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FROM TRADITION TO MODERNIZATION.
CHURCH AND THE TRANSYLVANIAN ROMANIAN
FAMILY IN THE MODERN ERA

The Christian Church was intimately involved in the life of an individual within a family. Between state and church there was a mutual cooperation, the church having the right to exercise its moral jurisdiction, while the state controlled the civil and military aspects of family life, as well as children's and wives' inheritance and welfare. With the institution of an absolutist government in Transylvania in the 18th–19th centuries, the relation between state and church changed, as the secular power began to claim rights over the church and to subordinate it, limiting the coercive power of the church as a moral instrument. As the processes of secularisation and modernization gained ground, the church gradually lost its prerogatives to state institutions, a process reaching completion with the series of laws passed between 1894 and 1895 by the Hungarian state, whereby all registry documents concerning marital status, matrimony, and divorce came under state jurisdiction.

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The family, as a fundamental institution of human society, with multiple functions, is historically determined, representing a product of the social system, developing and evolving in accordance with the changes in society. Sociologists, in particular, but also anthropologists and historians have noted the deep-seated changes undergone by the family institution along the 20th and 21st centuries. The crisis undergone by the family institution in contemporary Romanian society clearly originates in the process of modernization which began in the latter half of the 19th century. In part at least, the problems parents, couples and children confront today are not uniquely the result of the demise of the totalitarian regime in 1989, but also the logical consequence of a phenomenon that started in the latter part of the 19th century. Primarily, the issue is the process of secularisation, which becomes increasingly distinct in the 20th century, and which has played a major part in the reconfiguration of family values—hence its relevance to the topic under discussion. Increasingly, the contemporary family unit confronts specific problems, such as poverty (typically associated with unemployment), marital infidelity (more often than not leading up to divorce), the liberalization of attitudes regarding relationships within the couple etc.¹ An insight into the beginnings of the process of family restructuring and into the plummeting of the fertility rate has become absolutely imperative. Thus, the solutions

needed today will come in sharper focus when considered from a historical perspective.

The dissolution of feudal structures in Transylvania after 1850 marked not only the emergence of different legal and socio-economic relations, based on a market economy, capital flow and workforce mobility, but also the appearance of different matrimonial relationships as well as of new moral relationships within the community. The increase in population mobility (i.e., the growing number of individuals travelling in and out of the province, immigration, the start of the processes of urbanization and industrialization) had a considerable impact on human relationships in terms of marital criteria and choices, the family life cycle, and church authority in private matters.² As we have stated earlier, beginning with the first centuries of the Middle Ages, the Christian Church was intimately involved in all of the three principal moments of the life of an individual within a family: birth, marriage, and death. Gradually the church increased its social role, trying to control and to extend its authority over the moral evolution and matrimonial behaviour of the members of a community. In this way, between state and church there was a mutual cooperation, the church having the right to exercise its moral jurisdiction, while the state controlled the civil and military aspects of family life, as well as the children's and wives' inheritance and welfare.³ The modern state intervened, corrected and correlated major events in the lives of individuals to meet the new organisational imperatives of that time. What used to be a question of individual privacy, happiness and fulfilment as a human being began to fall under external, public jurisdiction. The phenomenon does not uniquely characterise the Transylvanian space, as it was one of the general characteristics of the modern state to confiscate the citizens' right to privacy. In the 19th and the 20th centuries, the modern state, in its democratic as well as authoritarian forms of governance, often resorted to authoritarian policies in order to extend its control over the private sphere of individual life, interfering with family life, sexuality, reproduction, paternity, etc.⁴

With the institution of an absolutist government in the Romanian countries, the relation between state and church changed, as the secular power began to claim rights over the church and to subordinate it, limiting the coercive power of the church as a moral instrument. In Transylvania, the absolutist policies of Emperor Joseph II meant the involvement of the state in ecclesiastical legislation and in family life, penetrating religious institutions and substituting old canonical rules. The result of these policies was to give the church not only spiritual, but also moral and civic competences.⁵ After the edict of tolerance in 1781, the maximum involvement of the absolutist power in matrimonial matters was represented by the imperial decree for the settlement of the marriage system in Transylvania issued on March 6, 1786. The law granted exclusive control over marriage to the lay authorities, limiting to a minimum the

role of the clergy.⁶ Shortly afterwards, an order of the Transylvanian government dated May 12, 1786 added several provisions concerning the competence of ecclesiastical courts in matrimonial matters.

After the death of Joseph II, the Transylvanian government repealed the marriage law of 1786, giving back to the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic churches most of their former attributions in matrimonial affairs. Thus, throughout the 19th century (until Laws 21 and 23 of 1894), the church was responsible for keeping the marriage records, solving all problems related to engagement and marriage, the conditions of its validity and matters of divorce, for watching over the normal course of family life and over the morality of church members. Family relations, matrimonial rights, and inheritances remained the province of the secular authorities, interested in a mutual and correct cooperation with the clerical body, which it asked to be precise in the fulfilment of its entrusted tasks.⁷ This duality in the regulation of marriage and matrimonial life, through the cooperation between state and church, was understood and expressed by the main representatives of ecclesiastical life, both Orthodox and Greek-Catholic: Andrei Șaguna⁸ and Ioan Rațiu.⁹

In order to understand the role of the church in the family life of 19th century Transylvanian Romanians, we must begin with the importance of Christian ethical values in the daily life of an individual. The church was a source of comfort to the Romanian peasant confronted with many hardships. So, when the priest punished someone in his parish by forbidding him to enter the church, or to be in communion with the Holy Mysteries, this was the equivalent of a severe reprimand. Therefore, by the end of the 18th century, the necessity to maintain order in the Brașov district was felt so strongly that priests would not punish anyone with the interdiction to enter the church.¹⁰ Travel accounts and contemporary memorials from the mid-19th century show us the devotion of the Romanian people of Transylvania to universal Christian values, the deeply religious spirit of the Romanian peasant, and the decisive influence of the priests upon the villagers' attitudes.¹¹ The mission of the priests to spread moral norms and to strengthen the Christian sentiment between the members of the community was carried out not only during Sunday mass or during other holidays. The priest had to be active all through the week catechising the villagers, especially the youth.

Generally, in the course of the 19th century, the norms and religious canons which regulated marriage and family matters for the Romanians were identical with both Orthodox and Greek-Catholics, mainly because the adherence of the latter to the Roman-Catholic Church was not conditioned by a change of the dogma in this respect. In the second half of the 18th century, under the theological influence of the Jesuits and of some zealous bishops, the Romanian Greek-Catholics adopted new customs in matrimonial legislation, which were in contradiction to Orthodox tradition. Most of the Catholic elements in the Greek-Catholic liturgy in

Transylvania were introduced under bishop Ioan Bob (1784–1830).¹² The reaction was immediate among the simple clergy, which were against these abuses, and among the intellectuals. Being in contact with Jansenist and Gallican ideas, Samuel Micu and Petru Maior severely criticized all Catholic efforts to change the Greek-Catholic liturgy, pleading for the preservation of Orthodox customs.¹³ There were sometimes tensions between Orthodox and Greek-Catholic believers, because of the positions of the two respective churches on marriage and matrimonial matters. Therefore, in 1783, Joseph II issued a decree, confirmed and strengthened in 1792 by Francis II, through which the Greek-Catholic priests were offered the exclusive right to celebrate mixed marriages between Greek-Catholic and Orthodox believers, as well as the right of judgement in all their marital affairs.¹⁴ In mixed villages there were numerous instances where Orthodox and Greek-Catholic priests officiated together. Cooperation between the priests was welcome by the villagers, who did not observe the subtle differences in ritual. The higher clergy (archpriests, bishops, etc.) did not have the same attitude. They did not accept the cooperation between the two churches and asked local priests to discourage mixed marriages.¹⁵ The new absolutist decade witnessed numerous attempts on the part of the Orthodox bishop Andrei Șaguna to obtain equal rights for the Orthodox church in matrimonial matters. But Șaguna's demands to Leo Thun (the Imperial Religion and Education Minister from 1849 to 1860) and to the Emperor himself did not have the results he expected, and misunderstandings in this respect between Orthodox and Greek-Catholic believers persisted.¹⁶ After 1865, census data for the counties, seats and districts of Transylvania became available, which makes possible the study of mixed marriages in the Transylvanian area. Gradually, as the modern state started managing its institutions to keep up with the new economic, political, social and cultural developments, there appeared an increasing interest in controlling and regulating the lives of individuals. After 1895, with the implementation of lay legislation regarding civil marriages, the influence of the church on the matrimonial life of the congregation began to diminish. Before discussing the quantitative aspects of the phenomenon, let us define the notion of "mixed marriage." The censuses conducted by the Hungarian authorities in the period under investigation here operate with a denominational delimitation, recording all marriages between partners with different religious backgrounds. Given the ethno-denominational diversity of Transylvania, it follows that not all the cases recorded by the Hungarian authorities as mixed marriages (*vegyes házosság*) featured partners with different ethnic backgrounds; members of one and the same ethnic group may well have belonged to different religious denominations (Orthodox and Greek-Catholic in the case of Romanians, Roman Catholic, Evangelical, Reformed and Unitarian, in the case of Hungarians, and Evangelical of Augustan denomination, in the case of the Germans); similarly, members of

different ethnic groups could embrace the same denomination. While mixed denominational marriages (perpetuating ethnic endogamy) are also relevant to our research, of greater interest are mixed denominational and ethnic marriages. Mixed marriages, it must be said, never ceased to represent an important factor of population growth or decline, with long-term demographic consequences. This type of marriage played, naturally, a lesser role in the ensemble of marital exchanges between various social units.¹⁷

The available statistical data enables us to retrace the dynamics of mixed denominational marriages in Transylvania over at least a quarter of a century, namely, for the period between 1866 and 1889. One of the first remarks that need to be made concerns the regional diversity of the intensity of the phenomenon under research. We have thus territorial-administrative units featuring a low or extremely low rate of mixed marriages: Ciuc Seat (largely Roman Catholic), where the rate of denominationally mixed marriages varied annually between 1866 and 1875 within a margin of 0.8% and once of 2.8%; the county of Zarand (mainly Orthodox), which, in the same period, featured a rate ranging between 0.7% and 2.3%; Cincul Mare Seat, with the limits ranging between a minimum of 0.8% and a maximum of 4.3%; the county of Maramureș, with a rate between 1.3% and 3%; and the county of Solnocul de Mijloc, with rates between 1.9% and 3.3%. At the opposite end, we find units featuring considerably higher rates: the county of Alba de Jos, with a lower rate of 11.6% in 1871 and a maximum of 13.8% in 1875; the county of Făgăraș, with a lower rate of 10% and a maximum of 17.2%; the Seat of Odorhei, with rates ranging between 9.3% and 12.4%; the Seat of Mureș with rates between 11.4% and 16.1%, etc. An attempt to identify associations between variables in the mixed marriages rate featuring a certain ethnic group may not withstand a rigorous examination. In the Szekler seats, for instance, we note conflicting attitudes toward this phenomenon, Ciuc Seat being representative for denominational endogamy, while the seats of Odorhei and Trei Scaune featured a rate of mixed marriages 10% higher than that of Ciuc. Likewise, among the Saxon seats, we note modest rates, (Cincul Mare, Miercurea) or, on the contrary, higher rates (the Orăștie, Nocrich seats, etc.). Also, in the case of Zarand or Hunedoara counties, inhabited by a Romanian majority, the attitudes to mixed marriages varied considerably: Zarand featured a very low rate, whereas Hunedoara one 5% higher on average than Zarand, the district of Făgăraș standing out with even higher rates.¹⁸

Against this background, we deem as pertinent accounts of regional variations of mixed marriages only those case studies taking into account the local realities, matrimonial traditions and practices, ethno-denominational structures, the structures of relief, etc. Only interdisciplinary approaches can contribute to the understanding of the circumstances that determined the expansion over time of the marital

selection areas beyond the confines of the partners' own denomination and ethnic group. An increase in partner selection from outside the community area accommodates an array of cultural connotations "pertaining to the axiological systems of the social groups, the degree of religious tolerance, the customs systems and the symbolical values attached to one ethnic and religious group or another."¹⁹

There is evidence that toward the end of the 19th century, as the state underwent a process of secularisation and the influence of the church diminished, there occurred certain transformations in the attitude toward mixed marriages of various denominations in Transylvania, a greater degree of permissiveness towards contracting a marriage with a member of a different denomination or ethnic group being noticeable.

Mixed denominational marriages in Hungary, 1881–1900

Year	Number	%
Average between 1881 and 1885	11,643	8.1
Average between 1886 and 1890	11,688	8.8
Average between 1891 and 1895	12,634	9.1
Average between 1896 and 1900	15,283	11.1

* As featured in *Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv. Új Folyam*, VIII, Budapest, 1901, p. 29

The table above enables us to trace the dynamics of mixed marriages all over Hungary in the last decades of the 19th century. The first observation that needs to be made concerns the increase in mixed marriages rates from one year to the next. Thus, whereas between 1881 and 1885 records feature an average of 11,643 mixed marriages per year, during the last 5 years of the nineteenth century, the rates went up to approximately 15,300. In percentages, the rate of mixed marriages between 1881 and 1885 was of 8.1%, between 1886 and 1890 of 8.8%, and between 1891 and 1895 of 9.1%, while between 1896 and 1900 it stood at 11.1%. What is surprising in the table is the rapid decrease in annual mixed marriages rates from 9.1% between 1891 and 1895 to 11.1% during the last 5 years of the 19th century. It shows a 2 percentage points growth, which can be primarily accounted for by the consequences of the changes in legislation implemented by the Hungarian government in 1895, namely, the secularisation of civil marriages registrations. The results of this legislation, whereby the state displaced the control exerted by the church

over fundamental moments in the lives of the individual (birth, marriage, death), were also felt as a “liberalisation” of sorts of mixed marriages, primarily from a religious point of view. Thus, after the changes in legislation implemented in 1895, the church was forced to accept more easily the denominationally-mixed marriages, in order not to arouse dissatisfaction among the congregation on account of its spiritual intransigence. Also, the mental attitudes of the different ethnic groups cohabitating in the Hungary of that time underwent slight transformations, in the sense of a higher propensity for mixed marriages (primarily denominational, but also ethnic). The modernisation of society, the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation that accompanied the evolution of the province during the last decades before the outbreak of World War I, made possible a greater mobility among the population, which more often than not resulted in relocation and the contracting of a marriage with a partner from outside one’s own denomination or ethnic group.²⁰ The noticeable regional variation calls for a horizontal enquiry into the dynamics of mixed marriages in Transylvania, for as many case studies based on rural and town samples as possible, as they alone can provide an edifying overview of a phenomenon replete with social and cultural significances.

After the crystallization of the young couple’s options (in most of the cases under the influence of parents and relatives) the marriage proper involved several stages.²¹ The first was the engagement made in the church in front of the girl’s priest, the parents and godparents, where the man and the woman formally agreed (verbally or in written form) to establish a family. In order for the engagement to be valid it had to be based on the free consent of both sides, to be officiated by the bride’s priest, and the two had to exchange rings, kiss each other, and to be of proper age and in good health. After the engagement came the announcements made by the priest on three Sundays or separate religious holidays. If the marriage was not held within six weeks, the announcements had to be repeated. The obligation to abide by the announcements was imposed by the community, which could not be indifferent to the couple’s marital situation. The village members could inform the religious and civil authorities about possible kinship links between bride and bridegroom, unclear domestic situations, the avoidance of military service, etc. More than once, even after the clerical authorities were informed, marriages which violated canon and civil law (because of kinship, bigamy, etc.) were consummated. When a bridegroom was from another parish he was required to present to the girl’s priest a certificate from the priest of his village to certify that the three announcements had been made there as well, and that no impediments to the marriage had been discovered.²² If all conditions for a valid marriage were met (age, civil and military status for men, as well as good health) the young couple went to confession and took the Holy Eucharist; the priest would then ask them if they knew “Our Father,” the

Profession of Faith, the prayers, the commandments, and the Holy Mysteries. The priest could reject or postpone the marriage if he found out that the young couple did not know the elementary religious tenets or if they had not regularly attended church. The marriage was concluded in written form in front of witnesses, this commitment being called "the good agreement contract."²³ Usually, they included the answer to two questions: if the youths had freely chosen to get married and if they were not related, thus requiring a bishop's exemption. The priest explained to the couple the character of the marriage contract, their mutual rights and obligations, and the moral principles of a family. The pompous ceremony of a marriage contributed to form the conviction that the marriage ceremony is a unique moment, unrepeated in the young people's lives.

We will not dwell here upon folk rituals, the feast, and other aspects of the marriage ceremony in the Transylvanian village life in the 19th century. Local communities could not but be made privy to the individuals' arrangements, therefore, the legislative and moral pressures exerted by the church were joined by those of the "diplomatic" steps taken by the community in order to avoid tense situations.²⁴ On all sides, we note however a variety of attitudes and behaviours, often coming in sharp contrast with some of the idealising clichés that made a career over the last century.

A significant element that helps perceive the transition of the family institution from the "archaic" to the modern is the seasonal movement of marriages. In traditional societies, in general, the seasonal fluctuation is considerable, and is influenced by at least two factors: a) the observance of the norms prescribed by the church, which banned marriage ceremonies during religious fasts (with some dispensations granted in exceptional circumstances); b) agricultural cycles, as agriculture constituted the occupation of the vast majority of the population. In order to illustrate the tendencies in seasonal movements in marriages in Transylvania between the mid-19th century and World War I, we made a selection of annual samples from existing census sources (1865, 1877, 1885, 1910) to convey a sense of the essential transformations experienced by the phenomenon.²⁵ At the beginning of the period (1865, 1877) one notes a certain polarisation of marriages according to the month of the year; thus, February ranks highest with 22.3%, followed by January with 20.8%, and by November with 13.4%. This is followed by months where the occurrence of marriages is medium, such as May, with 9.3% and October with 8.6%, and low-rate months, such as August with only 3.2%, March with 2.5%, and December with 2.2%. This annual distribution of weddings corresponds roughly to late autumn and the end of the winter season, i.e., to the months of the year featuring fewer religious restrictions and when agricultural work was either about to finish or only just beginning. The marriage commitment would thus be made in autumn, toward the end of agricultural season, and in winter, during the Christmas fast, only for the marriage to be legally

endorsed by the church authorities first, and the lay ones afterwards, followed by the feast, whose timing announced the approaching spring campaign in agriculture. The planning of a wedding involved a temporary interruption of work, which represented a less than attractive prospect for the peasants who depended on their land for the payment of bills and of church and state taxes, and in order to support their families. Thus, in a rural community situated in the vicinity of Cluj, namely, the village of Mănăştur, between 1855 and 1904 35.5% of marriages took place in February alone, which is indicative of the matrimonial behaviour in rural communities.²⁶ The fact that the month of May stands out with 9.3% as compared to the other spring and summer months is easily explained by the end of Lent and by the interval between the spring and summer works during which weddings were allowed, with all the religious and social commitments this entailed. The peasant family lived primarily under the economic imperative. Starting a family meant securing a new workforce and the redistribution of responsibilities at the time when the parents were overcome by responsibilities and old age.

Until World War I, the 1885 and 1910 samples indicate a clear tendency toward the levelling down of the large discrepancies in the annual distribution of weddings. Despite a few months that continued to feature higher rates (February with 18.9% and November with 17.9%), a more even spacing of the weddings throughout the year occurred. The gradual increase in weddings performed in November, from 13.4% in 1865 to 17.9% in 1910, and the doubling up of the number of weddings in December, from 2.2% to 4.3%, indicates the emergence of a new mental and demographic behaviour, caused by the intervening changes in the calendar and cycle of agricultural works (the tentative mechanisation that reduced the number of working hours), and the decrease in the percentage of the population working in agriculture, who were not affected by high season times. In support of this latter hypothesis comes the doubling of the size of the population in Transylvania between 1850 and 1910 (from 6.5% to 12.4%),²⁷ as the restrictions regarding the agricultural season no longer affected the urban population. Throughout the 19th century, the Christmas fast fully “filtered” the performing of weddings in the latter part of November and in December. A breakthrough was however marked by the introduction of civil marriages and lay registries by the Hungarian state after 1894. Under the provisions of Laws XXXI-XXXIII of 1894, state registry offices were established in Hungary under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and new records were created, more complex than the parish registry records. The state intended to put an end to the differences of opinions between state and church authorities, or even between various denominations, as regards the recording of fundamental demographic phenomena and matrimonial trials.²⁸

All citizens were under the obligation to register with the state registry offices, and the fulfilment of the religious ceremony became a

matter of moral choice and individual consciousness. The church protested against these measures that diminished its age-long authority, and asked the priests to see that the citizens did not abide only by civil marriage regulations, but that the religious ritual be perpetuated according to church law. At the same time, after 1894, ecclesiastical bodies were forced to become more permissive in terms of the planning of weddings during fast periods, an increase in the number of dispensations being noted for the end of November or even for December. Mention should be made of the fact that in some rural communities, religious interdictions were blindly observed until late toward the 20th century. An observation relevant for the traditional, archaic model of seasonal fluctuation of weddings is the total absence of weddings in December in the village of Iclod between 1850 and 1880, and of Buciumi and Sângiorgiu between 1863 and 1900, as well as the performance of only two wedding ceremonies in Brăişor between 1850 and 1925.²⁹

Religious feelings entail a particular mode of experiencing emotion, being illustrative of the practices of objectifying the acts of faith through images and mythical representations, as well as through individual and collective behaviour. Historians and anthropologists sought at various moments in time to idealise the religious behaviour of earlier societies, ascribing an absolute value to their religious feelings. Thus, whereas the seasonal fluctuation of weddings leads to a positive correlation, popular sexuality in Transylvania in modern times is indicative, in the seasonal cycle of birth and conception, of a different reality. Several annual samples (from 1865, 1885, etc.) point to an almost equal dispersion of births along the year. This relatively even distribution contrasts sharply with the uneven distribution throughout the 12 months noted above. The fact that an equal number of children were born in the month of September as in the rest of the years we researched (1865, 1885, 1895, etc.) is quite illustrative as far as conception is concerned, pointing to conception in December of the previous year. On the basis of census chart analyses, we can bring pertinent arguments against a widespread historiographical cliché that idealises the morality of the population in the 19th century and their respect for the canons of the church. Without making universal claims, we argue that the distribution of births (according to the date of conception) is an indicator of the religious state of the individuals, who did not necessarily abide by the church norms regarding sexual abstinence during fasting periods.³⁰

Illegitimacy forms a part of the general birth rate that was anything but negligible at the time. The frequent occurrence of extra-marital births, or else of illegitimate births, has been given various interpretations across the decades, and was traditionally regarded as an indicator of social disorganisation, of immorality or loss of internal control and cohesion by the family. Contemporary demographic developments, together with the metamorphoses undergone by the concepts of “family” and “couple,” bring

up again what would have been categorised in the past as illegitimacy on a regular basis: children born out of the legally constituted wedlock. Nowadays, alongside the increase in the number of single households and of consensual couples, Western European countries, as well as the United States, see a growing number of illegitimate births.³¹ To find the right answers to the present state of affairs, we need to investigate first the state of affairs in the past. An important aspect of the birth rate in Transylvania in the latter part of the 19th century which therefore deserves attention in the context of our topic relates to illegitimacy, an issue requiring both a quantitative approach and a modern vision, engaging before anything the history of collective mentalities.

From a different perspective, it is interesting to observe the dynamics of illegitimate births in the period between the 1848 Revolution and World War I. For instance, the ratio of illegitimacy in Ardeova between 1851 and 1914 was of 5.1%, which places the locality in a mid-position as compared to other villages in the county of Cluj: Gilău 1.8%, Așchileu Mic 4.8%, Iclod 6.6% etc.³² To return to Ardeova, quite striking is the uneven distribution of illegitimate births across the decades: 3 children between 1851 and 1890 and 40 between 1890 and 1914. A similar tendency of a higher rate of illegitimacy in the decades prior to World War I is noted in the case of other localities under research, which can be accounted for by at least two hypotheses. On the one hand, after 1894 (i.e., the enforcement of lay legislation in civil registry matters³³), the influence of the church over the matrimonial and moral lives of the individuals diminished; it is little surprising that, in a circular letter of 1899, Archbishop Ioan Mețianu complained about the spreading of “religious indifference” among Romanians.³⁴ On the other hand, one cannot overlook the fact that around the year 1900 a major change in the demographic behaviour took place, one which also manifested itself in other corners of the continent and indeed across the planet. The media and the literature of entertainment of the time projected a model of amorous relationships that allowed more freedom of action to the partners, contrasting with the rigid and conservative attitudes of the previous centuries. There is enough evidence to enable us to observe new attitudes to love and sex in the years prior to the Great War, especially in the urban areas, which triggered, as expected, the growing influence exerted by urban mentalities over the rural hinterland. The liberalisation of individual love life, also manifesting itself in the rural area, reveals a different perspective on private life.

One of the general characteristics of the illegitimacy phenomenon across five decades is an almost regular variation in the number of illegitimate children born annually. Few were the years in which the number of extra-marital births stagnated in relation to the previous year: the rates either increased or plummeted. One of the first aspects that emerges in the examination of the phenomenon is the gradual increase in

the number of illegitimate births from the beginning of the time interval to the end of the 19th century in nearly all counties of the province.

In the first years after the 1848 Revolution (1851–1857), the annual average rate of illegitimate births in Transylvania was of 3.9%, a rate that was similar to that of Hungary (3.4%), lower than that of Croatia-Slovenia (4.8%) and a lot higher than the one on the military border (1.3%), where military discipline led to a higher sense of morality.³⁵ In the middle of the next decade, the situation of illegitimacy underwent major transformations: thus, in the year 1865, 5.31 (7%) out of the 72,640 births featuring in the records for Transylvania were illegitimate. The marked difference between the first post-revolution decade and the seventh decade rests upon an irrefutable argument regarding the transformations in mentalities that occurred in the middle of the past century, after the dissolution of feudal relations, the general advancement of urbanisation, and the modernisation of society. The phenomenon is anything but new, as in Moldavia a similar evolution can be identified in the village of Horodnicul de Jos. Here, the rate of illegitimate births between 1841 and 1850 was of 2.5%, between 1851 and 1860 of 3.2%, and between 1861 and 1870 of 5.1%.³⁶

To return to the rates of the illegitimacy in Transylvania in the second half of the 19th century, mention should be made to the fact that, beyond the average rate in the province (6–8%) lay a great discrepancy between the rural and the urban area. For example, in the county of Cluj, in the year 1876, it was of 5.8%, whereas in the city of Cluj it stood at 16.8%; in the county of Mureş-Turda it was 7.1%, whereas in the city of Târgu-Mureş it was 9.8%. After one decade, illegitimacy rose to 6.8% in the rural environment in the county of Cluj, whereas in the city of Cluj it reached 22.1%; similarly, in the county of Mureş-Turda, illegitimate births represented that same year 8.1% out of the total number, whereas in the city of Târgu-Mureş illegitimacy rose to 13%. The same evolution can be identified in other parts of dualist Hungary over the last decades of the 19th century: illegitimacy in the rural areas rose to 7.07% between 1876 and 1880, to 7.87% over the next decade, only to reach even higher rates in the last decade of the 19th century, i.e., 8.48%, and in the capital city, Budapest, to fluctuate between 28 and 32%.³⁷ The general explanation is that in the period under investigation we witness a rapid industrial and financial growth, substantial economic and social transformations, which inevitably triggered corresponding changes in the demographic and moral behaviour in the rural areas.

The priests' mission was not limited to the marriage ceremony in the church. They also worked to preserve the morality of their parishioners. The civil and ecclesiastical authorities granted the village priest an important role in assuring a moral climate which respected the traditional values of the community. Between the state power and the church there existed, throughout the 19th century, a permanent cooperation in

maintaining moral order in the villages. Many decisions of the church synods and congresses (both Greek-Catholic and Orthodox), as well as the circular letters of metropolitans, bishops, and archpriests, reaffirmed the priests' functions in this respect. Concubinage, prostitution, the kidnapping of girls, and abortions were condemned, giving evidence of an "authentic demographic policy" that guaranteed an increase in the birth rate. The priest and the parish council had to register all instances of concubinage and all immoral people, and help them correct their lives. If the priests' endeavours to improve family life failed, they sent reports to the archpriest and to the bishop, demanding the help of the administrative and military authorities to punish the offenders. So, in many situations, the punishment of the immoral was obtained through the help given to the secular authorities by the clergy. The clerical determination to exposing cases of immoral life within parishes determined the rejection of many requests made by some immoral villagers to remarry.³⁸

The priests' actions to propagate Christian values and virtues in the villages resorted to both spoken words and images. The end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century were for the Romanians a period in which the oral and figurative language prevailed over the written language. Generally, in Southeast European cultures and societies, hearing continued to be an authoritative sense dignified by trust even in the 19th century, the century of the written word, especially in its second half.³⁹ Priests had to struggle against the immoral life in the village, on Sundays, after mass, in the sermon delivered during marriage ceremonies, as well as in other favourable situations. The bishops and archpriests, in their circular letters, insisted that the principles of the moral life of the family should be reaffirmed on the occasion of the main Christian holidays, when popular piety was stronger, and the auditory sense was amplified. Here, the oratorical skills of priests, who through their talent and personal example could influence decisively the moral climate of the village, were especially important.⁴⁰ The listening phenomenon penetrates deep in human existence. The spoken word gathers those who listen in groups, connecting them to the same ideals and values. Listening places the individual in the auditory world, a centre of sensation and existence different from the other fundamental senses, such as sight, which separates the observer from what he sees (what he sees comes to the individual only from one direction in a particular moment).⁴¹ Naturally, wall paintings and icons constituted an important support in the clergy's efforts to preach about a moral life in agreement with Christian precepts and the imperatives of modern society. The paintings found in 18th century Transylvanian churches, which experienced the renewed tendency of traditional iconography with moralizing themes, stressed exemplary models in the assertion of certain values and existential certainties. Especially the Last Judgment scene, present in many wooden churches, with its satirical accents, condemned debauchery and immoral life.⁴² So,

often enough, the efforts made by priests, parish councils or “reconciliation committees” restored the traditional moral order and avoided the divorces of many couples.

The family constituted the centre of all aspects of life, resulting in routine, boredom, and sometimes aggression. Family harmony lasted as long as the emotional relations between wife and husband remained valid, questions were not raised and the alternatives were never examined. Conflicts between individual wishes and family or community requirements generated conflicts in families and in many cases led to divorce. Although the church (both Orthodox and Greek-Catholic) had to accept this ultimate solution, it looked upon divorce with reticence, because it clashed with the Christian precepts regarding the indissolubility and durability of marriage (“what God has joined together, let no man put asunder,” Matthew 19:6). The religious canons strictly regulated the conditions of divorce, while secular authorities had to settle the inheritance, alimony and child support.⁴³ There were many situations when conflicts within a family made the husband or wife ask for a board and lodging separation, although they could resume their family life, after a time, or could resort to divorce, after a two year period. Generally, the jurisdiction of the church was exercised through the archpriests in the first instance, the diocese or archdiocese council, in the second instance, and the metropolitan council, in the last instance.⁴⁴ Those who asked for a divorce had to present to the local priest their reasons, their evidence and witnesses, having to prove the allegations. After the family’s situation was checked by the priest, together with other members of the parish council, he would make a record of the testimonies, baptism and marriage certificates, and would send it to the archpriest. A judgement committee made of the archpriest as chairman, six priests with a decisive vote, one notary, and one matrimonial defender with an advisory vote would be established. After the examination of the case, and after a request for supplementary information from the local priest, a decision would be made to solve the case. Then, the case would be sent to the diocese or archdiocese council, where the ecclesiastical senate charged with matrimonial problems would approve it (in most cases) or alter the decision of the archpriest’s committee. The decision was communicated to the archpriest, and he was to communicate the final verdict to the litigants.⁴⁵

Divorce, the last resort for an unhappy marriage, was no stranger to the family life cycle in the Transylvanian village. It was a solution not easily accepted by either family or community, the new, divorced status marginalizing the individual and pushing him/her to the fringes of the community. Thus, it was not uncommon for a couple to put up with an unhappy life until their death only in order to avoid “village gossip.” For whereas domestic fights, scandals, violence and heavy drinking were public knowledge, the community would tolerate these in order to prevent

the break-up of marriages and the “shame of divorce.” Community censorship could not always alter, however, the decision of spouses to end their marriage, as personal happiness and the escape from misery rose above their status within the community. Shame in the eyes of the community was preferred to the physical abuse of the husband.

Useful for a consideration of the entire population of Transylvania are the censuses between 1890 and 1910, which featured special rubrics pointing to the number of divorced people in every county or even individual locality. The grouping according to gender of the applications for a divorce indicate a balanced proportion of men and women, which singles out Transylvania among other countries, for instance France, where, during the same period, divorce became a female institution, with women representing over 86% to 93% of the applicants.⁴⁶ The lower number of women applying for a divorce in Transylvania is explained, on the one hand, by the attitudes toward women in general and towards widows and divorced women in particular. The community marginalized divorced women and did everything to prevent the dissolution of marriages.⁴⁷ On the other hand, the education received by girls in the family played a considerable part. They were brought up to be submissive, patient, and to obey their future husbands, to stand by them through thick and thin. It took a great deal of courage for a woman to confront and stand up to her man, her family, and the community.

The monotony of a marriage dominated by the material insecurities of everyday life, poverty and the struggle to make ends meet, fatigue, physical exhaustion, the untimely deterioration of women after giving birth to numerous children, the burden of looking after the children, fighting between partners and physical violence or verbal abuse, as well as reciprocal blame, provided the partners with reason enough to seek escape from an unfulfilled life where love had disappeared, if it had been at all present in the first place. Man and woman equally shared the frustration, lack of fulfilment, and failure of an unhappy marriage, and “deserting” family responsibilities was a way of making up for what had been missing in the cohabitation with an unsuitable partner, of making up for the lost time. Under such circumstances, divorce played a mediating role which offered leeway to the marital institution toward the identification of a suitable partner and an optimum family organization. In this perspective, divorce emerges therefore as a “social manoeuvre” the society puts up with for self-evident reasons, for the survival and perpetuation of an institution whose function had undergone significant changes.⁴⁸

Two spirits unite in the face of hardship and of the tragic existence of their richness and their poverty, history and eternity collapse in one. The history of humankind, since Adam and Eve, projects itself onto their fragile existence. The masculine and the feminine preside over this rebirth into love, hoping to find in this scale representation of the universe an answer to their expectations, a miracle. This is why all love is unique and the

promise it brings is like the first ray of sunshine. When love is absent or it fades under the burden of life's hardships, individuals perceive themselves as prisoners of a tradition, of a set of social circumstances, and strive for liberation from all constraints imposed from the outside. Divorce is not a mere separation of two spouses, it triggers a rift in the relationships between the partners' families, relationships established with the marriage alliance. Thus, a whole chain of relationships within the community is broken, which in turn causes new relationships between the former in-laws. Blame, violence and reproaches extend to and degrade in some cases the once "close relative feeling." Divorce is not uniquely a personal problem concerning the couple alone, it involves the community. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged by the church (Orthodox and Greek-Catholic), which is forced to accept the existence of cases in which marital life is devoid of sacramental substance and turns into a permanent violation thereof, being conducive to the dissolution of the soul, as the indissoluble bond threatens to become a lie, and, in defending the common good, the personal good is destroyed.⁴⁹

From a demographic point of view, the rate of divorce can be adequately examined in Transylvania only at the end of the 19th century, when a census conducted in 1870 features such a rubric for the first time. In what follows, we shall retrace the dynamics of the rate of divorce in the province to World War I, particularly in the period between the 1890 and the 1910 census, as this interval enjoyed a stable administrative framework, which survived to the censuses conducted in 1890, 1900, and 1910. Thus, the figures illustrate as clearly as possible the rise in the divorce rate, from 0.1% in 1890, to 0.2% in 1900 and 0.3% in 1910. Naturally, this evolution was not entirely determined by the implementation of civil legislation in marital problems between 1894 and 1895, but it also represented a natural development stemming from the modernisation of the demographic behaviour in Transylvania, which also applied to other cultural regions. In the Old Kingdom, the rate of divorced people as indicated by the 1899 census was of 0.3%.⁵⁰

A contrastive analysis of the divorce rate with men and women shows a difference between the sexes in terms of attitudes to divorce. To be exact, as the census offers a static image, it points to differences in post-divorce behaviour. There is a clear indication that divorced women outnumbered divorced men as follows: 1,037 divorced men in 1890, representing 0.085% of the total of the masculine population, and 1,482 divorced women, that is, 0.121% out of the total population. The fact that the number of divorced men is lower than that of divorced women can be accounted for by the considerably higher rate of remarried men as compared to women. In general, the tendency was for divorced men to remarry sooner and more frequently, and, for those still not too old, to remarry young women. In the rural area, men would in general remarry sooner and with less difficulty than women (whether divorced or widows). This because both the work in

the field and in the household required a partner with whom to divide the tasks. Men would not replace women in female daily chores, such as cooking, washing, childminding, gardening or keeping the poultry. As in Western Europe, the community would mock men who would let their masculinity be diminished by performing what was regarded as essentially female duties.⁵¹ By remarrying, the parental nucleus regrouped around the same working place, toward the fulfilment of the economic role of the family. This explains the differences in the divorce rate among men and women noted in the censuses of the time. We encounter a similar situation in “smaller Romania”; in 1899 the number of divorced women was of 0.4%, whereas that of divorced men amounted to only 0.2%.⁵²

We have not attempted to exhaust all the topics connected to church authority over the 19th century matrimonial life of the Transylvanian Romanians, but merely to outline the levels and methods by which the moral behaviour of the faithful was regulated. In this respect, the village priests played an important role. It is no accident that most circular letters were addressed to the local priests, and they had to act firmly in the first instance to condemn all deviations from the moral life of the family. In a political system which denied the Romanians’ rights, the clerical authority in matrimonial problems, the resolution of those problems in the Romanian language, had a national aspect, consciously or not. The cooperation with the secular authorities required by the necessity to modernize society, through the control of moral and matrimonial life, was permanent and had beneficial effects, ensuring moral order in the communities and the respect for Christian values.

The material conditions in the Transylvanian society of the 19th century underwent major changes in the latter part of the century following the dissolution of feudal structures, which impacted on the conditions of family settlement, the relationships between sexes, parents and children, etc. Transylvania’s modernisation in the period between the 1848-1849 Revolution and World War I is synonymous as far as our research topic is concerned with the modernisation of the demographic behaviour. The increase in the mobility of the population in the latter half of the 19th century, the implementation by the state of lay legislation with regard to marriage and matrimonial issues, which gradually displaced the influence of the church over the private lives of the citizens, all these left their mark on marital behaviour, the choice of partners and the cycle of family life. In addition to the concrete and visible aspects of this development and to the modernisation of Transylvanian society, the transformations that had the most profound impact on the human destinies operated at a different level of everyday life. “What is actually changing, is the rhythm of private, everyday life.”⁵³ This included, among other things, the implementation of birth control, an increase in the number of illegitimate offspring, a higher divorce rate, the as yet timid revolt of the youth toward matrimonial arrangements by parents or the

community, etc. The family unit, a fundamental institution of human society, thus reveals itself as the “laboratory” that allows for the keenest observation of the transition from tradition to modernity.⁵⁴ Approaches to family and matrimonial behaviour in 19th century Transylvania abundantly reflect the modernization tendencies experienced by the Transylvanian society. Although secularisation, which made significant headway toward the end of the 19th century, gave an impetus to the modernisation phenomenon, the decisive factors were the socio-economic developments ensuring the dissolution of feudal relations and the construction of a society based on a market economy and industrialism, which left their mark upon individuals and communities. Gradually, in Transylvania, during the years prior to the Great War, a growing number of individuals stopped being prisoners of outside forces (be they religion, community, family, etc.) and were increasingly animated by the desire to pursue their own desires and interests. Paradoxically, the state met their expectations, first by eliminating the canonical impediments, freeing the individual from a host of religious constraints, an emancipating action that was nevertheless intended to serve the interests of the state. From the vantage point of historical demography,⁵⁵ the outcome was an evident emancipation of the individual coupled with the liberalisation of family and matrimonial relationships, a challenging problem which needs to be reassessed today from the perspective of historical anthropology.

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Notes

¹ For more on the subject, see Petru Iluț, *Sociopsihologia și antropologia familiei* (Iași: Editura Polirom, 2005); Maria Voinea, *Familia contemporană. Microenciclopedie* (Bucharest: Editura Focus, 2006); Penny Edgell, *Religion and Family in a Changing Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Jack Goody, *Familia europeană. O încercare de antropologie istorică* (Iași: Editura Polirom, 2003).

² See also Jan Van Bavel and Jan Kok, “The role of religion in the Dutch fertility transition: starting, spacing, and stopping in the heart of the Netherlands, 1845–1945.” *Continuity and Change*, 20 (2005): 247-263; Muriel Neven and Michel Oris, “Contrôle religieux, contrôle social: la fécondité dans l'est de la Belgique dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle,” *Annales de démographie historique*, 2 (2003).

³ Regarding the peculiarities of this phenomenon in the Balkans, see N. I. Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law in the Balkan Peninsula during Ottoman Rule* (Thessaloniki: Institute of Balkan Studies, 1967).

⁴ Maria Sophia Quine, *Population Politics in Twentieth-Century Europe: Fascist Dictatorships and Liberal Democracies* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 15.

⁵ *Istoria dreptului românesc*, vol. II, part 1 (București: Editura Academiei, 1984), 217 sqq. David Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum. Din istoria formării națiunii române* (București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1984), 232 sq.

⁶ This law specified that "Marriage as a contract or as a political bond, as well as those facts resulting from this bond and the rights that are proper for those who unite themselves through marriage and duties..." *Decret imperial privind reglementarea regimului căsătoriilor în Transilvania* (Sibiu, 1786).

⁷ Aurel Răduțiu and Ladislau Gyémánt, *Repertoriul actelor oficiale privind Transilvania tipărite în limba română 1701-1847* (București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1981), 245, 251; Liviu Moldovan, "Înregistrarea de către biserici a botezaților, cununaților și înmormântărilor Țările Române în sec. XVIII-XIX," *Populație și societate*, vol. III (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia 1980), 137 sq.

⁸ "The state needs religion and has to respect it because religion supports the state in carrying out its purposes with the help of the divine institutions." Andrei Șaguna, *Compendiu de drept canonic* (Sibiu, 1868), p. 282; Keith Hitchins, *Orthodoxy and Nationality. Andrei Șaguna and the Rumanians of Transylvania, 1846-1873* (Cambridge and London, 1977), 227.

⁹ "The church and the state help each other... people must submit both to secular authorities and to God, and the state protects from them moral corruption, and promotes honesty and decency..." I. Rațiu, *Instituțiunile dreptului bisericesc*, (Blaj, 1877), 384 sq.

¹⁰ Ioan Lupaș, *Istoria bisericească a românilor ardeleni* (Sibiu, 1918), 165.

¹¹ Iosif Fessler, *Relatio historica de daco-romanis in Transilvania et Hungaria cum ecclesis Romana unitis vel uniendis*, ed. I. Sabău (Bucharest, 1942), 12; I. Ion, "O nuntă în hotarul brănean pe la 1850. Dora D'Istria," *Țara Bîrsei*, V, (1933): 37.

¹² Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria bisericii ortodoxe române*, vol. II (București: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1981), 546; Petru Maior, *Istoria bisericii românilor* (Buda, 1813), 273–311. Among other things, it wasn't permitted anywhere to dissolve a marriage because of adultery, and married couples were not allowed to remarry; priestly celibacy was upheld; it became customary to appeal to the Roman-Catholic archbishopric in Esztergom regarding matrimonial matters; the archpriests' rights in issuing wedding documents and marriage licenses were restricted. The encouragement of celibacy among the priests and teachers in Blaj generated instances of immorality due to the concubines and scandals in which some priests, students, teachers, and even representatives of the clergy were involved. See Sorin Mitu, "Celibat ecleziastic și moravuri clericale la românii ardeleni 1750-1850," *Echinox*, 5, (1988): 10.

¹³ P. Teodor, "Ecouri janseniste și galicane în cultura românească," in *Interferențe iluministe europene* (Cluj-Napoca, 1984), 83–99; Gh. I. Roșescu, "Principii canonice ortodoxe de organizare bisericească în opera lui P. Maior," *Mitropolia Ardealului*, XXXI, 4, (1986): 32–43.

¹⁴ Răduțiu and Gyémánt, 110, 225; Nicolae Popea, *Arhiepiscopul și mitropolitul Andrei Baron de Șaguna* (Sibiu, 1879), 104.

¹⁵ Concerning the theoretical problems of mixed marriages in the Habsburg Monarchy, see Mihai Săsăuian, “Căsătoriile mixte în lumina legislației bisericești ortodoxe, catolice și protestante în monarhia austriacă în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea,” in *Căsătorii mixte în Transilvania, secolul al XIX-lea și începutul secolului XX*, ed. Corneliu Pădurean and Ioan Bolovan (Arad: Editura Universității Aurel Vlaicu, 2005), 19–34.

¹⁶ Ioan Lupaș, “Viața și faptele mitropolitului Andrei Șaguna,” in *Mitropolitul Andrei baron de Șaguna. Scriere comemorativă la serbarea centenară a nașterii lui* (Sibiu, 1909), p. 121. Șaguna later attempted a direct reconciliation between the two religions on the issue mixed marriages, and on May 20, 1861 he asked Bishop Alexandru Sterca Șulutiu to allow certain prerogatives to Orthodox priests. His request wasn't received favorably in Blaj. Concerning the general situation of the two churches in the Habsburg monarchy after 1848, see *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918 Band IV. Die Konfessionen*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985), 389–478.

¹⁷ Gheorghe Șișeștean, *Etnie, confesiune și căsătorie în nord-vestul Transilvaniei* (Zalău: Editura Caiete Silvane, 2002), 68.

¹⁸ Ioan Bolovan, Sorina Paula Bolovan, “Căsătoriile mixte în Transilvania la sfârșitul epocii moderne. Considerații demografice,” in Pădurean and Bolovan, 91 sqq.

¹⁹ Șișeștean, 2002, 68.

²⁰ Ioan Bolovan and Sorina Paula Bolovan, 86–108.

²¹ See Sorina Paula Bolovan, *Familia în satul românesc din Transilvania. A doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului XX* (Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 1999), 81–88.

²² Șaguna, 65; Iulian Marțian, “Documente bisericești,” *Arhiva Someșană*, 7 (1927), 46.

²³ A. Plămădeală, “Din vremea lui Șaguna. Însemnări după documente inedite privitoare la istoria mentalităților și a vieții culturale și bisericești din Transilvania. II,” *Mitropolia Ardealului*, 31, no. 1–2 (1986), 95. As a matter of fact, in the 19th century such marriage settlements could be found even in France. See the local analysis in M. Petitjoan, F. Fortunet de Loisy, *Les contrats du mariage à Dijon et dans le compagne bourguignome. De la fin du XVIIe siècle au milieu du XIXe siècle* (Dijon, 1980).

²⁴ George Em. Marica, “Încercare de definiție a satului,” in *Studii sociologice*, introductory study, notes, and selection of texts by Gheorghe Cordoș and Traian Rotariu (Cluj-Napoca: Fundația Culturală Română–Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 1997), 150.

²⁵ Ioan Bolovan, *Transilvania între revoluția de la 1848 și Unirea din 1918. Contribuții demografice* (Cluj-Napoca: Fundația Culturală Română – Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2000), 172–176.

²⁶ Luminița Dumănescu, *Transilvania copiilor. Dimensiunea demografică a copilăriei la românii ardeleni (1857-1910)* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Argonaut, 2006), 108.

²⁷ Bolovan, 2000, 77.

²⁸ Sorina Paula Bolovan and Ioan Bolovan, “Registrele parohiale de stare civilă din Transilvania – izvoare de demografie istorică,” *Revista arhivelor*, III, vol. I, no. 1–2 (1995), 51.

²⁹ Dalia Carmen Știrb, “Căsătoria și problemele vieții de familie în satele comunei Buciumi în a doua jumătate a sec. al XIX-lea,” in *Familie și societate. Studii de istorie a Transilvaniei* ed. Ionuț Costea and Valentin Orga (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Clusium,

1999), 58; Daniela Deteșan, "Satul transilvănean în a doua jumătate a sec. al XIX-lea și la începutul sec. XX. Studiu de caz: Brăișor (jud. Cluj)," in *Transilvania în epocile modernă și contemporană. Studii de demografie istorică* ed. Ioan Bolovan (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2002), 44.

³⁰ Bolovan, 2000, 131–133.

³¹ Ioan Mihăilescu, *Familia în societățile europene* (București: Editura Universității din București, 1999), 56.

³² Ioan Bolovan, Sorina Paula Bolovan, "Familie și comportament matrimonial în Transilvania între 1850-1914. Între tradiție și modernizare," in *Om și societate. Studii de istoria populației României (sec. XVII-XXI)* ed. Ioan Bolovan, Sorina Paula Bolovan and Corneliu Pădurean (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2007), 148.

³³ See Diana Covaci, "Efectele legislației civile din anii 1894-1895 reflectate în actele sinodului arhiepiscopiei de Alba-Iulia și Făgăraș din 1896," *Anuarul Școlii Doctorale Istorie. Civilizație. Cultură*, II (Cluj-Napoca, 2006).

³⁴ Valeria Soroștineanu, *Viața religioasă și sentimentul religios la românii ortodocși din Transilvania (1899-1916)* (Sibiu: Editura Universității "Lucian Blaga" din Sibiu, 2004), 54 sqq.

³⁵ Konek Sándor, *A Magyar Korona országának legújabb népesedési mozgalmái* (Pest, 1868), 30.

³⁶ Ecaterina Negruți and I. Prelipceanu, "Date cu privire la evoluția demografică a unui sat bucovinean în sec. XIX și al XX-lea, Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Județean, 6–7 (1979–1980), 253.

³⁷ Ájus, Ferenc, Henye István, "Illegitimacy in Hungary 1880-1910," *Journal of Family History*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (1994), 384.

³⁸ Plămădeală, II, 106 sqq; Plămădeală, I, no. 9–10 (1985), 650.

³⁹ Alexandru Duțu, *Sinteză și originalitate în cultura română 1650-1848* (București: Editura Enciclopedică Română, 1972), 63; Răzvan Theodorescu, *Civilizația românilor între medieval și modern. Orizontul imaginii 1550-1800*, vol. II (București: Editura Meridiane, 1987), 197.

⁴⁰ Unfortunately, reality offered many negative examples among the clergy. Such attitudes caused reactions both on the part of the clerical hierarchy and of the villagers, interested that such examples of behaviour would not spread among them. See "Acte, corespondențe și ordonanțe vicariale," *Arhiva Someșană*, no. 20 (1936), 268.

⁴¹ Walter J. Ong, "Cuvînt rostit, cuvînt scris, cuvînt tipărit," in *Dimensiunea umană a istoriei. Direcții în istoria mentalităților*, ed. Alexandru Duțu (București: Editura Meridiane, 1986)

⁴² Anca Vasiliu, "Între real și virtual în spațiul picturii murale din sec. al XVIII-lea," in *Artă românească în secolul luminilor* (Bucharest, 1984), 66; Aurel Chiriac, "Considerații privind pictura sec. al XVIII-lea și al XIX-lea din Țara Crișurilor," in *Studii de istoria artei* ed. Mircea Țoca (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1982), 264 sq. Regarding similar problems in Europe, see L. Chatellier, "Images et paroisse. L'iconographie dans ses rapports avec la structure paroissiale," in *Iconographie et histoire des mentalités*, (Paris: CNRS, 1979), 142 sq.

⁴³ The main reasons for divorce were: adultery, high treason, the endangering of one spouse by the other, deliberate abortion, secret marriage, impotence, epilepsy, if they had existed before marriage and had been hidden, the entering of one of the spouses into a monastery with the agreement of the other, the absence of one

of the spouses for a period between 3 and 5 years, neglect of family life, the wife's participation in indecent feasts. Șaguna, 77; Samuil Micu, "Teologie dogmatică și moralicească despre Taina Căsătoriei," in *Școala Ardeleană*; I, ed. Florea Fugariu (Bucharest, 1983), 540; Șt. Pascu, Viorica Pascu, "Le remariage chez les orthodoxes," in *Marriage and Remarriage in Populations of the Past*, ed. Jacques Dupâquier et al. (London: Academic Press, 1981), 62.

⁴⁴ *Statutul organic al Bisericii greco-orientale române din Ungaria și Transilvania, cu un Suplement* (Sibiu, 1881), 8.

⁴⁵ Plămădeală, II, 106, sq.

⁴⁶ M. Perrot, "Drame și conflicte familiale," in *Istoria vieții private*, ed. Ph. Aries and G. Duby, vol. VII (București: Editura Meridiane, 1997), 254.

⁴⁷ Lawrence Stone, *Road to Divorce. England, 1530-1987* (Oxford & New York, 1992), 159.

⁴⁸ F. Lautman, "Différences ou changement dans l'organisation familiale," *Annales*, no. 4-5 (1972), 1193; L. Roussel, "Le divorce et les Français. Une enquête d'opinion. Présentation d'un cahier de l'INED," *Population*, no. 1 (1974), 109 sqq.

⁴⁹ P. Evdokimov, *Taina iubirii. Sfințenia unirii conjugale în lumina tradiției ortodoxe* (București: Editura Christiana, 1994), 254.

⁵⁰ Leonida Colescu, *Analiza rezultatelor recensământului general al populației României din 1899*, preface by Sabin Manuilă (București, 1944), 58.

⁵¹ Martine Segalen, "Mentalité populaire et remariage en Europe occidentale," in Dupaquier et al., 69.

⁵² Colescu, 1944, 59.

⁵³ Sorin Mitu, *Imagini europene și mentalități românești din Transilvania la începutul epocii moderne* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2000), 195.

⁵⁴ Jack Goody, *Familia europeană. O încercare de antropologie istorică* (Iași: Editura Polirom, 2003), 11; Maria Voinea, *Familia și evoluția sa istorică* (București: Editura Politică, 1980), 9.

⁵⁵ See for example Ioan Bolovan, Sorina Paula Bolovan, "Familie și comportament matrimonial în Transilvania între 1850-1914. Între tradiție și modernizare," in *Om și societate. Studii de istoria populației României (sec. XVII-XXI)* ed. Ioan Bolovan, Sorina Paula Bolovan and Corneliu Pădurean (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2007), 121-154.