

UNIVERSITATEA DIN BUCUREȘTI

FACULTATEA DE ISTORIE

**TEZĂ DE ABILITARE**

**SITUAȚIA DEMOGRAFICĂ DIN  
ȚĂRILE ROMÂNE  
LA SFÂRȘITUL EVULUI MEDIU**

**The demographic situation of the Romanian  
Lands at the end of the Middle Ages**  
(Abstract)

PROF. DR. ȘAROLTA SOLCAN

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## Introduction

In the first part I presented my research in historical demography and my original contributions to this field. In this context I mentioned the documentary sources that I've used and their peculiarities in relation to documents from western states. This presentation is needed because the characteristics of the documents influence research directions. Some of the sources used to reconstitute the demographic situation were unpublished. I pointed out that I edited two areas of land records from Făgăraș (1654) and Gilău (1663), and I processed the data of an original parish register of the eighteenth century in Fagaras and of many surveys, which are unpublished sources.

In the second part I presented the achievements in demographic research and analysis of demographic events such as births and migration. Due to the large number of documents kept in Transylvania, the analysis was mainly based on them, but as far as it was possible I extended the investigation also into the realities of the Romanian Land and Moldova. I pointed out fluctuations in the number of inhabitants and the political, economic and cultural factors that caused them. Also I focused on migration and the issues it had.

In the third part I analyzed the evolution of the family. For this I researched numerical evolution, size and structure of families in the eighteenth century and early eighteenth century. I followed the peculiarities of development in relation to the European context.

In parallel to the analysis of demographic trends, I also considered the reconstitution of the portrait of the late Middle Ages in the Romanian Lands. The result was the creation of a monography of the medieval woman and of studies and book chapters in which I analyzed portraits of priest, peregrines, the way they were perceived by the stranger, common mans destiny, which is a something new in Romanian historiography.

For a better understanding of the realities of the XVI-XVII centuries I continued the investigations regarding demography on documents from the XIII-XV centuries and from XVIII-XIX centuries. I also compared the demographic situation in the Romanian Countries to that of Central and Western Europe, highlighting peculiarities and similarities in quantitative evolution of the population and of the family structures.

In the conclusions of the thesis I outlined my contributions to the development of historical demography, of family history of the Middle Ages and the late Middle Ages, of migration research in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and of the history of women and medieval society.

I pointed out that my goals are continuing demographic analysis, both by expanding research across Transylvania, Romanian Lands and Moldova in the seventeenth century and by expanding research to the eighteenth century.

For this project I expect a close cooperation with university students in order to identify historical sources and exploit them.

## The sources for the historical demography of the Romanian Lands in the late Middle Ages

The main objective pursued by my researches was the reconstruction of the demographic situation in the Romanian Lands at the end of the Middle Ages, in the 17th Century and at the beginning of the 18th Century.

This was a difficult period for the population of Europe. A sequence of natural calamities, economic crises, wars and, as a corollary, epidemics brought in demographic stagnation in the Western and Central parts of the continent. The large number of documents concerning the population was a basis for the reconstruction of the main demographic structures in Western and Central European countries.

My aim was to extend these researches to the space of the Romanian Lands.

I was forced by the lack of parish registers, used as sources for the demography of Western and Central Europe, to resort to the data from *urbaria*, registers of inhabitants compiled for the feudal domains in Transylvania. These documents contain data concerning the matrimonial and economic situation of the individuals. The family was the basic unit for taxing purposes and, for this reason, the registers recorded its structure, number of members and the economic condition from the point of view of the owned livestock. The emigrants and the deceased were recorded in special rubrics.

The repeated recording of data makes possible the study of the demographic and economic evolution over several decades. The variety of the information concerning the economic condition of the population facilitates the detection of the impact of the economic phenomena of the 17th Century and the beginning of the 18th Century upon the demographic development.

The *urbaria* have certain limits, which distort the demographic image. The free inhabitants were registered only in exceptional cases, on the domains from Făgăraș Land. As a rule, only data for the male adults and their sons were recorded. The women were mentioned only when they were widows and, implicitly, they were family heads. The data about the individuals were concise; they included only the name of the family head and the number of sons. There was a rubric for observations and there it was noted if the family was an extended one. The name and the age of the boys started to be recorded only after 1680.

The data from the *urbaria* were supplemented by other data, the data contained in a parish register from the town of Făgăraș, information from official investigations and data from various population lists.

The researches began with the analysis of the situation in Făgăraș Land.<sup>1</sup> This

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Ș. Solcan, *Populația Țării Făgărașului în secolul al XVII-lea și la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea* [The Population of the Făgăraș Land in the 17th Century and the Early 18th Century], Bucharest University Press, 2010, 290 pages.

is a region situated in southern Transylvania, at the border with Wallachia. It included three feudal domains - Făgăraș, Porumbac and Comana - with more than 50 villages and two country towns, Făgăraș and Beclean. The villages in this area were inhabited by the Romanian population. The region had belonged to Wallachia until the beginning of the 16th Century. In the 17th Century, boyars and princes from the families of Cantacuzino and Brâncoveanu had here landed properties. These factors contributed to the maintenance of Romanian traditions and peculiar social structures, as for example the category of the boyars. In the Făgăraș Land, the Romanian traditions persisted for a long time. For this reason, during the first half of the 20th Century, the researchers from the sociological school led by Dimitrie Gusti focused their investigations on this region.

Another reason for starting our historical demographic investigations in the Făgăraș Land was the rich set of documents - published and unpublished - preserved from the 17th Century and the beginning of the 18th Century. Among the most important documents used in the demographic analysis were the *urbaria*. For some areas, this kind of feudal registers were drawn up at intervals of a few years: for the Făgăraș domain in 1632, 1637, 1640; for the Comana domain in 1632, 1637, 1648; and for the Porumbac domain in 1632, 1637, 1648, 1664, 1674, 1676, 1680. These *urbariae* were published by David Prodan and Ștefan Metes.<sup>2</sup> At the beginning of the 18th Century, most of the inhabitants of the villages were registered between 1703-1706, in 1710-1714 and then in 1721, 1726. Registers from 1703-1714 are unpublished documents.<sup>3</sup> On the basis of these documents, we could investigate the demographic evolution over several decades.

Starting from the data contained in the *urbaria* of the first half of the 17th Century for the towns of Făgăraș and Beclean, we analysed the peculiar features of the demographic development in towns in contrast to the villages. The two towns illustrated two types of *oppidum*, each with its own demographic and economic characteristics.<sup>4</sup>

An important *urbarium* for the study of the impact of the economic crisis upon the demographic situation in a town is the *urbarium* for the town of Făgăraș from 1654. The document was published as an annex to the book *Populația țării Făgărașului în secolul al XVII-lea și la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea*.<sup>5</sup>

A peculiarity of the *urbaria* from the domains of the Făgăraș Land was the inclusion and the descriptions of the local petty nobility (boyars) and of the priests.

To the information from *urbaria* we may add the data contained in the "Baptismal parish register of the Reformed Church from Făgăraș during the years

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<sup>2</sup>*Urbariile Țării Făgărașului*, vol.I (1601-1650), vol..II (1651-1680), ed. D. Prodan, L. Ursuțiu, M. Ursuțiu, București, 1970-1976; Șt. Metes, *Situația economică a românilor din Țara Făgărașului*, vol.I, Cluj, 1935, p.1-263, 365-369.

<sup>3</sup>*Urbariul domeniului Comana de Jos din 1703*, Arhiva de Stat a Ungariei, Fondul "Erdélyi Fiskális Levéltár", (Arhiva Fiscala a Transilvaniei), F234, 427/fasc.14; *Urbariul domeniului Făgăraș din 1706*, Arhiva de Stat a Ungariei, Fondul "Erdélyi Fiskális Levéltár", (Arhiva Fiscala a Transilvaniei), F234, nr.42; *Urbariul domeniului Făgăraș din 1710*, DGAN, București, Fondul "Ungaria", Microfilme rola 272; *Urbariul domeniului Făgăraș din 1714*, Arhiva de Stat a Ungariei, Fondul "Erdélyi Fiskális Levéltár", (Arhiva Fiscala a Transilvaniei), F234, nr.421/fasc2 libri 2

<sup>4</sup>Ș. Solcan, *Populația Țării Făgărașului ...*, pp.75-81.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 265-278.

1663-1700”.<sup>6</sup>

On the occasion of the trials, the authorities carried out investigations which contain important data about the witnesses (age, social category) and about the everyday life on the domains. Through them, we see the impact of the economic and political situation upon the population. The investigations concerning the fugitives reveal the causes of emigration and the directions of emigration. These data were analyzed in ”Pribegia în Țările Române în secolele XVI-XVII”<sup>7</sup>

On the basis of these resources we analyzed the evolution of the number of families on the domains and the structure of these families.

We have pointed out the changes in the number of families, in their structure and dimensions, under the influence of political, social, economic and natural factors. We have also studied the phenomenon of the migration in the 17th Century: the number of migrating persons, the causes and the direction of the migration.

After the identification of the demographic features of the population from the Făgăraș domain, we have compared this situation with the realities from other domains: Gilău<sup>8</sup>, Blaj<sup>9</sup>.

We shifted our attention to the Gilău domain. This domain was located in the heart of Transylvania. It was made up of villages with Romanian and mixed population. It had a town, Gilău. Numerous *urbaria* from the 17th Century are preserved. Many of them were compiled almost at the same time as those from the Făgăraș domains. We have added to the list of *urbaria* published by Sigismund Jako (1640, 1642, 1652, 1666, 1670, 1679, 1687)<sup>10</sup> the *urbaria* from 1663 and 1676. The urbarium from 1663 is published as an annex to the book *Populația domeniului Gilău în secolul al XVII-lea*.<sup>11</sup> The *urbarium* from 1676 is very damaged and we have extracted only the data that could be read. These are two very significant documents. The data from 1663 reflect the situation of the Transylvanian serfs immediately after a complex crisis. When we corroborate the data from this urbarium with the data from 1666, we get the image of the recovery following a long war, associated with famine and epidemics. The urbarium from 1676<sup>12</sup> illustrates the developments from the eighth decade. It catches a glimpse of the beginning of one of the most ample economic crises and its impact from a demographic perspective.

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<sup>6</sup>Făgăraș, *the Reformed Church – baptized infants, marriages, deaths (1663-1815)*, vol.I, DGAN, Brașov division, cota 261; Ș. Solcan, *Registrul parohial de botez al Bisericii Reformate din Făgăraș-sursă pentru demografia istorică a secolului al XVII-lea (Baptismal parish register of the Reformed Church from Făgăraș-source for historical demography)*, în ”Hrisovul”, nr.I, București, 1995, pp.90-100.

<sup>7</sup>Eadem, *Pribegia în Țările Române în secolele XVI-XVII*, [Migration in the Romanian Lands in the 16<sup>th</sup> and -17th Centuries], Ed. Universității, București, 2014, 368p.

<sup>8</sup>Eadem, *Populația domeniului Gilău în secolul al XVII-lea* [The Population of the Gilău domain in the 17th Century], Bucharest University Press, 2006, 214 pages.

<sup>9</sup>Eadem, *Populația aservită a domeniului Blaj, la 1647-1681* [The enservfed population of the Blaj domain at 1647-1681] in „Analele Universității București”, History series, year LV, 2006, pp.21-42.

<sup>10</sup>*A gyalui vártartomány urbáriumai* (Urbariile domeniului Gilău), ed. Zs. Jakó, Cluj, 1944.

<sup>11</sup>Ș. Solcan, *Populația domeniului Gilău...*, pp.186-207.

<sup>12</sup>*Urbariul domeniului Gilău din 1676*, în Arhiva de Stat a Ungariei, fondul *Erdélyire vonatkozó iratok (1500-1916)* (Acte referitoare la Transilvania (1500-1916)), P 1575/6, 6 tétel.

The analysis of the data from the Gilău domain has permitted the comparison of the demographic evolution from the Făgăraș domain with that from Central Transylvania. We have observed that, aside from some regional differences, the population of the two areas was similar from the point of view of its structure and its patterns of reaction to the historical conditions in the principality.

I have focused my researches upon the study of the 17th and early 18th Century family, because I considered that a better knowledge of the family offers explanations for the evolution of general demographic phenomena.

I placed the family from the Făgăraș Land in the center of my attention and I have followed it until the beginning of the 18th Century. Its evolution was analyzed from a numerical, typological and structural perspective. All the families among the social categories mentioned in the documents were taken into account: enserfed peasants, the local petty nobility (boyars), priests, townspeople.

In the book *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în țările române*<sup>13</sup> and a series of papers (The enserfed population on the Blaj domain at 1647-1681), the researches were extended to larger areas from Transylvania and Maramureș. We have reconstructed the situation of the enserfed families, mostly Romanians, on the basis of the *urbaria*, on the domains of Alba Iulia, Baia Mare, Blaj-Mănărade, Gilău, Gurghiu, Satu Mare, Șimleul Silvaniei, Zlatna.

The extension of the researches to a wider area made possible the formulation of important conclusions concerning the development of the family in the 17th Century in the Principality of Transylvania. We note the presence of the two main types of family: the nuclear family, as the most frequent type of family (75-100 per cent), and the extended family. The ratio between these two types, the size of the families varied under the impact of local traditions and historical context, but always within the specified limits.

In order to identify the place of the Romanian families in Transylvania, we have investigated the villages with a mixed population from the Gilău domain and the Szekler seats of Arieș<sup>14</sup>, Odorhei<sup>15</sup> and Ciuc<sup>16</sup>.

The research of the impact of the political and economic factors upon the development of the Romanian population was further deepened in a series of studies, as for example: *Evoluția structurii familiei din Transilvania în contextul economic al secolului al XVII-lea* [The evolution of the family structure in Transylvania in the economic context of the 17th Century]<sup>17</sup>, *The impact of War upon the Serfs' Families*

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<sup>13</sup>Ș. Solcan, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările Române* [The Family in the 17th Century in the Romanian Lands], Bucharest University Press, 1999, 249 pages.

<sup>14</sup> Eadem, *Aspecte demografice în Arieș la 1642* [Demographic aspects in Arieș at 1642], in "Revista istorică", vol. III, 1992, no. 3-4, pp.253-273.

<sup>15</sup> Eadem, *Situația demo-economică a iobașilor secui la 1644* [The demo-economic situation of the Szekler serfs at 1644], in "Historia manet. Volum omagial Demény Lajos", V. Barbu, K.Tüdös S. editors, Bucharest-Cluj, 2001, pp.256-273.

<sup>16</sup> Eadem, *Confesional și social în viața familiei din secolul al XVII-lea* [Confession and social condition in the 17th Century family life], in "Confesiune și cultură. In honorem Ion Toderașcu", B.P.Maleon, A.F.Platon editors, Iași, 2004, pp. 133-143.

<sup>17</sup> Eadem, *Evoluția structurii familiei din Transilvania în contextul economic al secolului al XVII-lea* [The evolution of the family structure in Transylvania in the economic context of the 17th Century], in "Studii de istorie economică și istoria gândirii economice", vol.III, Bucharest, 1998, pp.19-31.

in Transylvania during the Seventeenth Century,<sup>18</sup> *Impactul crizei de la sfârșitul deceniului cinci al veacului al XVII-lea asupra populației* [The Impact of the crisis at the end of the fifth decade of the 17th Century upon the population], *Târgul Făgăraș la 1654* [The town of Făgăraș at 1654]<sup>19</sup>.

The impact of the habitat upon the development of the Romanian family and, implicitly, upon the demographic development was investigated from the perspective of the specific features of the villages and the towns (*Demographic and economic structures in villages and towns of 17<sup>th</sup> century Transylvania*<sup>20</sup>, *Impactul habitatului asupra situației demografice în secolul al XVII-lea. Studiu de caz: Țara Făgărașului*<sup>21</sup>).

From a demographic point of view, we may distinguish two types of towns: the big ones, with an economic, political, cultural life close to that of the cities, as in the case of Făgăraș, and small towns, with a rural character, which were present on all the domains.

The three types of settlements - villages, small towns and big towns - correspond to two kinds of family. In the villages and the towns with an agrarian profile, the family was rural, extended families were more frequent and families were larger. In the big town, Făgăraș, the nuclear families were predominant and the size of the families was smaller.

When it was confronted with economic crises and epidemics, the population of the towns was more fragile.<sup>22</sup>

In social and economic terms, the population of the villages was diverse. The social status, the prestige in the community determined a series of peculiar traits with regard to demographic behavior. The corresponding facts are documented by the data from the urbaria. The correlation between the demographic status and the economic condition was analyzed in detail for the family of the serfs on the above mentioned domains of Făgăraș, Gilău, Blaj. We operated a breakdown of the population according to social prestige. Among the analyzed categories were the free peasants (boyars from Făgăraș), the priests the craftsmen and the local officials, the widows

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<sup>18</sup> Eadem, *The impact of War upon the Serfs' Families in Transylvania during the Seventeenth Century*, in "Timpul istoriei", vol.II "Profesorului Dinu C. Giurescu", I. Scurtu, M.S. Rădulescu editors, Bucharest, 1998, pp.69-84.

<sup>19</sup> Eadem, *Impactul crizei de la sfârșitul deceniului cinci al veacului al XVII-lea asupra populației. Târgul Făgăraș la 1654* [The impact of the crisis from the end of the fifth decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century upon the population. The town of Făgăraș at 1654], in "Fațetele istoriei. Existențe, identități, dinamici. Omagiu academicianului Ștefan Ștefănescu", T. Teoteoi, B. Murgescu, S. Solcan editors, Bucharest, 2000, pp.87-95.

<sup>20</sup> Eadem, *Demographic and economic structures in villages and towns of 17<sup>th</sup> century Transylvania*, în "Many Paths to Happiness? Studies in Population and Family History. A Festschrift for Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, M.P. Arrizabalaga, I. Bolovan, M. Eppel, J. Kok, M. L. Nagata editors, Aksant Publishing House, Amsterdam, 2010, pp.215-237.

<sup>21</sup> Eadem, *Impactul habitatului asupra situației demografice în secolul al XVII-lea. Studiu de caz: Țara Făgărașului* [The impact of the habitat upon the demographic situation in the 17th Century. A case study: the Făgăraș Land], "Studii de demografie istorică (secolele XII-XXI)", C.Pădurean, I. Bolovan editors, Gutenberg Univers Publishing House, Arad, 2010, pp.445-460.

<sup>22</sup> Eadem, *Impactul crizei de la sfârșitul deceniului cinci al veacului al XVII-lea asupra populației. Târgul Făgăraș la 1654*, pp.87-95.

who were heads of households, the servants.<sup>23</sup>

We have also examined with the utmost interest the situation of the families beyond the mountains, in Wallachia and Moldavia. In one of our papers, we have emphasized the peculiarities of the development of the families of the great dignitaries boyars in relation to the situation of the ordinary people and in relation with the destiny of the European aristocratic families (*Structuri ale familiilor marilor dregători din secolul al XVII-lea*[Structures of the families of the great dignitaries from the 17th Century]<sup>24</sup>) The great number of military conflicts, the long periods of exile have marked deeply the family of the great boyars from Wallachia and Moldavia. Their families did not exceed 5-5.5 members. The value of this indicator was identical with the value for the families of the enserfed peasants. In the case of the peasants, the reduced size of the average family is due to the frequent economic crises in the 17th Century and at the beginning of the 18th Century.

În studiul *Aspecte din viața familiei moldovenești din secolul al XV-lea*<sup>25</sup>, am reconstituit modul în care s-a cristalizat familia moldovenească.

One problem was the reconstruction of the age structure of the members of a family; we correlated the available data from *urbaria*, official investigations, the parish register. The nature of these sources permits to reach conclusions concerning the relation between some age categories and the demographic characteristics. Another problem was the study of the modes of the perception of the time, as well as of the role of age in society in correlation with the social status.<sup>26</sup>

The researches concerning the relations between the members of the family, the place of each person in the family and the stability of the institution of the family have completed the picture of the family during the late Middle Ages.<sup>27</sup>

The demographic situation in the 17th Century was a link in the evolution of the population from the Romanian Lands. For a better understanding of its specific traits, we have followed the demographic evolution of the Făgăraș community until

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<sup>23</sup>Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în țările române*; Eadem, *Populația țării Făgărașului în secolul al XVII-lea și la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea*; Idem, *Populația domeniului Gilău în secolul al XVII-lea*; Eadem, *Familia preoțească în satul românesc din prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea* [The priests' families in the Romanian villages in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century], in "Biserică și societate. Studii de istorie", C. Pădurean, M. Săsăujan editors, Gutenberg Univers Publishing House, Arad, 2005, pp.205-214.

<sup>24</sup>Eadem, *Structuri ale familiilor marilor dregători din secolul al XVII-lea* [Structures of the families of the great dignitaries], in "Revista istorică", vol. IX, 1998, no. 3-4, pp.169-183.

<sup>25</sup>Eadem, *Aspecte din viața familiei moldovenești din secolul al XV-lea* [Aspects of Moldavian family life from 15th century], în „Miscellanea historica in honorem Professoris Marcel-Dumitu Ciucă septuagenarii”, ed. C. Luca, C. Neagoe, M. Păduraru, Ed. Istros - Ed. Ordessos, Brăila – Pitești, 2013, p.57-88.

<sup>26</sup>Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în țările române*, pp.103-114; Ș. Solcan, *Family and time on the Blaj estate at the end of the seventeenth century*, in "Analele Universității București", History series, 1995, pp.51-60.

<sup>27</sup> Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în țările române*, pp.191-221; Ș. Solcan, *Soțul și soția în Evul mediu românesc* [Wives and husbands in the Romanian Middle Age], in "Revista istorică", vol. XX, 2009, no.5-6, pp.533-545; Eadem, *Divorțul în Transilvania la sfârșitul secolului al XVII-lea și în primele decenii ale secolului al XVIII-lea* [The divorce in Transylvania at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century and the first decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century], în "Studii de demografie istorică (secolele XII-XXI)", C.Pădurean, I. Bolovan, Gutenberg Univers Publishing House, Arad, 2010, pp. 17-22.

the 20th Century, using the Drăguș village as a specimen.<sup>28</sup> We have also investigated, back in time, the Transylvanian family of the 13th Century<sup>29</sup>, we have studied the families from Iași at the beginning of the 19th Century<sup>30</sup>, we have investigated the problem of child mortality at the end of the 18th Century and the beginning of the 19th Century. We based our researches upon documents reflecting the stage of the evolution of the population in the respective periods.

The documents from the 17th Century and the beginning of the 18th Century - the *urbaria*, the official investigations, the decisions of the Diet of Transylvania, the articles from the treatises concluded by the reigning princes of the three Romanian Lands - are also sources for the reconstruction of the migration during the respective period. In chapters from some of my books and separate papers, I have analyzed the determining factors, the number of emigrants and the directions they have followed. The conclusion is that, in the 17th Century, until 1690, approximately 90 per cent of the fugitives from settlements on the reigning prince's domains relocated themselves in various areas of Transylvania.<sup>31</sup>

I have pointed out that the crisis of the family had a substantial contribution to the increased migration.<sup>32</sup>

I have noted the changes that took place at the end of the 17th Century, when Transylvania came under Austrian rule. I have compared the situation on the reigning prince's domains with the situation on the private domains from Făgăraș Land.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Eadem, *Impactul modernizării asupra evoluției demografice. Studiu de caz: Drăguș, secolele XVII-XX* [The impact of modernization upon the demographic evolution. A case study: Drăguș, the 17-20 centuries], în “Schimbare și devenire în istoria României, Lucrările Conferinței Internaționale *Modernizare în România în secolele XIX-XXI*, Cluj-Napoca, 21-24 mai 2007”, I. Bolovan, S.P. Bolovan editors, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, pp.559-590.

<sup>29</sup>Eadem, *Familia din Transilvania în prima jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea* [Family in Transylvania in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century], in “Imaginând istorii”, S. Corlan-Ioan editor, Bucharest University Press, 2006, pp.297-313.

<sup>30</sup>Eadem, *Family and Household in Iasi at the Beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, in “Families in Europe between the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries. From the Traditional Model to Contemporary PACS”, A. Fauve-Chamoux, I. Bolovan editors, Cluj University Press, 2009, ppf.743-764.

<sup>31</sup> Eadem, *Pribeția în Țările Române în secolele XVI-XVII*; Eadem, *The migratory movement*, in “Făgăraș-Patterns of Central and East European Life”, pp.124-137; *Mobilitatea teritorială a iobagilor domeniului*, in “Populația domeniului Gilău în secolul al XVII-lea”, p.169-182; Eadem, *Mobilitatea teritorială a făgărășenilor*, in “Populația Țării Făgărașului...”, pp.185-206; Ș. Solcan, *Circulația iobagilor transilvăneni în secolul al XVII-lea* [Movements of Transylvania's serfs in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century] , în “Studia Varia in Honorem Professoris Ștefan Ștefănescu Octogenarii”, C. Luca, I. Căndea editors, Academy Publishing House, Istros, Bucharest-Brăila, 2009, pp. 503-525; Eadem, *Aspecte ale mișcării migratorii a populației aservite de pe domeniul Gurghiu în secolul al XVII-lea* [Aspects of the Migratory Movement of the Enserfed Population from the Gurghiu Feudal Estate in the Seventeenth Century.], “Studii de demografie istorică (secolele XII-XXI)”, C.Pădurean, I. Bolovan editors, Gutenberg Univers Publishing House, Arad, 2010, pp.329-356.

<sup>32</sup>Eadem, *Familia și mișcarea migratorie a populației*, in „Familia...”, pp.177-189.

<sup>33</sup>Eadem, *Sfârșit de secol XVII pe un domeniu nobiliar: Situația demo-economică din satele Opra Cârțișoara, Streza Cârțișoara, Arpașu de Jos, Arpașu de Sus, Noul Român și Recea în anii 1691-1694 (End of XVII century on the domain owned by the noble : demo-economic situation in the villages Opra Cârțișoara, Streza Cârțișoara, Arpașu de Jos, Arpașu de Sus, Noul Român și Recea in 1691-1694)*, in “Călător prin istorie. Omagiu profesorului Liviu

Already about 1700, the numerous claims of the new authorities and especially the abusive conducts of the officials in the context of more demanding requests from the authorities determined an increase in the flow of emigration from the principality. We have testimonies from the people who changed the direction of their migration. For example, the people from Făgăraș Land, who went traditionally to another location from Transylvania, now headed for Wallachia.<sup>34</sup>

In a distinct investigation from the study of the migration of ordinary people, we have tackled the problem of the exile of the members of the political elites. We have also studied the condition of the women<sup>35</sup>. We have emphasized the role of the Romanian exiles in the consolidation of the ties among the Romanian Lands.

Our interest in the condition of the women in the Romanian Lands during the Middle Ages were materialized in the book *Femeile din Moldova, Transilvania și Țara Românească în Evul Mediu*.<sup>36</sup> The book, which is a comparative analysis of the condition of the women in the three Romanian Lands, received the Romanian Academy's prize "Nicolae Iorga", for the year 2005, for historical and archaeological sciences.

The detailed analysis, in the book, of the place of the woman in the family, the household, the political life were supplemented with studies concerning their implication in the economic life of the country,<sup>37</sup> and the situation of the widowed woman<sup>38</sup>.

The interest for the demographic studies is closely tied to a concern for the individual. One outcome of these research interests was the already mentioned book about the women from Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia during the Middle Ages. Several other research results focused upon the anonymous individuals from

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Maior la împlinirea vârstei de 70 de ani", I.A.Pop, I. Bolovan editors, Romanian Academy, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2010, pp.117-135; Eadem, *Situația locuitorilor țării Făgărașului în ultimii ani ai secolului al XVII-lea* [The situation of the inhabitants of the Făgăraș Land during the last years of the seventeenth century], in "Acta Transilvanica. Anuarul Centrului de Istorie a Transilvaniei", vol.I, 2004, Bucharest, 2004, p.43-74.

<sup>34</sup>Eadem, *Situația locuitorilor Țării Făgărașului în ultimii ani ai secolului al XVII-lea*.

<sup>35</sup>Eadem, *Pribeția în Țările Române în secolele XVI-XVII*; Eadem, *Pribeții*, in "Societatea românească din secolul al XVII-lea în izvoarele de expresie maghiară", pp.214-220; Eadem, *Femeile în pribeție pe teritoriul Transilvaniei (secolele XVI-XVII) (Women in exile in Transylvania (XVI-XVII))*, in "Orizonturi și direcții în cunoașterea istorică", A. Ciupală, L. Constantiniu editors, Bucharest University Press, 2009, p.107-138.

<sup>36</sup>Eadem, *Femeile din Moldova, Transilvania și țara Românească în Evul Mediu* [The Women from Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia in the Middle Age], Bucharest University Press, 2005, 292 pages.

<sup>37</sup>Eadem, *Negustoresele din Cluj în prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea* [Cluj women-merchants in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century], in „Mediaevalia Transilvanica”, volume V-VI, 2001-2002, no.1-2, pp.35-54.

<sup>38</sup>Eadem, *Văduva în societatea medievală din țările Române* [The widow in the Romanian medieval society], in "In memoriam profesor Radu Manolescu", S. Brezeanu editor, Bucharest University Press, 2006, pp.221-248; Ș. Solcan, *Văduva cap de familie în societatea medievală din țările Române* [The widow as family head in the Romanian medieval society], in "Om și societate. Studii de istoria populației României (sec. XVII-XXI)", vol.IX, S.P. Bolovan, I. Bolovan, C. Pădurean editors, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2007, pp.73-92.

the 17th Century<sup>39</sup> and the challenges they faced in everyday life.<sup>40</sup>

The patterns of the evolution of the human model in the 17th Century in the Romanian Lands were the subject of a chapter of the book *Societatea românească din secolul al XVII-lea în izvoarele de expresie maghiară* [The Romanian Society in the sources of Hungarian Expression].<sup>41</sup>

The development of the culture, of the education left their mark on the mentality of the century. Now, among the political elites from this space, the crusader was gradually replaced by the well-educated man, by the intellectual. The reigning princes, according to the opinion of the contemporaries, had to meek, godly and just.

Every social category had its moments of anxiety. We have extended the study of the bundle of factors that fuelled the feeling of fear. Thus the fear of illness, such as the plague, as well as the fear of wars were present in everybody. The abusive conduct of the reigning princes, of the authorities made people to take the road of the exile.

The analysis of the condition of women revealed the manner in which the everyday life of the people was plagued by fear. They feared for the life of their children, for the welfare of the household. They feared their husband's anger. They feared their neighbor's envy. All this contributed to the intertwining in the women' life of faith with superstition.<sup>42</sup> Witch trials and the reports of foreign travellers offer evidence for this.

The historical sources written in the Hungarian language, by their large number and their variety, offer the possibility of a better knowledge of the 17th and early 18th Century society. I have synthesized these possibilities in the book *Societatea românească din secolul al XVII-lea în izvoarele de expresie maghiară* [The Romanian Society in the sources of Hungarian Expression], published by the Bucharest University Press in 2000 (278 p.).

The objective of my researches has been the demographic situation in the Romanian Lands in the 17th Century and the early 18th Century. In order to attain this aim, I have studied the evolution of the number and structure of the population over a space as extended as possible. I have paid attention to the human profile of the individuals of the respective period. For a complete image, I have analysed the natural, political, economic and cultural conditions that have shaped the individual.

In my books and papers, I have succeeded, at least in part, to reach these objectives, relying on numerous published and unpublished documents.

Now, I aimed at the extension of the researches, of the comparisons over the

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<sup>39</sup>Eadem, *Destine anonime în secolul al XVII-lea* [Anonymous destinies in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century], in "Perspective demografice, istorice și sociologice. Studii de populație", I. Bolovan, C. Mureșan, M. Hărănguș editors, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, pp.245-263

<sup>40</sup>Eadem., *Necazurile vieții cotidiene pe domeniile feudale din Transilvania secolului al XVII-lea* [The troubles of everyday life on the feudal domains from 17<sup>th</sup> Century Transylvania], in "In honorem Gernot Nussbacher", D. Nazare, R. Nazare, B.F.Popovici editors, Brașov, 2004, p.277-282.

<sup>41</sup>Eadem., *În loc de concluzii: Omul secolului al XVII-lea*, in "Societatea românească din secolul al XVII-lea în izvoarele de expresie maghiară" [The Romanian Society in the sources of Hungarian Expression], pp.243-254.

<sup>42</sup>Eadem., *Remedii folosite în timpul epidemiilor din secolul al XVII-lea în Transilvania* [Remedies used during 17<sup>th</sup> Century epidemics in Transylvania], "Studii de demografie istorică (secolele XII-XXI)", C.Pădurean, I. Bolovan editors, Gutenberg Univers Publishing House, Arad, 2010, pp.189-204.

entire territory of Transylvania and, as far as the sources offer data, over the extracarpathic space.

I aim to place the demographic situation of the Romanian space into the context of Europe. A first step was the book *Făgăraș - Patterns of Central and East European Life*<sup>43</sup>, distributed by Columbia University Press (New York, 1997). My research results make possible a fuller picture of the population of Transylvania. Relying on the *urbaria*, I continued the investigations started by David Prodan<sup>44</sup>. His researches were focused on the economic conditions and the social status. My researches had as an objective the identification of the demographic development of the Romanian population in Transylvania in the 17th and early 18th Century. They are similar to the research endeavours of Șt. Ștefănescu,<sup>45</sup> Paul Cernovodeanu,<sup>46</sup> P. Binder, M.M. Székely<sup>47</sup>, V. Barbu<sup>48</sup>, to reconstruct the demographic situation from the Romanian Lands in the 17th Century and the early 18th Century.

## **The historical conditions of population's development in the Romanian Lands in the late Middle Ages**

In Europe, the seventeenth century was interspersed with numerous natural calamities, economic crises, wars, years of famine and epidemics. The same phenomena were present in the Romanian Lands. On the basis of the historical sources, one can reconstruct two complex crises: one at the beginning of the century and one in 1658-1661. During those periods, natural calamities and wars took place simultaneously. The impact was disastrous: famine, epidemics and a very high mortality. The Hungarian language sources from Transylvania have contributed to a better knowledge of the magnitude of the crises and their impact upon the population.

The analysis of the memoirs, such as those written by Francisc Nagy Szabó from Târgu Mureș, Valentin Segesvári from Sighișoara, Petru Retyi from Făgăraș, and the study of narrative sources, penned by G. Kraus or N. Bethlen, made possible the knowledge of the impact of famine, poor harvests, plundering and destruction by the armies, exorbitant prices, plague and high mortality from the first decade of the seventeenth century upon people's lives and mentalities.

In the two following decades, the wars ceased in Transylvania. However, nat-

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<sup>43</sup>Eadem,, *Făgăraș-Patterns of Central and East European Life*, volume 468 of East European monographs, Columbia University Press, New York, 1997, 178 pages.

<sup>44</sup> D. Prodan, *Iobăgia în Transilvania în secolul al XVII-lea*, vol.I-II, București, 1986-1987.

<sup>45</sup>Ștefan Ștefănescu, *Demografia dimensiune a istoriei*, Facla, Timișoara, 1974.

<sup>46</sup>Paul Cernovodeanu, Binder, P., *Cavalerii Apocalipsului*, Silex, Bucharest, 1993.

<sup>47</sup>M.M. Székely, *Structuri de familie în societatea medievală moldovenească*, in "Arhiva genealogică", IV, 1997, no.1-2, pp.59-117.

<sup>48</sup>V. Barbu, *De bono coniugali*, Ed. Meridiane, București, 2003.

ural disasters took place in each succeeding decade and caused famine and epidemics, in 1633-1636, 1642-1646.

In the Romanian Lands, the sixth and the seventh decades were deeply marked by the Anti-Ottoman war of 1658-1661. In Transylvania, this was followed by a civil war. In 1662, the war ended. The reigning prince was Mihai Apaffi I. He was accompanied by an Ottoman army, which stayed many months on the territory of the principality. The camp of the Ottoman troops was near Cluj, next to fortress and the domain of Gilău. The war had a devastating effect for the inhabitants. I have highlighted this by publishing the *Gilău urbarium* of 1663.<sup>49</sup>

Using the comparative study of the evolution of the number of families on the domains, I have shown the real impact, the loss of about 30-35 per cent of the families as a consequence of the protracted war of 1658-1661. The war had the same effects in the southern and central parts of the principality. On the Gilău domain, the average number of families per village, at 1652, was 30; it dropped to 21, at 1666 and 22, at 1666, then it rose to 23, at 1670, and 27, at 1676. Meanwhile, on the Porumbac domain, in Făgăraș Land, the average number of families per village was 92, at 1648, and 61, at 1664; it increased to 92, at 1670, and 98, at 1676.

I have pointed out, on the basis of the historical documents, that, in the seventh decade, all over Transylvania there was a recovery of the population. I have also called the attention upon the differences of development among the various regions. Thus, on the Porumbac domain, the average number of families, at 1670, came back to the level of 1648. In the same year, on the Gilău domain, the average number of families, compared to 1652, was 77 per cent.<sup>50</sup>

The demographic recovery was favored by natural factors. Between 1665-1675, there were few natural disasters, in contrast to other decades, and they had a local character.

After 1675, a number of natural calamities devastated the crops and brought sufferings to the population of the Romanian Lands. The years of famine, epidemics and high mortality began to unfold again. The plague was mentioned in the cities of Brașov, Cluj, Alba Iulia and numerous towns around Sibiu. In the Făgăraș Land, the narrative sources made reference to the drought of 1676, the plague from 1677-1678 (Mihai Cserei), the floods of 1684 (Nicolae Bethlen), the scarcity and high prices during the succeeding years (Petru Brozer from Cluj), then the invasion of locusts in 1690 and 1692, followed by rodents and the ruin of the crops (Petru Brozer). In 1694, “dreadful floods“ were in all of Transylvania, then another invasion of insects and, in 1699-1700, a long winter and again scarcity (Petru Brozer, Nicolae Bethlen).

The conscriptions were a faithful mirror of these years.

The last decade coincided with the establishment of Austrian rule in Transylvania. On the former estates of the reigning prince, such as the domains in Făgăraș Land, the event was an opportunity for a series of abuses. The inhabitants were discontent and fled in great numbers.

In Transylvania, the seventeenth century began with new hardships. The kuruc war took place between 1703-1711. There were fightings all over the territory of Transylvania. Natural disasters continued to strike in the second decade: floods

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<sup>49</sup>Ș. Solcan, *Populația domeniului Gilău în secolul al XVII-lea* [The Population of the Gilău domain in the 17th Century], Bucharest University Press, 2006, pp.186-207.

<sup>50</sup>Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în țările române* [The Family in the 17th Century in the Romanian Lands], Bucharest University Press, 1999, pp.20-22.

(1711-1713, 1715-1716), drought (1714). The economic crisis generated by the destruction of the crops favoured the outbreak of a great plague epidemic in 1718-1719. The comparative study of the *urbaria* illustrates the losses suffered by the population of Transylvania. It also facilitates the knowledge of the reaction of the population confronted with the abusive conduct of the authorities.<sup>51</sup>

I have supplemented the information from the narrative sources with observations from other types of documents. Thus, for the Făgăraș Land, the *urbaria* of the Comana domain, at 1637, showed that at least 15 families were stricken with plague. The *urbaria* of the village Porumbacu de Jos, at 1676 and 1680, mentioned other deaths caused by the plague.

In the summer of 1668, in the economic journals of the Princess of Transylvania, Ana Bornemisza, were recorded devastating floods.

Uncommon natural phenomena were mentioned during the official inquiries; such was “the very great drought” from 1647 (Cârța). The peasant chronicler from Prejmer underscored the outbreak of the great plague epidemic at 4 May 1717.

We find the most telling evidence concerning the impact of the crisis upon the population in the *urbarial* conscriptions from 1648-1654, 1676-1680.

The *urbaria* from 1652-1654 have been compiled immediately after the economic crisis and the plague epidemic from the second half of the fifth decade.

Using a comparison of the data from 1640 with those from the years 1652/54, we have argued that the impact of the crisis was not the same in the villages and in the towns of Transylvania. In the villages of the Făgăraș domain, between 1640 and 1652, the average number of families dropped from 65 to 54,6, 16 per cent. The high mortality among the children and young people determined the decrease of the number of sons in the serfs' families from rural areas, from an average of 1,7 sons per family to 1,4 sons.

In the town of Făgăraș, the number of families did not decrease, because the new reigning prince, Gheorghe Rákoczi II, favored the immigration. The devastating impact was visible only in the analysis of the structure of the family reflected in the *urbarium* of the Făgăraș Land from 1654, a document published in *Populația Țării Făgărașului în secolul al XVII-lea și la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea*<sup>52</sup>. The average number of sons per family dropped from 1.2 to 0.7, the family of the town having probably on average 3.4 members.

On the Gilău domain, the crisis halted the demographic growth. The number of enserfed families has stagnated, the size of the family had a slight decrease in the decade 1642-1652. Between 1642 and 1652, in the Gilău town, the number of enserfed families dropped by 16.4 per cent, from 73 to 61.<sup>53</sup>

In Transylvania, a second great economic depression, accompanied by a plague epidemic, took place at the end of the eighth decade. This interrupted the demographic growth from the seventh decade and the early years of the eighth decade.

Both on the Porumbac and the Gilău feudal domains, the population stagnated or decreased. The average number of families per village, on the Porumbac domain between the years 1676-1680, remained 91. The size of the family also remained con-

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<sup>51</sup>Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului în secolul al XVII-lea și la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea* [The Population of the Făgăraș Land in the 17th Century and the Early 18th Century], Bucharest University Press, 2010, pp.213-263.

<sup>52</sup>Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului ...*, pp.265-278.

<sup>53</sup> Eadem, *Populația domeniului Gilău...*, pp. 79-91.

stant, 1.5 sons per a serf's family, thus probably 5 members on average for the enserfed families. On the Gilău domain, the drop-off affected both the number of families and their size. Between 1676-1687, the average number of enserfed families per village was 26; at 1698, this number dropped to 23. The average number of sons per the enserfed family decreased from 1.5 to 1.3. The size of the family decreased probably from 5 to 4.6 members on average.

In order to illuminate the impact of the frequent crises of the seventeenth century upon the population from the principality, I have extended the investigations to other domains. I have shown the devastating impact of the crises upon the country through the synthesis of the situation of the average number of enserfed families per village on the domains of Alba, Blaj, Mănărade, Baia Mare, Gurghiu, Satu Mare Șimleul Silvaniei, Zlatna și Gilău, Făgăraș, Comana, Porumbac.<sup>54</sup> At the beginning of the century, during the years 1594-1630, a village had on average 32.5 enserfed families. The value of this indicator rose to 60.5 during the period of economic development and political calm of the years 1631-1645. The economic crisis and the plague of the fifth decade had an impact everywhere and the average number of families per village dropped to 46. The deepening of the crisis led to the diminution of the number of enserfed families per village to 30, during the years 1651-1660.

After a long war, in Transylvania, in the seventh decade, a village had on average only 16 families.

The recovery was quick. In the eighth decade, a Transylvanian village had on average 47.6 families, out of which most were enserfed. The demographic growth stopped here, because the principality was confronted with a new economic crisis in the ninth decade and a complex crisis during the last decade. The consequence of this situation was the diminution of the size of a village to an average of 20 enserfed families during the years 1681-1700.

This decrease of the number of families in the villages was the result of the diminution of the average size of the family in the second part of the century.<sup>55</sup> The phenomenon was amplified by the high mortality and the massive emigration favored by many years of prolonged crisis.

In the case of Wallachia and Moldavia, we lack similar data.

In Transylvania, as it was the situation in Western and Central Europe, the seventeenth century was a period of stagnation and, in some places, even of demographic decrease

On a long term, the impact of the wars was devastating. The excess mortality among men and children determined imbalances in the families. On the Gilău domain, the *urbaria* from 1609 provide evidence for an unprecedented increase in the number of families headed by widows; from 442 families, 102 (23.1 per cent) were headed by widows.<sup>56</sup> The usual percent of widows among the family heads never did exceed 10 per cent, during the seventeenth century, on the feudal domains investigated by us.

According to the evidence from the *urbaria*, the impact of the crises upon the population was differentiated.

According to the available data, the economic crises were less a factor contributing to the decrease of the population and more a factor which determined the

<sup>54</sup> Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în țările române*, pp.19.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, pp.40-44.

<sup>56</sup> Eadem, *Populația domeniului Gilău...*, pp.18.

changes in the ratio of nuclear and extended families; the percentage of extended families was increasing. In the Făgăraș Land, on the Porumbac domain, at 1637 and then at 1674, the share of the extended families was 15 per cent. During the economic crises, this percentage increased; thus, among the enserfed families, it was 24 per cent, at 1648, and 18 per cent, 1680. The same phenomenon recurred in the East of the Făgăraș Land, on the Comana domain. There, in 1637, the percentage of extended families among the enserfed ones was 7 per cent, but it increased to 12.7 per cent at 1648.

On the Gilău domain, the share of the extended families was only 3.5 per cent in 1670 and then rose to 14 per cent, in 1676.

On the domains from Transylvania and Maramureș mentioned above, the available data corroborate the tendencies observed on the feudal domains from Făgăraș and Gilău; thus these tendencies must have been characteristic for the principality. In the first half of the seventeenth century, between the years 1630-1652, the share of the extended families was around 9 per cent. After 1671, their share increased to 13 per cent. This value remained the same until 1700.<sup>57</sup>

For the extracarpathic space, the data concerning the number and the structure of the population are few. The data from 28 villages from Wallachia, from the years 1612-1692, corroborate the tendencies observed in Transylvania.<sup>58</sup> The number of families per village was decreasing in the second half of the century, compared with the first half: 23 during the years 1612-1635 and 15.4 during the years 1667-1697.

All the Romanian space, including its part in the South of the Carpathian mountains, was affected by crises and epidemics. In this context, the share of the extended family, as we can reconstruct it on the basis of the available data, increased from 21.3 per cent during the years 1612-1635 to 24.7 per cent during 1667-1696.

Although the share of the extended families increased in the seventeenth century, for all the villages, it never exceeded one quarter. The dominant type of family was the nuclear family. This proves that the family from the Romanian Lands was similar to the family from Western and Central Europe.

The transition to the Austrian rule in Transylvania resulted in many changes for the inhabitants of the former feudal domains of the reigning prince. The new local authorities, picked from the local elites, took advantage of the fact that the owner of these domains was now the Emperor, located at a great distance and concerned by many other problems. The new authorities had new demands from the inhabitants and the local dignitaries enforced them in an abusive manner. Many inhabitants decided to emigrate.

The kuruc war (1703-1711) and the rather frequent natural calamities between 1710-1719 have amplified the demographic losses.

The Făgăraș Land was an example that illustrated, in this context, the demographic changes. The official inquiries from 1697 and 1699 offer important evidence for the causes of the emigrations, the number of emigrants and the directions they took.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, pp.20-27.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*, pp.30-31.

<sup>59</sup> Eadem, *Situația locuitorilor Țării Făgărașului în ultimii ani ai secolului al XVII-lea* [The situation of the inhabitants of the Făgăraș Land during the last years of the seventeenth century], in "Acta Transylvanica. Anuarul Centrului de Istorie a Transilvaniei", vol.I, 2004, Bucharest, 2004, pp.43-74.

The comparison of the data from the 1697-1699 period with the data from the previous decades points up the peculiar extent of the emigration. Both the enserfed inhabitants and the petty nobility were discontent. The average number of enserfed fugitives from a village, at 1637, has been 5.7 on the Făgăraș domain and 10.3 on the Comana domain. At 1697, the number of those who departed, serfs and petty nobility (boyars), from 29 villages of the Făgăraș domain was 508; from the three villages of the Comana domain 50 took off for other locations.<sup>60</sup>

It was not only a quantitative increase of the emigration; the directions of the emigration were now more diverse. If, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, most emigrants from the feudal domains had remained in the principality, after 1690, many left the country.<sup>61</sup>

The demographic decline was deeper during the years following wars and disasters. The *urbaria* from 1703, 1706, 1710-1714, 1721, 1726 facilitate the study of the demographic evolution in the early years of the eighteenth century. The *urbarium* from 1726 contains evidence which warrants the conclusion that the demographic crisis from the seventeenth century and the early years of the eighteenth century has been overcome. It illustrates the path taken by a society engaged in the demographic development from the eighteenth century.

In 1706, the data from the *urbaria* for 24 villages on the Făgăraș domain and 4 villages on the Comana domain show that, at that moment, the average number of families per village was about 16. Such a low number of families was known in Transylvanian villages only after the war of 1658-1661.

Studying the demographic trends of the third decade of the eighteenth century, we observed a tendency towards recovery. The *urbaria* of 1710-1714 point to an increase of the number of families, on the two domains, to 26 families per village. Despite the plague of 1718-1719, the number of families, on the Făgăraș and Porumbac domains, continued to increase. A decline in the average number of families per village was registered only in the Eastern part of the region, on the Comana domain. On this domain, the decline of the average number of families continued in the following years. In compensation, the size of the villages increased on the Făgăraș domain (to 37 families per village) and on the Porumbac domain (to 114 families per village). In these conditions, in the Făgăraș Land, the average number of families per village, in 1726, reached around 45 families. The situation was comparable to that of the fifth decade in Transylvania.<sup>62</sup>

The sequence of economic crises, the wars, the legislation left their mark upon the ordinary people of Romania, in the seventeenth century. For Wallachia, there are few data, but they suggest that the population trends and the population structures were similar to those of the Romanians from Transylvania. Similar natural conditions with those from Western and Central Europe created a framework for similar sequences of economic crises and similar demographic trends and structures.

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<sup>60</sup>Eadem *Populația Țării Făgărașului ...*, pp.185-206.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibidem*, pp.213-219

<sup>62</sup>*Ibidem*, pp.213-219; Eadem, *Impactul modernizării asupra evoluției demografice. Studiu de caz: Drăguș, secolele XVII-XX* [The impact of modernization upon the demographic evolution. A case study: Drăguș, the 17-20 centuries], în "Schimbare și devenire în istoria României, Lucrările Conferinței Internaționale *Modernizare în România în secolele XIX-XXI*, Cluj-Napoca, 21-24 mai 2007", coord. I. Bolovan, S.P. Bolovan, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, pp.559-590.

The village was, in the seventeenth century, a complex environment. The data from the *urbaria* of the Făgăraș domain capture this complexity through the records for enserfed peasants, priests and petty nobility (boyars). Most of the inhabitants on the domains were serfs. However, there were differences among the enserfed peasants, according to their economic situation, their occupations. In my researches, I have investigated the impact of the economic diversity upon the patterns of the marriages and the size, structure and the evolution of the families.<sup>63</sup>

The Făgăraș domain was inhabited almost in totality by an Orthodox Romanian population. In Transylvania, there were numerous feudal domains, villages with a mixed population, from an ethnic and a confessional point of view. Thus, on the Gilău domain, the village of Someșul Cald was Romanian, Someșul Rece was inhabited by a mixed, Romanian and Hungarian, population and the villages Leghi, Izvorul Crișului, Căpușul Mare were Hungarian. On the Blaj-Mănărade domain, the villages of Veza, Ciufud and Spătac were Romanian and Cergăul Mare and Mănărade were Hungarian<sup>64</sup>. In the seat of Arieș, out of 22 localities 5 were Romanian or mixed, Măhăceni, Dumbrava, Podeni, Ormeniș, Cicău. In the Szekler seats of Odorhei and Ciuc, lived both Calvinist and Unitarian communities; there were serfs, pedestrians and horsemen.<sup>65</sup> The ethnic and religious diversity had its parallel in the economic and social diversity.

My researches concerning the demographic and economic structures of these areas revealed the peculiarities of each community and the common elements for the families and the mentalities in Transylvania.

Using the documentary sources, I have illuminated the close relationship among the demographic situation and the place of the individuals, with various ethnic, religious, regional backgrounds, in the social hierarchy.

In the case of Wallachia and Moldavia, I have relied on genealogical sources and I have reconstructed the evolution of the families of the great dignitaries.

The destiny of the boyars was shaped by innumerable wars, against foreign armies or among the factions of the nobility for the control of the central power. The Hungarian sources mention the frequent exile of the boyar families from Wallachia and Moldavia.<sup>66</sup> Using these sources, I was able to reconstruct the challenging life of the exiles away from their homes.<sup>67</sup>

In Europe, the aristocratic family was associated with a numerous family, but,

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<sup>63</sup>Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului ...*, pp.56-74;161-184; Ș. Solcan, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în țările române*, pp.115-139.

<sup>64</sup> Eadem, *Societatea românească din secolul al XVII-lea în izvoarele de expresie maghiară*, Ed. Universității, București, 2000, pp.86-88; Eadem, *Populația aservită a domeniului Blaj, la 1647-1681* [The enserfed population on the Blaj domain at 1647-1681], în “Analele Universității București”, History series, anul LV, 2006, pp.21-42; Eadem, *Aspecte demografice în Arieș la 1642* [Demographic aspects in Arieș at 1642], in “Revista istorică”, vol. III, 1992, no. 3-4, pp.253-273.

<sup>65</sup> Eadem, *Confesional și social în viața familiei din secolul al XVII-lea* [Confessional and social in the family life during the seventeenth century], în “Confesiune și cultură. In honorem Ion Toderașcu”, B.P.Maleon, A.F.Platon editors, Iași, 2004, pp. 133-143.

<sup>66</sup>Eadem, *Structuri ale familiilor marilor dregători din secolul al XVII-lea*[Structures of the families of the great dignitaries], in “Revista istorică”, vol. IX, 1998, no. 3-4, pp.169-183.

<sup>67</sup>Eadem, *Pribegia în Țările române în secolele XVII-XVIII ( Migration in the Romanian Lands in the 16<sup>th</sup> and -17<sup>th</sup> Centuries)* Migration in the ), Ed. Universității, București, 2014, 368p.

in the case of the boyars from Wallachia, the size of the family did not exceed, on average, 5.5 persons. This was a small family, resembling, from the point of view of the size, the peasant families. The political instability of the seventeenth century was the cause of this demographic trend. This also created a difference in the evolution of the size of the families of the nobility, in contrast with the families of the ordinary people. When, in the second half of the century, there was a greater political stability, the noble families tended to increase the average number of members, from 5 to 5.5 persons. Meanwhile, because of more frequent economic crises, the ordinary families tended to decrease, from 5.5 persons to 5 persons.

In the seventeenth century, on the religious level, Transylvania was the meeting place of Orthodoxy and Reform. Although the Reform, in different variants, has spread all over the principality, the Romanian population remained faithful to Orthodoxy. This favored the circulation of the books printed in Wallachia. Of particular importance was the dissemination of the *Îndreptarea legii* (The Guide to the Law) of 1652. It was a contribution to the preservation of the Romanian habits in Transylvania. It gave a legal ground for the observation of the Romanian traditions in the principality.

The high mortality during the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth century made more vivid the feeling of fear. In order to save their children and their partners, many women and men resorted to divine help; they also tried cures and appealed to the force of magic. The books with medical prescriptions are a very rich source for understanding the illnesses which affected the population. They also reflect the efforts of the doctors and the level of medical knowledge in the seventeenth century. In order to cure diseases, the ordinary people called the witch-doctors. They also resorted to their help when their life, their family or the welfare of their household was perturbed. In Transylvania, most of the time the witches were wise women. One can learn a lot about the sufferings and the mentality of the people from the official investigations done during the witchcraft trials. The death of the sick people could bring the harshest accusations to the witch-doctor.<sup>68</sup>

The tradition of placing reliance on wise women, on midwives was known in the extracarpatic space too. There is evidence for this in the documents from the early years of the nineteenth century. Medical practitioners, such as the physician C. Caracaș, point to a duality that could be encountered even in the behavior of the elite of the society: on one hand, they called doctors to provide a cure for the ailing people; on the other hand, they listened to the advice of witch-doctors. Despite the visible tendencies towards modernization, even the beginning of the nineteenth century the tradition continued to be very influential.<sup>69</sup>

My researches led to the conclusion that the combination of natural conditions, economic crises, political crises and the mentality which continued to be traditionalist until very late had a negative impact upon the population.

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<sup>68</sup>Eadem, *Femeile din Moldova, Transilvania și țara Românească în Evul Mediu* [The Women from Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia in the Middle Age], Bucharest University Press, 2005, pp.238-267.

<sup>69</sup>Eadem, *Child Mortality in București During the First Years of the 19 th Century*, în *Romanian Journal of Population Studies*, 1/ 2012, p.123-139.

## The demographic evolution in the Romanian Lands at the end of the Middle Ages

In the case of Wallachia and Moldavia, the reconstruction of the demographic evolution is made difficult by the lack of the appropriate sources. Only a few documents remained: lists of the inhabitants of some villages and a census, in Moldavia, during the reign of Petru Șchiopul. In the same period, in Transylvania, were compiled numerous registers with a fiscal, military and confessional character. Though they have their limits, these documents remain sources of great value for the reconstruction of the demographic evolution during the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The *urbaria* have a special place among the registers with an economic character. They recorded the enserfed masculine population - the family heads and their sons - from the villages and the towns situated on the reigning prince's domains and some domains of the nobility. The women were registered only when they were family heads. On the Făgăraș domain, the *urbaria* registered also the village priests and the petty nobility (boyars). The marginal notes on the *urbaria* contain important information concerning the family type, the occupations, health and so on. The *urbaria* also had distinct chapters for the fugitives and the deceased persons from the locality.

I have started the investigation of the demographic situation of the Romanian space from the area of the Făgăraș Land<sup>70</sup> because this region has a special significance. Inhabited almost in totality by Romanians, it was - until the beginning of the sixteenth century - part of Wallachia. In the seventeenth century, some of the great boyars and the reigning princes from Wallachia had estates here. Preda Brâncoveanul and then his nephew, the voivode Constantin Brâncoveanu, owned Sâmbata de Sus. Later, the Făgăraș domain of Constantin Brâncoveanu included the villages of Poiana Mărului, Berivoiul Mare, Berivoiul Mic, Rucărul. At the end of the century, Constantin Brâncoveanu built a church in the town of Făgăraș. After 1662, the Cantacuzino family owned Cuciulata, Copăcel and Recea.

An important commercial road, that connected Wallachia and Transylvania, went through Făgăraș Land.

These conditions favored the persistence of the ties between Wallachia and the Făgăraș Land. Romanian customs took deep roots and were observed during centuries. The sociological school of Dimitrie Gusti, through its researches during the fourth decade of the twentieth century, uncovered the evidence of the significance of the region for the Romanian traditions.

Another factor that has led to my researches of the population of the Făgăraș

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<sup>70</sup>Ș.Solcan, *Făgăraș-Patterns of Central and East European Life*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1997, 178 pages.; Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului în secolul al XVII-lea și la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea*, București, Ed. Universității, 2010, 290 p. [The Population of the Făgăraș Land in the 17th Century and the Early 18th Century], Bucharest University Press, 2010, 290 pages.

Land in the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth century was the rich set of documents: statutes, *urbaria*, investigations, journals, the parish register of baptisms of the Reformed Church from Făgăraș and so on. Many of these documents are published, others are still available only in the archives. For a better understanding of the impact of an economic crisis accompanied by a plague epidemic upon the population of a town, I have published the *urbarium* of the town of Făgăraș from 1654.<sup>71</sup>

We have compared the data from the domain of Făgăraș with the data from other feudal domains from Transylvania: Gilău, Blaj, Gurghiu. For a better understanding of the demographic and economic realities from the principality, I have analyzed the situation of the inhabitants of some of the Szekler seats: Arieș, Ciuc, Odorhei.

## DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT

The *urbaria* from the Făgăraș domains offer the most comprehensive information on trends in the number of households and inhabitants of the villages in the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, because they include both the enserfed and the free families. These were feudal domains with big villages. The average number of families per village varied between 40 and 99. Between 1632 and 1637, the tendency in the villages of the three feudal domains was the increase in the number of families. At 1632, on the Făgăraș domain, the average number of families per village was 54; on the Comana domain, it was 41,5 and, on the Porumbac domain, it was 58. In 1637, these numbers were: on the Făgăraș domain, 66; on the Comana domain, 54,8; on the Porumbac domain, 78. At the level of the whole region, between 1632 and 1637, the average number of families from a village increased from 53 to 66. This evolution was the result of the political stability of the country, of its economic development and the effect of the efforts of the reigning prince to develop the princely domains.

In the center of the principality, there was also demographic growth. On the Gilău domain, in the seven villages, for which there are data concerning the total enserfed population, between 1609-1642, the number of families increased from 215 to 270 and the average number of families per village from 31 to 38.6.

The demographic development, at least as far as we can see on the basis of the data from the Comana and Porumbac domains, continued in the fifth decade, at least until 1648. On these domains from the Făgăraș Land, between 1637 and 1648, the average number of families increased. On the Western domain, Porumbac, the increase was of 18.6 per cent, from 77,8 to 92,3 families per village. On the Eastern domain, Comana, the increase was of 13.1 per cent, from 54,8 to 62 families per village.

At the end of the fifth decade, an economic crisis and a plague epidemic had a differentiated impact upon different areas: on the domain of Gilău, the average number of families per village stagnated at about 35. On the Făgăraș domain, the losses were considerable. In the 44 villages of the domain, in 1640, were 2858 families, with an average number of families per village of 65; in 1652, there were 2401, which meant an average of 54.6 families per village. The decrease of the number of families was of 16 per cent.

The data from the 1663-1666 period show that war had a major impact upon

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<sup>71</sup>Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului...*, pp.265-278.

population. An examination of the number of families from the villages of the domains of Porumbac, Blaj, Gilău leads to the conclusion that, taking as reference the 1647-1652 period, a decline occurred. Thus, in the six villages of the Porumbac domain, in 1648, there were 554 families and, in 1664, there were only 365 families. At 1664, the average number of families per village was 60.8. Between 1648 and 1664, the number of families dropped by 34 per cent.

In nine villages<sup>72</sup> of the Blaj domain, between 1647 and 1665, the number of enserfed families decreased by 8.5 per cent, from 129 to 118. The average number of families per village dropped from 14.3 to 13 families.<sup>73</sup>

In the villages on the Gilău domain, between 1652 and 1663, the number of enserfed families dropped by 29.3 per cent, from 355 to 251. The average dimension of the villages declined from 30 families to 21 families.<sup>74</sup>

The *urbaria* from the 1663-1665 period show that very high losses were caused by a combination of war, natural calamities, famine, epidemics. Some domains lost around one third of their families, i.e. their taxable units.

The rebuilding of the houses, households and fields was quite rapid. Foreign travelers, such as Evlia Çelebi were stunned by this phenomenon.

On the other hand, the recovery of the population was rather slow. The *urbaria* of the Gilău domain allow us to track "step by step" this phenomenon.

On the Gilău domain, the evolution of the number of families per village was as follows: in 1663, the average number of families per village was 21; in 1666, it was 22.4; in 1670, it was 23.1; in 1676, it was 27 and, in 1679 and 1687, it was 26.2; it dropped to an average of 23.7 families per village in 1698.<sup>75</sup>

In this context, the *urbarium* of 1663 was an obvious necessity: it was compiled at approximately one year after the conclusion of the Anti-Ottoman War and thus it registered the effects of the years of war. It may also be seen as an image of the starting point of the recovery process.

These numbers show that, between two conscriptions, the number of families increased by 3-7 per cent, until 1670. The most intensive development was between 1670-1676, when the average number of families per village reached a peak of 27. The increase in comparison to 1670 was of 17 per cent.

This was a maximal point of the development of the population, but the level of first half of the seventeenth century was not attained.

The political events, the economic crises of the last years of the seventeenth century lead to a new demographic decline. In 1698, the value of the average number of families per village was at the level of 1670.

For the domain of Porumbac, there *urbaria* from 1664, 1674, 1676, 1680, 1688. The average number of families per village, seen in the light of these documents, has increased until 1680: it was of 27.5 at 1664, 91.5 at 1674, 98 at 1676 and 99 at 1680. The increase of the number of families per village, between 1664-1676, was of 42 per cent. For the same period, it was a faster growth than on the

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<sup>72</sup>Ciufud, Spătac, Tiur, Veza, Iclod, Panade, Petrisat, Sâncel and Şona.

<sup>73</sup>Ş.Solcan, *Populația aservită a domeniului Blaj, la 1647-1681*, [The enserfed population of the Blaj domain at 1647-1681] in „Analele Universității București”, History series, year LV, 2006, pp.22-23.

<sup>74</sup>Eadem, *Populația domeniului Gilău în secolul al XVII-lea*, [The Population of the Gilău domain in the 17th Century], Bucharest University Press, 2006, pp.28.

<sup>75</sup>Eadem, *Populația domeniului Gilău în secolul al XVII-lea*, pp.28-41.

Gilău domain. The demographic decline of the 1680-1688 years was of 24 per cent on the Porumbac domain. It was a lot more than the decline on the Gilău domain, during the years 1679-1687. There, the losses were about 10 per cent.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the general evolution of the population on these two domains was similar. The historical context created the conditions for discrepancies in the rhythms of developments.

For the Blaj domain, we know only the *urbaria* from 1665 and 1681. There were nine villages recorded in these documents and the number of families was 118, at 1665, and 149, at 1681. The average number of families per village increased from 13 to 16.5, between 1665-1681. This represented a growth of 27 per cent.

In the same period, the average number of families per village, on the Gilău domain, increased by 24,8 per cent (in 1663 there were 21 and, in 1679, there were 26.2 families per village); while, on the Porumbac domain, it increased by 43.5 per cent (in 1664, there were, on average, 68.8 and, in 1680, 99 families per village).

The Blaj domain had the same ascending demographic trajectory. Its rhythm of development resembled the one from the Gilău domain. **(Iobagii porumbac!!!)**

We have corroborated the data from these domains with those for the villages on the domains of Alba Iulia (1618, 1630, 1662), Baia Mare (1688), Gurghiu (1652, 1688, 1697), Satu Mare (1658, 1660, 1664) Șimleul Silvaniei (1594-1666), Zlatna (1652, 1673, 1691).<sup>76</sup> The conclusion of this comparison was that the maximal point of the development of the population of Transylvania was in the fifth decade (with an average of 60.5 families per village). The economic crisis generated then a decline. The demographic bottom line was after the war of 1658-1662. During the years 1661-1670, the average number of families per village declined to 16. The eighth decade the evolution was on an ascending slope. The average number of families per village was of 48, a value which coincided with that from the years 1641-1650. The last decades were years of demographic decline; on average, a village had 20 families.

For the domains of the Făgăraș Land, we have studied also the demographic evolution during the first four decades of the eighteenth century.<sup>77</sup>

The enserfed population, in the Făgăraș Land, dropped drastically; it was a consequence of numerous emigrations during the last decade of the seventeenth century and of the Kuruc War, which was partly fought in the Făgăraș Land. In 1706, in the 24 villages of the Făgăraș domain, there were 377 families. The average number of families per village was 15.7.

On the Comana domain, in 1703, in four villages, there were 65 families. The average number of families was of 16.3.

During the years 1710-1714, there was an important increase in the number of enserfed families. In the 24 villages of the Făgăraș domain and on the Comana domain, a village had, on average, 25-26 families. On the Porumbac domain, in 1714, the average number of families per village was 48.

The best sources for the indicators of the demographic development, in the first decades of the eighteenth century were the *urbaria* from 1721 and 1726.

Despite the fact that the *urbarium* from 1721 was compiled shortly after the terrible famine and the plague epidemic of 1717-1719, it reveals a tendency toward the demographic growth. On the Făgăraș domain, the average number of enserfed

<sup>76</sup> Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române* [The Family in the 17th Century in the Romanian Lands], Bucharest University Press, 1999, pp.19.

<sup>77</sup> Eadem, *Anul 1700 în țara Făgărașului*, in "Populația Țării Făgărașului...", pp.213-224.

families per village was 31; on the Comana domain, it was 22; on the Porumbac domain, it was 55.

The same trend persisted until 1726. In that year, the average number of enserfed families per village was 37, on the Făgăraș domain, and 114, on the Porumbac domain.

The situation on the princely domains was compared with the situation on the estates of the nobility. First, we studied the problem of the residents on the Făgăraș estate of the Teleki family<sup>78</sup>. In 1691, this estate comprised four villages and parts of two villages.<sup>79</sup>

The analysis of the number of enserfed families showed that on this feudal domain of the nobility, as in the whole Făgăraș Land, between 1691 and 1694, the number of these families declined. In 1691, there were 370 enserfed families, but, in 1694, there were 267 enserfed families. This decline was due to mortality, emigration and the extension of the share of extended families, from 22 per cent to 27.3 per cent.

Assembling these data, we have proved that Transylvania was integrated in the demographic evolution at the European level. The seventeenth century was for the inhabitants of Transylvania too a period with numerous moments of numerical decline of the population, which prevented its growth. In the eighteenth century, from one conscription to the other, there was here a population growth.

## THE SOCIAL SITUATION IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

On the basis of the *urbaria* from the Făgăraș Land, it is possible to evaluate the numerical aspects of the different social categories from the villages. As the evidence from the Făgăraș *urbaria* shows, the village of the Late Middle Ages was very diverse from a social and economic point of view. The social and economic situation influenced directly the demographic situation. A first grouping reflects the social status: serfs, boyars, inquilini.

The serfs represented between 76 and 91 per cent of the population of a village.<sup>80</sup> The local background, as well as the evolution of the historical context, determined a series of variations. For example, between 1632-1637, the number of serfs increased: on the Făgăraș domain, from 85.8 per cent to 91.2 per cent; on the Porumbac domain, from 92.8 per cent to 94 per cent. Only on the Comana domain, the share of the serfs in the village population decreased from 87.9 per cent to 85.1 per cent.

At the level of the villages, the share of the serfs in their population varied from 75 per cent to 100 per cent.

For the second half of the seventeenth century, the data for the Porumbac

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<sup>78</sup> Eadem, *Sfârșit de secol XVII pe un domeniu nobiliar: Situația demo-economică din satele Opra Cârțișoara, Streza Cârțișoara, Arpașu de Jos, Arpașu de Sus, Noul Român și Recea în anii 1691-1694 (End of XVII century on the domain owned by the noble : demo-economic situation in the villages Opra Cârțișoara, Streza Cârțișoara, Arpașu de Jos, Arpașu de Sus, Noul Român și Recea in 1691-1694)*, in "Călător prin istorie. Omagiu profesorului Liviu Maior la împlinirea vârstei de 70 de ani", editor I.A.Pop, I. Bolovan, Romanian Academy Publishing House. Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2010, pp.117-135.

<sup>79</sup> The entire villages: Opra Cârțișoara, Streza Cârțișoara,, Arpașu de Jos, Arpașu de Sus. Parts of the villages of Noul Roman and Recea.

<sup>80</sup> Ș.Solcan, *Populația Țării Făgărașului...*, pp.32, 56-74.

domain point to a higher social stability. The share of the serfs in the village population was 90.2 per cent in 1664, 91.3 per cent in 1674 and 91 per cent in 1680.

The villages, being often controlled by several owners of serfs, were inhabited by serfs who belonged to different masters. When it comes to numerical data, we have however to take into account the families; the families were the taxable units and they were registered in the *urbaria*. On the Făgăraș domain, in 1632, the share among the families of the princely serf families was 80.2 per cent, while the nobility owned 5.6 per cent of the serf families. In the next two decades, the share of the serfs owned by the nobles increased to about 11 per cent (1652).

On the Comana domain, the enserfed families owned by the nobles did not exceed 2-3 per cent of the families, while, on the Porumbac domain, they were not even mentioned.

Beside the serfs, an important category, not so much from a numerical point of view, but significant in the light of social prestige, were the boyars. The share of their families varied between 3 and 15 per cent. During the reign of Gheorghe Rákóczi I, their number tended to diminish. On the Făgăraș domain, in 1632, they made up 8.1 of the families, but in 1637-1640, their share was only of 4.5 per cent. In 1652, their share increased to 11.3 per cent.

On the Comana domain too, during the fifth decade, the share of boyar families increased: from 10-11 per cent, in 1632-1637, to 15 per cent in 1648.

On the Porumbac domain, the boyars were few. During the years 1632-1637, the share of their families was 3 per cent; in 1648 it was 4.8 per cent, between 1670-1680, it was 5 per cent and, in 1688, it was 7.3 per cent.

In Făgăraș, the boyars were few, but they represented the local petty nobility, which had military obligations (to guard the Făgăraș fortress and the borders).

In the *urbaria*, another social category represented in these feudal registers, were the inquilini. These were free peasants and they retained the right to resettle. Many of them were immigrants from Wallachia. In general, in the seventeenth century, the share of their families on the three domains was of 2-3 per cent. From one *urbarium* to the other, they might disappear. Some are included among the serfs, some have left, because they did not want to be bound to their location.

The social image of the late medieval village looks like this: it was inhabited by several dozen families; many of these families were enserfed, but they might belong to different owners; some families in the village were noble and there were freely moving peasants, who crossed the mountains or resettled from one domain to the other.

A series of documents, including the *urbaria*, offer the evidence for the reconstruction of the demographic situation of the towns situated on the feudal domains. We have studied the towns of Făgăraș, Beclean, Gilău, Gurghiu, Zlatna, Petelea, Crasna, Șimleul Silvaniei, Mănărade. Among these towns, Făgăraș stands out, in the seventeenth century, as the residence of the princesses, an important commercial, political, strategic and cultural center. Here, the population was extremely diverse from an ethnic and cultural point of view. There were, in Făgăraș, nobles, military, tenants, Greeks, inquilini and serfs with various occupations. This was a big town, inhabited by 300-400 families. Many nobles, stimulated by the presence of the Princely Court, settled here and their number rose, from one conscription to the other, reaching 130 in 1654.

The other towns were small and the *urbaria* registered only 40-60, at most

100 serf families.

It is difficult to judge the evolution of the population of the towns, because the evidence is not continuous, with the exception of Gilău (1640-1679), Zlatna (1652-1691) and Mănărade (1647-1696)<sup>81</sup>. If we take as a reference the years 1652, 1670-1681, 1687-1696, we find out that the enserfed population of the towns declined progressively. The average number of enserfed families in Gilău, Zlatna, Mănărade was 62.3 in 1652, 58.3 in 1670-1681 and 50 in 1687-1696.

The *urbarium* from 1654 for the town of Făgăraș is an especially important document for the effects of a period of economic crisis, famine and epidemics upon the population. When we compared the data from 1654 with those from 1640, we established that the resident population increased only by 3.4 per cent; from 380 families it reached 393 families, while the average size of a family declined from 4.4 persons to 3.4 persons.

We have published this document, because of its value as a source for historical demography.<sup>82</sup>

The trends of the demographic development have been tracked with the help of a very important case: Drăguș.<sup>83</sup> This village was studied with a special attention by the members of the Romanian sociological school of D.Gusti. Many of their researches were focused upon the inhabitants of Drăguș. It was a representative community because there are multiple documents concerning Drăguș and the village preserved many Romanian traditions.

In Drăguș, the seventeenth century was the century of demographic regress. At 1640 there were 95 families, but only 17 were left at 1706. It is only after 1789 that we can speak about a demographic recovery and then about an increase in the number of families, leading implicitly to the growth of the population. The evolution of the population at the end of the eighteenth century shows a continual increase in the number of families: 81 at 1789, 119 at 1835 and 325 at 1938. Between 1640 and 1938, the number of families in Drăguș increased three and a half times. This demographic growth corresponded to the European demographic trends.

## MIGRATION

In the Făgăraș Land, migration was one of the factors with a special impact upon the demographic evolution during the last decades of the seventeenth century. The growth of the wave of emigration from Transylvania towards Wallachia was a new phenomenon in the demographic landscape. Behind this wave of emigrations stood the political context.

In the Romanian historiography, the researches concerning the circulation of the inhabitants focused upon the eighteenth century. The political, social and cultural conditions of those times favored the orientation of the migration from Transylvania

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<sup>81</sup> Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, pp.16-17.

<sup>82</sup> Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului...*, pp.265-278.

<sup>83</sup> Eadem, *Impactul modernizării asupra evoluției demografice. Studiu de caz: Drăguș, secolele XVII-XX*, [The impact of modernization upon the demographic evolution. A case study: Drăguș, the 17-20 centuries], in "Schimbare și devenire în istoria României, Lucrările Conferinței Internaționale *Modernizare în România în secolele XIX-XXI*, Cluj-Napoca, 21-24 mai 2007", I. Bolovan, S.P. Bolovan editors, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, pp.559-590.

towards Wallachia and Moldavia.<sup>84</sup>

During the seventeenth century, those who compiled the feudal registers were permanently concerned with the problem of the refugees, of the exiles. The peace treatises among the Romanian Lands made a clear distinction between those ordinary people who looked for a refuge during wars, famines, epidemics and the elites who took the route of the exile for political reasons. The *urbaria* comprised lists with the fugitives from the domains. They often specified the causes of the departures and the new residence of the refugees.

We made a clear distinction between those who sought a refuge in front of various calamities and those who fled for reasons pertaining to the everyday life.

During calamities, thousands, tens of thousands sought a safe place - the phenomenon was spectacular. After about seven years the authorities tried to bring back the refugees. For this purpose, they organized investigations, trying to find out the new residence of the refugees. These inquiries are precious sources for the study of the migration.

Settling in another place for everyday reasons involved individual decisions, personal motives. The name of the male fugitive was registered in the *urbaria*, in special rubrics.

Using these sources, we have reconstructed various aspects of migrations: causes, directions, the profile of the refugees, the relations with the inhabitants of their original locations. The researches focused on the domains from Făgăraș Land, Gilău, Blaj,<sup>85</sup> Gurghiu<sup>86</sup> and the Szekler seat of Arieș<sup>87</sup>.

In the villages and towns investigated by us prevailed emigration, in contrast to immigration.

During the seventeenth century, most of the refugees fled from their places because of the Anti-Ottoman War of 1658-1662. During periods of economic crisis and epidemics, there were other waves of refugees. On the Comana domain, in the *urbaria* of 1637 (slightly before a plague epidemic), there was an increased number of refugees; the same trend was, in 1648, on the Comana and the Porumbac feudal domains, in 1652, on the Gilău domain and, in the eighth decade, on the Făgăraș and Gilău feudal domains.

On each of the investigated domains, among the family heads, the share of the emigrants varied between 0.5-8.5 per cent. The Porumbac domain was an exception, in 1664, when the share of the emigrants reached 12.5 per cent. The immigration, in the villages, was quite rare.

The serfs, beside war, famine and diseases, had many other reasons to become fugitives.

The documents from Făgăraș contained more details and it was possible, on their basis, to reconstruct the spectrum of the causes of the emigration of more than 360 serfs. For half of them, the main motive of leave was connected with family

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<sup>84</sup>Eadem, *Pribeția în Țările Române în secolele XVI-XVII* ( Migration in the Romanian Lands in the 16<sup>th</sup> and -17<sup>th</sup> Centuries ), Ed, Universității, București, 2014, 368p.

<sup>85</sup>Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, pp.177-190.

<sup>86</sup>Eadem, *Aspecte ale mișcării migratorii a populației aservite de pe domeniul Gurghiu în secolul al șaptesprezecelea*, “Studii de demografie istorică (secolele XII-XXI)”, editors C. Pădurean, I. Bolovan, Gutenberg Univers Press, Arad, 2010, pp.329-356.

<sup>87</sup>Eadem, *Aspecte demografice în Arieș la 1642*, in “Revista istorică”, v. III, 1992, no. 3-4, pp.253-273.

events: the death of their parents (34 per cent), marriage (14 per cent). In this category must be included those who left to work as servants (12 per cent). This large proportion of family issues among the causes of emigration was for me a reason to look for a correlation between family and migration<sup>88</sup>. Other people left because they wanted to practice a craft, to go to a school or because they were fugitives in conflict with the authorities. The share of homeless people and beggars was of 5 per cent.

The fact that, in the seventeenth century, many emigrants departed alone or in very small groups is explained by the existence of very specific personal motives.

At the end of the seventeenth century, after the occupation of Transylvania by the Habsburgs, in certain regions, as it was, for example, the Făgăraș Land, the administration of the feudal domains became abusive. The countless abuses of the local authorities led to an unprecedented increase of the emigration. From the three Făgăraș domains, hundreds of families left. This state of affairs alarmed the authorities and led to an ample investigation, with hundreds of witnesses. These inquiries revealed the abuses that caused people to look for a shelter in another place.<sup>89</sup>

The Kuruc War (1703-1711), which was partly fought in the Făgăraș Land, prevented the return of the refugees.

A second problem was the destination of the emigration. The data from the feudal domains of Făgăraș, Comana, Porumbac, Gilău and from the Arieș seat show that the majority of the refugees stayed in the principality. Among them, 10-15 per cent remained even in the same district, county or seat.

The data from the Comana, Făgăraș and Porumbac domains show that the refugees went to close and known destinations. Thus most of the refugees from the Eastern domain, Comana, went to Brașov and the Szekler seats (63.8 per cent). Most of those from the Western domain, Porumbac, opted for Alba, Sighișoara, Luduș-Turda, Târnăveni (72.8 per cent).

During the 1632-1668 period, in the case of the Făgăraș Land, only 6-15 per cent of the refugees went to Wallachia.

The official investigations offer evidence that the refugees were in touch with relatives and friends from their villages. They knew where the refugees have settled. Theoretically at least, this meant that the opening of the procedure for bringing back the fugitives. However, this happened only rarely. Many of the runaways, in order to be allowed to their new places of residence, paid an annual fee (money, wax) to the estate administrator.

In the last years of the seventeenth century and the first years of the eighteenth century, because of the abuses on the feudal domains from the Făgăraș Land, many of its inhabitants went to Wallachia. Thus the traditional directions of emigration have changed.

There are a numerous documents from the eighteenth century which refer to immigrants from Transylvania.

The authorities have tried permanently to prevent the exodus from the feudal

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<sup>88</sup>Eadem, *Familia și mișcarea migratorie a populației* [The family and the migratory movement of the population], in „Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române”, pp.177-190.

<sup>89</sup>Eadem, *Situația locuitorilor Țării Făgărașului în ultimii ani ai secolului al șaptesprezecelea*, in “Acta Transylvanica. Anuarul Centrului de Istorie a Transilvaniei”, vol.I, 2004, Bucharest, 2004, pp.43-74.

domains or from the country. For this purpose was elaborated a legislation which specified measures for the return of the fugitives. The rulers of the three Romanian Lands accepted the obligation to return the fugitives. Border guard was more and more rigorous.

Despite all these measures, more and more people left the feudal domains and crossed the mountains in various directions. We had an interest in the profile of those people who confronted numerous dangers in order to leave their places of origin.

In order to draw up the **profile** of those involved in the migration of the seventeenth century, we have compared the data both for the emigrants and the immigrants. The *urbaria* were the main source of data. They registered data for the description of the demographic and economic situation, both for those who left the domains and for those who were newcomers on the domains. These data show that the fugitives were young, often teenagers. Those who were married and had a household were poor. The average number for the livestock in their households was well below the average level of an enserfed family. On the Porumbac domain, they had between 0,1-2 oxen, 1-2.3 cows, 1.6-3.5 sheep, 0.3-3.6 pigs.<sup>90</sup> On the Gilău domain too, they had on average 0.9 oxen, 1.3 cows, 1.1 pigs and 9.7 sheep. The last number is so high because, before leaving in 1666, *Marian Kozma* from Someșu Rece had 125 sheep<sup>91</sup>. In the same period, on both domains, an enserfed family had no less than 2 oxen, 2-3 cows, 2-4 pigs and 3-10 sheep.

Those who traveled alone left behind parents or relatives and poor families with many children.

In the last years of the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the nature of the problem had changed. Hundreds of families, from all social categories, had left. This time, the fugitives seem to have been organized in groups. For example, one witness in the 1699 investigation talked about the people from Făgăraș who took refuge in Wallachia, at Câmpulung, as a group who left in order to escape from the abuses of local dignitaries.<sup>92</sup>

We have focused upon the problem of the migration in the context of the demographic evolution, because migration is an important demographic event. It was the demographic event for which we have a lot of information. Those who left, those who came in, being taxpayers, were included in the feudal registers. In contrast, because we lack parish registers, the data about mortality, natality and other demographic events are missing or they are irregular.

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<sup>90</sup>Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului...*, pp.198-199.

<sup>91</sup>Eadem, *Populația domeniului Gilău în secolul al XVII-lea*, pp.176-177.

<sup>92</sup>Eadem, *Situația locuitorilor Țării Făgărașului în ultimii ani ai secolului al XVII-lea*, pp.68.

## The family of the Romanian Lands in the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth century

The reconstruction of the family, of its structure, it is important for understanding, from a numerical point of view, the ways of the population development along many decades.

The starting point was the existence of a large number of documents (urbaria, parish registers, official investigations, diaries, genealogical data) which allowed the reconstruction of the family structures of the seventeenth century. Former researchers of this period of Transylvania's history have bypassed the analysis of family structures.

We have approached the problem of the family from Transylvania, in the seventeenth century, in a special monograph,<sup>93</sup> but chapters from other books and papers treated the situation of the inhabitants of the feudal domains of Făgăraș, Porumbac, Comana<sup>94</sup> and Gilău<sup>95</sup>, Blaj<sup>96</sup> and the Szekler seats from Arieș<sup>97</sup>, Oddorhei, Ciuc. The families from the seats of Odorhei, Ciuc caught my attention because, in their villages, cohabited different social categories and various denominations.<sup>98</sup>

We took into account the diversity of the village population. Among the researches focused upon the village diversity, it should be included the study about the priests' families,<sup>99</sup> the researches concerning the boyars' families from Făgăraș<sup>100</sup> and

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<sup>93</sup>Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, [The Family in the 17th Century in the Romanian Lands], Bucharest University Press, 1999, 249 pages

<sup>94</sup>Eadem, *Făgăraș-Patterns of Central and East European Life*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1997, pp. 42-99; Ș.Solcan, *Populația Țării Făgărașului în secolul al XVII-lea și la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea*, [The Population of the Făgăraș Land in the 17th Century and the Early 18th Century], Bucharest University Press, 2010, pp.82-160.

<sup>95</sup>Eadem, *Populația domeniului Gilău în secolul al XVII-lea*, [The Population of the Gilău domain in the 17th Century], Bucharest University Press, 2006, pp.42-79.

<sup>96</sup>Eadem, *Populația aservită a domeniului Blaj, la 1647-1681*. [The enserfed population of the Blaj domain at 1647-1681], in "Analele Universității București", series History, year LV, 2006, pp.21-42.

<sup>97</sup>Eadem, *Aspecte demografice în Arieș la 1642* [Demographic aspects in Arieș at 1642], in "Revista istorică", t. III, 1992, nr. 3-4, pp.253-273.

<sup>98</sup>Eadem, *Confesional și social în viața familiei din secolul al XVII-lea* [Confession and social condition in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century family life], in "Confesiune și cultură. In onorăm Ion Toderașcu", B.P.Maleon, A.F.Platon editors, Iași, 2004, pp. 133-143; Eadem, *Situația demoeconomică a iobagilor secui la 1644* [The demo-economic situation of the Szekler serfs at 1644], in "Historia manet. Volum omagial Demény Lajos", V. Barbu, K.Tűdös S. editors, București-Cluj, 2001, pp.256-270.

<sup>99</sup>Eadem, *Familia preotească în satul românesc din prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea* [The priests' families in the Romanian villages in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century], in "Biserică și societate. Studii de istorie", C. Pădurean, M. Săsăujan editors, Gutenberg Univers Press, Arad, 2005, pp.205-214.

<sup>100</sup>Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, pp.49-51; Ș.Solcan, *Populația Țării Făgărașului*, pp.113-114.

the researches concerning the families from the mixed Romanian-Hungarian villages from the Blaj and Gilău domains<sup>101</sup>.

The presence of towns on each of the investigated feudal domains was an impetus to make an analysis of their families. In this context, we have underlined the peculiarities of the families from the towns in contrast with the village families. We have processed the data from the “Parish and baptismal register of the Reformed Church from Făgăraș (1663-1700)” and we have obtained information concerning the impact over a long time interval of war upon the family, the people's mentalities concerning children and data concerning child mortality.<sup>102</sup>

Using documents from Wallachia, we tried to compare the family from Transylvania with the family from extra-Carpathian space. For this purpose, we have analyzed the families from several feudal domains from the Wallachia of the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>103</sup>

We have paid special attention to the families of the boyars from Wallachia and Moldavia in the seventeenth century.<sup>104</sup> In their case, we have exploited the genealogical data and we have reconstructed more than 400 of the families of the great boyars; we have tracked the peculiarities of these families, generated by the traditions specific to each country and by the historical development.

Beyond the structure and the quantitative dimensions, we have paid attention to the relations among family members. This problem has been approached both in chapters from monographs<sup>105</sup> and separate papers<sup>106</sup>.

The incomplete families were a special story among the narrative of the existence of the families. Unfortunately, the historical sources seldom mentioned the cases of the widowers. The information concerned only widows. The widow was registered, in the documents, as a family head. These women made up around 5-10 per cent of the family heads. We have approached the problem of the widows both from the perspective of the condition of the woman and the point of view of the demo-

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<sup>101</sup>Eadem, *Societatea românească din secolul al XVII-lea în izvoarele de expresie maghiară*, [The Romanian Society in the sources of Hungarian Expression], Bucharest University Press, 2000, pp.124-130.

<sup>102</sup>Eadem, *Registrul parohial de botezuri al Bisericii Reformate din Făgăraș - sursă pentru demografia istorică a secolului al șaptesprezecelea*, in “Hrisovul”, I, Bucharest, 1995, pp. 90-100.

<sup>103</sup> Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, pp.44-48.

<sup>104</sup> Eadem, *Structuri ale familiilor marilor dregători din secolul al XVII-lea* .[Structures of the families of the great dignitaries], in “Revista istorică”, vol. IX, 1998, no. 3-4, pp.169-183.

<sup>105</sup> Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, pp.191-221.

<sup>106</sup>Eadem, *The Problem of Illegitimate Couples in the Extra Carpathian Area during the 17<sup>th</sup> Century*, in “Concubinage, Illegitimacy and Morality”, Gutenberg Univers Press, Arad, 2005, pp.15-31; Eadem, *Căsătoriile mixte din Transilvania în Evul Mediu* [Mixed Marriages in Medieval Transylvania], in “Confesiune și căsătorie în spațiul românesc. Secolele XVII-XXI. Studii de demografie istorică”, Corneliu Pădurean editor, “Aurel Vlaicu” University Press, Arad, 2006, pp.13-28; Eadem, *Soțul și soția în Evul mediu românesc* [Wives and husbands in the Romanian Middle Age], in “Revista istorică”, vol. XX, 2009, no.5-6, pp.533-545; Eadem, *În Transilvania la sfârșitul secolului al XVII-lea și în primele decenii ale secolului al XVIII-lea* .[The divorce in Transylvania at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century and the first decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century],in “Studii de demografie istorică (secolele XII-XXI)”, C.Pădurean, I. Bolovan editors, Gutenberg Univers Press, Arad, 2010, pp. 17-22.

graphic and social situation of their families.<sup>107</sup>

The main problem of the reconstruction of the Romanian family from Transylvania in the seventeenth century was to establish the types of families and the relationship among them. The reference point were the domains from the Făgăraș Land, with a large Romanian population. On the basis of the *urbaria*, we have identified as the main types of families the nuclear families and the extended families.

### THE NUCLEAR FAMILY.

On the Făgăraș domains, in **the rural areas**, the share of the nuclear families was 76-96 per cent. Their percentage varied from one feudal domain to the other, from one village to another village and from one historical period to another. The intention of the legislator was to force the creation of nuclear families. Each family was a tax-paying unit. During the years 1637-1640, the share of the nuclear families varied between 85-91 per cent, on the three domains. We have analyzed the causes of the fluctuations and we have observed that an economic crisis favored the increase of the percentage of extended families. Thus, the share of the nuclear families dropped, in 1648, up to 76 per cent on the Porumbac domain. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the phenomenon manifested again. Between 1674-1680, when there was an economic crisis, the share of nuclear families dropped from 85 per cent to 82 per cent.

The situation on the domains from Făgăraș Land was no exception. On the Gilău domain, between 1640-1687, the share of the nuclear families varied between 89 per cent 100 per cent; on the Blaj domain, between 1647-1681, it oscillated between 90.5 per cent and 99.5 per cent; on the Gurghiu domain, between 1652-1688, it represented 86-95 per cent; on the Șimleul Silvaniei domain, in 1666, it was 98 per cent. On the Zlatna domain, its value remained 98-99 per cent at the counts of 1652, 1673, 1691<sup>108</sup>.

This percentage of nuclear families was similar in the Szekler seats, both among the free and the enserfed people: Odorhei 80-90 per cent (1635, 1644), Arieș 85.9 per cent (1642), Ciuc-Gheorghieni-Cașin 77.3 per cent (1643).<sup>109</sup>

In the case of the towns located in the area of these feudal domains, the share of the nuclear families was even higher than in the villages: Făgăraș 100 per cent (1637, 1640), Beclean 82-92 per cent (1637, 1640), Gilău 89-100 per cent (1640-1687), Blaj, Mănărade 80-100 per cent (1647-1696), Gurghiu 99 per cent (1652), Șimleul Silvaniei 99 per cent (1666), Zlatna 95-100 (1652-1691).<sup>110</sup>

The feudal domains and the seats investigated by us, over a long time period, occupied a large geographical area, were diverse from an ethnic and social point of

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<sup>107</sup>Eadem, *Văduva în societatea medievală din țările Române* [The widow in the Romanian medieval society], in "In memoriam profesor Radu Manolescu", S. Brezeanu editor, Bucharest University Press, 2006, pp.221-248; Eadem, *Văduva cap de familie în societatea medievală din Țările Române* [The widow family head in the Romanian medieval society], in "Om și societate. Studii de istoria populației României (sec. XVII-XXI)", vol.IX, S.P. Bolovan, I. Bolovan, C. Pădurean editors, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj\_Napoca, 2007, pp.73-92.

<sup>108</sup>Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, pp.20-27.

<sup>109</sup>*Ibidem*, p.27.

<sup>110</sup>Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului*, pp.134, 136; Eadem, *Populația domeniului Gilău*, pp.96; Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, pp.28-29.

view; thus we may conclude that, in Transylvania, in the seventeenth century, most of the inhabitants were members of a nuclear family.

As far as the data from the documents permitted, we have extended our researches to Wallachia. The analysis of the data from 28 villages of Wallachia, in the seventeenth century, lead to the conclusion that, in the villages, 75-78 per cent of the families were nuclear. In the second half of the century, there was here too a tendency towards the decrease of the share of the nuclear families (75 per cent).<sup>111</sup>

At the beginning of the eighteenth century in Făgăraș Land, on the background of war and economic crises, the share of the nuclear families dropped again, from 83 per cent in 1706 to 75 per cent in 1710-1714.<sup>112</sup>

The next stage of the researches was the analysis of the structure and dimension of the families. At this stage, we had to overcome a problem caused by the lack of data, in the documents, concerning the feminine half (wives, daughters) of the population.

In these conditions, we analyzed the average number of sons per family and the evolution of this indicator in the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

In the seventeenth century, the average number of sons per family varied between 1-1.8. The fluctuations of this indicator were caused by the crises and they show the fragility of the family and of the children facing famine, epidemics and, most of all, war. For example, on the domains from Făgăraș Land, in the years of 1632-1640, 1648, the average number of sons was 1.7. In 1652, after the economic crisis and the plague epidemic, the average number of sons dropped to 1.4. For the second half of the century, we have data only for the Porumbac domain. While, during 1637-1648, the average number of sons had been 1.7, in 1664 it drops to 1.3. In the years 1664-1676, the recovery was slow and it halted to an average of 1.5 sons per family, because of a series of famines and epidemics. The data from the Gilău domain, situated far away from Făgăraș, lead to the same conclusion. In 1663, immediately after the war, the average number of sons per family had its lowest value - just 1.1 sons on average. Gradually, the value of the indicator increased, until 1676 (1.5 sons per family), then it dropped to 1.3 and stayed there until 1687. The examples could be repeated for any of the domains.

A summary of the data for the investigated feudal domains shows that the average number of sons, in a nuclear family, was 1.7, in the first half of the century, then it dropped to 1.3. The complex crisis from 1658-1662 pushed the value of the indicator further down, to 1.1. Until 1670, the average number of sons per family rose to a value of 1.5. It remained there until around 1700, because of a succession of economic and political crises.<sup>113</sup>

For the moment, our researches concerning the beginning of the eighteenth century are limited to the Făgăraș Land. The data from this region corroborate the idea of the negative impact of the political crises upon the family. In 1706, the average number of sons was 1. The tendency towards recovery and development is, however, emphasized by the increase of the average number of sons per family, 1.1 during the interval 1710-1714, 1.3 in 1726; implicitly, this proves the demographic potential of one of the most populated areas from Transylvania.

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<sup>111</sup>*Ibidem*, pp.30-31.

<sup>112</sup>Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului...*, pp.226.

<sup>113</sup>Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, pp.36-37.

According to the demographic studies and the researches in the field of historical demography, the masculine population represented approximately half of the inhabitants.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, according to the conclusions of our researches, in the villages, the nuclear family had a small size, of 5.5 members. The war and the economic crisis of the years 1658-1662 brought the nuclear family to the limit dimension of 4.2 members. The following recovery led to an increase in the size of the nuclear family, which had on average 5 members, a dimension which remained constant until 1700, because of numerous years of famine. As it is suggested by the case of the Făgăraș Land, the war of the beginning of the eighteenth century brought a new decline in the size of the family. Despite all the hardships, in Transylvania, during the years 1715-1719, the family reverted gradually to development, as shown in the data for the year 1726.

We have not restricted our researches to the numerical variations of the number of children (sons). We have looked to the most vulnerable segments among the families. For this purpose, we have analyzed the fluctuations of each group of families according to the number of sons. We have analyzed in detail the data concerning the domains from Făgăraș Land and the Gilău domain.

The results from the Porumbac domain show that, on the background of an economic crisis, the share of the families with one son increased up to 36 per cent (1664) and of the families without sons (possibly without any child) increased up to 23 per cent. These increases took place in the context of a dramatic decrease of the families with 4-5 sons, to 2.3 per cent from 13.3 per cent, in 1637. The group of families with three sons shrank to 11.5 per cent, from 14-17 per cent as it usually was.<sup>114</sup>

The data from the Gilău domain confirm the drama of the families from the seventeenth century. In 1663, immediately after the war, the share of the families without sons, possibly without children, was 38 per cent and the share of those families with one son was 35 per cent. The families with 4-5 sons represented 3.3 per cent.

A comparison of the data from the urbaria of 1663 and 1666 reveals the process of recovery of the family after the war: the share of the families without sons decreased to 29 per cent, of those with one son to 31 per cent and the share of the families with two or three sons increased from 24 to 31 per cent.<sup>115</sup>

On both these feudal domains, the crisis of the family has been overcome. But the average number of sons, maybe of children, stagnated at the level of the years 1670-1675.

The dimension of the family in the second half of the seventeenth century was below the average size of the family during the first half of the century. A comparison of the structure and the situation of the family in the first half and the second half of the century shows an increase in the share of the families with one son of more than 10 per cent (from 20 to 30 per cent); on the other hand, the share of the families with 4-6 sons decreased from 7 per cent (1640) to 4.7 per cent (1670), on the Gilău domain, and from 13 per cent (1637) to 4.8 per cent (1674), on the Porumbac domain.

The information contained in the urbaria has allowed the analysis of the impact of the social and economic situation upon the family.

The investigation of the data from Făgăraș Land and the Szekler seats mentioned above has shown that the families of the petty nobility were more numerous

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<sup>114</sup>Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului...*, pp.105.

<sup>115</sup>Eadem, *Populația domeniului Gilău*, pp.60.

than the enserfed families. In the Făgăraș Land, in 1640, a boyar family had on average 1.9 sons, while a family of serfs had no more than 1.7 sons on average.<sup>116</sup> In the seats Odorhei, Ciuc-Gheorghieni-Cășin, a family of horsemen had on average 1.5-1.6 sons, a family of foot soldiers had on average 1.3-1.4 sons.<sup>117</sup> Behind these numbers, there is the image of a family. Grouping the families according to the number of sons, we found out that, in 1640, among the boyar families, those without sons made up 17 per cent of the total, while those with 3-6 sons represented 32.5 per cent. In the period, 18 per cent had no sons and 25 per cent had 3-7 sons. In 1640, many of the boyar families were more numerous than the enserfed families.

**The town.** The families from the towns, unlike the village families, had a smaller number of sons, of children. For example, in 1640, when, on the Făgăraș domain, an enserfed family had on average 1.7 sons, in the town of Făgăraș, it had only 1.3 sons and, in the town of Beclean, it had 1.5 sons.<sup>118</sup> In the same year, on the Gilău domain, a rural serf family had on average 1.1 sons and one who lived in the town 0.9 sons<sup>119</sup>. This difference remained throughout the century. Between 1670-1687, the average number of sons per family, in the villages, rose to 1.3-1.5 and in the town of Gilău it was 1.1.

Among the families from the towns, in 1640, those without sons represented 30-40 per cent, those with one son 30 per cent, those with two sons 17-26 per cent and those with three or more sons made up 9-12 per cent.

As one can see from the case of the Gilău town, during the seventeenth century, there were variations in the equilibrium between the groups of families; however, one must underline two constants: a large percentage of families without sons and a small percentage of families with many children.

The same demographic differences between the rural family and the town family were to be found in Western Europe.

In our analytic approaches, we have pointed out the similarities with the European towns, but, in the same time, we have emphasized the diversity of the family from the Transylvania's towns. The data from the Făgăraș domain make visible the finer nuances generated by the residence in a town. The more developed the town, the smaller was the size of the family. Thus, in Beclean, a town with a profile closer to a village, the families had more members than in Făgăraș, which resembled a city of small dimensions and had an intense involvement in the economy and politics. The dimension of the family of enserfed townspeople varied between 4.5-5 persons.

In 1654, the urbaria from the town of Făgăraș illustrate the fragility of the town family confronted with a crisis. After the economic crisis and the plague epidemic of the end of the fifth decade, in 1654, in 145 families from the town of Făgăraș there were 90 boys, an average of 0.6 sons per family. The size of the nuclear family dropped to 3-3.5 persons. In that moment, 61 per cent of the families had no son and 22 had only one son, 13 had two sons and 4 had three or four sons.<sup>120</sup>

For the town of Făgăraș, it has been preserved, from the second half of the seventeenth century, a parish baptismal register of the Reformed Church. It registered,

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<sup>116</sup>Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului...*, pp.113-114.

<sup>117</sup>Eadem, *Confesional și social în viața familiei din secolul al șaptesprezecelea*, pp.138.

<sup>118</sup>Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului...*, pp.134-137.

<sup>119</sup>Eadem, *Populația domeniului Gilău*, pp.98-104.

<sup>120</sup>Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului ...*, pp. 137.

between 1663-1700, the baptism of 1042 children.<sup>121</sup> The document is an extremely important source for the reconstruction of the natality in the space of the Romanian Lands. First, it corroborates the hypothesis that approximately half of the children were boys. Among the 1041 children, for whom we could identify the gender, 536 (51.5 per cent) were boys and 505 (48.5) girls. The masculinity ratio was 106 boys for 100 girls. It was a value comparable to its counterparts in Europe: 91.3 boys for 100 girls in England (1574-1821), 109 boys for 100 girls in France, during the second half of the seventeenth century.

In the community of the Reformed Church from Făgăraș too, the masculinity ratio varied from decade to decade, being 97.8 in 1681-1690 and 113.4 in 1663-1670.

The data from this register illustrate the impact of the war upon the family. On one hand, there was a short-term impact. In the years immediately following the war, 1663-1670, the natality was high, 34 children per year. It was the effect of the return to a normal life, after years of war, famine and plague. It was the consequence of delayed marriages and the restoration of the life of married couples.

On the long-term, one may talk about the generation of waves of births. Thus, one may see how, after a decade, the number of baptized children, that is born alive, dropped. The average number of children baptized per year, in the 1681-1690 decade, decreased to 17.6. It was the effect of aging. In the next decade of the century, the number of births increased and the annual average of the baptized children was 29.5. The parents of those children were those who have been baptized during the years 1663-1670. This wave would have continued in the eighteenth century, but it was broken by the Kuruc War, by the economic crises and the plague epidemic from 1718-1719.

The parish register itself was abandoned for a while and it was compiled again only at the end of the second decade of the eighteenth century.

The image of the townspeople family that can be extracted from the document is also biased by a masculine perspective, because, among the parents, only the father was mentioned at the baptism. Thus the children of one man could have been the result of the marriage with one woman or several successive marriages. The 1042 children were from 390 families. A family with children had, on average, 2.7 children. Among these families, 201 (51.5 per cent) baptized one child and 189 (48.5 per cent) had several baptized children.

Studying the group of the 189 families with several children, we noted that, in most of these families, 172 (91 per cent) were born during the first 15 years of marriage. The cases of the families which baptized more than four children were rare. On average, the time span between two baptisms was of 40 months. In the case of the community of the Reformed Church from the town of Făgăraș, there are data for the interval between two baptisms. This was a large interval. In Europe, the interval between two births was on average two years. The 40 months, in the case of Făgăraș, left a space for births with deceased children, for a possible death of the mother and the father's remarriage.

The evolution of the ration between the families with one baptized child and those with more baptized children showed how, during several decades, the share of the families with one child increased. During the years 1663-1670, 61.6 per cent of the families baptized several children, but during the next decades only about 45 per cent of the families baptized more than one child.

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<sup>121</sup>*Ibidem*, pp.138-147.

The parish baptismal register of the reformed community from Făgăraș illustrates better than any narrative document the short-term impact and the long-term impact of war upon the family. It was also visible the process of the return to a normal family life. Against this background, there is first the model of a more numerous family, which is next, gradually, abandoned for the model of the small family with one child. The imprint of the numerous births during the first decade after the war would mark for a long time the community. At each 25-30 years, there was a surge of the natality in the community.

### **THE EXTENDED FAMILY**

The extended family was the other type of family registered in the documents. This category comprised the families with several family nuclei. As in Western and Central Europe, in Transylvania there two categories of extended families: in one of the categories were the families which included several generations, usually the parents and their married sons, in the other there were families made up around several adult brothers. There was a very small number of mixed extended families, which combined elements of the two main categories.

The ratio between the two types of extended families varied during the seventeenth century. In the first half of the century, the extended family made up of several generations predominated: on the Gilău domain, in 1642, its share was 78 per cent; on the Porumbac domain, 1637, 89 per cent. After the economic crises, in 1648, and war, in 1663, maybe as a consequence that many children remained orphans, the families of the brothers were more frequent. In these conditions, the extended families made up of brothers, on the Porumbac domain, reach, in 1648, 37-39 per cent and, in 1680<sup>122</sup>, on the Gilău domain, in 1679, 89 per cent and 78 per cent, in 1687.<sup>123</sup>

The extended families, whether they were made up of parents and married children or of brothers and their family nuclei, had small dimensions. In the seventeenth century, on the Porumbac, Făgăraș and Comana domains, 70-90 per cent of the extended families had two family nuclei, while on the Gilău domain, 83 per cent had two nuclei.<sup>124</sup> In these conditions, an extended family from the seventeenth century had, on average, 2.1-2.5 family nuclei.<sup>125</sup> There were small variations depending on the nuclei. An extended family made up of parents and married children had somewhat smaller dimensions (2.1-2.2 nuclei), while a family combining brother family nuclei had 2.3-2.5 family nuclei.

The reduced size of the extended families was both the result of tradition and legislation. The tradition demanded that the youngest son should stay home, help his parents and take care of the household. The legislation prohibited cohabitation, "sharing the same bread", for more than three years, because that meant living within a single tax-paying unit. During this interval, the young couple or the bachelor who reached the age of twenty had the obligation to establish their own household, a distinct tax-paying unit.

As a result of this policy, the extended families were small and ephemeral. In the urbaria, most of the extended families were mentioned only once. On the Gilău

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<sup>122</sup>Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului...*, pp.116-117.

<sup>123</sup>Eadem, *Populația domeniului Gilău*, pp.70-72.

<sup>124</sup>Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului...*, pp.118-124; Eadem, *Populația domeniului Gilău*, pp. 75.

<sup>125</sup>*Ibidem*, pp.72.

domain, the documents registered several families that had the tradition of cohabiting in the framework of an extended family.<sup>126</sup> On the Porumbac domain, the cases of such extended families which cohabited for a longer period were more frequent. These cases made possible, for us, to evaluate more precisely this cohabitation framework, for the eighth decade. From 74 families mentioned in 1674, half of them still existed in 1676 and only a quarter in 1680. Until 1680, among them a third (31.1 per cent) had undergone some changes, 16 per cent dispersed and 28 per cent vanished or it was impossible to track them because of the way of naming them.<sup>127</sup>

The extended families made up of parents and married children were the first to disperse.

The persistence of the extended families was often favored by the occupations of the family members, such as sheep-breeding, smithery.

The two types of extended family had a multitude of forms. Thus, in the extended families which combined several generations, there were fathers, mothers, widows who cohabited with married sons or with sons-in-law. Sometimes appeared a grandfather who cohabited with a married grandson.

In the families which regrouped people from the same generation, there were adult brothers, brothers-in-law.

Whatever the structure of the extended family, it had a nucleus around which it was articulated. The head of the main nucleus had to fulfill all the obligations towards the state.

We have compared the main family nuclei with the secondary nuclei and we have pointed out that the main nucleus always had more sons (children) than the secondary nuclei. When we build a hierarchy of the family nuclei according to the average number of sons, we obtain the following result: the families of the parents had, on average, between 1-1.5 sons, the main families of the brothers had 0.7-1 sons, the secondary families of the sons had 0.7-0.8 sons and the secondary families of the brothers had 0.2-0.7 sons.<sup>128</sup> On the Gilău domain, the secondary family nuclei of the brothers were smaller, often with no son.<sup>129</sup> This was natural, because the secondary nuclei were probably those of recently married sons or brothers. The fact that they stayed together three years in the framework of the extended family explains the situation.

## THE INCOMPLETE FAMILY. THE WIDOWS

The families of the widows are constantly *mentioned* in the documents. Their share might reach 10 per cent of the total of the families.<sup>130</sup> These were the only incomplete families registered in the documents, because, in the case of the widowers, there were no indications.

During our researches, we have analyzed the situation of the widows.

The comparison of the evolution of a series of families from the Porumbac and the Gilău domains between the period when the husband was alive and the period when the widow became the family head reveals a decrease of the number of

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<sup>126</sup>*Ibidem*, pp.76-77.

<sup>127</sup>Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului...*, pp.129-132.

<sup>128</sup>*Ibidem*, pp.121-127.

<sup>129</sup>Eadem, *Populația domeniului Gilău*, pp.77-78.

<sup>130</sup> Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, pp.56-57.

children (sons) and a rapid impoverishment of the household.<sup>131</sup>

## FAMILY AND ECONOMY

The correlation between the demographic and the economic situation is possible using the urbaria as the main source of data for the reconstruction of the demographic situation and the image of the family in the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth century. These feudal registers also contain data about the livestock of each household (horses, bovine animals, sheep, pigs).

Interdependence is revealed when we corroborate the data concerning the family with the economic situation of the family. In our researches, we have analyzed these interrelationships.<sup>132</sup> There was a strong difference between the livestock of a nuclear family and the livestock of an extended family. For the Comana, Făgăraș, Porumbac, Gilău, Blaj-Mănărade, Gurghiu, Zlatna domains, the synthesis of the data shows that a nuclear family, in the years 1630-1690, had on average 2 oxen, 2-3.5 cows, 7-10 sheep, 1.6-4.3 pigs, while an extended family had on average 3.5-5 oxen, 3-5.5 cows, 13-52 sheep and 4-12 pigs.<sup>133</sup> Thus a nuclear family had no more than 18 small animals, during the most prosperous periods, while an extended family had 25 animals during the moments of crisis and 35-70 animals during more favorable times. The data concerning the livestock show that often the members of the extended families were animal breeders. Each feudal domain had however its peculiar developments.<sup>134</sup>

The families of the widows had the most difficult economic situation and they were in a continual process of impoverishment.<sup>135</sup>

There was a connection between the economic situation of the nuclear families and their size. On the feudal domains investigated by us, the poorest families, with a livestock under the average, were those without sons and those with one son. These families were part of the extreme segments, either being young couples or very old. At the medium level were situated the families with two sons and above the medium level were those families with three or more sons.<sup>136</sup>

The comparison of the information concerning the age of the inhabitants led to the conclusion that the group of the families with three or more sons belonged to the families headed by persons of about 30-40 years, who were able to strengthen their households.<sup>137</sup>

The occupation of the inhabitants of the domain villages, as we can see in the information from the urbaria, were very diverse. Some of the serfs were craftsmen, some worked in the manufactories from the domains, some were small local dignitaries, some were servants. The way of life of each category left its imprint upon the

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<sup>131</sup>Eadem, *Văduva cap de familie în societatea medievală din țările Române*, pp.73-92.

<sup>132</sup>Eadem, *Familia și situația economică*, in Ș. Solcan, „*Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*”, pp.115-1139; Eadem, *Demografie și economie*, in Ș. Solcan, „*Populația Țării Făgărașului*”, pp.161-184; Eadem, *Gospodărie și familie*, in Ș. Solcan, „*Populația domeniului Gilău*”, pp.111-136.

<sup>133</sup>Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, pp.124-125.

<sup>134</sup>Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului...*, pp.168-170; Eadem, *Populația domeniului Gilău*, pp.129-136.

<sup>135</sup>Eadem, *Văduva cap de familie în societatea medievală din țările Române*, pp.86.

<sup>136</sup>Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, pp.127-130.

<sup>137</sup>*Ibidem*, p.107.

structure of the family and the economic level of the household.<sup>138</sup>

The small local dignitaries, called *juzi*, had flourishing households on all the domains, until the crisis from the eighth decade. After that period their responsibilities were allocated to poorer peasants.<sup>139</sup>

Maybe it was not an accident that among the small local dignitaries the extended family was widespread. The serfs coveted this type of family.<sup>140</sup> The investigations carried out by the authorities in the problem of the activities of the economic officials have shown how some of them allowed the cohabitation in extended families in exchange for bribes.

Corroborating the data from the *urbaria*, we have shown that certain occupations, the practice of certain crafts had important consequences for the demographic realities. The seventeenth century was a period when natural calamities destroyed the crops at very short time intervals. The economic development, though hesitant, favored the spread of the crafts, the creation of manufactories, in the villages. On the feudal domains, more and more serfs were involved in these types of economic activities. These occupations brought additional income and generated a certain independence from the whims of nature. The families of these serfs had a greater number of sons, of children than the average enserfed family. The demographic superiority of these families was manifest in times of crisis. For example, during the economic crisis of the eighth decade, the families of those with diversified occupations had on average 1.7-2 sons. During the same period, an enserfed family had on average 1.5 sons.<sup>141</sup>

The family, in our researches, has not been studied only as an object with a certain structure and size. We have emphasized the significance of the relationships among family members. We have focused upon the relationships between spouses. We have looked at the process of starting a family - from match-making to marriage - from the perspective of the female persons, of the women.<sup>142</sup> In each of the Romanian Lands, beyond certain common elements, there were peculiar institutional developments; we have compared the realities from each of them.

In this approach, we could speculate the existence of sources, from Wallachia and Moldavia, documenting the relationships, the sentiments of the members of various families. On the basis of these sources and those from Transylvania, we discover a cultural universe with many common values: feelings, loyalties, respect, fear for the partner's life. There was also the parallel life of the couples with tensions, infidelities, abuses. The political events have often left their mark upon the relationship among spouses. Dangers brought by political conflicts, as well by the fear of epidemics, tore apart couples. The women and the children were sent away to safer places. The rela-

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<sup>138</sup>*Ibidem*, pp.136-139; Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului...*, pp.171-177; Eadem, *Populația domeniului Gilău*, pp.137-146.

<sup>139</sup>Eadem, *Populația domeniului Gilău*, pp.144.

<sup>140</sup>Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului...*, pp.172; Ș.Solcan, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, pp.138.

<sup>141</sup>Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, pp.135-139; Ș.Solcan, *Populația Țării Făgărașului...*, pp.171-177.

<sup>142</sup>Eadem, *Femeile din Moldova, Transilvania și Țara Românească în Evul Mediu* [The Women from Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia in the Middle Age], Bucharest University Press, 2005, pp.14-81.

tionships between spouses were analyzed from a complex perspective.<sup>143</sup>

## THE CHILDREN

In the family, the children occupied a special place. Parents cared for them, as we could see from numerous and varied documents. The fear of disease and the death of the children were recurrent in parish registers, diaries, records of the witch trials, wills, funerary monuments and so on.

This feeling of anxiety was generated and maintained by an extremely high mortality among children. A quarter of them died in the first year and another quarter until they became adults. This explains the reduced number of children in the families.

The efforts to cure the sick children were particularly intense. The elites of the society appealed to physicians with studies abroad when they tried to save their offspring. These doctors tried a series of solutions for curing patients of all ages. Their collections of prescriptions were the evidence for these efforts. In order to save their children, parents also sought help from witch-doctors (witches) from the villages and towns. The trials of the witches revealed the attempts to find the adequate medicine, but they also pointed to the desperate parents who could not accept to lose one child after another.

The parish baptismal register of the Reformed Church from Făgăraș illustrates the amplitude of the parents' fears for the destiny of their children. The children born during the week had to be baptized on Sunday, but many baptisms took place during each day of the week, during the years 1663-1700. Thus, among the children born during this period, 7.7 per cent were baptized on Monday, 11.4 per cent on Tuesday, 8.7 per cent on Wednesday, 18.7 per cent on Thursday, 6 per cent on Friday, 17.9 per cent on Saturday and 27.8 per cent on Sunday.

This behavior was the result of the parents and priests' fears that children might die unbaptized.

In all the social categories, during all their life, the children were the object of the care of their parents. Miron Costin, the chronicler, wrote about Alexandru Iliăș that he was imploring with tears in his eyes the revolted boyars to spare his son. The foreign travelers witnessed the despair of humble women whose sons have been killed.<sup>144</sup>

In the first years of the lives of their children, parents cared more for their health and education; later, the problems they had to face were more diverse. It was the responsibility of the parents to find an adequate partner for their child. The parents with daughters sought to endow them and to protect their dowry. Thus they resorted to marriage contracts.

In order to avoid the disputes among their children, the parents divided their

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<sup>143</sup>Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, pp.191-199; Eadem, *Soțul și soția în Evul mediu românesc* ; Eadem, *Femeile în pribegie pe teritoriul Transilvaniei (secolele XVI-XVII)*, in "Orizonturi și direcții în cunoașterea istorică", edited by A. Ciupală, L. Constantiniu, Bucharest University Press, 2009, pp.107-138; Eadem, *Pribegia în Țările Române în secolele XVI-XVII* ( Migration in the Romanian Lands in the 16<sup>th</sup> and -17th Centuries] Migration in the ), Ed. Univesității, București, 2014, pp.105-163.

<sup>144</sup>Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, pp.202; Eadem, *Femeile din Moldova, Transilvania și Țara Românească...*, p.100.

estate during their lifetime. They wrote wills and these wills are a precious historical source for the reconstruction of the predominant family relationships and feelings.

Parents supported their children even when they were in conflict with the law. They borrowed money, accepted any humiliation in order to save the life and liberty of their children.<sup>145</sup> On the other hand, children did pay attention to the problems which affected their parents.

Orphans had peculiarly hard times. They were often in danger of losing the inherited property, because greedy relatives, neighbors, creditors coveted it.<sup>146</sup> In *urbaria*, we could see how they grouped around their oldest brother, who had the duty to replace the parents. In many cases, poverty forced them to leave their native places and try their luck as servants.<sup>147</sup>

In the family, the web of relationships with the parents-in-law, the brothers and other relatives was very complex.

The parents-in-law, like the parents, supported the young family. In the documents, we found them in the same extended family with sons-in-law and daughters-in-law. Many were doing business with the young family. Each felt responsible for the others' acts in these relations between parents-in-law and sons-in-law and daughters-in-law.

A phenomenon born out of the desire to transmit, together with the wealth and the traditions, the name of a family without sons was the adoption of the sons-in-law as sons (*îngerirea*).<sup>148</sup>

Brothers could play an important role in a society with frequent wars and diseases and with a low life expectancy. When the parents died, according to the legislation, the oldest brother had the responsibility for the whole family. He had to take care of the household, he had to purvey an education and arrange marriages for the younger brothers and sisters. This explains the existence of extended families in which cohabited several adult brothers. In the seventeenth century, the share of the extended families formed around brothers increased.

The documents preserved the memory of the solidarity, in many cases, among brothers: ordinary people who help their brothers, dignitaries who stayed by their brothers. In the mentality of that age, brothers were responsible for the actions of anyone of them. The successor of the voivode Vasile Lupu punished the brothers of the former reigning prince; Miron Costin was executed because his brother was accused of plotting. This determined many brothers to take together the route of the exile.

In many cases however, the issue of succession led to feuds among brothers.<sup>149</sup>

The sisters were not outsiders in the disputes connected with the parental inheritance. In Moldavia, where the daughters had the right to participate in the succession of their parents, as the brothers did, the involvement of the sisters was greater. They also participated in transactions, they could be part of brotherhoods, together with their brothers.<sup>150</sup>

We have extended our researches to certain families which were considered unconventional, such as ethnically, confessionally, socially mixed couples, concubi-

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<sup>145</sup>Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, pp.200-205.

<sup>146</sup>*Ibidem*, pp.208-210.

<sup>147</sup>*Ibidem*, p.180.

<sup>148</sup>*Ibidem*, pp.210-212.

<sup>149</sup>*Ibidem*, pp.213-219.

<sup>150</sup>Eadem, *Femeile din Moldova, Transilvania și Țara Românească...*, pp.102-118.

nage, because they were part of the reality of the seventeenth century.

The inhabitants of the Romanian Lands, in virtue of the geographical location, were in contact with persons of various ethnic communities and religious denominations. In the villages, the towns and the cities, the cultural diversity and the social mobility favored the creation of mixed families. Despite the obstacles in the legislation, the opposition of the churches and the opinion of the communities, they subsisted. It was thus necessary to analyze these couples from the point of view of their types, their genesis and their evolution. We have also investigated the ways of integration in a hostile social environment.<sup>151</sup>

In the case of concubinage, the legislation was very tough. In the Romanian Lands, few documents mention such couples and the extramarital relations. The analysis of these documents reveals a discriminatory treatment of women and the children born out of such relationships. Though there was a certain amount of tolerance towards men, the contemporaries often castigated them, as we could see in the historical sources.<sup>152</sup>

The couples were united for the entire life and the legislation was very strict when it came to the dissolution of marriage; however, in certain cases, in the Orthodox communities of Transylvania or in the extra-Carpathian space, the problem of the divorce was raised. It was certainly the influence of the Reform which took strong roots in Transylvania.

For a better insight into the possibilities of divorce, we chose the example of a reformed community.<sup>153</sup> We have investigated the canonical visitations acts in the Szekler seat of Orbai, from the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century, and we have observed a consistent effort to keep the family intact. There was always an attempt to solve the conflicts among spouses through reconciliation, through fines for the guilty part; the divorce decisions were postponed for years, in the hope that those involved would change their mind.

The conclusion of our researches is that, in this space, the family was a pivotal value, even in the communities which, in principle, accepted divorce. Only when a spouse endangered the life and dignity of the other, the dissolution of the family was accepted.

The community watched every gesture of the members of a family. It promoted legality and honor. It appreciated that any infringement was a dishonor for the community. However, it treated differently the members of a family. Men of any age benefited from a greater understanding of breaches of loyalty. Women, female persons in general, were treated more harshly. Any deviation from the standard morality, beside the punishments provided for by law, attracted the negative opinion of the community. In the case of the children, their parents had to answer for their mistakes. Women deemed immoral could risk banishment from the locality and even death.

This continuous surveillance of every gesture by neighbors is reflected in the declarations of the witnesses in the trial for witchcraft. The eye of the community was often directed towards the acts of widows.

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<sup>151</sup>Eadem, *Căsătoriile mixte din Transilvania în Evul Mediu*, pp.13-28.

<sup>152</sup>Eadem, *The Problem of Illegitimate Couples in the Extra Carpathian Area during the 17<sup>th</sup> Century*, in "Concubinage, Illegitimacy and Morality", Gutenberg Univers Press, Arad, 2005, pp.15-31.

<sup>153</sup>Eadem, *Divorțul în Transilvania la sfârșitul secolului al XVII-lea și în primele decenii ale secolului al XVIII-lea*, pp.17-22.

The institution of the voivodeship influenced, through all its decisions, the family life of its subjects. The wars waged by the voivodes (reigning princes) have destroyed numerous families. The reigning princes of Transylvania, through their demographic policy, tried to create a growing number of tax-paying units. In these conditions, they limited the number and the duration of the extended families: these families hosted young couples or young people of more than 20 years of age and could subsist only for three years. In this way, the nuclear family became the dominant type of family.

The families from the petty nobility with military obligations (the boyars from Făgăraș Land, the petty nobility from the Szekler seats) were constantly checked and threatened with the decay among serfs. Men were called to training sessions, their equipment was verified, the age of their boys had to be declared, they had to show their nobility credentials. Any breach of these requirements could lead to the enserfment of their families. For the family, this would have had negative consequences for a long time.<sup>154</sup>

In Transylvania and Wallachia, during the period between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries, the reigning princes controlled the inheritance rights of the families, enforcing restrictions on the right of succession of the female persons.

At the end of the seventeenth century, the abuses generated by the political transition led to the flight of many people and the disintegration of many families.<sup>155</sup>

The family of the seventeenth century Transylvania was a family of a small size, as the European family in general. The economic crises, the wars led to the loss of human lives. As it happened in Central Europe, the ideas of the Reform spread in this area. They determined a greater tolerance and created an environment which made possible mixed families. Despite these evolutions, in Transylvania, the traditional view of the family still remained attractive and favored a concept of the family as a solid institution, which had to be respected.

## WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA

The researches done by us on the documents from Wallachia concerning the enserfed inhabitants of the boyars domains and the comparison of the results with the data from Transylvania brought out several characteristics of the family from this space. The information had gaps, because its sources were confirmations of property, trial records, data on enserfments, pay off records, data about brotherhoods, wills. In the 28 villages from the 1612-1696 period investigated by us, the nuclear families represented the majority: 78.7 per cent in the first half of the seventeenth century and 75.3 per cent in the second half. The trend to expand the extended families was the same as in Transylvania. The local variations in the number of nuclear families were considerable, from 87.5 per cent (Foleștii de Jos, 1629) to 62 per cent in Bărbătești

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<sup>154</sup>Eadem, *Influența vieții politice asupra familiei în secolul al șaptesprezecelea*, in Ș.Solcan, „Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române”, pp.141-166.

<sup>155</sup>Eadem, *Necazurile vieții cotidiene pe domeniile feudale din Transilvania secolului al XVII-lea*, [The troubles of everyday life on the feudal domains from 17<sup>th</sup> Century Transylvania], in “In honorem Gernot Nussbacher”, D. Nazare, R. Nazare, B.F.Popovici editors, Brașov, 2004, pp.277-282.; Eadem, *Situația locuitorilor țării Făgărașului în ultimii ani ai secolului al XVII-lea* [The Situation of the Inhabitants of the Făgăraș Country in the Last Years of the Seventeenth Century] in “Acta Transylvanica. Anuarul Centrului de Istorie a Transilvaniei”, vol.I, 2004, Bucharest, 2004, pp.43-74.

(1620). Thus, despite the large number of extended families in many places, the majority of the families were nuclear.<sup>156</sup>

The families of the boyars from Wallachia and Moldavia in the seventeenth century are another category that caught our attention. The results of our researches revealed ample evidence that the political factor had a high impact upon the families from the political elites. Wars and conflicts for throne succession, the years of exile depleted the ranks of their families.

We studied a group made up of 244 families from Wallachia and 178 families from Moldavia. A family of grand boyars had on average, in the seventeenth century, 5.5 persons, in both these extra-Carpathian Romanian Lands.<sup>157</sup>

We have analyzed the peculiarities of the development in the first and the second half of the seventeenth century. We have also paid attention to the place of the boys and the girls in the families from these states. This had an influence on the participation of the female persons in the division of the inheritance and the way they were mentioned in the wills or the acts confirming a property.

In Wallachia, the female persons received their share at marriage, as dowry, thus not taking part in the succession and, implicitly, not being recorded in the wills. A female person could inherit the parents' estate only with the approval of the voivode.

In Moldavia, there was a principle of gender equality. The female persons participated in the succession, together with their brothers; thus they were recorded in the wills and the confirmations of property.

These differences of legislation and tradition might explain the fact that, in the families of the great boyars, the average number of daughters per family was 1, while in Moldavia it was 1.5. During the same period, the average number of sons per family was 1.7 in Wallachia and 1.8 in Moldavia.

In the seventeenth century, in Wallachia and Moldavia, the average number of sons per family was similar, in the ranks of the political elites. In the second half of the seventeenth century, in both countries, the trend was toward the increase of the size of the family, while wars were increasingly rare. During the same period, in the case of the peasants from Transylvania, the average number of sons per family was the same. In the case of the peasants, the low number of children was the consequence of the economic crises, years of famine and epidemics. On the background of the increased frequency of the economic crises at the end of the century, the tendency was toward a family of reduced size. The same size of the family, 5-5.5 persons, existed in the rural families from Western and Central Europe.

There was a contrast, in the case of the families of the great boyars of Wallachia and Moldavia, with the size of the families of the European elites. The European elites, in general, had large families. The Romanian elites had few children; this situation cannot have another explanation than the impact of political instability and numerous defensive and internal wars.

The Romanian family was deeply affected by the historical context of the seventeenth century. The families of the elites from Wallachia and Moldavia were under the impact of the political factors, while the peasants from Transylvania were affected

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<sup>156</sup> Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, pp.30-31.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibidem*, pp.51-55; Eadem, *Structuri ale familiilor marilor dregători din secolul al XVII-lea* [Structures of the families of the great dignitaries], in "Revista istorică", vol. IX, 1998, no. 3-4, pp.169-183.

by natural calamities and social, economic and political crises. The factors were different, but the consequences were similar: a family of 5-6 members.

An analysis of the families of the great boyars reveals their stability. In Wallachia, from the 216 cases for which we know the name of the wife there were 48 (22.2 per cent) cases of men who had two wives and 3 (1.4 per cent) cases of men who had three wives. In Moldavia, among 186 great boyars, 42 (22.6 per cent) boyars were remarried once and 8 twice (4.3 per cent). The legislation, of course, encouraged the stability of the family and discouraged remarriage. The law accepted divorce and remarriage only in exceptional cases. The admissible number of marriages was limited to three, the third being accepted only in exceptional cases. The fourth marriage was not recognized and the children from that marriage had no right to inherit. The law seemed to have been enforced, because we cannot find in the documents mentions of the fourth marriage of the great boyars. Besides, the marriages in the families of the great boyars were supervised by the voivode. The marriages were alliances between the boyar families and the marriage banquet was an opportunity for a meeting of the political elites. These events were often the place for meetings of the political elites from the three Romanian Lands.

The family from the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century is a stage in the history of the family in the Romanian Lands. In order to find its role in the history of the medieval family, we began to research the families of other periods. A first study in this direction focused upon the documents from thirteenth century Transylvania.<sup>158</sup>

The objectives of this study were to find the structures of the family, its size, the relationships among family members and the place of the family in the society of the thirteenth century. On the basis of the register of the ecclesiastical chapter from Oradea and other documents from the same period, we have reconstructed the profile of the families. As for the way of registering the serfs, it was similar to that from the seventeenth century, as we can see from the documents of the church from Arad: only the family heads and their sons were mentioned.

The analysis shows that, in the first half of the thirteenth century, there were areas in Transylvania in which a village had on average 42 families. Among the 362 that were investigated in our researches, 334 families (92.3 per cent) were nuclear families and 28 (7.7 per cent) were extended families. Most of the extended families, 25, were made up of brothers. Three extended families had more generations in their composition. The extended families grouped, on the average, 2.7 family nuclei. The largest extended families comprised six brothers.

The nuclear families were probably small, because in the 362 families, in 1202-1203, there were 330 registered sons. A nuclear family had on average 0.9 sons. The serfs had the lowest number of sons: the 176 serf families had 146 sons, an average of 0.8 sons per family. The families of those with various occupations - pig breeders, carters, craftsmen - were somewhat more numerous. Thus these 186 families had 184 sons, an average of 1 son per family.

The historical sources from the following decades mention large families, with six-seven members.

The existence of well-established habitual rules concerning marriage is at-

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<sup>158</sup>Eadem, *Familia din Transilvania în prima jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea*, [Family in Transylvania in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century], in "Imaginând istorii", S. Corlan-Ioan editor, Bucharest University Press, 2006, pp.297-313.

tested by the documents from the thirteenth century. Marriages were, of course, exogamous. Getting a bride was the job of match-makers, but kidnappings were not excluded. In the case of a kidnapping, the wedding had to take place in presence of the girl's parents. This habit was also familiar in the seventeenth century, in all the three Romanian Lands.

From a social point of view, the thirteenth century was a transition period. The tendency of the secular and ecclesiastical nobility was to enserf as many free people as possible. The register from Oradea revealed the impact of this process upon the families. A first aspect was the existence of socially mixed families. The cases brought to tribunals made visible the reactions of the people in such situations. Some accepted the change of status, some redeemed the enserfed person, some refused such a marriage and demanded its annulment.

The family, once formed, was a solid social cell and could not be dissolved either through the will of the partners, either through the will of the master, in the case of the serfs.

In the case of most of the couples, affection and care were the rule governing the relationship among the spouses.

In the eyes of the community, the family was a unitary cell that had to be manifest solidarity with all its members. For the mistakes of the family head was responsible the whole family.

As it happened many centuries later, a lot of conflicts arose in the extended families and in the relationships with the relatives when the rights of succession were in discussion.

The change in the status of the women after the death of their husbands is already visible in the thirteenth century. The widow became the family head. The consequence were a lot of responsibilities.

The children had a special place in family life. There was a strong desire to have children. A couple without children could adopt children. It was the parents' responsibility to defend the honor of their children and to find suitable partners. In case that one of their children, even an adult one, was murdered, the heartbroken parents tried to catch and kill the murderer.

The children had the same sort of obligations to love and care for their parents. In case that the father was dead, the boys were often those who represented their mother; in trials involving the test of the red iron, they took the place of their mother. When the parents were murdered, it was their obligation to find the murderers of their parents. Sometimes they were supported by their brothers-in-law.

The information concerning the relationships among brothers showed their solidarity and anticipated the habit of the boys taking the place of their father and representing in the public sphere their sisters.

The brothers were also responsible for each other, they also had to display the same type of solidarity shown above.

The solidarity among family members did not exclude the judicial actions for the inherited estate or the discrimination of some of the brothers or sisters.

The register from Oradea captured some aspects of the life in a household. Beside family members, there were the servants. Their relations with the masters were patriarchal. The master had the obligation - at least the moral duty, according to tradition - to defend his employees and to patronize them.

There were numerous pressures on the family coming from the social environ-

ment: violence, accusations of witchcraft, abuses from the neighbors, from the nearby nobles, from gangs of robbers, conflicts with the inhabitants of neighboring settlements.

The lack of authority led to more frequent tensions and violence. On the other hand, in the same time, we find in the family from the thirteenth century the roots of the family from the eighteenth century. The structure of the family, the relationships in the family, the role of the male persons in the family, the place of the widow in society and so on were similar.

In our analytical researches of the demographic evolutions in the Romanian space we have correlated several aspects of the demography of the seventeenth century with phenomena from the eighteenth century and the first years of the nineteenth century.

One of our researches started from the catagraphy of the city of Iași from 1808.<sup>159</sup> In this register were mentioned 4642 family heads. Iași was a large city, reuniting people with various ethnic backgrounds, religious denominations, people speaking different languages. Various interests brought these people together: economic, political, cultural interests. Among the inhabitants of the city were differences generated by social status, material wealth, matrimonial status, citizenship. The population of Iași followed perfectly this pattern of the multifaceted city. Among the 4642 family heads, 4006 (86.4 per cent) were Moldavian subjects. The others were Austrian subjects or subjects of the Russian Czar.

The Moldavian population was divided, in the records, into tax-payers, merchants, boyars, guild-members, the poor, the widows. The priests and the deacons were registered separately; the same procedure was applied for the Jewish persons and the Roma slaves from Iași.

The information from the document offered enough ground for an analysis of the family and households from Iași, at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In 4634 cases, we could reconstruct the families and we have found about 13500 persons in these families. The nuclear family was the most widespread type of family. The share of the nuclear families was 74 per cent (2438 families) ; in 2880 cases, the heads of family were men and in 283 cases widows. In the city, lived 832 (18 per cent) single males and there were 83 (2 per cent) habitations for the Roma slaves.

The size of the nuclear families was small, up to five persons. The low number of children was the consequence of the war that ravaged, at 1808, the territory of Moldavia. Poverty, epidemics affected the population, especially the children. In certain situations, we encountered a poor recording of the female persons or their inclusion in the generic rubric "children".

The share of the 283 extended families, among the total number of families, was 6.1 per cent. This type of family could be found among any of the category of inhabitants. The structure of the extended families was the usual one. On one hand, there were 185 (65.4 per cent) extended families which grouped several generations; on the other hand, there were 70 (24.7 per cent) families made up of brothers and a third group, of 28 mixed families (9.9 per cent), which combined elements from the first two groups.

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<sup>159</sup>Eadem, *Family and Household in Iasi at the Beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, in "Families in Europe between the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries. From the Traditional Model to Contemporary PACS", A. Fauve-Chamoux, I. Bolovan editors, Cluj, University Press, 2009, pp.743-764.

A particularity that we might take into account was the fact that, among the extended families formed out of parents and their married children, the majority, 127 families, were led by young people. In 122 of these families, the widowed mother cohabited with her son (79 cases) or with her son-in-law (43).

The size of the extended families was also small and the 283 extended families had 593 family nuclei, that is an average of 2.1 nuclei per extended family. In 260 cases, cohabited just two family nuclei.

In many households from Iași, were registered, beside the family members, servants, journeymen and apprentices.

Among the nuclear families, in the 558 cases, were registered male-servants (891) and female-servants (125).

In the cases of 93 families, the document registered journeymen (117) and apprentices (57).

In a household, the number of auxiliary personnel rarely exceeded two persons. The inhabitants from Iași preferred the help of men in the households.

All the auxiliary personnel - servants, journeymen, apprentices - comprised 1200 persons, that is less than 10 per cent of the registered inhabitants.

Among the extended families, only 82 families (29 per cent) had servants (68) or journeymen and apprentices (14).

Those who resorted to the work of servants were boyars, merchants, widows, priests, deacons and foreign subjects.

The analysis of the Register from 1808 made visible the impact of war upon the inhabitants of a Romanian city. The famine, the epidemics, the flight from the enemy ravaged the city. The high mortality had as a consequence the reduction of the number of children and the increase of the number of widows. The poverty forced many merchants, boyars, craftsmen to limit the personnel in the households and the workshops.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, mortality afflicted not only the inhabitants of Iași. In Wallachia, the historical sources - such as the accounts of foreign travelers or the study "*Topografia Țării Românești*" (The Topography of Wallachia) by the physician Constantin Caracăș or various reports by the authorities or the narrative sources- - emphasized the problem of the very high mortality among children of all ages.

Mortality had multiple causes, from war (1806-1812), economic crisis (1810-1812), lack of an adequate health system to the remnants of medieval concepts in the mind of the people.<sup>160</sup> The interlacement of all this had a devastating effect upon the children from Bucharest and other localities from the Romanian Lands.

Authors brought the problem of child mortality to the attention of their contemporaries. For example, doctor Constantin Caracăș wrote: "*out of a family with ten or twelve children only three or four survive. Three quarters die, victims of poor care, arising from the ignorance and prejudices of parents and the total lack of medical help.*"<sup>161</sup>

Starting from such evaluations, we have analyzed the causes of child mortality

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<sup>160</sup>Eadem, *Child Mortality in Bucharest during the First Years of the 19th Century*, in Romanian Journal of Population Studies, 1/ 2012, pp.123-139.

<sup>161</sup>P. Gh. Samarian, *O veche monografie sanitară a Munteniei "Topografia Țării Românești" de dr. Constantin Caracăș (1800-1828)* (The Topography of Wallachia) by the physician Constantin Caracăș,, Bucharest, 1937, pp.85.

at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Because the population was extremely polarized, each child bearing the imprint of its environment, we have made distinctions between the categories of the children of the elites, the children of ordinary people, the children of the nurses and the abandoned children. We have analyzed the specific traits of these categories and the role of the inequalities at birth upon mortality in each of these categories.

The extremely high mortality among the children of ordinary people was the consequence of the lack of professional medical assistance and the lack of hygiene. The same factors led to the death of many women during birthing and after it.

These factors which led to the high mortality among children persisted in time and were widespread; they comprised the lack of hygiene, mentioned above, including the lack of fresh air in the houses, dirty water, inadequate food; the lack of professional medical personnel was worsened by the administration of detrimental drugs by witch-doctors and midwives.

Among the children of the nurses there were many deaths caused by neglect; their mothers, for a sum of money, were abandoning their own offspring.

The destiny of orphan children was also merciless. At the end of the eighteenth century, the authorities were concerned by them. However, administrative hesitations and mistakes sealed the fate of many orphans.

The high mortality among children was not a characteristic of the humble families. We found a series of clues in the historical sources in this problem. We reached the conclusion that among the causes of the deaths of many children of the elites the outdated mentalities played the most important role. These mentalities encouraged the appeal to midwives for the care of the small children. There was also the fact that, in the first years of life, the children were raised and educated by their wet nurses. They often lived in the same rooms with the nurses. The food was inappropriate for their age. While the children of the ordinary people were suffering from hunger, the children of the elites got ill because of abundant, unbalanced feeding.

There were the same discrepancies in the clothing. The poor children lacked clothes, while the children of the elites had too heavy clothes, disturbing movements and causing overheating.

The causes which impaired the functioning of the bodies and led to illness and death were totally different, but the consequences were the same: enteritis, diarrhea, pneumonia, all treated along the lines of traditional „prescriptions”.

The war and the famine from the years 1810-1812 and especially the plague epidemic from 1813-1814 decimated the population of Bucharest and Wallachia.

The documents offered a vivid picture of the attitude of the authorities towards the children. The article 7 of the Reigning Prince's Order from 18 august 1813 treated children as a public danger, because they could spread the plague: *“Those who have young children in their homes, or even grown-up children who are still unable to judge soundly and distinguish right from wrong must keep them inside the household, in the house or the backyard and not let them outside of the yard or house, as they do not know whom they meet and how they must meet other people.”*<sup>162</sup>

The elites and the ordinary people, during an epidemic, had different ways of avoiding contagion. The authorities also had different attitudes towards the population. In the case of the elites, isolation was the preferred method and the authorities permitted the evacuation of their families from Bucharest. In the case of the ordinary

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<sup>162</sup>Idem, *Ciuma*, București, Ed. Institutul de arte grafice E. Marvan, 1932 pp.285.

people, until the third of August 1813, when the plague epidemic had already made a lot of victims, the authorities prohibited the departure from the city. The ordinary people sought refuge around the capital city. They often came back to take care of their meager belongings.

The methods of containing and fighting the epidemic were like those of the Middle Ages. The houses with ill people or suspects of being ill were closed, isolated and even burnt. The gravedigger took the ill and the dead together outside of the city; they left them on field, in the place called Dudești.

The contemporaries saw how “*Mothers left their children and husbands their wives in the hands of gravediggers, men without conscience and without fear of God...*”

The number of those who died during the plague epidemic of 1813-1814 is unknown; in the historical sources, tens of thousands were supposed to have died during that period.

The plague took many casualties among children. Some have been abandoned by their parents, others were taken along with his parents to the plain of Dudești.

Ioan Dobrescu from Bucharest wrote about piles of corpses at the hospital, interspersed with the bodies of many children and young people. All these corpses were thrown into mass graves.

No figures reflecting the number of the children who fell victim to the epidemic are available, but it is sure that the number was high, especially among the unfortunate inhabitants, among the poor people. The high degree of belief stems from the fact that the historical sources mentioned the children in all kinds of places: on the shabby streets, among the refugees, among the dead. On the other hand, the authorities identified them with possible factors of contagion.

A comparison of the data from the end of the eighteenth century and the data from the beginning of the nineteenth century shows that the attitude of the Romanian society towards the children was very traditionalist. This was one of the conditions which led to the perpetuation of high infant and juvenile mortality in all social categories.

The techniques of containment and extinction of an epidemic were similar to the medieval procedures. This led to a high number of victims and to perverse consequences, because instead of limiting the epidemic it contributed to its spread, especially among the ordinary people.

We focused our researches of the family in the Romanian Lands during the Middle Ages to the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries; we have a special interest in this period, which is also rich enough in historical sources useful for historical demography, at least in the case of Transylvania. The paradigmatic area for our researches was the Făgăraș Land, where the population of the villages was Romanian. This region also belonged to Wallachia until the sixteenth century. It was an area where Romanian customs and institutions were preserved.

We have compared the demographic phenomena from the seventeenth and eighteenth century with the similar phenomena from the beginning of the Middle Ages and from its last years. The comparison revealed the traditional character of many structures, including the structure of the family, the predominance of the nuclear family over the extended family, the reduced size of the families, the interrelation between the standard of living and the size of the family and so on. The comparison helped us to understand the causes of the low number of children in the Roma-

nian families. The main cause was the extremely high mortality among the children of all age. The conditions underlying this phenomenon were equally the standard of living, the precarious state of the medical knowledge, the traditionalist mentality and the discriminatory attitude of the authorities towards the children from the ordinary families.

The detailed analysis of the situation of the family from the seventeenth and the eighteenth century brought to light the main characteristics of the family from Transylvania and, within the limits of the data from the historical sources, some aspects of the family from the extra-Carpathian space. In the society of that age, the family was the central element. It had, however, different faces from one settlement to the other, the rural family having another profile than the family from the towns and the cities. A uniform characteristic was the widespread presence of the nuclear family.

In each community, the characteristics connected with age, matrimonial situation, economic and cultural status generated variants of the family.

The evolution of the family explains the demographic situation both on a short and a long term. On the other hand, the image of the family was the result of the convergence between traditions, legislation and historical context.

The family, both the family of ordinary people and the family of the elites, was extremely vulnerable during the times of crisis. In the case of the family of the ordinary people, the family was decimated by economic crises. In the case of the Romanian boyars, who formed the political elites, the family was ruined by the political crises. The high frequency of the economic crises and the extremely turbulent political life led to families of small size, of 5-6 persons, both among boyars and ordinary people.

The slow modernization of the society, the economic and political crises afflicting the Romanian Lands created favorable conditions for the preservation until the nineteenth century of a high mortality, especially among the children.

## **The man of the eighteenth century in the Romanian Lands**

In my researches, one of the objectives has been the reconstruction of the image of the individuals from the Romanian Lands in the seventeenth century. I have paid attention, in my researches, both to reigning princes and ordinary people, both to men and women and to children.

The aims have been to paint an image of these medieval people and to detect the way they have been perceived, judged by their contemporaries.

The historical source used in these researches have been diverse, from narrative documents to letters and records of official investigations. Many of the documents used are undiscovered.

## REIGNING PRINCES AND BOYARS

In our book about the Romanian society in the light of the historical sources of Hungarian expression from the seventeenth century (*Societatea românească din secolul al XVII-lea în izvoarele de expresie maghiară*), before the inquiry into the relations among the Romanian Lands, we have analyzed the portraits of the voivodes and the reigning princes of the respective period.

In cases such as that of the voivode Mihai Viteazul, in order to obtain an image as encompassing as possible of contemporary perceptions of the voivode, we have investigated sourced written in Latin from the beginning of the seventeenth century and compared them with what is reported in the Romanian chronicles.

The analysis took into account the objectivity and the subjectivity of the narrative sources from the three Romanian Lands.

We have investigated a wide range of reigning princes. In Wallachia and Moldavia, we have described the images of Mihai Viteazul, Radu Șerban, Ieremia Movilă, Ștefan Tomșa, Radu Mihnea, Alexandru Iliăș, Gavrilă Movilă, Matei Basarab, Vasile Lupu, Constantin Șerban, Gheorghe Ștefan, Șerban Cantacuzino, Constantin Brâncoveanu, Gheorghe and Constantin Duca, Dimitrie Cantemir. Among the rulers of Transylvania, we have analyzed Sigismund Bathori, Gherghe Basta, Ștefan Bocskai, Gabriel Bathori, Gabriel Bethlen, Gheorghe Rakoczi I and II, Ioan Kemeny, Mihai Apafi I.<sup>163</sup>

We have also taken into account the portraits of some of the great boyars and military commanders, such as the Buzești brothers, Baba Novac, the chancellor Mihai Teleki and others.<sup>164</sup>

The existence of common human models is revealed by putting together and comparing the references to the political elites in the historical documents from Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia.

In the vision of the chroniclers and memorialists both from Transylvania and Wallachia or Moldavia, the reigning prince, the political man had to be wise, thrifty, not to yield to political pressure, forgiving and with a feeling of respect for the laws of the country, the Christian morals; he had to love his people and his country and to defend them against the invasions of foreign armies. These qualities were prized both in the case of the local princes and those from the neighboring countries. The paradigm leaders, from the perspective of these qualities, were, in the opinion of the chroniclers, Ieremia Movilă, Matei Basarab and Constantin Brâncoveanu..

The political elites also wanted to be respected by the reigning prince of their country.

The elites never forgave the abuses of the reigning princes. In the seventeenth century, the chroniclers became more and more critical in their judgments of reigning

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<sup>163</sup>Ș.Solcan, *Societatea românească din secolul al XVII-lea în izvoarele de expresie maghiară* [*The Romanian Society in the sources of Hungarian Expression*], Bucharest University Press, 2000, pp.9-51

<sup>164</sup>Eadem, *Societatea românească din secolul al XVII-lea în izvoarele de expresie maghiară*, pp.52-67

princes.

In their turn, the reigning princes of Transylvania sympathized with the boyars from Wallachia and Moldavia, when they got in trouble with their rulers. They supported the fight of the boyars when these aristocrats tried to remove from power their voivodes (in 1618, in 1631). They offered their protection to the boyars and princes who took refuge in Transylvania.

In their foreign policy, the voivodes and the reigning princes had to cultivate good relations with their neighbors from the other two Romanian Lands. There was a general conviction that only an alliance of the three lands could prevent the occupation of their countries by the Ottoman Empire.

Throughout the century, the image of the reigning prince evolved. At the beginning of the century, the ideal member of the elite was the crusader; at the end, the most celebrated rulers, nobles or boyars were those possessing an extensive culture and education.

In this century, the education, the reading knowledge have arrived into the houses and souls of the political elites. A growing number of the sons of the reigning princes, of the boyars and the nobility studied in various European cities or in the schools from Constantinople.

As time passed by, the men with an exquisite culture were more praised. For example, the metropolitan Petru Movilă was highly appreciated for his culture by I. Kemeny and Sava Brancovici was considered “a learned man” by Mihai Cserei.<sup>165</sup> For their bravery were eulogized by M. Cserei Constantin Bălăceanu and Toma Cantacuzino. The same chronicler praised the prudence and the culture of Constantin Brâncoveanu.

Cooperation among rulers meant more than a mere signature on a treatise. The reigning princes often helped each other to keep their throne. During 1658-1662, in the fight against the Ottoman Empire, all the rulers from the three states have been allies. After the defeat from 1662, the policy of alliances of Transylvania has been more prudent, maybe under the influence of the new ruling prince. Mihai Apafi I was personality less tempted to get involved into political arrangements. The chroniclers from Transylvania criticized him for this tendency.

These rulers, boyars and nobles, besides being political men, were also husbands, fathers and masters of feudal domains. During their leisure, they spent their time in social interaction, entertainment and hunting. They often enjoyed the company of the friends from another Romanian Land.

As husbands and fathers, during the periods of military conflict, the country rulers and the nobles took measures to protect their families. The first lady of the country and other noble women and children took refuge in other countries. For this purpose, the voivode and the boyars sat in a general council of the country (Dimitrie Cantemir); they sought, in the case of Wallachia and Moldavia, the protection of the reigning princes and the cities of Transylvania (Grigore Ghica and many boyars). Noble families, such as the Brâncoveanu and the Cantacuzino families, had fiefs in Southern Transylvania, in the Făgăraș Land.

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<sup>165</sup> *Ibidem*, pp.249

The voivodes and the boyars from Wallachia and Moldavia were able managers, a fact for which we found evidence in their correspondence with friends from Transylvania. They cared for the prosperity of their feudal domains and their peaceful development. Constantin Brâncoveanu asked for help from the chancellor of Transylvania, when he wanted to eliminate the thieves who robbed his villages from the Făgăraș Land. The rulers helped each other find their fugitive subjects.

Some of those who took refuge in Transylvania, as for example Ioan and Gavrilă Movilă, tried to bring prosperity to the fiefs they received here and make them belong to the most fruitful feudal properties.

## THE ORDINARY PEOPLE

The numerous documents from the seventeenth century contain enough evidence to depict the main lines of the character of ordinary people. The information from many of these documents is indirect, because narrative sources did not pay much attention to the multitude. That is the reason for focusing upon the information from the *urbaria* and the official investigations.

Both the villages and the towns subjected to our investigation were inhabited by people of various backgrounds. The age, the social status, the economic situation, the matrimonial situation of the inhabitants of these settlements were diverse. Divergent attitudes were sometimes generated by these realities. All this had to be taken into account when we have reconstructed the portrait of these people.

We have proved on the basis of the evidence from *urbaria* the hardworking spirit of the Romanian peasants. As the data from the domains of Blaj, Gilău<sup>166</sup>, where the population was ethnically mixed, or the data from the domain of Odorhei<sup>167</sup> pointed out, the households of the Romanians were not inferior in any way to those of other inhabitants.<sup>168</sup> There was a correlation between the number of children and the social stratification, both in the Romanian communities from Făgăraș Land and the communities from the Szekler seats. In both cases, the evidence from the documents reveals the existence of settlements inhabited by serfs and by a petty nobility with military obligations.

**The Boyars (BOIERII FĂGĂRĂȘENI) and the petty nobility.** The petty nobility was under stress; it had a lot of reasons to worry about. Among them was the fear of being decayed into the ranks of the serfs. In the *urbaria* from the domain of Făgăraș, in the fourth decade, there is a reflection of the frequent process in this period of stripping many boyars and libertini of their liberties. It was an effect of the economic decay, but it was also the consequence of the loss of the acts confirming their privileges.

Some values were common. Among them it was caring for the family, for the

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<sup>166</sup>Eadem, *Societatea românească din secolul al XVII-lea în izvoarele de expresie maghiară*, pp.124-130.

<sup>167</sup>Eadem, *Situația demo-economică a iobagilor secui la 1644* [The demo-economic situation of the Szekler serfs at 1644], in "Historia manet. Volum omagial Demény Lajos", V. Barbu, K.Tüdös S. editors, București-Cluj, 2001, pp.256-270.

<sup>168</sup> Eadem, *Societatea românească din secolul al XVII-lea în izvoarele de expresie maghiară*, pp.253.

household. The free peasants, the petty nobility had to strive to keep their privileges and lands ; the evidence for this is in records of the numerous trials for the defense of the lands.

The priest was another person who was not absent in any village. The priest had a special position both in his relations with the inhabitants and the authorities. He was not registered along with the serfs; there were separate rubrics for the priests, like in the case of the boyars. In the seventeenth century, in the Romanian villages, the priests were the only persons who knew to read and write. From the point of view of the livestock they owned, their material situation was far superior to that of the serfs.

**The serfs.** The serfs represented the majority of the inhabitants from the villages. Their material situation was not uniform; in the *urbaria*, we found evidence in the owned livestock and the economic occupations. For the Gilău domain, we found data in a sequence of *urbaria* permitting the reconstruction of the destiny of some of the serfs from that domain.<sup>169</sup>

The evidence from *urbaria* support the claim that the serfs were people aiming to have a large family and an affluent household. Most of them practiced agriculture and animal husbandry. In the seventeenth century, the serfs increased their interest in engaging in various crafts. Unfortunately for them, the crises and especially the complex crisis from 1658-1662 hit hard their families: children died, households were ruined. All the efforts, all the hopes from the era of prosperity were blown away. Those who survived, after these crises, were often old, alone and poor.

The analysis of the documents kept from the tribunals of the Făgăraș Land revealed the challenges confronting the inhabitants of the villages and towns. Among them should be mentioned the problems connected with inheritance, the respect of property, the violation of freedoms, theft, libel, immorality and witchcraft.<sup>170</sup> In the last years of the seventeenth century and the first years of the eighteenth century, the local authorities and their abuses led many to seek refuge in other places.<sup>171</sup>

## THE AGE OF THE INHABITANTS.

We sought an answer also to another problem, the problem of the age of the inhabitants and the relationship among the age of a person and the place of that person in the society.

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<sup>169</sup>Eadem, *Populația domeniului Gilău în secolul al XVII-lea*, Ed. Universității, București, [The Population of the Gilău domain in the 17th Century], Bucharest University Press, 2006, pp.166-168; Eadem, *Destine anonime în secolul al XVII-lea* [Anonymous destinies in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century], in “Perspective demografice, istorice și sociologice. Studii de populație”, I. Bolovan, C. Mureșan, M. Hărănguș editors, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, pp.245-263.

<sup>170</sup>Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului în secolul al XVII-lea și la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea*, București, Ed. Universității, 2010. [The Population of the Făgăraș Land in the 17th Century and the Early 18th Century], Bucharest University Press, 2010, pp.207-212.

<sup>171</sup> Eadem, *Necazurile vieții cotidiene pe domeniile feudale din Transilvania secolului al XVII-lea* [The troubles of everyday life on the feudal domains from 17<sup>th</sup> Century Transylvania], în “In honorem Gernot Nussbacher”, D. Nazare, R. Nazare, B.F.Popovici, editors, Brașov, 2004, pp.277-282.

We had information only for the male side of society, the men and the boys. In most of the investigated places there were no parish registers for weddings and deaths. The few parish registers kept from that era registered baptisms but did not register the age of the parents. We resorted to information from the declarations of the witnesses in trials and other sources.

Using a comparison of the data from the baptismal parish register of the Reformed Church from Făgăraș, we inferred the average of 28 for the father, at the baptism of the first child. The marriage had probably taken place at the age of 26-27. This age at marriage is within the European trend of that time. In Western Europe, in the seventeenth century, everywhere the age at marriage approached tended to 26-27 years.

There are other documents, which mention bachelors with an average age of 22-23 years.<sup>172</sup>

The authorities were worried by this trend; they thought that young people over 20 should form their own households.

For the domains from the Făgăraș Land, using a comparison of the data concerning the family head and the data concerning the situation of the family, we found out that a man had an accomplished family (a family with a maximal number of children) and a prosperous household at the age of 35-45 years.<sup>173</sup>

In the life of the men, a significant change occurred around the age of 50-55 years. Then they could become heads of an extended family.

In the few cases in which we could establish the age of the young people when they left the extended family, that age was between 26-30 years. Taking into account that the extended family was allowed by the legislation for a period of three years, we got a corroboration of the claim that many young people got married after the age of 20 years.

The analysis of the age of the individuals took into account a series of other factors. We had to rely on data stemming from the declarations of the individuals. These statements often depended on the age and the status in society.

We have used statements of the same individuals to the authorities and, comparing the declarations with the actual time elapsed between them, we found that only 7.4 per cent of the 203 persons investigated in the Făgăraș Land made veridical statements. Among the others, 43.3 per cent declared a higher age and 49.3 per cent declared a lower age. The differences were small. On the average, they did not exceed a year and a half. The tendency to declare a higher age prevailed among the townspeople and the serfs. Probably, in their mentality, the testimony of a older man had more credibility.

Another factor that influenced the declarations was age. After the age of 40 the men who were family heads began to declare more than the expected age resulting from the previous statement and the actual time elapsed until the next declaration. At

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<sup>172</sup> Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, Ed. Universității, București, 1999, [The Family in the 17th Century in the Romanian Lands], Bucharest University Press, 1999,, pp.103-104.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibidem*, pp.105.

the beginning, the differences between the actual time and the declared time were, on average, of a few months. In the group of people over the age of 71 years, on the average, the declared time was longer with 3.5 years.<sup>174</sup>

Another problem was the age of the children. Starting with the ninth decade, the *urbaria* on some of the domains registered the age of the boys. The research of the documents enabled some conclusions regarding the children from a family and the mentality of the family concerning the children, the boys.

The data from the domain of Blaj (1681-1691) and the domain of Gurghiu (1688-1691) showed that at the beginning of the political crisis, in 1681, 1688, the boys between 1-10 years made up 55-58 per cent of the entire group of boys and the group with an age between 11-20 represented 36 per cent, while those over 21 had a share of 6 per cent on the Blaj domain and 9 per cent on the Gurghiu domain. After the outbreak of the political crisis, when the crisis was in full swing, the share of those between 1-10 years decreased to 46-51 per cent, while the share of the group between 11-20 years rose to 42-44 per cent and the group over 21 years remained relatively constant.

The *urbarium* of the Gurghiu domain from 1697 showed the evolution of the groups of boys during the years of the instauration of the Austrian regime. The share of the group between 1-10 years rose again to 54 per cent, the share of the group between 11-20 dropped to 30 per cent and the share of those over 20 years rose to 16.5 per cent.<sup>175</sup>

Certainly, the economic crises, the political instability perturbed the natural evolution of the family; they contributed to the mortality of children. The administrative chaos that one could note on the Făgăraș domain facilitated the dwelling for many years, along with their parents, of the sons. This was the explanation of the share of 16.5 per cent of the group of children, registered as sons, of 21-30 years.

To the increase of the age of the children contributed also the statements of the parents. A correlation of the data from the *urbaria* mentioned above led to the conclusion that, in the case of children, there was a tendency to declare a lower age than the real one. On the Blaj domain, among those registered in 1681, there were 124 persons present in the *urbarium* from 1691. In 1681, the average age of a boy was 7.1 years. In 1691, the average age of the same boys was 15.5, while it had to be around 18 years.

On the Gurghiu domain, 42 of those registered at 1688 were mentioned again in 1697. In 1688, the average age of a boy was 8.9 years and, in 1697, it was 16.6 years, while it had to be around 19 years.

The second declared age was lower, for all the age groups, with 2-3 years.

These statements could reflect many aspects: a faulty registration of the age of the children, the desire to keep as long as possible the children in the household and, implicitly, to postpone the moment of their marriage. In a society in which there were no parish registers, but the boys had to get married at the age of 20 years or at least to establish their own households, to become the head of a tax-paying unit, the way to

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<sup>174</sup>Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului...*, pp.154-155.

<sup>175</sup>Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în Țările române*, pp.107-114.

avoid this obligation was to state a lower age, to declare erroneously the age of the children.<sup>176</sup>

## **THE FEMININE UNIVERSE.**

The male universe was in the centre of the documents, but we tried to open a road toward the knowledge of the feminine universe. The information concerning the world of the women was scarce and often indirect.

We have dedicated to the image of the woman and her place in society our book focused upon a comparative study of the women from Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia during the Middle Ages.<sup>177</sup> The book received the "Nicolae Iorga" prize of the Romanian Academy for the historical and archaeological sciences.

The first objective of our research was to determine the place and the role of the woman according to the legislation of the three states. We have emphasized both the local characteristics and the common elements generated by the legislation, as well as by the historical tradition. The knowledge of this fact is very important because it identifies the place of the woman in family and society according to the laws and the way women are represented in the historical sources.

We also paid attention to the social analysis of the place of the woman in her various roles: as daughter, wife, mother, sister, relative. In any of these perspectives, we took into account the environment from which she came, the attitude of the family, the regional peculiarities.

We dedicated a separate chapter to the problems of the dowry and inheritance, because these were the only possessions a woman could obtain. There was a distinction between the approaches to this problem in Wallachia and Transylvania, on one hand, and Moldavia, on the other. In Wallachia and Transylvania, inheritance was the prerogative of the males, which excluded the female persons from the inheritance. In Moldavia, existed a principle of gender equality. The consequence was the involvement of the female persons in the hereditary succession.

Since housekeeping was the main obligation of the women during the Middle Ages, in the book, we have dedicated the third chapter to the problem of the woman in the household. In this chapter, we have pointed out the role of the women in keeping the house, the garden, the wardrobe tidy. Among the occupations mentioned in the documents were spinning, weaving, preparing a variety of foods, canned fruits and vegetables. We made a correlation between the products registered in the inventories, in the price lists and the livestock of the households.

The end of the chapter was devoted to the concerns of women-housewives for pest eradication and her special care to protect animals in the yard.

The role of the woman in society was analyzed under its various aspects. On one hand, we have researched her involvement in the economic life. We have produced evidence from the documents showing the participation of the women in the

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<sup>176</sup> *Ibidem*, pp.113.

<sup>177</sup> *Eadem, Femeile din Moldova, Transilvania și Țara Românească în Evul Mediu* [The Women from Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia in the Middle Age], Bucharest University Press, 2005, 292 pages.

small-scale trade in Transylvania, but also in transactions with lands and slaves in Wallachia and Moldavia, alongside with men. This involvement generated economic power and had its grounds in the right to manage the dowry.

The book also analyzed both the feminine presence in selling, buying, pawning, associations with brothers and the factors that explained her involvement in transactions, as well as the impact of the historical conditions on these activities.

In the case of the crafts, the guilds from cities and towns had strict regulations concerning the role of the wives and widows of craftsmen in their activities.

The servants were a category of women mentioned during all the Middle Ages. Using the evidence from the documents, we have researched their situation from the thirteenth century to the eighteenth century. We have noted the impact of the general economic situation upon their status, the abuses they faced and the legislation that tried to protect them.

Feminine mortality was everywhere very high during the Middle Ages. In a special chapter, we have analyzed the causes of this mortality. We have researched the natural factors, the diseases, as well as the political factors. Women and children were collateral victims of the wars. In the documents, we could find repeated reports about women kidnapped and killed by the enemy troops.

We have proved that the impact of the political factors was felt all the time by all the categories of women, from the elite women to the slaves. The voivode, through his policies, constrained, directly or indirectly, their lives. The right to marriage, the right to inherit, the responsibility for the actions of her husband, of her brothers, of her parents, as well as the circulation of the women-merchants, the suffering cause by war, all this created a correlation between the women and the ruling prince. The voivode intervened directly into the life of women from the political elites and indirectly, through his policies, in the lives of the ordinary women.

Though the information was scarce, we tried, through correlations of existing data, to reconstruct the life of the wives of the voivodes from Wallachia and Moldavia. We have caught a glimpse of their image in the eyes of the contemporaries. They lived in courts parallel to that of the voivode, surrounded by the wives of the great dignitaries. Despite this isolation from the main court, they were revered by the dignitaries, by the inhabitants of the country and by the foreign ambassadors to the court. On the other hand, the ruling princesses tried to help their husbands, to contribute to the pious, charitable image of the voivode. When the voivode lost his power or died, the princesses had to bear responsibility for his deeds. For this reason, during the periods of crisis, they had to seek refuge.

Once the princesses had to go into exile, they still made efforts to enhance the prestige of the voivode through their attitude and the court which accompanied them. This stance aroused the admiration and won the respect of the contemporaries.

Some of the princesses, once widowed, became involved in politics in order to secure the throne for their sons. As regents, they proved to be skillful diplomats, strong and wise judges.

In the life of any woman, being a widow meant a radical change. On the basis

of the evidence from documents, we have added support to this claim.<sup>178</sup> From the posture of humble characters, who had no access to the community life, being always represented by their husbands, suddenly the widows became family heads. First, this meant they had to organize the funeral ceremony for their husband, to hold mortuary ceremonies, to assume the inheritance, to care for the children, to manage the household, to fulfil the obligations towards the state.

Because they were family heads, the widows were the only category of women registered in the documents.

The feudal registers contain also evidence showing that, being a widow, while it meant an ascent in the social hierarchy, from the point of view of the demographic and economic situation was a gradual deterioration of their situation.

On the domains from Făgăraș and on the Gilău domain, from the perspective of the livestock owned by the households of the serfs, the widows were among the poorest family heads. Most of them had only a cow and some pigs.

The research of a group of 111 families from the Porumbac domain (1637-1680) and the Gilău domain (1642-1687) led to the conclusion that the livestock of the household, during the period after the death of the man until the first registration of the widow, dropped on average from 13.5 animals to 7.3 animals. To the impoverishment might have contributed the fulfillment of the obligations of the widow: funeral and mortuary, payment of debts due by the husband and grant of parts of the inheritance to the relatives.

Starting with an economic handicap, many of the widows became even poorer during the next years. We have researched the evolution of the economic situation of a group of 119 widows, on the two domains mentioned above, and we have observed that the situation of the livestock remained unchanged in 8 cases (6.7 per cent), the number of animals increased in 42 cases (35.3 per cent) and decreased in 69 cases (58 per cent).

The impoverishment of the household went in parallel with the decline of the number of sons. The causes of this decline were various: marriage, the fact that they became fugitives, death.

Using the evidence from the documents, we have shown how the widow, irrespective of her social category, was subject to numerous abuses, both from the relatives of the deceased husband and the creditors of the husband, the neighbors, the voivodeship, the Church. In years of crisis, the widows felt harder the impact of the shortages. Many widows pawned and sold during the years of famine, for low prices, their lands.

We also have done researches in the field of spiritual profile of the women during the Middle Ages, trying to correlate numerous historical and ethnographic doc-

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<sup>178</sup>Eadem, *Văduva în societatea medievală din Țările Române* [The widow in the Romanian medieval society], in "In memoriam profesor Radu Manolescu", S. Brezeanu editor, Ed. Bucharest University Press, 2006, pp.221-248; Eadem, *Văduva cap de familie în societatea medievală din Țările Române* [The widow as family head in the Romanian medieval society], in "Om și societate. Studii de istoria populației României (sec. XVII-XXI)", vol.IX, S.P. Bolovan, I. Bolovan, C. Pădurean editors, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj\_Napoca, 2007, pp.73-92.

uments. The spirituality of the women was very complex and it combined faith and superstition. They were able of generous gestures, ignoring any danger, because their feelings for those members of the family who faced severe hardships was very intense. The woman who called a witch-doctor, as the witch herself, faced terrible risks, because they could in any moment be accused of witchcraft and burnt at the stake. The records of the witch trials are documents of great complexity. They illustrate the image of the woman as witch-doctor, knowing a lot of cures and, at the same time, adhering to faith. On the other hand, there was the image of the woman seeking help. She was also a believer, but she was willing, for the sake of the family, to resort to any means.

The education of the female persons was, in the seventeenth century, under the sign of a new mentality. There was a growing number of princesses or boyar daughters who could read and write. There were some remarkable women; such were Elina, the wife of the voivode Matei Basarab, the wives of Gheorghe Rakoczi I and Mihai Apafi I, the daughters of Vasile Lupu and Dimitrie Cantemir. This phenomenon was more ample in the next century. In Transylvania, the girls had access to the schools from the feudal domains. The greatest resistance to the education of ordinary girls was in the family, as it was shown in the acts of the canonical visitations.

## THE EXILES.

Separately or in the chapters which treated the impact of the political factors, we have approached the problem of the destiny and image of the exiles.<sup>179</sup> We thought that it was important to analyze this problem, because the boyars or the voivodes were often obliged to take refuge in another country. Those from Wallachia opted for Transylvania. There were cases of Moldavian boyars, such as the Movilești, who took refuge in Transylvania.

This aspect of the circulation of the political elites from one country to the other deserved closer examination and we have analyzed it as a chapter in the history of the relations between the three Romanian lands. Their presence and the protection they got in Transylvania, sometimes strained the relations with Wallachia. However, when they came back, the former exiles consolidated the cooperation among the three states.

The evidence from the documents pointed to the fact that, despite being well received and protected in Transylvania and having access to some revenue, the voivodes and boyars had a tough time in exile. The life was expensive, the emigrants quarreled, those from the family who were left at home faced the rage of the ruler, the fear was pervasive and all this made their suffering difficult to bear.

Among the exiles were often women. Some were remarkable, as princess Zamfira, the daughter of Moise the voivode, who, as a foundress, consolidated the Orthodoxy in the Hațeg Land.

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<sup>179</sup> Eadem, *Pribegia în Țările Române în secolele XVI-XVII* ( Migration in the Romanian Lands in the 16<sup>th</sup> and -17th Centuries] Migration in the ), Ed. Universității București, 2014, pp.105-171; Cap. *Pribegii* în Eadem, „Societatea românească din secolul al XVII-lea în izvoarele de expresie maghiară”, pp. 214-220; Eadem, *Femeile din Moldova, Transilvania și Țara Românească în Evul Mediu*, pp.204-237.

Summing up the results of our researches concerning the individuals from the seventeenth century, we may draw the conclusion that we have shown the various aspects of a complex century and the changes that took place in the wake of the process of modernization from the Europe of that period.

The historical sources, though often offering information with a lot of gaps, have furnished the evidence for the reconstruction of the profile of the members of the elites, as well of the ordinary people, including women and girls.

The profile based on indirect sources was completed with personal notes, with reports of the statements of witnesses at trials. The trials into which the individuals got involved were diverse, from the disputes for land and those arising from abuses to the witchcraft accusations. The statements revealed multiple facets of the torments and the feelings of the individuals from the seventeenth century.

We have collected the pieces of this giant puzzle and we have recovered the look of many of these individual. Obviously, there are many more pieces to be retrieved, each historical document containing a variety of elements, thus making necessary further researches.

## **The place of the seventeenth century in the demographic evolution of the Romanian Lands.**

The choice of the focus point of our researches into the historical demography of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century has been the Făgăraș Land. There is a wealth of documents from that period for the Făgăraș Land. Another reason were the historical conditions from that area and its ethnic and cultural characteristics.

The researches into the historical demography of the Făgăraș Land were a step towards the knowledge of the demographic situation of the Romanians in a broader perspective.<sup>180</sup> First, in order to know the demographic situation of the Romanian Lands, in the seventeenth century, we have extended our researches to Transylvania. A large number of documents for the Gilău domain, situated in a central position in the principality, was a further step to an analysis of the evolution of the population in the seventeenth century.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>180</sup>Ș. Solcan, *Făgăraș-Patterns of Central and East european Life*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1997, 178p.; Eadem, *Populația Țării Făgărașului în secolul al XVII-lea și la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea*, Ed. Universității, București, 290p [The Population of the Făgăraș Land in the 17th Century and the Early 18th Century], Bucharest University Press, 2010, 290pages]

<sup>181</sup>Eadem, *Populația domeniului Gilău în secolul al XVII-lea* [The Population of the Gilău domain in the 17th Century], Bucharest University Press, 2006, 214 p.

The researches focused upon the Făgăraș Land and the Gilău domain had the aim to bring out the quantitative evolution of the population and its structure. The type of documents used in the researches - the *urbaria* - made possible a correlation between the demographic state of the population and its economic condition. We have reserved a special place to the analysis of the impact of the historical context upon the numerical and the qualitative evolution of the population, of the family and the individuals. This correlation opened the way for the explanation of many demographic phenomena: the fluctuation of the number of the population, of the age cohorts, the evolution of the structure of the families, the migration.

Further, the data from the *urbaria* were correlated with the evidence from other types of documents (official investigations, a parish register, diaries). Thus the analysis was extended from categories such as the age of the individuals to their mentalities at the end of the Middle Ages in the Romanian Lands.

We have treated the family as a central element, both for the individual and the society; thus we have investigated its aspects in the seventeenth century.<sup>182</sup> Among our research interests was the clarification in the historical context of the concept of family, both from the perspective of the individuals and that of the authorities. It was very important to identify the point of view of the authorities, in order to disclose the meaning of the data from the feudal registers. Further on, in the researches, we have investigated the numerical and structural evolution of the families from Transylvania. The main loophole in the *urbaria* was the exclusion of the women and the girls from the registers. There was evidence only for an image of the male half of the society. Using conjectures for the feminine half of the society, we overcame this obstacle and advanced towards a reconstruction of the family structures and their historical evolution during the seventeenth century.

The broader analysis targeted numerous feudal domains from the principality of Transylvania. Beside the families from the Făgăraș domains and the domain of Gilău, we analyzed the families from the domains of Alba Iulia, Baia Mare, Blaj Mănărade, Gurghiu, Satu Mare, Șimleul Silvaniei, Zlatna.

The researches had, for each feudal domain, the same objectives: the reconstruction of the numerical and structural evolution of the family, the detection of the factors determining this evolution. We have used the same type of historical sources, the *urbaria*; thus it was possible to compare the situation from one region with the situation from another region.

After we gathered support for the claim that the Romanian family from the seventeenth century was a part of the family of all Transylvania and of the European family, we have felt necessary to compare the Romanian families and those from other ethnic communities from Transylvania and to compare them with the European family. The legislation and the historical context have left an imprint on all the families, imposing certain characteristics and shaping their evolution. Although they have generated a set of common traits for all the families from the principality and Europe, they could not annihilate the peculiarities of the Romanian families. In the mentality and the habits of the Romanians, traditions kept their place. An important role in this process played the continuous interactions between the inhabitants of the Romanian

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<sup>182</sup>Eadem, *Familia în secolul al XVII-lea în țările române* [The Family in the 17th Century in the Romanian Lands], Bucharest University Press, 1999, 250 p.

Lands.<sup>183</sup> These relations existed both at the level of the political elites and among ordinary people, especially those inhabiting border regions. The circulation of the Orthodox clergy in all the three Romanian Lands contributed to a unitary mentality of all the Romanians.

We made use of the evidence that we could find in the documents from Wallachia and Moldavia, for the reconstruction of the rural families from Wallachia and a comparison with those from Moldavia. The similarities that we detected in the types of families corroborated the claim that all these families from the Romanian space of the seventeenth century shared a core of common characteristics.

Normally, the *urbaria* registered only enserfed families. There were however exceptions from this rule, as it happened in the *urbaria* from the Făgăraș Land. In these *urbaria*, the Romanian petty nobility (boyars) and the priests from the region were also registered. On the basis of these documents, we could compare the demographic and the economic situation of the enserfed population from the domain of the reigning prince with that of the free population and the clergy. The conclusions pointed to a connection between the social status and the demographic and economic situation.<sup>184</sup> A hierarchy of the families from a village would have shown that on top were the petty nobility (the boyars), then the priests, then the serfs and, at the lowest level, the servants and the inquilini.

In the case of the great boyars from Wallachia and Moldavia, the abundance of the genealogical sources facilitated the reconstruction of their families. The research on the characteristics of these families has revealed that their size was small, having a dimension comparable to that of the families of the enserfed inhabitants. The analysis of the directions of development of the dimensions of these families brought out the devastating effect of the wars and internal struggles upon the families of the great boyars. After the wars ceased, the size of these families increased, but they never had more than 5.5 persons. The enserfed families had close dimensions of 5-5.5 members. However, the evolution of these families followed a reversed pattern, from 5.5 members to 5 members, in the context of multiple years of famine towards the end of the seventeenth century. The outbreak of the wars of 1658-1662 and 1703-1711 had a ravaging effect upon the enserfed families, reducing their size to 4-4.5 persons.

In the Romanian Lands, in the seventeenth century, despite the fact that the factors shaping the families of the great boyars and those of the ordinary people were different, the result was similar: a small family, with around 5-5.5 members.

On the basis of the data from the *urbaria*, we could continue the comparison between the patterns of the families which coexisted in the seventeenth century. On the feudal domains, besides the villages, there were also towns. The towns were quite varied, depending on their place in the economic, political and cultural life. Most of the towns were small, resembling a big village. There were a few outstanding towns.

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<sup>183</sup>Eadem, *Societatea românească din secolul al XVII-lea în izvoarele de expresie maghiară* [The Romanian Society in the sources of Hungarian Expression], Bucharest University Pres, 2000, 278 p.

<sup>184</sup>Eadem, *Demographic and economic structures in villages and towns of 17<sup>th</sup> century Transylvania*, in "Many Paths to Happiness? Studies in Population and Family History. A Festschrift for Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, M.P. Arrizabalaga, I. Bolovan, M. Eppel, J. Kok, M. L. Nagata editors, Aksant, Amsterdam, 2010, p.215-237.

Among them was the town of Făgăraș. This was an important trading center; it was also the residence of the wives of the reigning princes of Transylvania and it was a vital part of the cultural networks of the principality.

The variety of types of settlements left its imprint upon the number and the structure of the population, the size and the structure of the families. In the towns resembling a village, the urban families and the rural families from the surrounding villages were similar, from the point of view of their dimensions, structure and economic occupations of the families. In the towns with structures resembling the profile of the cities, the families had a small size of around 4.5-5 persons; there were multiple ethnic communities, various denominations and a noticeable heterogeneity in the economic occupations.

The *urbarium* from 1654 of the town of Făgăraș illustrates the sensitivity of the inhabitants of such a settlement close to a city when they had to confront hunger and epidemics. The losses, especially among the children, were much higher than in the surrounding villages.

In a broader context, the history of the population and the family of the seventeenth century was a stage of their development over several centuries. Since it is necessary to compare the demographic situation of the seventeenth century with other periods during the Middle Ages, we started with an approach to the documents of the first half of the thirteenth century, producing an analysis of the data available from that period.<sup>185</sup> The research revealed the existence at that time of the main types of family, the nuclear family and the extended family. In the areas investigated by us, the nuclear family prevailed. The household, as we could learn from the documents, was however complex, comprising, alongside with the family members, servants and slaves. Among the elements which are again present in the seventeenth century, must be mentioned: the prevalence of the nuclear family, the reduced number of sons in the families, the preservation of certain habits of entering into a marriage (match-making, kidnapping the girls), the solidarity of the family members in front of those who violated the honor of any of its members, the responsibility of the husband for his family, the care and affection between spouses, the widow who assumed the prerogatives of family head, the treatment of the household, by the community, as a unitary whole, the unwillingness to accept the strangers who settled in the border areas of the villages and a great stability of the borders of the villages.

In the thirteenth century, among the specific elements were the numerous socially mixed families. They were the result of the accelerated process of extension of the feudal relationships in the thirteenth century. The communities seemed to be much more impregnated by violence. Thus many conflicts were solved in a violent manner. There frequent threats with a trial for witchcraft and they materialized quickly into real accusations.

The family from the thirteenth century created a pattern for the medieval family in Transylvania. The data from the documents of the thirteenth century supported this claim and it made sense to look at the family from the seventeenth century as a link in the process of development of the family in this space.

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<sup>185</sup>Eadem, *Familia din Transilvania în prima jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea* [Family in Transylvania in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century], in "Imaginând istorii", S. Corlan-Ioan, Bucharest University Press, 2006, pp.297-313.

In order to put into perspective the demographic and social development in the villages of Transylvania we focused upon a case study: the village Drăguș.<sup>186</sup> This was a settlement mentioned in many documents from the seventeenth century until the twentieth century. The village preserved a series of traditions, as have shown the sociologists in the first half of the twentieth century.

The analysis of the demographic evolution of this village from Făgăraș has a special significance, because the historical documents contain evidence for each stage of this development. In the middle of the seventeenth century, Drăguș was a big village, with around 100 families. The crises that have succeeded from the end of the seventeenth century until the end of the second decade of the eighteenth century had a devastating impact. The number of families dropped to 21. In the registers from the eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth century, we found data illustrating the process of demographic recovery. The case of Drăguș, as probably many other cases, illuminate in an ideal way the reflection of the European demographic growth from the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century in the Romanian Lands. At the end of the eighteenth century and in the first decades of the nineteenth century, the number of families reached the previous level and even surpassed the level of the middle of the seventeenth century. In Drăguș, the ascending demographic evolution continued in the next decade and, in 1938, there were three times as many families than at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Many specific elements of the population from the seventeenth century were preserved. Thus, at the end of the eighteenth century, the nuclear families prevailed among the families (with a share of around 80 per cent); the extended families had a reduced number of family nuclei and most of the extended families were made up of parents and married children, not of brothers and their family nuclei.

The nuclear families were very stable, but they were small. It was only at the beginning of the twentieth century that we observed a notable number of divorces and illegitimate children. Unfortunately, the families from Drăguș were impoverished, as the gradual decrease of the livestock suggested. This also explains the reduced size of the families and the high rate of emigration.

Moldavian documents of 15th century allow a reconstruction of the aspects of the life of Moldavian families. Among the more important aspects of the Moldavian life was the size of the families and the place of the women and the children in the family and the society.

The research shows that the 15th century was the period of clarification of the place of women and children in the Moldavian society. It also meant the funciar/economic separation of the family members. The trend of individualization was more pronounced in fifteenth century.

The society had a significant impact on the family. The countless wars had determined the decrease of the size of family.

The voivode got involved many more in family life by political measures.

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<sup>186</sup>Eadem, *Impactul modernizării asupra evoluției demografice. Studiu de caz: Drăguș, secolele XVII-XX* [The impact of modernization upon the demographic evolution. A case study: Drăguș, the 17-20 centuries], in "Schimbare și devenire în istoria României, Lucrările Conferinței Internaționale *Modernizare în România în secolele XIX-XXI*, Cluj-Napoca, 21-24 mai 2007", I. Bolovan, S.P. Bolovan editors, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, pp.559-590.

The family of the voivode was a model for the boyars.

The institution of the family in Moldavia was clarified during the fifteenth century.<sup>187</sup>

The analysis of the data concerning the population and the family in the Romanian Lands, in the seventeenth century, in the context of the evolutions from the Middle Ages, reveals their conservative character. Many features and structures kept showing up all the time. The demographic situation of the seventeenth century stood out by its opening towards modernity. The spreading of trades, the development and differentiation of the settlements, the changes in the mentality had direct consequences upon the structure and size of the families, even if they did not bring out spectacular changes.

Unfortunately, the limits of the medical science, the deficiencies in education, the abuses of the authorities generated considerable losses of population, determined by a very high mortality among children of all social categories and by emigration.

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<sup>187</sup> Eadem, *Aspecte din viața familiei moldovenești din secolul al XV-lea [Aspects of Moldavian family life from 15th century]* în „Miscellanea historica in honorem Professoris Marcel-Dumitu Ciucă septuagenarii”, ed. C. Luca, C. Neagoe, M. Păduraru, Ed. Istros - Ed. Ordessos, Brăila – Pitești, 2013, pp.57-88.

## **Career development and the ability to coordinate research teams, organize and manage teaching, explaining and facilitating learning and research**

### **Career development:**

I believe that I can contribute to the development of Romanian historiography by researching the demographic situation of the Romanian Lands in the eighteenth century. The large number and wide variety of documents from the Land of Fagaras and Transylvania led me to focus on the analysis of demographic realities in this area. It is an area in which Romanian cultural traditions have been preserved until today. It was on the border with the Romanian Land, had been part of it, so here it resembled its civilization. I did this research in my PhD thesis, *Patterns of Central and East European Life*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1997, 178p. Then I resumed the research, deepening the analysis and expanding the studied period to the first decades of the eighteenth century, in *Population of Făgăraș Lands in the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century*, Unibersity of Bucharest Press, Bucharest, 2010, 290 p.

Later I expanded my research to other areas. The result were included in *Population of Gilău in the eighteenth century, Blaj's subservient population during 1647-1681, Aspects of migration of enslaved people in Gurghiu in the eighteenth century*.

In my work I was able to present for the first time the changing demographic structures of the eighteenth century in the Transylvanian villages and boroughs. I studied fluctuations in the number of inhabitants over a century of countless crises across Europe. I found that in Transylvania, and Romanian lands, as well as across Europe, the population was strongly affected by the crisis. An important contribution was the analyze of the family, its structure, the and the impact of changes due to economic and historical context. So I presented different structures of families in villages and small towns. I also analyzed the main types of family (nuclear family, extended family, incomplete family) and how they have evolved. The results were included in *The family in the eighteenth century in the Romanian lands*.

The area of interest for Family in the Transylvanian exceeded the XVII-XVIII century, so I published the study *Family in Transylvania in the first half of century XIII, <odernizing impact on demographic trends. Case study: Drăguș, XVII-XX*.

The analysis of family was expanded outside the Carpathian arch by publishing *Aspects of Moldovan family life XV century, Structures of the great families of officers of the seventeenth century, Family and Household in Iasi at the Beginning of 19th Century , Child Mortality in Bucharest During the First Years of the 19 th Century*.

Demographic implications of political changes in the last years of the eighteenth century led me to continue investigations and to the first decades of the eighteenth century.

Since my goal was reconstituting demographic situation of in the Romanian lands in the Middle Ages I extensive research on Transylvania, the Romanian Country, and Moldova. Due to lack of documents for the Romanian and Moldovan country I had to limit myself to research large landowners families. I pointed

demographic peculiarities of this group in relation to European aristocratic family: families that did not exceed 5-5.5 members. This feature was generated by the succession of political crises.

Another contribution was to analyze the migration issue in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the reevaluation issue its directions and role in development of relations between the three Romanian states. The research was completed in "Wandering in the Romanian lands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries"

Beyond the quantitative and structural evolution of the population of in the Romanian lands I also considered the analysis of individuals. In a first phase I dedicated several papers to women. "Monography of Women in Moldova, Transylvania and the Romanian Country in the Middle Ages" was awarded by the Romanian Academy with the Award for Historical Sciences and Archaeology "Nicolae Iorga" 2005.

In the paper "Wandering in the Romanian lands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" I outlined the profile of the peregrine in the Romanian communities.

The research of documents about Transylvania written in hugarian revealed a lot of information about Romanian population in Transylvania, and also in the Romanian Country and Moldova. Also, I noticed that there are many connections between residents of the three countries. Beyond the political relations were personal relations between elites, but also of the common people. These connections have created the conditions for the relations between the three states to last. I have included this information in a paper entitled "The Romanian society in the eighteenth century in Hungarian documents".

Another goal was exploitation of unpublished historical sources. For this purpose I used information from many unpublished documents and have published some of them, such as the the land record of 1654 of Fagaras fair and the land record of 1663 Gilău domain. In this way I helped widen the range of published historical sources.

I made my research and its results known abroad by participating in numerous international conferences organized in the country and abroad and by publishing abroad *Făgăraș-Patterns of Central and East european Life*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1997 and the papers as *Demographic and economic structures in villages and towns of 17<sup>th</sup> century Transylvania*, în "Many Paths to Happiness? Studies in Population and Family History. A Festschrift for Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, coord. M.P. Arrizabalaga, I. Bolovan, M. Eppel, J. Kok, M. L. Nagata, Ed. Aksant, Amsterdam, 2010, p.215-237, *Woman in relations between the Romanian lands*, în „The female factor in history. Selection of studies and documents.”, coord. L.Zabolotnaia, Ed. CEP USM, Chişinău, 2012, p.85-98, etc.

In parallel, I have worked in the Department of History of Romanians and Southeastern Europe: assistand between 1994-1996, lecturer between 1996-2002, associate between 2002-2008, professor since 18.02.2008 through the Ministerial Order no.3669 / 07.04 .2008. I lectured general, special, optional and scientific seminars related to my work. I also taught students hungarian paleography, thereby initiating them into using a rich treasure full of documents about Romanians.

I received research grants: Grant Director *Research Support Scheme of The Central European University*, research topic: *Fagaras - Central and East European Life* (1993-1995), Grant director of the Europe Institute in Budapest, research topic:

*The impact of War upon the Serfs' Families in Transylvania during the Seventeenth Century (1996).*

I am a member of the Center for the History of Transylvania, Methodological Seminar "Dimitrie Onciul" and the Romanian Society of Historical Demography and Centre of Medieval Studies. I participated with papers in the work of these centers of research and debate.

For the future I plan further expansion in time and space research both in terms of historical demography, and individuals in matters of history.

My goals are to continue demographic investigations of new archival processing, enrichment of information about individuals in the late Middle Ages in the Romanian countries. My research will be the basis of scientific papers, of conferences, and of courses for students.

The projects aim the reconstitution of population, family structures, and their evolution for residents of entire Transylvania in the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century.

To this end I will continue the investigations of archives in order to find other documents for the reconstruction of the demographic situation of the Transylvanian territory (land records, parish registers, lists of inhabitants etc.). I will consider analyzing and comparing demographic data also from other regions inhabited by Romanians (Maramures, Hațeg). The particular demographic elements of the areas will be highlighted, but there will also be defining elements of the medieval Romanian civilization.

Another objective is the research of Romanian population in the Transylvanian towns of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century. It is important to see the integration of these communities into the urban civilization of the principality. From a demographic perspective, it requires knowledge of how those people have kept ties with village traditions in the villages of origin.

I will also analyze the changes in the family (structure, relations between members) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In this context, I emphasize family modifications to the modernization of society as a whole. Another concern of mine is analyzing the impact of traditions preserved from the late Middle Ages and on the development of population, family and individual.

To this end I am considering further research certain demographic: migration, marriage rate, mortality.

I plan to write demographic monographs dedicated to villages, fairs, cities. To this end it is necessary to analyze all categories of people. In most settlements, but mostly in the boroughs and towns the ethnic, social, economic, and cultural variety was very large. From the diversity found I'll do an analysis of family types and how they influenced these groups. It is also necessary to analyze the time evolution of these cultural realities.

This direction is part of the concerns initiated in studies as "Diversity in Romanian families in the village of the seventeenth century".

Research on the individual will be continued by describing villagers, residents fairs and cities. I also take into account portraits of people belonging to certain categories such as priests, soldiers, merchants, craftsmen. My research on individuals will expand in the Romanian Land and Moldova. Analysis of the eighteenth century will consider the changes to the individual (mentality, behavior problems) under the impact of modernization of the three Romanian states.

I expect extending the analysis of the XVII-XVIII family in the Romanian Land and Moldova. Comparing the factors that influenced the development of population and demography in Transylvania Romanian Land, Moldova, and knowing uninterrupted connections between the people of these three countries I will take into account the mutual influence regarding demographic structures, family life, attitude and behavior of individuals.

Investigations into the historical evolution of population and family will continue. Based on documents from the XV-XVI from Transylvania, Romanian Land, and Moldova, I pursue reconstitution demographic situation of various types of settlements. A priority of family consists of three states and portrait of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Our objective is the discovery of when the family institution was completed in the Romanian countries. A first step in this direction is the analysis of the Moldovan family during the XV century.

My investigations will be directed towards the eighteenth century. Their goal is the pursuit of the modernization process of the family. Analysing the main demographic events (birth, death, marriage) I want to show how the demographic transition took place in the Romanian Lands in the eighteenth century.

Also, I will consider how the family has modernized under the influence of cultural changes, political and economic situation in Europe of the eighteenth century. It's required to research the changes of the mentality about family and family members. In this context, we track the role of each family member: husband, wife, children, parents, siblings. The analysis of relationships between family members will focus on how they were affected by the changes.

Next we try explaining the reasons which led development of the family and individuals. In this context we investigate the determining factors, the role of political and legal factors in the modernization of the family, in the population growth in the eighteenth century, interest in the development of culture and education, economic implications and context of natural factor in the demographic development.

For a better understanding of demographic phenomena it is necessary to deepen the analysis of relations between the inhabitants of the Romanian Lands.

These analyzes relating to population, family, individual in the medieval Romanian Lands are required to assess the state of the the Romanian society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They also constitute the starting point to be able to make a comparative study of population, family and medieval man in the Romanian in relation to realities in Central and Western Europe. These analyzes aim individualization in the Romanian society, taking into account the specificities of each of them, while underlining the European nature of the Romanian society.

The research results will be published, presented in conferences and lectures students used. Their goal is to provide academics, students, postgraduate, PhD, which is the identity of the romanian society in the European context.

## **The ability to coordinate research teams, organize and manage teaching, explaining and facilitating learning and research:**

The research results were published University of Bucharest Press and conferences volumes of the University, where they were presented. The aim is to demonstrate to students, doctoral students, specialists, the Romanian society's identity in the European context.

An overview of developments in the Romanian population occurs in the the course of *Historical Demography*. On this occasion, I describe the sources of historical demography of the of the Romanian Lands. The lack of parish records, but the existence of land records require certain special investigations. Therefore compares information from various documents, correlating demographical development with the social and economic situation.

The course explains the main demographic events (birth, death, marriage rate, migration) and how they evolved. In this context is made a correlation between demographic evolution and how political factors, economic, social, cultural internal and external influenced them.

Within specialized courses, family characteristics in the Romanian Lands in the European context are analyzed. They have the peculiarities that provide the identity of the Romanian society's family from the XV to XVIII century, and common elements with the European family. The historical, natural, political, and how it has shaped the man, family, attitude and behavior peculiarities of this space by printing, will be analyzed.

Certain courses are and will be dedicated to research medieval Romanian individuals based on their contemporary documents. The range already outlined (women, clergy, foreigners) will be extended to other categories. It will be an interactive course. The objectives are to analyze texts remaining from categories researched and \_ their contemporaries. Thus we get data about the profile, aspirations, relationships Romanian country's inhabitants.

We will also emphasize membership in the European tradition and culture through demographic structures and human models, cultural ties, their development during the XVII-XVIII centuries.

The history and status of women in the Romanian Lands in comparison with the European ones were discussed in the seminar from the "Status of Women in the Middle Ages" master. The image of the stranger in the Romanian society has been the subject of debate at the Centre for Medieval Studies.

The issue of relations between the Romanian Lands and of the Romanian society has been the subject of the module course. It has a comprehensive approach targeting various aspects of relations between the Romanian Land, Moldavia and Transylvania.

Hungarian paleography courses can also be included in the interactive classes. Their goal is to create the possibility for students to use documents written in Hungarian. Since the end of the sixteenth century in Transylvania were issued many documents relating to population, thus the Romanian population. These acts are very different, from official documents to private ones.

Various documents, from public documents to private correspondence, containing extensive information about the situation and the inhabitants of the Romanian country and Moldova. Through these documents can reconstruct multiple aspects of the connections between residents of the three states. This will open up new horizons for young historians to reconstruct life in the late medieval society of Romanian Lands.

I'll create groups of students that will work in archives in Bucharest and countrywide to detect and process new documents concerning the history of romanian people. Their results will be discussed in specialized groups that already exist in the college or in new ones that will be set up and will be designed to research the Romanian historical demography and the European one.

The test results will be published in monographs and collective volumes depending on how the research was conducted. Also will be debated at scientific conferences and expert groups. They will be made available to students and specialists to develop information, but also as a basis for further investigations on the demographic history and human history of our region.

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