățirea" din 26.3.1937, File 1936/21, Ordine și corespondență cu privire la Societatea de Cultură și Ajutor "Înfrățirea", edificarea bisericii [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Cerere din 25.4.1947 a Societății de Cultură și Ajutor Înfrățirea din Rupea către comuna Rupea, File Acte îngrădire cimitir, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania.

1165. Muscă, "Activitatea," 551-561; Marius Bârlianu, "Evoluția culturală a scaunului Oraștie între 1867-1914: societăți, reuniuni, asociații, presă," *Acta Musei Devensis*, 1 (2010): 331.

1166. The foundation year differs with some indicating 1888 and others 1896. "O serbare culturală," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*; Lazăr Iosif, "Din trecutul orașului și raionului Rupea. Orașelul Rupea. Schiță istorică și monografică," Unpublished manuscript, between 1950-1968, typescript; Tabel societăți, File 1943/2. Cerere a Societății agronomilor români din 27.5.1923 către consiliul comunal în vederea aprobării pașunatului oilor pe marginile din ogoară, File 1923/1, Încurajarea industriei, participări la Primul Război Mondial, repatrieri în Ungaria, exproprieri locuri de casă [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Chitanță din 20.8.1934 privind plata sumei de 2500 lei de către Societatea Plugarilor Români din Rupea-Cohalm către biserica greco-catolică din Rupea ca ajutor benevol. Semnat Borcoman, președinte, File Chitanțe IV (1930-1939), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania.

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villages.¹¹⁶⁷ As part of broader administrative and economic developments, these association's chief function was to protect the group interest of the Romanian ploughmen.¹¹⁶⁸ Assuming some of the attributes of the Vicinity, over the following decades until the establishment of communism, under the leadership of notable peasant families, this association represented the interests of the Romanian ploughmen community to the local authorities, supporting the economic development of this occupational group.¹¹⁶⁹ In practice, having the approval of the local town council, the activity of the Society included cleaning communal pastures and water streams, fertilising the fields by grazing with sheep flocks, maintaining the carriage paths and wells found in the territory administrated by the Society and later during the 1940s administrating two milk dairies for the processing of this raw product.¹¹⁷⁰ The charitable activity conducted during wartime, together with the raising of a

1167. George Maior, *O pagină din luptele românilor cu sașii pe terenul social, cultural și economic. Șercaia 1809-1909* (București: Editura Tipografiei "Universala", 1910), 111-113.

1168. For instance, in the neighbouring village Crihalma that was a former comital possession bound to serfdom, functioned at the beginning of the twentieth century a similar association named The Pasturing Society "The Formers Colons" (Societatea de pășunat "Foștii Coloni"). Alina Mandai, "Societatea de Lectură Steaua din Crihalma. Contribuții la răspândirea culturii," *Țara Bârsei*, Serie Nouă, IX (2010): 228.

1169. There are known only four presidents of the Society of the Ploughmen from Rupea, Ioan Haizea in 1925, Gligor Iosif in 1926, George Stan Spornic in 1927 and Nicolae Săracu in 1938. Cerere a Societății Plugarilor din Rupea către primăria comunei pentru acordarea unui ajutor financiar în vederea terminării casei de cultură 12.4.1925, File 1925/10, Memoriul Societății Plugarilor din Rupea cu privire la edificarea casei de cultură [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Procel verbal din 4.9.1926, încheiat de inspectorul consilier agricol al județului Târnava Mare care se deplasează în Rupea-Cohalm pentru a cerceta o petiție înaintată de Societate Plugarilor privind un teren alipit Sălii Plugarilor pe care societatea îl cere în posesiune, File 1926/1, Împroprietăriri, consilierii comunali, recrutări, IOVR, rechiziționări imobile, tabele cu soldații căzuți în război [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Cerere a Societății Plugarilor din Rupea din 5.1.1927 către primărie pentru închiderea limitelor de hotar, File 1927/1, Secretari, propaganda baptistă, Societate Invalizilor de Război, sărbătorirea Zilei Eroilor [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Notă a lui Nicolae Săracu, președintele Societății Plugarilor Români din 10.12.1938, File Corespondență X 1930-1939, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf. Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania.

1170. Tabel societăți, File 1943/2; Extras din procesul verbal al ședinței consiliului comunal Rupea din 19.03.1927, privind cererea Societății Plugarilor din Rupeni pentru curățirea pășunii comunale, File 1927/1, Secretari, propaganda baptistă, Societatea Invalizilor de Război, sărbătorirea Zilei Eroilor [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Primăria Rupea către președintele Societății Plugarilor Români din comuna Rupea, înaintează un ordin primit din partea inf. silvic privind întreținerea pâraurilor din localitate de către proprietarii care au pământ, File 1927/1, Secretari, propaganda baptistă, Societate Invalizilor de Război, sărbătorirea Zilei Eroilor [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Cerere, File 1923/1.

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memorial for the soldiers fallen in battle in the territory of Rupea during the Great War, established the cultural direction of the Society, which eventually took precedence over its agricultural objective.¹¹⁷¹ The association encompassed the ploughmen population of Rupea, being virtually confounded with the entire Romanian population.¹¹⁷²

The construction of the Meeting Hall during the mid-1920s (figures 30 and 31), which remains the only lasting significant evidence of the ploughmen's joint achievements, represented an apogee of the cultural activity carried by this association.¹¹⁷³ While the idea for constructing the hall preceded the Great War, the changing situation of the Romanians after the union of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania favoured the completion of this project.¹¹⁷⁴ Despite being strewn with internal disputes between the different local Romanian factions and despite facing a disheartening refusal of the local authorities and the Saxon community at large to grant the Romanian appellants a parcel or to purchase an available establishment in the Market Square, the members of the Society eventually came to a compromise.

1171. Tabel societăți, File 1943/2; Raport al primăriei comunei Rupea din 3.3.1941 către prefectura din Sighișoara (Târnava Mare), File 1941/30, Ordine și corespondență cu privire la dispăruții de război [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Iosif, "Memorii," 6.

1172. Tabel societăți, File 1943/2.

1173. "O serbare culturală," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*.

1174. Cerere din 11.3.1923, înaintă de comunitatea românească prin reprezentanșii săi, protopop paroh Emilian Stoica, Eugen Ciungan paroh gr.cat, Ion Boranciu, Z. Borcoman și Gheorghe Fuciu, către primăria Rupea privind cedarea hotelului Coroana, contra cost, pentru transformare în casă culturală pentru comunitatea românească din localitate, File 1923/1, Încurajarea industriei participări la Primul Război Mondial, repatrieri în Ungaria, exproprieri, locuri de casă [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

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Figure 30. Author unknown, *Group of Romanian with the Ploughmen's Meeting Hall in construction*, 1925, Photograph, Vasile Danciu private collection, Rupea, Romania.

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Figure 31. Author unknown, *Group of Romanians in front of Ploughmen's Meeting Hall*, Interwar period, after 1926, Photograph, Vasile Danciu private collection, Rupea, Romania.

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In the context of the 1921 Agrarian Reform, they were granted a parcel of land to construct the Hall at the east end of the town – in the area known commonly as the Cabbagey (Ro. Verzerzie).¹¹⁷⁵ The reluctance of part of the population to raise a hall in this location because of the unfavourable terrain conditions – the area was predisposed to annual floodings – was doubled at the level of symbolic geography by the position of this parcel on the outskirts of the town.¹¹⁷⁶ Nonetheless, without an alternative, that idea gained the support of the Greek-Catholic party led by the Priest Eugen Ciungan, which resulted in the project's start in the spring of 1925. Until the autumn, the Lei 1 million project, which was partly funded with the contribution of the Romanian working migrants from America and partly through the personal contribution of local ploughmen and the local notabilities, was completed.¹¹⁷⁷

Representing an emotionally charged symbolic moment for the Romanian ploughmen, the inauguration of the Hall reunited the entire Romanian community with local notables, including the Mayor Friedrich Flagner, the President of the Society of the Ploughmen Ioan Haizea, the Director of Cetatea Bank Ioan Iosif, the Romanian Senator Ignație Mircea, the Orthodox Priest and Director of local ASTRA branch Emilian Stoica and the Greek-Catholic Priest Eugen Ciungan.¹¹⁷⁸ A landmark of the agricultural past of this community, in the past century, the Meeting Hall remained in use as a gathering place for the various political,

1175. Cerere din 11.3.1923, File 1923/1.

1176. Cerere din 11.3.1923, File 1923/1.

1177. “O serbare culturală,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*; “Ioan Ursu,” *Transilvania*.

1178. O serbare culturală,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*; Registrul Nr.2, Reuniunea meseriașilor și comercianților români din Plasa Rupea (Cohalm), File Register, BV-F-00326, Reuniunea Meseriașilor și Comercianților din Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

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religious, cultural and family events that marked the history of this community even when the Society's presence in public life faded away.¹¹⁷⁹

Like the Society of the Ploughmen, yet with a far shorter existence and a lesser impact in the community was the **Assembly of the Romanian Craftsmen and Traders from Rupea District** (*Reuniunea meseriaşilor şi comercianţilor români din Plasa Rupea*) that functioned in Rupea between 1921 and 1948.¹¹⁸⁰ During the Interwar period, when this association functioned, there was an active category of small Saxon workshops with which the emerging Romanian craftsmen competed.

Hence, aiming to promote the development of the Romanian craftsmen and traders in the area and also to strengthen the network between various professionals, the Assembly can be regarded as a response to a developing social category that strived to dissociate from its peasant origins and define itself as an occupational structure with different professional interests to defend.¹¹⁸¹ While the Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People (ASTRA) supported the organisation of this type of association as early as the 1870s, the late local response of the Romanian craftsmen and traders reconfirms the agrarian character that defines this community and the late economic structural transformations.¹¹⁸²

1179. "Serbarea religioasă," *Unirea*; Registrul Nr.2, File Register; Ordonanță din 20.3.1937 a prefectului județului Târnava Mare Dr. Victor Știrbeț, File 1936/21, Ordine și corespondență cu privire la Societatea de Cultură și Ajutor "Înfrățirea", edificarea bisericii [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania; Gheorghe Suma "Drăghici", in discussion with the author.

1180. Registrul Membrilor Reuniunii meseriaşilor şi comercianţilor români din Plasa Rupea (Cohalm), File Register, BV-F-00326. Reuniunea Meseriaşilor şi Comercianţilor din Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania. The Saxon population in Rupea established in 1882 a similar association, ten years after the abolishment of the guilds system, being named "Der Bürger und Gerwerbeverein". *Archiv* (1911), 673.

1181. Registrul Membrilor, File Register; Registrul Nr.2, File Register; "Nr.G.927/15/1924," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Iulie 23, 1925; Deteșan, "Povești," 144.

1182. Anghel, "Ocupații," 425-426.

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Organised and presided mainly by outsiders that did not belong to the local Romanian families, these characteristics provide valuable evidence about the social background of an occupational group and equally about the attitudes of the established ploughmen families towards adopting new occupations.¹¹⁸³ While among the founding associates appear, members of local kins such as Bănuț, Borcoman, Frățilă, Langa, Spornic and Tempea, in terms of representation, their presence is a minority, confirming the general reluctance of the ploughmen to engage in other occupations.¹¹⁸⁴ To encourage the ploughmen to engage in new occupations outside of agriculture, the local Orthodox and Greek-Catholic priests, local teachers, and other notabilities were found among the founding members who led the way.¹¹⁸⁵

Encouraged by the completion of the Meeting Hall in 1925, the Assembly debated the construction of its headquarters the following year, which was nonetheless never constructed due to the recession period, the idea being eventually completely abandoned.¹¹⁸⁶ Hence, in the absence of a meeting hall, the reunions of the members took place in the local restaurants or at the house of the association's president.¹¹⁸⁷ As a self-funding association, the running costs were covered by the various social activities organised and the revenues from a land plot owned in the Cabbagery area.¹¹⁸⁸ Constituted on liberal principles of a professional association, during the 1920s, the Assembly counted ninety-seven members from seventeen

1183. Registrul Membrilor, File Register.

1184. "Nr.G.927/15/1924." *Gazeta Transilvaniei*; Registrul Membrilor, File Register.

1185. Registrul Membrilor, File Register.

1186. Registrul Nr.2, File Register.

1187. Registrul Nr.2, File Register.

1188. Registrul Nr.2, File Register.

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different villages and a market town – yet a third of them were located in Rupea.¹¹⁸⁹ All the presidents of the associations were indeed Romanians, yet the inclusion of some Roma traders confirms the modern professional structure of the Assembly.¹¹⁹⁰

A key figure in the history of the Assembly, its longest-serving president, Moise Șchiopu, a graduate of a vocational school in München, was a master carpenter who worked in the Rupea.¹¹⁹¹ Șchiopu enjoyed recognition for his work throughout his life, among his projects being the making of the furniture for the Patriarch of Romania, Miron Cristea, the execution of pieces of the iconostasis of the Orthodox Cathedral in Cluj or the woodwork at the church from Ida Mare village.¹¹⁹² In Rupea, he completed the woodwork for the Holy Trinity Church and carried out various private commissions, yet his main contribution remains the training in his workshop of generations of carpenters, among which some continued to practice this craft in Rupea throughout the second part of the twentieth century.¹¹⁹³ Perhaps in this context, the Assembly's main achievement can be evaluated by identifying the social impact of its members in the local community. Despite the itinerant headquarters of the Assembly, the members also organised a library during the 1920s, which was likely found at the house of the president, who was also the keeper of the official symbols of the association until its dissolution in 1948.¹¹⁹⁴

1189. Registrul Nr.2, File Register.

1190. Registrul Nr.2, File Register; Registrul Membrilor, File Register.

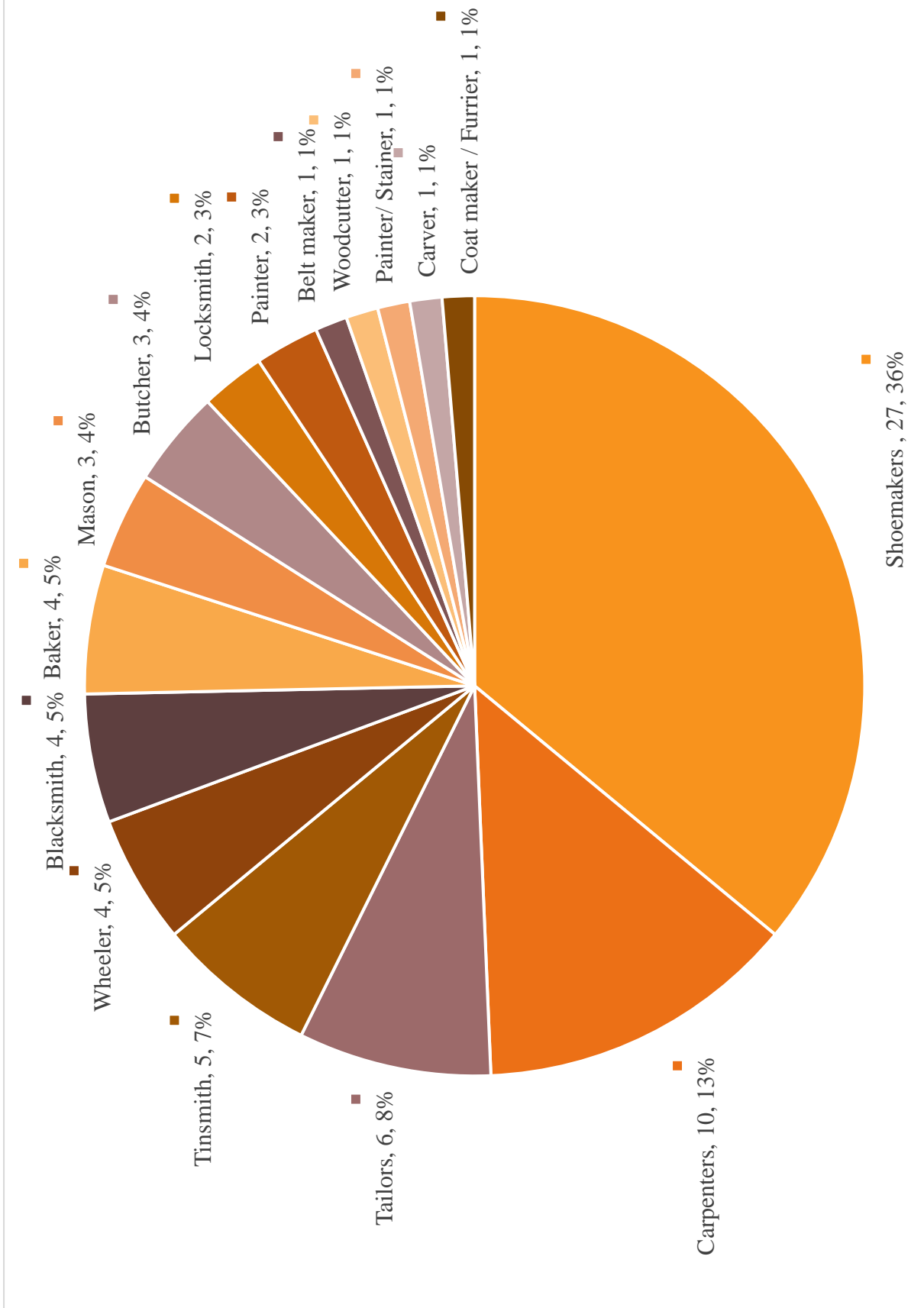
1191. “Sfințirea bisericii de la Ida Mare,” *Renașterea. Organul oficial al eparhiei ortodoxe române a Vadului, Feleacului, Geoagiului și Clujului*, Noembrie 16, 1924; “La sfințirea catedralei ortodoxe din Cluj,” *Renașterea*, Noiembrie 5, 1933; Teșculă “De la națiune,” 306.

1192. “Sfințirea bisericii,” *Renașterea*; “La sfințirea,” *Renașterea*; Ioan Boțoman and Ana Boțoman (nee Sisea), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

1193. Ioan Boțoman and Ana Boțoman (nee Sisea), in discussion with the author; Maria Spornic (nee Costea), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

1194. Registrul Nr.2, File Register.

Table 19. The structure of the crafts practiced in Rupea in 1930



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To the two occupational associations established in Rupea from the late nineteenth century, a third can be added – the **Prince Michael Society** (*Societatea de Ajutor și Cultură “Prințul Mihai”*) – that nonetheless activated mainly the field of culture, gathering in its heyday, during the 1930s, as much as 150 official members.¹¹⁹⁵ Established in 1918 by Ioan Forsea as the America Society, who envisaged it as a cultural, health and funeral aid association, less than a decade later, it was reorganised under a new name.¹¹⁹⁶ Following a model available at the Saxon associations that were established in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Romanian response had to wait until the Great War to find an equal institutional expression.¹¹⁹⁷ The association's origins can be found in 1914 when some immigrants from America led by Ioan Forsea – at that time working in Indiana Harbour, East Chicago – decided to create such an association.¹¹⁹⁸ The late appearance of a local cultural association in Rupea confirms the significant gaps in social development between the larger and small market towns and between the Saxons and Romanians.¹¹⁹⁹

Since its foundation, the Society remained essentially a commoners' organisation, being controlled by members of notable Romanian ploughmen families.¹²⁰⁰ While seemingly

1195. Cerere către primărie din 26.2.1926 din partea Societății de Ajutor și Cultură “Prințul Mihai” în vederea obținerii unui ajutor financiar pentru achiziționarea instrumentelor necesare fanfarei societății, File 1926/2, Corespondență cu privire la statistică, biblioteci, recrutări, acordarea cetățeniei, exproprieri, emigrări [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romani; Statistica societăților culturale și așezămintelor create de ele din comuna Rupea 5.12.1933, File 1933/1, Vânzări terenuri, planul de sistematizare a comunei, activitatea teatrală, școala de ucenici [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

1196. Cernea, “Cohalm”.

1197. Statistica societăților, File 1933/1; Teșculă “De la națiune,” 310.

1198. Cernea, “Cohalm”.

1199. Orga, “Societatea,” 98; Bârlianu, “Evoluția,” 329; Constantin Băjenaru, “Societatea Culturală Româna ‘Progresul’ din Făgăraș până la Primul Război Mondial,” *Țara Bârsei*, Nr.9, serie nouă (2010): 113, 116; Maria Vîrtopeanu, “Din activitatea reuniunii de cântari din Orăștie,” *Acta Musei Devensis*, XVI-XVII (1982-1983): 618.

1200. Cerere către primărie, File 1926/2.

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enjoying higher support among the Greek-Catholic community than their Orthodox peers, gradually, the confessional differences seem to have been overcome.¹²⁰¹

Perhaps the most lasting achievement of the Society was the formation of a peasant brass band (figure 32) – that followed the local Saxon model – that was established in a period when similar efforts took place in Romanian communities from the mixed villages.¹²⁰² To achieve its aim, which was to acquire eight musical instruments, the members of the society began internal fundraising while also forwarding an official request for financial aid to the local authorities.¹²⁰³ In 1926, under President Ioan “Bundea” Borcoman, the eight instruments of the Society were ordered in Czechoslovakia at a time when the Romanian and Roma communities from Rupea conducted intense trading activities in that part of Europe.¹²⁰⁴ Succeeding in establishing a brass band that continues to perform nowadays, some of the original instruments were reused by the original owners' descendants.¹²⁰⁵ Like the Society of the Romanian Ploughmen, this cultural association metamorphosed during the second half of the twentieth century, surviving only the brass band still present at various local celebrations and commemorations.¹²⁰⁶

1201. “Sființire de drapel în Rupea-Cohalm,” *Unirea poporului*, Decembrie 15, 1929.

1202. In Rupea, a German choral society was established in 1847, later reorganised in 1862/63. *Archiv* (1909), 326; *Archiv* (1911), 673. For instance, in the neighbouring village, Homorod was created in 1927, a Romanian brass band conducted by a local Saxon after purchasing its instruments from Prague. “Preot,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*.

1203. Cerere către primărie, File 1926/2.

1204. Cerere către primărie, File 1926/2.

1205. Cerere către primărie, File 1926/2; Cernea, “Cohalm”. Ioan Repede, in discussion with the author; Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author.

1206. Ioan Repede, in discussion with the author.

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Figure 32. Author unknown, *The brass band of the Prince Michael Society*, May 1928, Sisea Ioan private collection, Rupea, Romania.

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Following the same pattern of the professional and cultural associations, the Romanian credit institutes that were created in the province from the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian period represent the answer of a national elite to the similar projects initiated by the representatives of the Saxons and Hungarians in the decades before; but also as a reaction towards the state policies of the time.¹²⁰⁷ In Transylvania, the establishment of a modern banking system is marked by the foundation in Braşov of the Kronstädter Allgemeine Sparkasse in 1834, which functioned until 1948.¹²⁰⁸ Based on this model and of the credit institutes model of local rural cooperatives proposed by F.W. Raiffeisen (1818-1888), a Romanian banking system was inaugurated with the creation in 1867 of a saving institute in Răşinari – reorganised by its founder Visarion Roman (1833-1885) in 1871 as Albina Bank with the headquarters in Sibiu.¹²⁰⁹ From this moment on, in the following decades, the number of Romanian credit institutes developed rapidly, representing as much as 44.5% of the total active credit institutes in the province by 1930.¹²¹⁰

In theory, most of these institutes aimed to financially aid the Romanian population, operating at local levels in the market towns and the villages where they were created.¹²¹¹ Corresponding with similar developments found during the second half of the nineteenth century in rural Italy after the Unification and in France after the 1870s, these developments

1207. Iosif-Marin Balog, “Cumul de funcții și roluri la elita românească din Transilvania la finele secolului al XIX-lea, începutul secolului XX. Studiu de Caz: Clerul Greco-Catolic,” *Țara Bârsei*, no. 14 (2015), serie nouă: 155.

1208. Pană, “Bănci,” 312; Măriuca Radu, “Kronstädter Allgemeine Sparkasse. Prima bancă din Braşov și din Transilvania,” *Țara Bârsei*, Nr.3, Serie Noua (2004): 87, 91.

1209. Mihai Drecin, “Standul instituțiilor de credit cu capital românesc din Transilvania la expoziția Astei de la Sibiu (1905),” *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, XXXIX, Istorie-Etnografie (2017): 104; Mihai Drecin, “Înființarea Uniunii Bancare ‘Solidaritatea’ și sistemul bancar românesc din Transilvania (1892-1907),” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, XX (1977): 221; Jude, “Prima,” 532.

1210. Pană, “Bănci,” 311.

1211. Balog, “Cumul,” 157.

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were part of a larger modernisation trend that characterises the agrarian society on the continent.¹²¹²

After the end of the recession period that dominated the province's economy for most of the 1870s, the idea of a credit institute in Rupea was brought to the forefront of the local elite's agenda, which by the 1890s discussed the possibility of establishing a local credit bank.¹²¹³ In a period when there were a series of credit institutes functioning in the larger towns of southern Transylvania, it was the time for the local Romanian leadership from this small market town to take the same initiative.¹²¹⁴ Hence, during a meeting of the local branch of ASTRA in 1896, the Orthodox Priest Ioan Bercan proposed to his colleagues the creation of a local credit institute.¹²¹⁵ Only a few years later, this project came to fruition under the presidency of the same priest, who, together with a series of local notables from the area, established the **Economia Bank** in 1902. The new bank's declared purpose to "offer credit [to the] agricultural population and to develop the saving spirit" immediately attracted the attention of the press, which supported this achievement.¹²¹⁶ The profile of its first director – the senior Orthodox Priest Iosif Lupu of Dacia (director between 1902-1905), and the other board members' backgrounds highlight these institutes' characteristics. Given the scarcity of functionaries with economic studies capable of assuming leadership in these rural credit

1212. Giuseppe Maria Viscardi, Erminio Fonzo and Genaro Mirolla, *Storia di un istituto di credito agrario del Mezzogiorno. Dalla Cassa Agraria di Prestiti alla Cassa Rurale ed Artigiana di Battipaglia (1914-1964)* (Battipaglia: Ecra, 2016), 93. Giuseppe Speciale, "Una remota e dolorosa eredità' Credito Agrario, Colonizzazione, Bonifica nella Sicilia Postunitaria," *Glossa. European Journal of Legal History*, 10 (2013): 619-620; Olivier Chaïbi, "Le 'crédit des travailleurs': un aperçu du crédit populaire en France de 1848 à 1914," *Vie Sociale*, No.7, 3 (2014): 14, 22-23.

1213. Balog, "Political Regimes," 252.

1214. Orga, "Societatea," 97-98.

1215. "Direcțiunea Dispărțementului din Cohalm," *Transilvania*, Martie 10-11, 1897.

1216. "O nouă bancă românească," *Bunul Econom*, Iulie 5, 1902.

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institutes, clergy played a fundamental role in maintaining a Romanian banking system in the province.

Moreover, as administrators of the church assets, the priests had at their disposal more significant financial resources, while as spiritual leaders of their communities, they enjoyed the trust of the parishioners, making them a very effective human resource in the process of modernisation.¹²¹⁷ The existent rural Romanian elite from Transylvania was obliged to assume multiple roles in the process of national awakening to recover the historical gap. Rudimentary as they were, these institutions led by priests, jurists, teachers and ploughmen were characteristic of the banking system of the Transylvanian Romanians for the entire last quarter of the nineteenth century.¹²¹⁸

Starting with a capital of Kr 60,000, the creation of the *Economia* Bank, whose modest first headquarters were in the Buzea family's house on *Kozdgasse*, found the necessary coercion to develop around the leadership of the Priest Ioan Bercan, who became the second director of the bank.¹²¹⁹ During his mandate, the bank acquired a permanent headquarters on Main Street and joined two associations, the Central Comradeship (Ro. *Tovărășia Centrală*) and the Solidarity Union (Ro. *Solidaritatea*), whose purpose was to integrate *Economia* in the larger financial system of the province.¹²²⁰ Apart from providing

1217. Balog, "Cumul," 161-162, 165.

1218. Reșegan, "Aspecte," 318; Drecin, "Înființarea," 221; Dobrescu, *Funcții*, 171, 172, 198, 214, 220, 223, 228-229, 236, 257, 264-265, 273, 275, 279, 280, 284, 286, 292, 326.

1219. "Societăți financiare," *Revista Economică*, 1906; "Noutăți," *Tribuna poporului*, Iulie 27/ August 9, 1902; "Noutăți," *Bunul Econom*, Noiembrie 9, 1902; Cernea, "Cohalm".

1220. "Șematismul societăților financiare române," in *Anuarul Băncilor Române* (Sibiu: Tiparul Tipografiei Arhidiecezane, 1911), 60; "Adunarea de constituire a Centralei," *Tovărășia*, Decembrie 15/28, 1907. "Prospect pentru înființarea unei Centrale pentru tovărășiile sătești la Orăștie," *Tovărășia*, Noembrie 20, 1907; "Pentru Centrala Tovărășiiilor," *Tovărășia*, Decembrie 1/14, 1907; *Solidaritatea* Banking Union was established three years after a similar union of the Saxon banks was created in Transylvania as a cooperatist society that was aiming to provide more uniformity to the existing banking system. Drecin, "Înființarea," 232, 235; Cernea, "Cohalm".

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credit to Romanian ploughmen, the bank was also interested in developing the local industries – supporting three local manufacturers that produced furniture, shawls and buttons – and in real estate – acquiring a property where a café and a restaurant functioned on lease.¹²²¹ Similar to other institutes of this kind, their charitable activity contributed to various humanitarian and cultural projects of the Romanians from Rupea and other parts of the province.¹²²²

During the mandate of the director Ioan Berca, a series of internal disagreements appeared within the bank's leadership between two factions that formed less than a decade after its creation.¹²²³ Neither this situation nor its effects were unusual, with similar cases identified in other parts of Transylvania during that period.¹²²⁴ The effect of that rupture, which resulted in the departure of Ioan Iosif from the bank, led to the creation in 1910 of a second credit bank, not without dragging the two sides into a media conflict.¹²²⁵ While these delicate and intense moments that were experienced by the community led to the resurfacing of older smouldering conflicts based on confessional or kindred divisions, they remained rather momentarily emotions.¹²²⁶ The start of the Great War, a far larger concern for the

1221. "Restaurant," *Tribuna*, Noiembrie 23/ Decembrie 6, 1908; "Concurs," "Publicațiune." *Gazeta Transilvaniei*; "Un sfert de veac din viața bancară a Românilor ardeleni și bănățeni," *Revista economică. Organ financiar-economic*, Decembrie 23, 1923; Tabel fabrici și stabilimente, 14.7.1925, File 1926/1, Împroprietăriri, consilierii comunale, recrutări, IOVR, rechiziționări imobile, tabele cu soldații căzuți în război [...] BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

1222. Sabin Cioranu, *Rolul băncilor românești din Ardeal în pregătirea Unirii* (Brașov: Tipografia Societății Naționale de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană", 1944), 30, 37, 41; "Societăți financiare și comerciale," *Revista Economică*, Mai 7, 1905; Drecin, "Standul," 105; Mureșan, "Modernitate," 358-359.

1223. "Adunarea generală extraordinară a 'Ardelenii'," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Mai 21/ Iunie 3, 1913; "Chestiunea băncii," *Revista Economică*; "Știri," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Octombrie 13/26, 1910.

1224. Adunarea generală," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*.

1225. "Chestiunea băncii," *Revista Economică*; "Economie," *Tribuna*, Noiembrie, 3/16, 1910; "Știri," *Tovărășia*; "Din Cohalm. Noua bancă 'Cetatea'," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Octombrie 31/ Noembrie 13, 1910; Bucur, "Protopopul".

1226. Cioranu, *Rolul*, 25; Orga, "Societatea," 98.

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population, managed to reinforce a common solidarity, moving over that moment of crisis, not without leaving its mark in local memory.¹²²⁷

The new credit institute, **Cetatea Bank**, was envisioned by its founder, Ioan Iosif, as an innovative institution constructed on “modern business principles” that aimed to equally represent the interests of the ploughmen and the traders.¹²²⁸ The initial capital of Kr 10,000 was insured with the support of a Jewish manufacturer from the nearby village of Hoghiz.¹²²⁹ The first acting president was the Orthodox Priest Emil Gheaja from Paloș, while the bank director was Emanoil Bobancu, a Greek-Catholic and the owner of a local printing house.¹²³⁰ Enjoying the support of local Greek-Catholic families by naming as vice-presidents two notable members of the ploughmen community, Ioan Magdun and Ioan Bănuț, among the members of the board, was also found the Priest George Spornic.¹²³¹ Four years after its founding, Ioan Iosif was named the director of Cetatea and Priest Patriciu Pinteș from Cața was elected president.¹²³²

The plan envisaged by Ioan Iosif during this early stage of his career at Cetatea focused on granting loans to the peasantry and the small Romanian business owners.¹²³³

1227. Bucur, “Protopopul”.

1228. “‘Cetatea’ Institut de credit și de economii societate pe acțiuni în Cohalm,” *Românul*, Iulie 18/31, 1914; “Banca ‘Cetatea’ și creațiunea ei ‘Cetatea de Granit’,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Aprilie 17, 1923; “Chestiunea băncii” *Revista Economică*.

1229. “Știri,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, 1913; “Chestiunea băncii,” *Revista Economică*; Bucur, “Protopopul”.

1230. “Din Cohalm,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, 1910; “‘Cetatea’ bancă economică-comercială ca însoțire în Cohalm-Köhalom,” *Tribuna*, Ianuarie 13/26, 1911; ; Dobrescu, *Funcții*, 182-183, 195, 216-217, 228, 233-234, 260- 263, 286-288.

1231. “Convocare. Membri băncii economice-comerciale ca însoțire Cetatea din Cohalm, prin aceasta se convoacă în senzul ss-ului 9 dn statute la I-a adunare generală ordinară,” *Tribuna*, Ianuarie 13/26, 1911.

1232. “‘Cetatea,’” *Românul*; Protocolu Scolariu [...] scolei greco-orientale din Catia incepand dela anulu 1872, File Registre, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Cața, Cața, Romania.

1233. “‘Cetatea’,” *Românul*; “Cetatea,” *America*, Decembrie 13, 1920.

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Nonetheless, to cover these granted loans, the only ones that could repay were the families of the working migrants from America. Hence, developing an interest in attracting this category, using newspaper ads, the bank developed a marketing campaign that concluded in the opening of a subsidiary across the ocean.¹²³⁴ As the war ended and Transylvania united with the Kingdom of Romania, the expansion plans of Ioan Iosif entered a new phase. As a member of the Romanian National Party, the director of Cetatea Bank gained the support of influential personalities from the political scene, who backed the expansion of this credit institute at a national level and abroad – it was the first Transylvanian bank to open a subsidiary in the United States of America.¹²³⁵ With a capital of Lei 60 million and with an administrative board formed of renowned personalities – such as Prime Minister Alexandru Vaida-Voevod (1872-1950), the future Minister of Finance Mihai Popovici (1879-1966), the future Prime Minister ad interim and Minister of Foreign Affairs Ștefan Cicio Pop (1865-1934), the future Minister of Finance prof. Acad. Ion Răducanu (1884-1964), but also the members of the parliament Aurel Dobrescu, Voicu Nițescu, Patriciu Pinteș and the pretor of Rupea Virgil Mircea – for a brief period, in the years after the war, Cetatea was at the central stage of the financial life of Transylvania.¹²³⁶ During this period, the bank's headquarters was moved to Brașov in the premises of Hotel Continental (48 Castle St.), where the bank employed professionals with economic studies and experience in banking.¹²³⁷ By 1920, Cetatea Bank managed to open subsidiaries in Bucharest, Brașov, Odorhei, and Toplița; by 1923, it expanded to Cluj and Gherla, and at the beginning of the 1930s, one subsidiary

1234. Drecin, “Banca,” 340.

1235. “Cetatea,” *Calicul*, Nr.15-16, 1924.

1236. “Însemnări,” *Țara noastră*, 1922; “Cetatea,” *America*, Septembrie, 1920; “Chestiunea băncii,” *Revista Economică*, 1931.

1237. “Cetatea,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Decembrie 7, 1919; “Operațiuni bancare,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, August 16, 1924.

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functioned even in Galați, while the subsidiary from the United States was functioning in New York, on 70 Wall Street, since at least 1924.¹²³⁸

In 1923, major investments were directed towards the mining industry in the Granite Fort (Ro. Cetatea de Granit) project. This mining society, which operated four quarries in Romania – exploiting granite at Carabal, limestone at Hârșova, gravel at Ceair Tepe and basalt at Mateiaș and Racoș near Rupea – was projected as the core investment to the future development of the institution.¹²³⁹ Meanwhile, in Rupea, some of the capital was invested in Romanian-owned businesses. Apart from real estate – since 1919, the bank acquired the first houses in the southwest corner of the Market Square from a Saxon owner – other investments resulted in the opening of the first Romanian store on the ground floor of one of its properties, the establishment of a printing house – “Transilvania. Institut de Arte Grafice și Compactorie” – and the opening of petrol deposit – Ioniță Spornic & Comp. (est.1927).¹²⁴⁰ Apart from its economic activity, similar to Economia, the bank supported financially various cultural projects and provided scholarships for Romanian students.¹²⁴¹

In its heyday during the mid-1920s, the bank’s capital amounted to Lei 10 million, with a profit of Lei 1.45 million and a total social capital of Lei 60 million.¹²⁴² Nonetheless,

1238. “Cetatea,” *America*, Septembrie, 1920; “Din Rupea,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Februarie 23, 1923; “Chestiunea băncii,” *Revista Economică*; “Banca ‘Cetatea’,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*; “Însemnări,” *Țara noastră*; “Cetatea,” *Calicul*.

1239. “Din Rupea,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*; “Banca ‘Cetatea’,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*; “Chestiunea băncii,” *Revista Economică*.

1240. “Un sfert,” *Revista economică*; “Aviz,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Noiembrie 7, 1928; *Monografia județului Târnava Mare*, 287-288. Cerere a lui Ioniță Stan Spornic din 26.8.1931, File 1931/6, Repatrierea prizonierilor români din Rusia, repatrieri din Ungaria, exproprieri, secte religioase [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

1241. “Din Rupea,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, 1923.

1242. “Banca ‘Cetatea’,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*; Ion Enescu and Iuliu Enescu, *Ardealul. Banatul, Crișana și Maramureșul din punct de vedere agricol, cultural și economic* (București: Editura Librăriei Socec & Co., Societate anonimă, 1920), 224, 229; “Cetatea,” *Calicul*.

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in the context of the Great Depression, the bank's fate seemed doomed in the absence of real paid capital and because of the policy to grant unsecured loans, which soon resulted in rumours of possible bankruptcy.¹²⁴³ The failure of Ioan Iosif to ensure the favour of the liberals for much-needed financial assistance from the National Bank confirmed the loss of the political support he once enjoyed, which paid its toll not only on the bank's future but also on its founder.¹²⁴⁴ Due to the economic and political turmoil of the early 1930s and poor management, following a lawsuit filed by a customer, Ioan Iosif was arrested for a short period in 1931.¹²⁴⁵ By 1937, the proposals for declaring bankruptcy were officially discussed, and in 1938, the board members proposed its dissolution – or, as an alternative, its transformation into a credit cooperative or a trade and industry cooperative.¹²⁴⁶

While the fall of Cetatea had more extensive media coverage, two years earlier, in 1936, Economia Bank filed as well for bankruptcy, and the reasons for this failure must have been similar.¹²⁴⁷ The incapacity of these institutions to remain profitable in the aftermath of the Depression was nothing but a market response to the developments that took place in Romanian society on the eve of the Second World War. With a decrease in the number of banking institutes from 410 to 363 between 1934 and 1937, the story of the two Romanian banks from Rupea was shared by many others who failed to remain relevant in the economic context of the 1930s.¹²⁴⁸ Economia and Cetatea were only two of the four credit institutes that

1243. "Chestiunea," *Revista Economică*.

1244. "Chestiunea," *Revista Economică*.

1245. Iosif, "Memorii," 56; "Chestiunea," *Revista Economică*.

1246. Răspuns din 17.3.1937 la cererea vicarului general privind verificarea extraselor care arată pierderile suferite de biserică la depunerile aflate la Banca Cetatea Rupea, File Corespondență IV, 1930-1939, Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania; "Convocare," *Revista Economică*, Noemvrie, 26, 1938.

1247. Cerere Camera de Comerț și de Industrie Brașov, File 1936/1, Ordine, procese verbale, tabele și corespondență cu privire la concursul de baloane de zbor [...], BV-F-00037, Fond Primăria Rupea, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

1248. Pană, "Bănci," 313.

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functioned in Rupea in the twentieth century until the Second World War – the other two being the Plough (Ro. Plugul), which was established in 1910 by the Orthodox Priest Ioan Bercan and the Greek-Catholic Priest George Spornic, and whose purpose was to support young ploughmen to acquire modern agriculture machinery, and the second was Ramidava, a saving bank active in 1937, which was supporting the development of trade and industry and was owned by two engineers from Bucharest, A. Ioanovici and H. Theodoru.¹²⁴⁹ Retrospectively, the presence of these multiple local banks – which must be understood as rudimentary financial institutes with few or no professionals employed – did not bring significant benefits to the community apart from providing a much-needed institutional experience in banking for an entire generation of priests, lawyers, economists, and ploughmen alike.¹²⁵⁰

The advancement made by the Romanian society at the level of its institution after the mid-nineteenth century can be framed as part of the aspiration of a conscious national leadership eager to assume the new societal development models. The historical obstacles of the Transylvanian Romanians, who did not benefit from the same rights as their Saxon or Hungarian peers for centuries, did not impede the elites from pursuing modernisation for their nation. With a delay of merely decades later, the creation of new institutions and forms of organisation of public life during the nineteenth century could not have concurred without the reception of these ideas by the masses. Therefore, the aspirations of the leadership were associated with the people's will, which, as an integral part of modernisation, looked for new institutional models to represent their group interests. Motivated by the achievements of the

1249. “‘Cetatea’ institut de credit și economii, societate pe acțiuni în Cohalm,” *Anuarul Băncilor Române*, 1917, Sibiu; “Din Cohalm,” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, 1910; Chitanța, File Corespondență III (1930-1939), Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf. Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania. Apart from these financial institutes, during the late 1920s in Rupea functioned also a subsidiary of Brașov Popular Bank (Banca Populară Brașoveana). “Banca populară Brașoveana S.A.” *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Octombrie 9, 1927.

1250. Drecin, “Înființarea,” 222; “Economie,” *Tribuna*, Noiembrie, 1910.

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Saxons and the Hungarians, the Romanians were willing to embrace modernity once the liberties were granted and developed according to local standards.

The investigation of modern associationism from the perspective of the institutional developments that took place in Rupea represents the final effort of this investigation that inquired how the peasantry responded to the change. As part of larger structures, the Romanian peasantry remained integral to the transformation that defined the history of the King's Land, Transylvania, and East Central Europe. The emergence of a local secular elite schooled at universities in Western and Central Europe and the creation of modern association structures based on the available Saxon model shows that this society, far from isolated, was in direct contact with the larger transformation that characterised European society in the nineteenth century. The recognised delay of these transformations was caused by a limited financial potency and a certain suspicion specific to those who suffered oppression, but these shortcomings did not cancel their accomplishments.

The study of the evolution of local administrative institutions in the Romanian community in Rupea reveals complex social dynamics. The emergence of new secular organisational structures within the Romanian community, evident through various associations since the late nineteenth century, reflects the complex relationship between tradition and modernisation. The investigated structures, grounded in geographic and occupational affiliations, developed over pre-existing institutions, underscoring the transformative shifts experienced by Transylvanian rural society during the late nineteenth century. Beyond Rupea, the sub-chapter thoroughly reveals the East Central European rural world as a dynamic space where modernisation is present in various aspects of life.

The final chapter explored a historical landscape where local secular institutions developed among the Romanian population, offering a view into the broader forces that

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shaped the rural society in East Central Europe during the modern period. In an era of transformative shifts, traditional institutions and their modernised counterparts coexisted in an original way. Modern forms of associationism are intricately linked to the emergence of a secular elite within the East Central European space, highlighting the complex relationship between the peasantry and the rest of society. The modern associations evolved organically over pre-existing institutions, providing an understanding of the intricate process of institutional modernisation within Transylvanian rural society. Beyond its local significance, the chapter also provided a better understanding of the broader implications of secularisation and modernisation in the rural space and the complex relationship between religious and secular forces.



Conclusion

In this exploration of the rural space, the thesis portrays the southern Transylvanian peasantry against continuous internal structural modernisation. Rather than a static portrayal, the narrative immerses dynamically into familial, economic, administrative, and cultural themes. Challenging the historiographic idea of a static past, the inquiry isn't a story of stagnation but of development sustained by resilience and transformative agency. The history of Transylvania provides the background for this comprehensive analysis of the ploughmen's society, challenging the idea of stagnation often associated with this space. The investigated Transylvanian Romanian population, skilled at adaption, emerges as a group deeply connected to its time's economic and institutional realities.

The ploughmen's world witnessed various changes, including migrations, religious conversions and the alteration of fundamental community-based institutions. In this broader shift of events, the emergence of private property, specifically of arable land, was a key moment that reformed social hierarchies by emphasising the centrality of land ownership in the rural world. This crucial moment in forming the ploughmen's society occurred in the southern Transylvania area known as King's Land during the Principality period – about two centuries before serfdom was abolished in the northern counties. This new system, gaining dominance in the rural economy, triggered social dynamics and established hierarchies centred on the principle of private property, particularly land. A survivor of this era remarked, decades after its demise: “[...] if you didn't have land, you were not a man, you didn't have honour [...]”.¹²⁵¹ From the arrival of the Habsburgs at the end of the seventeenth

1251. Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author.

century until the end of the Second World War, the ploughmen's society was empowered by this most valuable asset.

During the investigated period, the rural society in southern Transylvania contradicts the assumptions of stagnation and immovability attributed to the rural landscape, showing a great prowess to modernise. The familial, economic and administrative structures that defined this occupational group were dynamic constructs that continuously adapted over the entire period, responding to the challenges of history. Highly adaptable, the ploughmen shaped their identity around the land they relied on, displaying remarkable flexibility and geographic, social and spiritual mobility only to safeguard their household's existence.

In both the ploughmen's society and the structure of this thesis, everything revolved around the core agent of change – the land, specifically, land ownership. By positioning land as the core element that defines ploughmen's society, the research studied this society from the perspective of land ownership, indicating how this possession acted as a driving force and stimulated institutional modernisation in the rural world. Thus, the central argument was that Transylvanian Romanian ploughmen families living in the King's Land, shaped by specific economic conditions, juridical status, and cultural experiences, developed a series of institutions that reflected local realities. Motivated by pragmatic necessities centred around the preservation of private property, the peasantry continuously adapted to ensure the survival of their family household, fostering in the process the structural modernisation of their institutions.

By addressing rural society using different facets of private life, this investigation emerges not as a history of the Romanians but rather as a history of the forces that act between various social and cultural groups. The exploration of the different actors that contribute to the modernisation of the rural space provides an original perspective on East

Central European history, contributing to a broader understanding of this space from a transnational and transcultural perspective. A fresco into the Habsburg Empire's and Transylvania's history, the work contributes to acquiring a better sense of East Central Europe's social, economic, and cultural transformations during the modern period. The themes approached open the research to a narrative that includes experiences familiar to similar social groups around the continent. For instance, the presence of the Romanian peasants in the Habsburg military campaigns during the eighteenth century was an experience shared by other populations from the Empire. Similarly, the participation of the Transylvanian peasantry in the transatlantic migration, which had deep consequences in the home communities of the emigrants, was an experience in many other parts of Europe during that period. In a final example, the narrative integrates religious dynamics into rural modernisation, offering a comprehensive understanding of how religious institutions acted as agents of historical transformation in the region – yet these developments contribute to a larger body of historiography that transcends the temporal boundaries of this research and that addresses similar issues.

Framed as a case study focused on a market town, the importance of this research surpasses local geographic boundaries. The history of the Romanian ploughmen from Rupea presents a broader narrative that resonates with diverse spaces and people who share collective experiences. In the thesis, Rupea is constructed as a microcosm that reflects the intricate complexities of rural society and family life, the themes investigated representing the true contribution to the field. For this reason, throughout the thesis, there are references to other parts of the world, which remind us that this story shares commonalities and differences with many other spaces and people and that Romanian ploughmen from Rupea are part of a larger narrative.

The entire research process unfolds across four distinct phases spanning eight semesters. The initial phase, corresponding to the first semester, involved a careful review of the literature, particularly the history of East Central Europe, and familiarisation with the methodologies. The second phase, roughly corresponding to the second semester, constituted the main field research campaign, collecting the core body of archival sources. The third phase, spanning an entire academic year, focused on processing the considerable amount of information collected thus far and creating a digital inventory. This inventory, encompassing approximately one hundred hours of interview transcriptions, five hundred digitised photographs, 1,200 transcribed newspaper articles, one hundred forty transcribed church archive documents, and almost nine hundred transcribed documents from national archives, ran parallel to a quantitative analysis of the parish civil registers from Rupea for the period 1788-1917. The fourth phase, which is the most extensive in terms of time, extends over four semesters. During the fifth and sixth semesters, a first draft was written, while during the seventh semester, the attention was directed to reading specific literature important to finalising the work. Finally, during the eighth semester, the final draft was completed, with the remaining final weeks reserved for refining the overall quality of the work.

As a result of real-life experiences, the work followed meticulous planning but also adaptations to unforeseen challenges. Nearly every plan exceeding a term faced disruptions from external events, including the disruptive force of the pandemic during the second and third years, bureaucratic obstacles to accessing archival funds, and the need to allocate time and effort to enhance specific language skills alongside teaching responsibilities at Durham University. The outcome drifts away significantly from the initial vision, being shaped more by real-life challenges. However, the resilience built over four years, including completing a doctoral thesis at two universities, three work experiences in the same field of expertise, and

advancing four language skills, highlights the development of adaptability and perseverance capacities acquired through these experiences.

In examining the rural Romanian society in southern Transylvania during the modern period, this research contributes to various research themes such as family structures, household economics and institutional history. That being said, a series of limitations are acknowledged, which create opportunities for future research to be built upon. First would be the development of new themes, such as military engagement and political life, which were not covered due to various limitations imposed by the current format. Furthermore, human migration and the movement of ideas and information represented two additional themes that remained understudied for the same causes, and that should benefit from new detailed research in future work. Exploring these dimensions in future research could explain how the rural population in the King's Land engaged with broader political and military events, offering a more comprehensive understanding of their experience. The increased connection of private lives with global history would further enrich the current narrative and reveal how the rural population in the King's Land was influenced or contributed to global events, adding complexity to the understanding of this region.

Apart from these general observations on theme development, was identified another direction that would increase the value of the work. This effort, which could conclude in a separate study, suggests the carrying of an analysis of the Transylvanian Saxon population from Rupea to develop a holistic perspective of multiculturalism in rural East Central Europe. The current effort that focuses on the Transylvanian Romanian population is without doubt biased, yet the presence of the other major population group that lived in the King's Land would provide a complete perspective on the familial structures, economic development, and cultural experiences. Along with the Transylvanian Romanians, the Transylvanian Saxons

were crucial in shaping southern Transylvania's demographic, economic and cultural landscape, while from a political and institutional perspective, this latter population group was the architect of this space for centuries. Exploring the modernisation of the family structures and economics and the local community-based institutions of the Saxon population would contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the regional dynamics. This suggested that comparative work between the local Romanian and Saxon rural populations has the potential to reveal a series of similarities and differences between the two groups and explain how these communities were mutually influenced over long periods.

The unavailability of valuable archival funds caused additional limitations, yet this could be overcome after the consultation of these sources. Notably, the town hall archives before the Great War, a period crucial for understanding the local agrarian situation, remained inaccessible during this research. This limitation arose from the archival fund not being catalogued, which blocked the exploration of this comprehensive source that covers a significant period in the town's history. These funds can provide vital information for understanding the development of both the Romanian and Saxon populations since they provided direct and detailed information about the economic and social organisation of the town in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In addition, due to time constraints, the Sibiu County Service of the National Archives was not accessed. The funds preserved there hold crucial information on the political, religious and administrative history of Rupea, particularly addressing the Saxon population. In addition, two other institutions, The Siebenbürgen Institut at the Heidelberg University in Gundelsheim am Neckar, which holds a valuable repository for studying the Saxon population in Transylvania, and the National Archives of Hungary in Budapest, were also left unexplored due to time constraints. This situation leaves future researchers to explore the two repositories that hold important information about the history of Rupea.

This comprehensive exploration of the modern history of East Central Europe represents a contribution to both specialised historiography and a broader audience interested in the history of this space. For historians specialised in rural history, family history, and the history of religion and migration, the thesis serves as a comprehensive resource, providing valuable insights into the modernisation of the southern Transylvanian peasantry's institutions. Expanding the lens to the broader East Central European space, the work contributes to understanding regional dynamics. It introduces the agrarian society of southern Transylvania to broader transformative processes specific to this part of the continent. On the methodological front, the thesis introduces a comprehensive genealogical and anthroponomic study to guide future specialists in rural history. In this way, it calls for the broader adoption of these auxiliary sciences that provide an original perspective into rural kinship and marital structures, encouraging future investigators on the value of genealogy in researching rural society.

Does the story of this rural experience, apparently bound to a specific locale, resonate with the broader events that shaped global history? The answer is yes; this investigation transcended the limits of a market town's history, inviting the reader to uncover the dynamic world of rural communities. Far from local history, the narrative offered an appealing tale of rural East Central Europe during the modern period.

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File 1923/1, Încurajarea industriei, participări la Primul Război Mondial, repatrieri în Ungaria, exproprieri locuri de casă [...], *Decizie divorț a tribunalului Ibașfalău din 5.7.1923 privind procesul intentat de Lazăr Săracu soției sale Maria Danciu.* BV-F-00037. Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

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File 1925/10, Memoriul societății plugarilor din Rupea din 3.7.1925 cu privire la edificarea casei de cultură [...], *Cerere a locuitorilor români înaintată către primărie în vederea luării de măsuri contra inundațiilor anuale care produc pagube uriașe locuitorilor din zonele de șes.* BV-F-00037. Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

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- File 1926/1, Împrumutări, consilierii comunali, recrutări, IOVR, rechiziționări imobile, tabele cu soldații căzuți în război [...], *Tabel recensământ morți/dispăruți/invalizi din Primul Război Mondial*. BV-F-00037. Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.
- File 1926/1, Împrumutări, consilierii comunali, recrutări, IOVR, rechiziționări imobile, tabele cu soldații căzuți în război [...], *Tabel fabrici și stabilimente, 14.7.1925*. BV-F-00037. Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.
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File 1927/1, Secretari, propaganda baptistă, Societate Invalizilor de Război, sărbătorirea Zilei Eroilor [...], *Primăria Rupea către președintele Societății Plugarilor Români din comuna Rupea, înaintează un ordin primit din partea inf. silvic privind întreținerea pâraurilor din localitate de către proprietarii care au pământ.* BV-F-00037. Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

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- File 1928/1, Recrutări, ajutorarea sinistraților, activitatea societății Invalizii de Război [...], *Tabloul emigranților din 1904-1928 din comuna Rupeni, în țările în afară din Europa (mențiuni America, Argentina, Canada), 19.6.1928*. BV-F-00037. Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.
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- File 1929/11, Statistica industrială, *Circulară din 5.12.1926 a primăriei Rupea către președinții vecinătăților din comuna Rupeni*. BV-F-00037. Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

- File 1929/11, Statistica industrială, *Hotărâre din 18.2.1927 a preturii plasei Rupea privind organizarea unei petreceri a Vecinătății a V-a cu scopul de a strânge fonduri pentru Societatea "Mărășești"*. BV-F-00037. Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.
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- File 1929/5, Ordine și corespondență cu privire la eliberarea pașapoartelor [...], *Circulară. Ordin al Ministerului de Interne Direcția Generală a Poliției, Serviciul Poliției Generale și de Frontieră. No.54004, 24.8.1929*. BV-F-00037. Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.
- File 1929/5, Ordine și corespondență cu privire la eliberarea pașapoartelor [...], *Scrisoare a Mariei Harrica din Rupea, actualmente aflată în Falkenau an der Eger (Sokolov) Cehoslovacia în privința cumpărării unei parcele de pământ*. Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.
- File 1929/8, Adeverință cu privire la acordarea de ajutor familiei protopresbiterului Ioan Bercan, *Cerere a primăriei Rupea pentru acordarea de ajutor financiar urmașilor minori ai fostului preot Ioan Bercan 12.9.1927*. BV-F-00037. Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.
- File 1930/2, Corespondență cu privire la numerotarea caselor, nomenclatorul străzilor pe 1930 [...], *Tabel din 5.8.1930 privind numerotarea caselor care indiă numărul nou al casei, numărul vechi al casei, numele de familie, numărul gospodăriilor sau familiilor care locuiesc în curte și numărul persoanelor din care se compun gospodăriile*. BV-F-00037. Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.
- File 1930/6, Tabel cu locuitorii comunei, *Liste cu locuitorii care au calitate de membri ai comunei Rupeni, toti având cetățenia română în anul 1930*. BV-F-00037. Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.
- File 1931/6, Repatrierea prizonierilor români din Rusia, repatrieri din Ungaria, exproprieri, secte religioase [...], *Cerere a lui Ioniță Stan Spornic din 26.8.1931*. BV-F-00037.

Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

File 1931/6, Repatrierea prizonierilor români din Rusia, repatrieri din Ungaria, exproprieri, secte religioase [...], *Listă din 16.12.1931, întocmită de Delegația Regală a României din Rio de Janeiro, înaintată de prefectura județului Târnava Mare către primărie privind cetățenii români aflați fără lucru în Argentina, cu scopul de a raporta dacă numiții au rude apropiate în comună și în caz afirmativ a li se pune în vedere să trimită celor din listă banii necesari de drum spre a se întoarce în țară, întrucât se află în America de Sud/Argentina/ lipsiți de mijloace. Dumitru Bănuț – domiciliul Rupea – profesiunea agronom, Zaharia Morariu – domiciliul Ștena – profesiunea agronom, Ion Cernea – domiciliul Paloș – profesiunea agronom. BV-F-00037. Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.*

File 1931/7, Voluntari români în Primul Război Mondial, construirea școlii, exproprierea terenului [...], *Chestionar al societății SPAR Kredit Bank A.G. Rupea din 20.4.1931. BV-F-00037. Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.*

File 1932/24 Contracte de vânzare-cumpărare, *Act notarial din 18.10.1932 privind încheierea unui contract de vânzare-cumpărare dintre părțile Borcoman Dumitru și soția sa Borcoman Domnica din comuna Rupea ca vânzatori și Ioan Pumnea și soția sa Maria Pumnea născută Oancea din comuna Dăișoara ca și cumpărători. Vânzătorii vând prin acesta imobilul lor cuprins în cartea funduară a comunei Rupea cu Nr. 1646 A+ 2487/6986, 2487/4/b/6990, 2487/6988, 2487/6982, 2497/6984, a treia parte teren de 435 stânjeni pătrați fânăț clasa VI, cu prețul de 2000 Lei. BV-F-00037. Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.*

File 1932/27, Ordine și corespondență cu privire la mișcarea comunistă, *Listă din 7.10.1932 a proprietarilor români de pământ care dețin cel puțin 18 iugăre de teren arabil – Ioan Pop sen. (născut 1848), Zachie Pop (născut 1858), Ioan Repede (născut 1874), Suma Gheorghe (născut 1884). BV-F-00037. Fond Primăria Rupea. Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.*

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I.3. Photography

Author unknown, *Interwar period house on Market St. constructed by Nicolae Borcoman and his wife Maria Danciu after their return from trading in East Central Europe.* Interwar period, Photograph, Vasile Danciu private collection, Rupea, Romania.

Author unknown, *Panoramic view taken from the cemetery hill, [with the printed inscription "Rupia – Reps," and on verso "Verlag Kasper & Kellner, Rupia – Reps. România. Cartă Postală."].* Interwar period. Postal card. Private collection of the author.

Author unknown, *Wedding photograph, in front row the godparents Nicolae Săracu (1888-1965), the president of the Society of the Ploughmen from Rupea and his wife Maria nee Magdun (1896-1977), in the second row the grooms, a local Roma family.* Interwar period. Photograph. Vasile Danciu private collection, Rupea, Romania.

Author unknown. *Funeral of Barta Grigore, detail Ioan Iosif.* Cca.1954. Photograph. Ioan Toma private collection, Rupea, Romania.

Author unknown. *Group of Romanians with the Ploughmen's Meeting Hall in construction.* 1925. Photograph. Vasile Danciu private collection, Rupea, Romania.

Author unknown. *Group of Romanian women and children on Kozdgasse.* Interwar period. Photograph. Vasile Danciu private collection, Rupea, Romania.

Author unknown. *Group of Romanians in front of Ploughmen's Meeting Hall.* Interwar period, after 1926. Photograph. Vasile Danciu private collection, Rupea, Romania.

Author unknown. *Group photo of a ploughmen family from Bănuț kin with their cattle.* Twentieth century. Dan Bănuț private collection, Rupea, Romania.

Author unknown. *Group photo of Romanian ploughmen at the war memorial from Lențea Forest.* Interwar period, after 1937. Photograph. Vasile Danciu private collection, Rupea, Romania.

Author unknown. *Group photo of the Crucifix raised by the Greek-Catholic community in the Jubilee year 1933.* 1933. Photograph. Vasile Danciu private collection, Rupea, Romania.

Author unknown. *Main square during a market day.* Interwar period. Photograph. Private collection of the author.

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- Author unknown. *Panoramic view taken from Kozdgasse with the Kozd valley and a wooden bridge in the foreground, [with the printed inscription "Rupea-Reps" and on verso Verlag: Kasper & Kellner. România. Cartă Postală]*. Interwar period. Postal card. Private collection of the author.
- Author unknown. *Seminarul Teologic-Pedagogic Sibiu, Cl. III, 1894*. 1894. Yearbook photograph. Fond Arhiva Parohiei Sf.Treime Rupea, Rupea, Romania.
- Author unknown. *The brass band of the Prince Michael Society*. May 1928. Sisea Ioan private collection, Rupea, Romania.
- Author unknown. *The Orthodox Church, the Orthodox Confessional School and the Church interior*. 1910-1919. Postal card. Szegedi László Tamás private collection, Rupea, Romania.
- Author unknown. *West Kozdgasse flooded*. Twentieth century. Photograph. Vasile Danciu private collection, Rupea, Romania.
- Author unknown. *Woman ploughing*. Interwar period. Photograph. Vasile Danciu private collection, Rupea, Romania.
- Muschalek, Carl. *Vedere dinspre răsărit spre târgul Rupea cu cetatea sa. În mijloc stânga piața centrală, turnul bisericii luterane și biserica luterană, pe panta de sub cetate în dreapta o altă biserică mică cu turn*. Date unknown. Photography. BV-F-00001-46-K-IV-188. Colecția de fotografii și vederi, Albumul mic, vol.4, Fond Primăria Brașov 1353-1951, Arhivele Naționale Serviciul Județean Brașov, Brașov, Romania.

I.4. Interviews

Ana Beian, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, May 2019.

Ana Burlacu (nee Borcoman), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

Bucura Danciu (nee Danciu), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

Cornelia Băia (nee Băia), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

Elisabeta Iosif (nee Stoica), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

Gheorghe Borcoman, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

Gheorghe Suma “Drăghici”, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

Gheorghe Suma “Țăreanu”, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

Gheorghe Tempea, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

Gheorghe Vîja, in discussion with the author (not recorded), Strasbourg, France, December 2022.

Ioan Boțoman and Ana Boțoman (nee Sisea), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

Ioan Costea, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

Ioan Dumitru, in discussion with the author (not recorded), Rupea, Romania, June 2021.

Ioan Magdun, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, November 2014, December 2014, February 2015, April 2017, August 2017.

Ioan Neagu, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

Ioan Repede, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019, June 2019.

Ioan Sisea and Ana Sisea (nee Fișărean) in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019, June 2019.

Ironim Sisea, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

Maria Danciu (nee Iosif), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

Maria Spornic (nee Costea), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

Maria Stoica (nee Frățilă), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

Maria Terchilă (nee Pălășan), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, May 2019.

Melania Dumitru (nee Magdun), in discussion with the author (not recorded), Rupea, Romania, June 2021.

Nicolae Bălăica, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

Nicolae Stoica, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

Otilia Sabău (nee Buzea), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, May 2019.

Traian Forsea, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

Vasile Borcoman, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

Vasile Danciu, in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, December 2014, April 2019, December 2022.

Victoria Pălășan (nee Spornic), in discussion with the author, Rupea, Romania, April 2019.

I.5. Newspapers and magazines

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- “‘Cetatea’ bancă economică-comercială ca însoțire în Cohalm-Kőhalom.” *Tribuna*, Ianuarie 13/26, 1911.
- “‘Cetatea’ Institut de credit și de economii societate pe acțiuni în Cohalm.” *Românul*, Iulie 18/31, 1914.
- “‘Cetatea’ institut de credit și economii, societate pe acțiuni în Cohalm.” *Anuarul Băncilor Române*, 1917, Sibiu.
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Annotations to the illustrations used in the thesis

The location of the Rupea coat of arms used in the opening after the abstract is referenced in the bibliography in the section Archives, subsection National Archives (Rupea town archives and miscellanea).

The author realised the collage before the beginning of Part I using a photograph collected during the field research, which represented a group of ploughmen from Rupea. The collage represents the hand of one of the ploughmen from that photograph. The round symbol beneath is the mark used by the township to delimit the borderland and the cattle that belonged to the inhabitants of Rupea. The final collage found at the end of Part III was realised using a personal photograph of a detail from a sketch authored by Pablo Picasso that can be found at the Musée Picasso in Paris, while for the cornucopia etching, a content licence was acquired in order to be used in the collage.

The three handwritten names in Old Church Slavonic found in the first chapter were extracted from the parish registers *Protocol botezași Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811* and *Protocol morți Greco-Catolici, 1788-1811*. See the bibliography for the location of these documents.

“[...] they were a banished race of beautiful barbarians,
and when they died, they could not be replaced.”

The Peregrine, J.A.Baker

Asemenea poezilor de odinioară
el scria numai când avea ceva de spus,
când inima i se îngreua de dor,
când sufletul era împovărat de o bucurie sau durere.

Victor Eftimiu on Șt.O.Iosif
Țara Bârsei, Septembrie-Octombrie 1931

LA SOCIÉTÉ DES LABOUREURS. UNE PROSOPOGRAPHIE D'UNE COMMUNAUTÉ AGRAIRE DE TRANSYLVANIE À LA VEILLE DE LA MODERNITÉ

Résumé

Prise dans le caractère incontournable de l'histoire, la paysannerie d'Europe centrale a participé activement aux grands événements qui définissent cet espace entre la fin de l'époque moderne et le milieu du 20e siècle. Dans la société rurale complexe des laboureurs roumains de Transylvanie, qui fait l'objet de ce travail, le monde extérieur était à la fois un mirage et une expérience banale. Traitée comme des assemblées homogènes, comme des masses unitaires, et souvent représentée par les grands récits historiographiques du siècle passé selon une perspective de lutte des classes, la paysannerie a été maintes fois martyrisée de manière injustifiée. Même quand ce n'était pas le cas, l'intérêt pour le village de Transylvanie restait tributaire de thèmes spécifiques interrogeant le développement des institutions plutôt que celui de la population qui les faisait respecter. S'appuyant sur ces efforts historiographiques antérieurs, les principales questions abordées dans cette recherche visent à savoir qui sont les membres de cette société rurale et ce qui les a poussés à s'adapter et à accepter la nouveauté face aux défis constants de l'histoire. Nécessitant un équilibre permanent entre l'accès aux histoires privées et la connexion de ces histoires aux événements historiques plus importants qui se déroulaient en Transylvanie et en Europe en général, la recherche a adopté une méthodologie plurielle utilisant des registres d'état civil, des journaux et des périodiques, des entretiens d'histoire orale et une série d'ego documents tels que des photographies et des mémoires. Révélateurs d'individualités dont l'acceptation de la tradition s'est construite en accord avec leur desideratum pragmatique, les membres de cette société agraire, qui a dominé le paysage social transylvanien jusqu'au XXe siècle, ont embrassé le changement comme condition de survie, ce qui a donné des réponses originales.

Mots-clés : Histoire de la famille ; histoire rurale ; institutions locales ; histoire contemporaine ; Transylvanie

PLOUGHMEN'S SOCIETY. A PROSOPOGRAPHY OF AN AGRARIAN COMMUNITY FROM TRANSYLVANIA ON THE EVE OF MODERNITY

Summary

Caught in the inescapability of history, the East Central European peasantry actively participated in the major events that defined this space during the modern period. In the complex rural society of the Transylvanian Romanian ploughmen, which makes the subject of this work, the outside world was both a mirage and a mundane experience. Treated as homogenous assembles, as unitary masses, and often reproduced by the grand historiographical narratives of the past century from the perspective of a class struggle, the peasantry was repeatedly unjustifiably martyred. Even when this was not the case, the interest showed to the Transylvanian village remained tributary to specific themes questioning the development of the institutions rather than of the population that enforced them. Constructing on these previous historiographical efforts, the main questions addressed in this research aim to discover who the members of this rural society are and what drove them to adapt and accept novelty in the face of the constant challenges of history. Requiring a permanent balance between accessing personal stories and connecting those stories to the significant historical events that were taking place in Transylvania and Europe in general, mixed-method research was employed using townhall records, parish records and correspondence, civil status records, newspapers and periodicals, oral history interviews and a series of ego documents such as photography and memoirs. Revealing individualities whose acceptance of tradition was constructed in consonance with their pragmatic desideratum, the members of this agrarian society, that dominated the Transylvanian social landscape until the twentieth century, embraced change as a requisite of survival, resulting in surprisingly original answers.

Keywords: Family history; rural history; local institutions; modern period; Transylvania

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