

Regional Economy and Community Development in Transylvania,  
Highland Banat and Bukovina in the 19th Century.

A Collection of Studies



**Babeş-Bolyai University Cluj-Napoca**  
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Development in Transylvania, Highland Banat  
and Bukovina in the 19th Century.  
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**Argonaut Publishing**  
Cluj-Napoca

**Symphologic Publishing**  
Gatineau

This book was edited and published with the financial support of the project  
CNCS – UEFISCDI, project code PN-II-ID-PCE-2011-3-0305.

*Economie regională și dezvoltare comunitară în Transilvania, Banatul  
Montan și Bucovina în secolul 19 (1800-1914) - Regional Economy and  
Community Development in Transylvania, Highland Banat and Bucovina  
in the 19th Century (1800-1914).*

### Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

REGIONAL Economy and Community Development in Transylvania, Highland Banat and  
Bukovina in the 19th Century. A Collection of Studies / Editors: Marin Iosif Balog and  
Rudolf Gräf. - Cluj-Napoca; Gatineau : Argonaut Publishing, Symphologic Publishing.

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-1-988192-10-9 (hardback)

ISBN 978-973-109-663-6

1. România--Transylvania--History--19th century. 2. România-- Highland Banat--History--  
19th century. 3. România--Bucovina in the 19th 3. Century Regionl Economy--Community.  
I. Balog, Marin Iosif . II. Rudolf Gräf

DR280.44.H482A3 2015

949.8'016

C2016-904026-7



## CONTENTS

<b><i>Editors' Note</i></b> .....	5
<b>Ioan Lumperdean</b>	
<i>Regional Economy: Conceptual, Historical and Methodological Approaches</i> .....	11
<b>Iosif Marin Balog</b>	
<i>The Price of Gold. The Regional Economy, Society and Modernization of the "Auriferous Quadrilateral" in the Apuseni Mountains 1800-1914</i> .....	47
<b>Rudolf Gräf</b>	
<i>Obaba-Bistra/Ferdinand/Oțelu-Roșu The fortunes and misfortunes of a microregion (the 19<sup>th</sup> Century)</i> .....	139
<b>Robert Nagy</b>	
<i>Progress and Change. The Economic and Social Development of the Jiu Valley 1880-1914</i> .....	173
<b>Kurt Scharr</b>	
<i>Innere Peripherie. Die sozioökonomische Entwicklung zweier Siedlungen in der Bukowina im 19. Jahrhundert: Fontinaalba und Klimoutz/ Internal Periphery. The Socio-Economic Progress of Two Bukovinian Settlements, Bila Krynytsya and Climăuți, in the 19th Century</i> .....	215



## Editors' Note

This volume brings together a collection of studies on regional economic and social history with a focus on the period of the 19th century, up until World War I. These studies are the result of the systematic research conducted by the authors within the framework of the research grant PN-II-ID-PCE-2011-3-0305 entitled *Regional Economy and Community Development in Transylvania, Highland Banat and Bukovina in the 19th Century (1800-1914)*, director of the grant Professor dr. Rudolf Gräf.

The five authors who were members of the project therefore present their results in studies of considerable length and the editors of this volume supported and encouraged such studies precisely in order to ensure the necessary relevance and the possibility of building strong study-cases in the theoretical and quantitative-empirical approach of the themes under discussion.

The first study, entitled *Regional Economy: Conceptual, Historical and Methodological Approaches* represents a methodological approach to the main concepts, schools of thought and research directions in the field of regional studies and regional economic history.

The study authored by Iosif Marin Balog, *The Price of Gold. The Regional Economy, Society and Modernization of the "Auriferous Quadrilateral" in the Apuseni Mountains 1800-1914 I*, proposes a multi-level analysis of the history of gold mining in the Apuseni region, one of the richest of its kind in Europe. The study identifies and analyzes the main mining exploitations, providing quantitative data on the evolution, in time, of the amounts of noble metal extracted; the ratio between state and private mining exploitations; the evolution of the number of workers and their wages. From a demographic perspective, the author examines the evolution of several mining settlements in connection with the pace and intensity of the exploitations, outlining three main demographic models: sustained growth, stagnation and decline. Moreover, the author offers concrete data on the evolution of social structures

in the region, delineating several types of mining settlements. Another level of analysis explores the social effects of gold mining in the area, as regards health services and education, one of the analyzed indicators being the evolution of the number of elementary schools, coupled with the level and pace of literacy development. The overall conclusion of the study emphasizes the fact that throughout the period under study the development and modernization process was rather fragile.

Rudolf Gräf in his study entitled *Obaba-Bistra/Ferdinand/Oțelu-Roșu The fortunes and misfortunes of a microregion (the 19th Century)* bring a general perspective based on several concrete data regarding the transformation of the Bistra Corridor from a rural region, located at the border between two provinces of the empire, into an active region which changed by attracting labour force as industrialization and the conquests of the industrial revolution were transferred also to this part of Europe.

The discovery and the use of natural resources, the emergence and development of the first establishments of the mining and siderurgical industry in the Bistra Corridor and the Poiana Rusca Mountains profoundly changed the micro-region in economic, demographic, ethnic, cultural and civilizational terms. The heavy industry of Southern (Highland) and Eastern Banat left its mark on the region in terms of the vast changes it produced and the influence it exerted in the surrounding areas.

In the study *Progress and Change. The Economic and Social Development of the Jiu Valley 1880-1914*, Robert Nagy undertakes an analysis of a mining region that embarked on sustained growth when coal mining began in the area, answering the ever growing needs of the industry for this raw material. Essentially, this region became a well-defined socio-economic space of this type after 1870. The author analyzes the major demographic processes that took place in the region, the sources of population growth being, above all, the settlements of workers and their migration in search of employment. The study examines how a series of mining settlements and the necessary infrastructure (access roads, hospitals, schools, etc.) were established and built from scratch. It also analyzes the socio-economic effects of mining, the socio-professional and ethnic structure of the region, the territorial provenance of the miners who settled in the Jiu Valley during this period and the way in which this phenomenon contributed to the formation of a specific, industrialized “social region” in a largely agrarian province, as Transylvania was at that time.

In *Internal Periphery. The Socio-Economic Progress of Two Bukovinian Settlements, Bila Krynytsya and Climăuți, during the 19th century*, Kurt Scharf starts from the premise that even within the periphery of the empire, some areas

differed greatly in their access to impulses emerging from the regional and/or imperial centers. This affected the options for and speed of development in each individual area.

Focusing on the examples of two specific settlements in Bukovina, BilaKrynytsya (Fontinaalba) and Climăuți (Klimoutz), the author sketches their progress within the context of the overall socio-economic development of this former Austrian crown land. The settlements were created in the late 18th century by an ethnic and religious minority and have remained predominantly agrarian up to recent times. The temporal starting point is provided by the central source of the mid-19th century land register of Francis I. The study ends with an examination of the significant political changes that took place in the wake of the demise of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy and of their consequences for the two settlements up to the present day.

Although dealing with different case studies and historical sources were quite eclectically, authors have the primary purpose to respond the main objective of the research grant assumed - that to reflect the essential phenomena that define, delineate and explain economic, social, and cultural issues of a regional area: economic phenomena, organizational and managerial processes, demographical aspects, social processes and developments, analysis of specific cultural and “regional mentality” features. The novelty of the type of analysis that we propose consists, first of all, in the pattern of regional economic development analysis which takes into account phenomena in an integrated vision, considering them and analyzing their interactions and complexity in order to provide a most faithful image of economic-social phenomena that characterized regional evolutions in the nineteenth century in this part of Europe.

***Editors***



# Regional Economy: Conceptual, Historical and Methodological Approaches\*

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## 1. The concepts and the conceptual history of the theme

In my didactic and scientific texts and speeches, in the papers I delivered at various conferences or in my contributions to different topics of history, economics and economic history, I have often invoked, perhaps excessively, Voltaire's words: "If you wish to converse with me, define your terms."<sup>1</sup> I came across the famous Voltairian syntagm many years ago, in Paul Cornea's remarkable study *Originea romantismului românesc* [*The Origins of Romanian Romanticism*]<sup>2</sup> and ever since then, seduced by its quintessential veracity, I have used it as an argument in establishing the meaning and explaining the proper use of certain words, notions, terms, definitions and concepts.<sup>3</sup> I have always taken into account the fragility and ambiguity inherent in definitive prescriptive semantic usages or, more precisely, in what Michel Bréal called the *significance of words*.<sup>4</sup> In fact, *semantics*, the science that the renowned French translator and linguist proposed on the cusp of the 19th and

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\* This study was conducted as part of the project CNCS – UEFISCDI, project code PN-II-ID-PCE-2011-3-0305. *Economie regională și dezvoltare comunitară în Transilvania, Banatul Montan și Bucovina în secolul 19 (1800-1914) - Regional Economy and Community Development in Transylvania, Highland Banat and Bucovina in the 19th Century (1800-1914)*.

<sup>1</sup> Ioan Lumperdean, *Publicistica economică românească din Transilvania (1800-1850)*, Cluj-Napoca: Tribuna, 2004, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Cornea, *Originea romantismului românesc. Spiritul public, mișcarea ideilor și literatura între 1780-1840*, București: Minerva, 1971, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ioan Lumperdean, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-199.

<sup>4</sup> Michel Bréal, *Essai de sémantique: science des signification*, Paris, 1904.

the 20th Centuries, aimed to explore the way in which “words, once created and endowed with a certain meaning, extend that meaning or contract it, transfer it from one group of notions on to another, raise its value or lower it, in a word – bring about changes.”<sup>5</sup> However, it is precisely this semantic reality that generates many questions and multiplies notional-conceptual answers and explanations, with obvious influences on researchers and researches in the field of social sciences and humanities. The relation between *the past* and *the present* or between *the present* and *the past* can quite easily be captured in approaches to conceptual history,<sup>6</sup> and François Furet’s explanation fully maintains its truthfulness in this regard: “there are no concepts for explaining the past that do not bear the stamp of the present and do not therefore date the historian. Conversely, however, without an analysis of the present there can be no concepts at all. The first proposition is not enough to define a good conceptual history, for it does not guarantee a choice of sound analytical tools; but it does lay down a minimum requirement. It accepts the limits of historical objectivity the better to abandon the fallacy of ‘bringing the past back to life’ or the temptation to tell a mere story.”<sup>7</sup> A word or a concept may have a *retrospective* or a *prospective semantic path*, and this may lead to an identification of past, present and future social realities.<sup>8</sup> In fact, it has been shown that “every historical event of significant importance exerts a direct impact on the socio-political vocabulary of the language of the people concerned. Every new social policy produces new notions, new words.”<sup>9</sup>

*Region* and the volley of its semantic derivatives: *regional*, *regionalism*, *regionalist*, *regionalization*, as well as its semantic groups: *administrative region*, *economic region*, *industrial region*, *agricultural region*, *urban region*, *development region*, *developed region*, *underdeveloped region*, *tourism region*, *ethnographic region*, *regional economy*, *regional geography*, etc. pertain to and represent no exception from such temporal paths and experiences that generated and imposed them as components of the lexicon. These words, notions, concepts and syntagms

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 99. Cf. Adam Schaff, *Introduction to Semantics*, trans. by Olgierd Wojtasiewicz, New York: The MacMillan Company, 1962, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Reinhart Koselleck, *Conceptele și istoria lor. Semantica și pragmatica limbajului social-politic cu două contribuții ale lui Ulrike Spree și Willibald Steinmetz*, trans. by Gabriel H. Decuble and Mai Oruz, București: Art, 2009, pp. 54-70. See the chapter “Istoria conceptelor și conceptele istoriei.”

<sup>7</sup> François Furet, *In the Workshop of History*, trans. by Jonathan Mandelbaum, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984, p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> Reinhart Koselleck, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>9</sup> Klaus Bochmann, “Dezvoltarea vocabularului social-politic român între 1840-1850,” in *Actele celui de al XII-lea Congres internațional de lingvistică și filologie romanică*, I, București, 1980, p. 869. Cf. Fernand Braudel, *Jocurile schimbului*, trans. and afterword by Adrian Riza, vol. I, București: Meridiane, 1985, p. 277.



emerged and became entrenched in the socio-economic, political and institutional lexicon also thanks to the debates and disputes that have launched arguments for and against them, sometimes passionately or even sentimentally, in the public space or in academic and scholarly milieus across the world. This is only natural, because our life, our existence as individuals prevalently unfolds – almost inevitably – within the threefold spheres of the *local*, the *regional* and the *national*, with European and international reverberations. It is clear that a *region* – regarded as a geographic and administrative area that has certain characteristic forms of relief, climate conditions, natural and human resources and socio-economic activities – tends to generate regional economies and economic policies that will leave their imprint on the history and existence of the rural and urban settlements therein. We must acknowledge the fact that *nothing can be built without taking these realities into account*. At the same time, local realities – illustrated by and illustrative of rural or urban settlements and, above all, their social subjects – remain strongly anchored in the process of regional development, with national, European and international implications. In this process, with past, present and future contingencies, we find (again) the vectors of certain solidarities and sociabilities that can configure the present-day regionalist options and the prospects for rural and urban development/organization, but also vectors that could discard, reject, put a strain on or even dismantle them.<sup>10</sup>

Under these circumstances, the following question arises: *what is a region?* The answer or answers to this question may also outline a thematic area that attempts to explain what *regional economy* was, is and will be. In order to acquire a secure foothold in the ideational and cognitive universe of this theme, we shall review some of the definitions and opinions expressed in dictionaries and studies pertaining to the general or specialized scientific field of this research subject.<sup>11</sup>

*Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române* [*The Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian Language*] defines the term *region* as a “large, more or less

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<sup>10</sup> Ioan Lumperdean, “Cuvânt înainte,” in *Economia regională: ipostaze rurale și urbane*, Marin Balog, Rudolf Gräf, Ioan Lumperdean (eds.), Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2011, p. 16.

<sup>11</sup> From the vast bibliography on this topic, see Marek Koter (ed.), *Region and Regionalism*, Ople-Lodz: EDJ Edytorstwo, 1995; Mary E. Edwards, *Regional and Urban Economics and Development. Theory and Methods*, New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2007; Radu Cristian Barna, *Economie regională*, Cluj-Napoca: Editura Fundației pentru Studii Europene, 2008; Miklós Bakk, Cosmin Marin, “Construcția regională în Europa,” in *Politici regionale în România*, Miklós Bakk, József Benedek (eds.), Iași: Polirom, 2011, pp. 15-44. Vasile Filip Soporan, *Căutări în logica regionalizării*, Cluj-Napoca: Casa cărții de știință, 2013.

homogenous expanse of land, in a particular country or around the globe, featuring certain common characteristics: area, zone”<sup>12</sup> or as an “administrative and territorial unit in Romania.”<sup>13</sup> In the latest edition of *Dicționar enciclopedic* [*Encyclopaedic Dictionary*] (2006), a *region* is an *area* or a *zone*; the classification of regions is made according to their natural and human elements and resources, geographical location, geological and climatic configuration, economic activities, etc.<sup>14</sup> The following terms/notions: *regional*, *regionalism* and *regionalization* are also presented according to the model of the explanatory dictionary. In fact, almost all explanatory or encyclopaedic dictionaries abide by these explanations. To give yet another example, *Dicționar de sinonime* [*Dictionary of Synonyms*] provides the following equivalents: “place, terrain, area, zone, territory, surface,” *regionalism* being assimilated with *provincialism*.<sup>15</sup> For the authors of *Dicționar de geografie umană* [*Dictionary of Human Geography*], a *region* is “a relatively homogenous section of the geographic shell, with specific features of relief, climate, water, economic resources and human presence – which outline a particular geographical landscape.”<sup>16</sup> Another geographer, Professor Mark Koter, from the University of Łódź in Poland, brings the following nuances: “a region is a geographical area that has distinct cultural, social, economic and political properties. Its active forces are, however, its inhabitants, who are different from their neighbours and who identify with that territory, which they consider their homeland, being thus proud that they belong to it and promoting its identity.”<sup>17</sup>

In *Dicționar de geopolitică* [*Dictionary of Geopolitics*], compiled by Oleg Serbrian, a *region* is “a part of a country, in general (for instance, North-Eastern Romania, Western Austria, Northern Finland, etc.); a concrete administrative-territorial unit (in the case of Russia, Ukraine, Italy and other countries), an area with specific geographical characteristics (‘geographical region’); such as

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<sup>12</sup> *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române*, second edition, București: Univers Enciclopedic, 1996, p. 909.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*. The following Romanian terms are also explained here: *regional*, *regională*, *regionalism*, *regionalist*, *regionalistă*, *regionare*.

<sup>14</sup> *Dicționar enciclopedic*, vol. VI, București: Editura Enciclopedică, 2006, pp. 85-86.

<sup>15</sup> Luiza Seche, Mircea Seche, Irina Preda, *Dicționar de sinonime*, complete and revised edition, București: Editura Enciclopedică, 1993, p. 419.

<sup>16</sup> George Erdeli, Mihai Ielenicz (eds.), *Dicționar de geografie umană*, București: Corint, 1999, p. 370. This work also explains the semantic groups: *administrative region*, *development region*, *ethnographic region*, *industrial region*, *agricultural region*, *developed region*, *underdeveloped region*, *tourism region*, *declining region*, *nodal region*, *homogeneous region*, *planned region*, *polarized region*, *urban region*, *consolidated urban region*, *urbanized region*. *Ibidem*, pp. 270-271.

<sup>17</sup> Marek Koter, “The geographical-historical region: its notion, origin and factors in its development,” in Marek Koter (ed), *op. cit.*, p. 19.

Polesia in Belarus or Landes in France; an area having certain cultural-historical features ('historical region'), such as Franconia or Swabia in Germany, Provence or Normandy in France, Transylvania or Oltenia in Romania; or an area that forms an economic complex ('economic region'), such as the Donbass in Ukraine, the Kuzbass in Russia or the Ruhr in Germany. The term *region* is also used for some parts of the world's continents (for example, Northern Europe, East Africa, Southeast Asia, Oceania, etc.), but even in this case, in order to distinguish *region* as a part of a country from *region* as a part of a continent, it would be more correct to use the term micro-region."<sup>18</sup> The author also explains, from his point of view and based on the bibliography he has consulted,<sup>19</sup> the term *regionalization*, which may be "used with regard to two distinct phenomena: that of a country's *decentralization* through the transfer of certain powers from the centre to the region (divided according to a geographical criterion, as in Romania, according to a historical criterion, as in Italy, or following a mixed pattern, as in France) and that of the *cooperation* or even *integration* of countries in various micro-regions of the world (for example, ASEAN in Southeast Asia, Mercosur in Austral America, etc.)."<sup>20</sup>

For specialists in public administration, a *region* is a "territorial entity in the development of European civilization/space," "a political entity" and a "territorial unit of industrial and post-industrial development."<sup>21</sup>

The word *region* is quite frequently used in economic literature, but it has been less thoroughly conceptualized from the vantage point of the notional universe of economic sciences, even though the *economy of space and place* has captured the attention of economists ever since the 19th century. The explanation lies in the fact that up until the year 1950, the "analysis of the economic world" was not necessarily tackled in terms of its "spatial dimensions."<sup>22</sup> The idea was that the word *region* could be used with several semantic meanings, related to "1. physical elements and natural resources; 2. population and human ecology; 3. regional economic development; 4. metropolitan studies; 5. history, literature and social culture at a regional level."<sup>23</sup> That is why, in many economic studies, emphasis is laid, in explaining

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<sup>18</sup> Oleg Serebrian, *Dicționar de geopolitică*, Iași: Polirom, 2006, p. 242.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 315-328.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 241-242.

<sup>21</sup> Miklós Bakk, Cosmin Marin, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 20, 28.

<sup>22</sup> Mark Blauk, *Teoria economică în retrospectivă*, Trans. by Agatha Popescu and Ion Pârnuțoiu, București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1992, p. 650.

<sup>23</sup> H. S. Perloff, *Regional Studies at U. S. Universities: A Survey of Regionally Oriented Research and Graduate Education Activities*, Washington D. C., 1957, apud: Paolo Perulli, "L'État et les nouvelles formes d'organisation: entreprise globale, régions et réseaux," in *L'État et le Marche*, coordonné par Bertrand Bellon, Guy Caire, Lysiane Cartelier, Jean-Pierre Faugère, Colette Voisin, Paris: Economica, 1994, p. 112.

the word *region*, on linguistic aspects and semantic trajectories,<sup>24</sup> the situation being similar to that of approaches in the field of geographical sciences<sup>25</sup> or opening up to influences from other fields of knowledge.

In Marxist literature, political and ideological perspectives prevail. For example, in *Micul dicționar economic* [*A Short Economic Dictionary*] published after a Soviet edition, the term *region* is defined as a “basic territorial economic unit in the USSR, created for managing the industrial and construction domains in keeping with the territorial principle. The economy of an administrative-economic region represents a component of the country’s national economy, which contributes to the territorial division of labour and is characterized by two main features: specialization and the complex development of the economy of the region concerned.”<sup>26</sup> At the antipode of this opinion, in another spatial-temporal context, a *region* “can be defined through the interaction of several factors: its structure, behaviour and functionality within the framework of a general system. A region represents a complex subsystem, marked by a series of specific or general variables (input, output, state, etc.), which are characteristic of its behaviour at a particular time or during a specified period.”<sup>27</sup>

The following definitions may be encountered in the context of the promotion and dissemination of regional ideas, options and policies, expressed in the documents issued by various institutions of the European Community. For the Assembly of European Regions, the term *region* covers an entity existing “immediately below the level of central government, with a political power of representation embodied by an elected regional assembly, or by an association or group that represents authority at a regional level. “For the European Parliament, a region is understood as “a territory which constitutes, from a geographical point of view, a clear-cut entity [...] whose population possesses certain shared features,” while the European Commission considers that “a region represents an instrument for structural promotion, focused on regional economy and the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics, NUTS.”<sup>28</sup>

While several conclusions can be drawn from the definitions presented above, the following seem to be particularly relevant: 1. direct, concrete references to a geographical space or territory, which may be *intra-*

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<sup>24</sup> H. S. Perloff, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>26</sup> G. A. Kozlov and S. P. Pervuşin, *Mic dicționar economic*, Bucureşti: Editura politică, 1959, p. 304.

<sup>27</sup> Daniela Antonescu, *Dezvoltarea regională – tendințe, mecanisme, instituții*, Bucureşti: Forum, 2011, p. 39.

<sup>28</sup> Apud Radu Cristian Barna, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

*state* or *transfrontier*; 2. the existence of several components that reflect, characterize and identify regions and their political, administrative, economic, ethnic, ethnographic, etc. extensions (denominations); 3. the existence of both shared and divergent viewpoints, depending on the discipline/science that approaches themes related to the concepts of *regional*, *regionalism*, *regionalist*, *regionalization* (the latter term corresponding to the Romanian *regionalizare* and *regionare*), etc.; 4. the monolingualistic and, at the same time, pluralistic explanation (providing a model and highlighting a multiplicity of meanings associated with the term *region*), the derived words/syntagms it has generated and imposed in the lexicon and heuristic devices pertaining to the social sciences; 5. a conceptual ambiguity, which requires permanent (re)definitions and explanations,<sup>29</sup> given that this is a “construction undergoing perpetual change.”<sup>30</sup>

We should implicitly take these aspects into account in our attempt to conceptualize or define *regional economy* and, implicitly, its history. This undertaking should undoubtedly be focused on *region* as a geographical entity, while an approach from an *economic* perspective should consider the “location (placement) of economic objectives; their even spatial distribution; regional economic growth; the spatial mobility of production factors; the effectiveness of spatial structures; the spatial substitution of these factors; the use of economic-mathematical methods and techniques of analysis and the decision to incorporate spatial aspects in traditional economic theories; the substantiation of regional policies and strategies, etc.”<sup>31</sup> In light of these objectives, *regional economy* is considered to be a “foundational discipline within *regional science*,” characterized by the “adoption of rigorous and systematic methods and techniques in analysing phenomena and processes in which space, distance and location play an important role.”<sup>32</sup> Regional economy is also regarded as “a subdivision of economic science, born from concerns regarding the optimal location of companies and territorial patterns of economic development. In general, this branch of economic science is considered to be an area of confluence between economics and geography, its foundations having been laid by von Thünen and Lösch in their works. From a macroeconomic perspective, the objectives of researches conducted in the field of regional economy include the analysis of regional disparities and finding the most appropriate ways of redressing such imbalances.”<sup>33</sup> In a

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<sup>29</sup> A. Benz, “Regionen als Machtfaktor in Europa?,” in *Verwaltungarchiv*, 84, Jg. H. 3 1993, p. 331 apud Radu Cristian Barna, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>30</sup> Miklós Bakk, Cosmin Marin, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>31</sup> Daniela-Luminița Constantin, *Economie regională*, București: Oscar Print, 1998, p. 11.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>33</sup> *Dicționar de economie*, Niță Dobrotă (ed.), București: Editura Economică, 1999, p. 191.

synthetic approach, regional economy is seen “as national economy ‘in miniature’ or on a smaller scale.”<sup>34</sup>

## 2. Regional economic history: explanatory attempts.

Although the terms: *history*, *economy*, *region*, *regional* and *regionalization* exist and have their own semantic trajectories in modern languages, the syntagm *regional economic history* is still less commonly used, invoked or explained, despite the fact that approaches to geographical spaces, regions and territories have long been undertaken in both traditional and modern researches. *Disciplinary overlaps* and *multidisciplinary*, *pluridisciplinary*, *transdisciplinary* and *interdisciplinary* approaches have led, moreover, to deepening its semantic indeterminacy. In our opinion, this is a *syntagm* in and through which the three words that exist in relations of cohabitation and subordination form a semantic group or entity, with conceptual-notional options generated by one or several definitions. This is only natural, particularly given the endogenous and exogenous fluidity of *regional economy* throughout time, even to this day, both as a territorial and social-economic reality and as a theoretical approach. In our opinion, the following rhetorical statement is justified: “from a historical perspective, the field of regional economy has been afflicted, for a long time, by a certain ambiguity, contingent, above all, on the uncertainty of the concept of *region*: a natural entity, an intermediate administrative level or a vast area of exchanges?”<sup>35</sup> To this are added the interests, disputes and challenges that have targeted this theme from academic, political and public perspectives.

Our attempt to provide an explanation in connection with regional economic history starts from these realities, but also from the rich and sometimes excessive or conjunctural literature in the field.<sup>36</sup> We should not

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The author of this entry, Dorel Alienei, makes reference to the works of Johann Heinrich von Thünen, *The Isolated State* (1826), and August Lösch, *The Economics of Location* (1939), both of these scholars being exegetes of spatial economics and of the classical theory of location. See Mark Blauk, *op. cit.*, pp. 650-663.

<sup>34</sup> Jean-Louis Guigou, “Economia regională” [“Regional economics”], in *Dicționar de științe economice*, Claude Jessua, Christian Labrousse, Daniel Vitry (eds.), Scientific consultant: Damien Gaumont, Scientific editor for the Romanian version: Rodica Levițchi, Chișinău: Arc, 2006, p. 764. The syntagm *national economy* “in miniature” should be regarded with some caution, given that regional economy can also be crossborder. In fact, the author himself, who adopts the French point of view on *region* and *regional economy*, brings examples referring to “the objective of defining regional compatibility.” *Ibidem*, p. 765.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 764.

<sup>36</sup> See, in this regard, Daniela-Luminița Constantin, *Economie regională*, București: Oscar Print, 1998; Eadem, *Elemente fundamentale de economie regională*, București: Editura A. S. E., 2004; Eadem, *Introducere în teoria și practica dezvoltării regionale*, București:

overlook attempts at explaining processes of *territorialization*, applicable to target geographical areas like the Banat of Timișoara,<sup>37</sup> or those relating to the history of regional economic modernization, brought about by economic agents, like the StEG in the second half of the 19th century and in the early 20th century.<sup>38</sup> From these perspectives, we consider that regional economic history represents a *past economic territorial reality*, but also a *component of historical and economic sciences through which this spatial reality – established in natural or anthropogenic terms – is reconstructed*. Of course, we could supplement, exemplify or individualize the *object* and the *objective* of regional economic history with and through the specific concerns of general economic history,<sup>39</sup> in analysing past economic phenomena that occurred, in this case, in a regional-local space, with national, European and international connections, interactions, influences and reverberations. If regional economy is regarded as “national economy ‘in miniature’ or on a smaller scale,” then *regional economic history may be considered a history in miniature, scaled down to a regional-local territory*. The following syntagms could be used for a more concrete perception and differentiation between past economic reality and the effort of reconstructing it: the *history of regional economic* and, respectively, *regional economic history*. Given that overlaps or ambiguities may appear, especially since there is no distinction

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Editura Economică, 2000; Călin Ghiolțan, *Community and regional policies*, București: Tritonic Books, 2013; Ron Martin, Michael Kiston, Peter Tyler, *Regional Competitiveness*, Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2011; Gabriela-Carmen Pascariu: *Studii de teoria și practica dezvoltării regionale în Europa*, Iași: Editura Universității “Alexandru Ioan Cuza,” 2009; Vasile Pușcaș, Adrian Liviu Ivan, *Regiune și regionalizare în Uniunea Europeană*, Cluj-Napoca: Institutul Cultural Român, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2004; Marin Balog, Rudolf Gräf, Ioan Lumperdean (eds.), *Economia regională: ipostaze rurale și urbane*, Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2011. See also the bibliographical references in note 11.

<sup>37</sup> Josef Wolf, Marionela Wolf, “Conceptul de organizare a Banatului Timișoarei: geneza și forma de guvernare în perspectivă comparată,” in *Istoria ca datorie. Omagiu academicianului Ioan-Aurel Pop la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani*, Ioan Bolovan, Ovidiu Ghita (eds.), Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2015, pp. 451-465.

<sup>38</sup> Rudolf Gräf, Ioan Lumperdean, “StEG: generator de modernitate regională (1855-1918),” in *Relația rural-urban: ipostaze ale tradiției și modernizării*, Marin Balog, Rudolf Gräf, Ioan Lumperdean (eds.), Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2010, pp. 215-218.

<sup>39</sup> Niță Dobrotă, “Istoria economică,” in *Dicționar de economie*, Niță Dobrotă (ed.), p. 256; Mihai Irimia, “Istorie economică,” in *Dicționar de istorie economică și istoria gândirii economice*, Emilian Dobrescu, Gabriela Bodea, Maria Mureșan, Dumitru Mureșan (eds.), București: All Beck, 2005, p. 94; Ioan Lumperdean, Mihaela Salanță and Rudolf Gräf, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte eine Einführung*, Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2006, pp. 13-14; Charles Morazé, *Introduction a l'histoire économique*, Paris, 1948.

between the *history of economy* and *economic history* in some modern languages, this suggestion remains at the discretion of each individual author.

### 3. On approaches to regional economic history.

The historians' reconstructions of the past cannot be undertaken without relating to a *space* or a *territory*, regardless of the theme addressed and the time or era in which various historical facts, events, phenomena or processes took place: "Just like natural facts, *the spatial dimension of historical facts represents an essential characteristic* (our emphasis)."<sup>40</sup> At the same time, *space* is just as important for economists who seek to acquire knowledge of economic life and activity in a geographically determined *territory*: "By analysing economy from the vantage point of space, research may focus on the economy of the world, of continents or of regional geographical areas."<sup>41</sup> Since ancient times, from the very first texts on economic topics, the *temporal dimension* and the *spatial dimension* have constantly informed the field of historical investigations and reconstructions. Of course, the *spatial dimension* has not necessarily entailed a prevalent direction for the history of local or regional economy. There are, nevertheless, examples of authors from Antiquity and the Middle Ages who inserted or insisted in their writings on the role of geographical space in the economy. The Renaissance and the Enlightenment rehashed and amplified debates on this issue, while the major geographical discoveries and the expansion of capitalism definitively imposed them in the field of historical and economic sciences. The emergence and affirmation of the modern economic doctrines: mercantilism, physiocratism and liberalism in the 16th-19th centuries contributed to a growing interest in economy and its past, at the local, regional, national and global levels. Antoine de Montchrestien (who introduced the notion of "political economy" in 1615), Fr. Quesnay in France and Adam Smith in Britain were promoters not only of the *homo oeconomicus* idea, but also of explaining the economic spatiality of their time. Their ideas were taken over, in the 19th century, by Friedrich List (1789-1846), considered the *de facto* father of *geo-economy*, even though the great economist did not use the notion in question in his work, which was devoted to explaining the production forces through which nations could thrive economically and territorially.<sup>42</sup> To all this were added the progress, openings and

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<sup>40</sup> Nicolae Edroiu, *Introducere în științele auxiliare ale istoriei*, Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1999, p. 13.

<sup>41</sup> Mihail Oprețescu, *Istoria economiei*, București: Editura ASE, 2005, p. 8.

<sup>42</sup> Friederich List, *Sistemul național de economie politică*, Ivanciu Nicolae-Văleanu, Victor Vasileoiu, Dan Răducanu (eds.), București: Editura Academiei, 1973, *passim*.



(inter)disciplinary specializations accomplished in the sphere of geographical sciences, in a period when *human geography* was launching ambitious projects that individualized and diversified the family of natural and social sciences into branches like historical geography, economic geography, political geography, military geography, cultural geography, etc.<sup>43</sup>

The second half of the 18th century and the entire 19th century were dominated, in the sphere of economic and social life, by huge transformations due to the “industrial revolution.”<sup>44</sup> The shift from manual labour to machinism, the massive demographic explosion, urbanization, the dynamic development and globalization of trade exchanges also contributed to the growth of interest in economic sciences and in the economic past. The history of economic branches (industry, agriculture, forestry, commerce, communications, banking and stock exchange operations, etc.) and the history of economic sub-branches (the oil, coal and steel industries, vegetable farming, viticulture, etc.) represent prevalent topics for those involved in researching and discussing the economic past. The involvement and assertion of new social forces and categories in economic life (industrialists, bankers, businessmen, traders, workers, peasants and farmers, etc.) led to the development of social history research, where we inevitably encounter ampler or more concise references to the economic past. At the same time, given the development of nations and the fact that the economies of certain states (like the United Kingdom, France, Germany or the USA) became performant and competitive, there was a growth of interest in the history of national economies. The development and affirmation of various *localities* and *regions* in economic life, through their specific characteristics or through their renowned traditions in the production and marketing of certain products, led to the emergence and development of research on *local and regional economic history*. Of

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<sup>43</sup> P. Vidal de La Blanche, *Principes de géographie humaine*, Paris: Armand Colin, 1975; Jean-François Dortier, *Științele umaniste o panoramă a cunoașterii*, București, 2006, chap. *Geografie, spațiul și oamenii*, pp. 345-358; Madeleine Grawitz, *Methodes des sciences sociales*, Paris: Editions Dalloz, 1993, pp. 212-225; Vladimir Osiac, *Geografie istorică*, Universitatea din Craiova, 1993.

<sup>44</sup> F. Couchet, G. M. Henry, *Les révolutions industrielles*, Paris, 1995; Carlo M. Cipolla, “La Rivoluzione industriale,” in *Storia delle idee politiche, economiche e sociali*, diretta da Luigi Firipo, volume quinto *L’età della Rivoluzione industriale*, Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1977, pp. 11-26; Eric J. Hobsbawm, “Originile revoluției industriale în Anglia,” in *Revoluția industrială. Studii*, București: Editura politică, 1963, pp. 52-78; Ioan Lumperdean “Realități și inovații economice generate de revoluția industrială,” in *Analele Universității Oradea, Șt. economice*, vol. IX, 2000, pp. 405-407; Ștefan Mășu, *Puterea economică în istoria lumii. 1. De la Marele Rift preistoric la Marele Război din 1914. Un studiu geoeconomic, geoistoric și geopolitic*, București: Rao, 2014, pp. 341-373; Jean-Pierre Rioux, *La révolution industrielle 1780-1880*, Paris, 1971.

course, with the growth of international exchanges, with the amplification of interdependencies between national economies in the second half of the 19th century, there emerged the first systematic researches on the history of international trade and global economy. By the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the next one, economic history had acquired a special status, being accepted, recognised and acknowledged as a compulsory discipline in European and American higher education institutions with a focus on economic studies. The first Chair of Economic History was established at Harvard, in 1892, for Professor William Ashley.<sup>45</sup> Along with political economy, statistics, accounting, mathematics, sociology, etc., its mission was to contribute to the formation of future economists, to unravel the numerous mysteries of the past and to explain the functioning of economic ideas and facts.

A boost in the research of regional economic history came from economists concerned with *spatial economics* and with explaining economic phenomena in terms of the *relation between distance and area*. In the history of economic thought and analysis, what gradually took shape was “the theory of the location of economic activity,” set forth by Johann Heinrich von Thünen in his work *The Isolated State* (1826).<sup>46</sup> During the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, he was joined, in his efforts, by French, Italian, Swedish and American authors, who aimed to explain the *spatial organization of the economic system*.<sup>47</sup> The problems they addressed concerned understanding the location of production factors, the spatiality of branches, the different costs of labour, the spatial distribution of social realities and polarities, local and regional competition: all in all, their aim was to explain urban and regional macroeconomics.<sup>48</sup>

Inevitably, in more or less overt terms, the representatives of this trend of thought approached the issues of location and economic spatiality also from a historical-evolutionary perspective, emphasizing the influence exerted by historical changes on the configuration, organization and specificity of territorial economic activities. The historical component of explanations and options for regional economy consolidated within the German and North European cultural area through the analysis of socio-economic phenomena from the standpoint of the relation between *economy*, *space* and *politics*, following

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<sup>45</sup> Vasile, Bozga, *Trecut și actualitate. Studii, articole, personalități, comunicări*, București: AGER - Economistul, 2005, p. 245.

<sup>46</sup> Mark Blauk, *op. cit.*, pp. 650-663.

<sup>47</sup> The syntagm *spatial organization of the economic system* belongs to August Losch, who is the author of the work entitled *Die räumliche Ordnung der Wirtschaft* (1939). *Ibidem*, p. 663.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 650-667.

the ideas set forth by the Swedish political scientist and jurist Rudolf Kjellén<sup>49</sup> in 1916 and, above all, following the acceptance and affirmation of geo-economy as a notion and as a discipline, after the publication, in 1925, of the work bearing this title signed by the German geographer and specialist in geopolitics Arthur Dix.<sup>50</sup> At the same time, the political-territorial reconfigurations that took place in the aftermath of World War I, the repositioning attempts of certain territories that had become detached from the former empires, the unification of these territories with their corresponding nation-states and, not least, retaliatory interwar policies contributed to the promotion of *geopolitics*, *geo-economy* and, implicitly, of *geo-history* as a “component of historical geography, which studied primarily the evolution of political-geographical realities throughout history.”<sup>51</sup> A rich political, economic and historical-economic literature on provincial and regional topics saw the light of print in the form of monographs, dictionaries, encyclopaedias, atlases and albums.

In France, the literary critic and philosopher Henri Berr (1872-1954) founded, in 1900, the *Centre International de Synthèse* in Paris and the publication *Revue de synthèse historique*, which proposed a new direction of research on the past, that of *historical synthesis*, intended to capitalize on information and opinions coming from other social sciences and humanities. As a result, Berr’s journal accommodated, in its pages, ample debates involving specialists from different fields: history, philosophy, sociology, psychology, economics, statistics and geography. The worldwide expansion of capitalist economy at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century contributed to the consolidation of the *spatial vision of history* and, implicitly, of regional history. In the *Revue de synthèse historique*, historians, geographers, sociologists and economists expressed their positions about the genesis, the regional configuration and positioning, in time and space, of certain territories in Europe or outside this continent, which were incorporated within the colonial empires in Africa or Asia. These approaches were consistent with the idea of

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<sup>49</sup> Being influenced by the opinions of Friederich Ratzel, Rudolf Kjellén considered that *geopolitics* represented a pathway towards acquiring knowledge of the state as a geographic and spatial organism, and knowledge of the economy cannot be excluded from this investigation. Michel Nazet, *Le géopolitique pour tous*, Paris, 2010, pp. 5-7. For a pertinent analysis, see Ion Conea, “Geopolitica – o știință nouă,” in *Sociologia Românească*, no. 9-10, 1937, pp. 3-36, republished in *Geopolitica*, vol. I, Emil I. Emandi, Gh. Buzatu, Vasile S. Cucu (eds.), Iași: “Glasul Bucovinei,” 1994, pp. 27-71.

<sup>50</sup> Oleg Serebrian, *op. cit.*, p. 103; cf. Jean Carlo, Paolo, Savona, *Goeconomia – il domino delle spazio economico*, Milano, 1995; Pascal, Lorot, *Introduction à la goeconomie*, Paris, 1999.

<sup>51</sup> Oleg Serebrian, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

*historical synthesis* and were aligned with the directions of more extensive research on this topic.<sup>52</sup>

International summits and conferences on topics of history, in particular the *international congresses of historians*, addressed the issue of regional history and geography. In 1928, at the Oslo Congress, the most authorized voice was that of Marc Bloch, who advocated, in his report, the necessity of investigating the past through analogies and comparisons among the components of European society.<sup>53</sup> His text was a genuine program that generated vivid emulation not only among historians, but also among specialists in other scientific domains. In his speech, Marc Bloch essentially proposed the consolidation of openings towards the social sciences universe, especially towards the sociology of Emile Durkheim and the geography of Vidal de La Blanche. He envisaged that the idea of *historical synthesis* would ensure greater openness towards the social and economic domains, in and through an effort of comparative analysis directed at civilizations. For him, comparativism was to consist both in *horizontal* forays, designed to acquire knowledge of *geographical spatiality*, and in *vertical* explorations of historical facts and phenomena, following the natural time sequence of events in the history of humanity. The debates that took place on that occasion also addressed the issue of pursuing in-depth researches on economic history and establishing a new periodical through which, as Marc Bloch indicated, “*we should, at last, break down the age-old, absurd barrier that separates the economic study of the past from that of the present*” (our emphasis).<sup>54</sup> Thus, the foundations were laid for a new journal: *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, which generated a new historiographical movement, known as the French Annales School.

Reacting against event history and upholding the notion of global history, which encompassed the entire array of human civilization, the historians of the “Annales” were concerned with reconstructing the historical past by making insistent recourse to the data provided by anthropology, sociology, social psychology, political economy, *geography* and demography. Instead of a history that was focused on and oriented towards the research of elites and personalities, they proposed a history in which humans represented the main object of study and analysis. How they lived, how they inhabited place, how they ensured their sustenance, how they coped with diverse weather conditions,

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<sup>52</sup> Lucien Febvre, Lionel Batalion, *La terre et l'évolution humaine; introduction géographique à l'histoire*, Paris, 1922, pp. 436-447.

<sup>53</sup> Marc Bloch, “Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes,” in *Revue de synthèse historique*, 46, 1928, pp. 15-50.

<sup>54</sup> Gheorghe I. Brătianu, “Un savant et un soldat: Marc Bloch (1886-1944),” in *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen*, XXIII, 1946, p. 12.

how they created material assets, how they travelled, how they used money, energy sources, etc.: these were the prevalent subjects of Annaliste historians.<sup>55</sup> Their options were clearly in favour of the *history of civilization, in which the economic past and the history of economic ideas occupied a privileged place*.

In this equation, the research of *space* or *territory*, in its natural, geographical, economic, social or cultural forms, evinced a steadfast openness to *geography*, *historical geography* and *geohistory*. Over the years, at the twilight of Fernand Braudel's life and career, the journalist Christine Ockrent (re)asserted one of the precepts of Annaliste historians: "History is, first and foremost, geography."<sup>56</sup> This statement was fully justified if we consider that the journal appeared and consolidated its scientific status at a time when *geography* was a "cutting-edge discipline in France" and that geographers were more prone even than economists to interdisciplinary openness and collaborations.<sup>57</sup> In as early as 1922, Lucien Febvre and Lionel Batalion attested the existence of this alliance through the publication of a work of reference that was 475 pages long and has had several editions (1924, 1949, 2006).<sup>58</sup> To this should be added the publication of Fernand Braudel's monumental work *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II. Regional history* researches became more poignant in the sphere of scientific investigation and *regional monographs* contributed to a certain *decentralization* and *regionalization* of the past, which was no longer seen solely in light of the decisions issued by the central power in Paris. Although they were relevant, we believe that these initiatives did not pertain to what we call today *regional economic history*, even though economic facts, phenomena and processes are not absent from the pages of the aforementioned works or of the *Annales*. Up until quite recently, it was considered that economic geography researches played an important role in (re)configurations of regional economic history: "In the case of regional economic history historians should avail themselves on a greater scale than heretofore of the results of those studies by economic geographers which are concerned with regions."<sup>59</sup> Even so, the role of the *Annales* School and of those that followed its example in providing a new framework for

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<sup>55</sup> Ioan Lumperdean, Marin Balog, "Școala Analelor franceze și istoria economiei. Unele considerații," in *The Convergence of Diversity. In honorem Prof. dr. Nicolae Păun*, Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2014, pp. 261-274.

<sup>56</sup> *Une leçon d'histoire de Fernand Braudel. Journées de Fernand Braudel 18,19 et 20 octobre 1985*, Paris, 1986, p. 28.

<sup>57</sup> Georges Duby, "Orientări ale cercetărilor istorice în Franța 1950-1980," in *Evul mediu masculin*, trans. by Constanța and Stelian Oancea, București: Meridiane, 1992, pp. 254-255.

<sup>58</sup> Lucien Febvre, Lionel Batalion, *op. cit.*, passim.

<sup>59</sup> Jerzy Topolski, *Methodology of History*, trans. by Olgierd Wojtasiewicz, Warsaw: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1973, p. 597.

understanding *space* or *territory*, outside deterministic exaggerations, was decisive. Geographical space remained permanently entrenched in the minds of historians as the “fundamental reality of any civilization,”<sup>60</sup> an idea that was resumed and firmly asserted at Châteauevallon during the “Fernand Braudel Days,” on 18, 19 and 20 October 1985.<sup>61</sup> It was from such positions that *geo-historical* researches were conducted and that a new spatial-temporal dimension was granted to the “relation between man and nature” or “between nature and man” as a reality that starts (anew) “each and every day.”<sup>62</sup> At the same time, the Braudelian model of scanning maritime space and the civilization it generated was taken up and developed in other works that laid emphasis on the Mediterranean thalassic expanse, its shores and its islands, on the vast stretches of land or the regions in their proximity. In reality, these territories, which contributed to the development of Mediterranean and Trans-Mediterranean trade, formed genuine hinterlands that we could associate with regional economy.<sup>63</sup> Fernand Braudel also has the merit of having devoted himself to researching the history of capitalist economy from a regional perspective and of having incorporated and brought to fruition, in his monumental work about the *material civilization, economy and capitalism of the 15th-18th centuries*, the results of sociological and economic research, which led him to understand economic cycles and the spatiality of markets. Hence, regional economy could be analysed in terms of *Braudelian temporal rhythms* and it became possible to explain the role played by the market economy as a *given space*, despite its “many gaps and insufficiencies, but also the lasting dynamic stimulus it could contribute.”<sup>64</sup>

What remains relevant in the context of Braudel’s work is his approach to economic space from a historical perspective, according to the *periphery-centre* or *centre-periphery* binomial. Similar perspectives and contributions on this subject may also be encountered in the works of renowned economists, such as John Friedmann, Stuart Holland and Karl Gunnar Myrdal,<sup>65</sup> or of

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<sup>60</sup> Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. II, trans. By Sian Reynolds, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995, p. 773.

<sup>61</sup> *Une leçon d'histoire de Fernand Braudel. Journées de Fernand Braudel 18,19 et 20 octobre 1985*, pp. 5-85.

<sup>62</sup> Fernand Braudel, *Les ambitions de l'histoire*, Paris, 1997, p. 102.

<sup>63</sup> David Abuafia, *Marea cea mare. O istorie umană a Mediteranei*, trans. by Georgeta-Anca Ionescu, Marieva Cătălina Ionescu and Denisa Duran, București: Humanitas, 2014, passim.

<sup>64</sup> Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century. The Wheels of Commerce*. trans. By Sian Reynolds, London: Book Club Associates, 1983, p. 184.

<sup>65</sup> Daniela Antonescu, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

sociologists like Immanuel Wallerstein. Such an analysis, undertaken in many studies signed by Braudel, provides us with an interesting overview of the spatial-regional changes/modifications that have taken place, via mobilities and transfers of economic opportunities and activities, throughout time: “Geographical space as a source of explanation affects all historical realities, all spatially-defined phenomena: states, societies, cultures and economies. Depending which of these ‘sets’ we choose, the significance and role of space will be modified accordingly – though not unrecognizably so.”<sup>66</sup> This statement is substantiated with facts drawn from historical records, with graphic and cartographic representations. What becomes undeniable is that there have always existed, in the *economy-universe*, modifiable limits, an economic centre or pole around which almost all economic activities revolve and which radiates and influences, “again and again,” all the closer or more remote economic outposts and territories. At least three interconnected economic zones are located along these routes: “a narrow core, a fairly developed middle zone and a vast periphery. The qualities and characteristics of the type of society, economy, technology, culture and political order necessarily alter as one moves from one zone to another. This is an explanation of very wide application, one on which Immanuel Wallerstein has based his book *The Modern World-System*.”<sup>67</sup>

The reference to Immanuel Wallerstein and his book *The Modern World-System* is not inconsequential. Fernand Braudel was aware that this work continued and consolidated interwar and post-war initiatives in this regard.<sup>68</sup> Especially insofar as his concerns with this topic evinced this, the American sociologist had unravelled the historical underpinnings of regional economic realities. He had also reconstructed the beginnings and the routes of *regional studies*,<sup>69</sup> focusing on the post-war territorial changes triggered by the disappearance of colonial empires and the creation of states on their ruins. In the 19th century and during the interwar period, the study of regions and regionality was centred on the major developed capitalist countries and the

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<sup>66</sup> Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century. The Perspective of the World*, trans. by Siân Reynolds, Gafton Street, London: Collins, 1984, p. 21.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 39. See the Romanian version of his work: Immanuel Wallerstein, *Sistemul mondial modern*, trans. by Dorel Abraham, Ilie Bădescu and Marcel Ghibernea vol. I-IV, București: Meridiane, 1992-1993.

<sup>68</sup> Dimitrie Gusti’s Romanian School of Sociology was among the initiators of debates on the *periphery-centre* relations. Cf. Immanuel Wallerstein, *Pentru a înțelege lumea. O introducere în analiza sistemelor-lume*, Trans. and terminological note by Ovidiu Tichindeleanu, Cluj: Ideea Desing&Print, Cluj, 2013, p. 24.

<sup>69</sup> For a more extensive account, see Immanuel Wallerstein, *Pentru a înțelege lumea...*, pp. 21-25.

colonial areas under their jurisdiction or influence. After World War II, due to the assertion of the United States as a world power and the existence of Third-World countries, the interest of specialists in social sciences shifted towards the territories in this geographical area. A new syntagm that was coined in the USA reflected geo-economic, geopolitical and geostrategic interests: *area studies*, i.e. “regional studies,” the new approaches expanding and influencing the American university system. Walter Isard, who is considered the “father” of researches on regional economy on account of his work *Location and Space-Economy* (1956), had the merit of launching debates and research directions on this theme in American scientific milieus. In 1950, he addressed a concrete request to the *American Economic Association* for the organization of a *Committee on Regional Economic Studies*. Over the subsequent years, there were organized several conferences that gathered economists and geographers together, there appeared specialized periodicals, chairs and research institutes were set up, programs were launched and there was an intense publishing activity in the field. Gradually, by contagion, regional studies reached the academic and educational systems in other democratic countries: Canada, France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, Japan and others. This situation wore down the frontiers between socio-human disciplines and fostered interdisciplinarity, conceptual and thematic overlaps, specializations and sub specializations, all in all a *scientific melange* including geography, economics, sociology, political theory and history.<sup>70</sup> In the debates that took place, a different connotation was offered for the concept of *development*, which was included in the *theory of stages* and of the *centre-periphery relations*. Having as its main mentor the famous Argentine political man and economist Raul Prebisch, the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America attempted – including by resorting to historical arguments – to explain regional economic disparities in terms of the inequality of commercial transactions between the *periphery* and the *centre*, contradicting thus the Ricardian theory of comparative advantage. A wide-ranging debate was launched on this subject and a new concept – dependency – was proposed in discussions on territorial development and underdevelopment and in explanations of the rift between rich and poor regions/territories. The famous German-American sociologist and historian of economy developed the *dependency* theory by imposing the syntagm *development-underdevelopment* and explained the economic status of Third-World countries through the lenses of historical realities: “Underdevelopment was

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<sup>70</sup> The works we cited in notes 33-35 are relevant for *regional studies*. For an interesting approach to the history of research in the field of regional sciences, see David Boyce, “A short history of the field of regional science,” in *Regional Science*, 83, 2004, pp. 31-57. For a chronological overview of this issue, see pp. 47-57.



seen not as an original state, the responsibility for which lay with the countries that were underdeveloped, but as the consequence of *historical capitalism*” (our emphasis).<sup>71</sup>

In the space of European economic culture, the year 1956 saw the publication of Claude Ponsard’s work entitled *Économie et espace. Essai d’intégration du facteur spatial dans l’analyse économique*, which was well received by the historians of the *Annales*, as demonstrated by the review signed by Jean Gabillard.<sup>72</sup> In 1858, Ponsard published a new study: *Histoire des théories économiques spatiales*, reviewed by Jacques Lecaillon in *Revue économique*.<sup>73</sup> In more or less similar terms, the two reviewers assessed Claude Ponsard’s merit in addressing the issue of economic space as a fundamental element in approaching and understanding present and past economic phenomena, as well as in explaining the notional system to be used in research on regional economy. The author’s openness to several disciplines and his novel approach, aimed at breaking the monopoly of German economic thought on regional economic space, were considered beneficial.<sup>74</sup>

These opinions were expressed in a period when concrete steps were taken in Western Europe towards the reconstruction and economic recovery of Western Europe. It was an ambitious project. It has been carried out from 1945 to the present day and it underlies today’s architecture of the European Union. The problem of regions, regionalism and regional economy has been seen to forge a collaborative pathway towards development, leading to the imposition of a new regional, national and European economic structure. Prior to and during World War II, the policy of some states with totalitarian regimes, territorial partitions and cessions, military operations and the war economy, demographic changes and many others have altered regional and regionalist attitudes, policies and realities. The options in favour of postwar decentralization and regional reconfiguration have led to the development of projects and programmes, sometimes supported in legislative and institutional terms, which have generated ample debates on this subject in the West-European public and political space. *Endogenous regionalism* (within the nation-states) and *exogenous* or European *regionalism* have stimulated theoretical

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<sup>71</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis. An Introduction*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004, p. 12.

<sup>72</sup> *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, Année 1956, Volume 11, Numéro 3, pp. 396-399.

<sup>73</sup> *Revue économique*, Volume 12, no. 3, 1961, p. 522.

<sup>74</sup> Let us not forget that Claude Ponsard’s works were published in the immediate aftermath of World War II, when French-German rivalry still persisted and interwar German theories in the field of space were still regarded with great caution. Many Europeans believed that these theories had justified Hitler’s entire expansionist policy.

debates, and the historical component of these debates, serving primarily as an argument for imposing specific policies, has often been invoked. Thus administrative-territorial (re)organizations from within nation-states (France, Italy, Spain, Germany and others) and European cross-border regions (“Euroregio,” the “Upper Rhine Conference,” the “Community of Interests of Middle Alsace-Breisgau,” the “Working Community of the Alpine Countries,” the “Baltic Sea Chambers of Commerce Association” and others) have their roots in regional-territorial historical developments. These undertakings have been reflected in several works of history, economic history, regional economy, economic geography, sociology, etc., which have addressed, either directly or tangentially, region, regionality, regional economy and/or other spatial-territorial components and realities.<sup>75</sup>

#### 4. Romanian researches on regional economic history.

Romanian studies with an interdisciplinary focus conducted in the fields of history and social sciences include numerous approaches to local, regional and provincial history. The dictionaries, encyclopaedias and bibliographies compiled/published over the course of a century and a half of bibliographical activity have taken stock of these undertakings. To these are added the new virtual instruments that provide fast and comprehensive access to scientific information. For these reasons, while we shall not provide an overview of the literature on this subject, reference to several illustrative examples is unavoidable. We shall therefore attempt a succinct analysis of this aspect, with particular emphasis on the defining characteristics of Romanian researches on regional economic history.<sup>76</sup> Our approach will also consider how regional economy and its history have been defined or conceptualized at different periods in time. Undoubtedly, these notions did not have the same significance in the past as they do today, even though the formulas expressed lead us, in an axiological, epistemological and ontological sense, towards social-economic activities and realities that have taken place in time or in a space that

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<sup>75</sup> Radu Cristian Barna, *Economie regională*, pp. 244-249; David Boyce, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-57; Jean-Louis Guigou, *op. cit.*, pp. 784-786; Marek Koter, “The geographical-historical region: its notion, origin and factors in its development,” in Marek Koter (ed), *op. cit.*, pp. 7-26; Fujita M., Krugman P. “The new economic geography: past, present, future,” in *Regional Science*, no. 83, 2004, pp. 139-164; Rudolf Gräf, Ioan Lumperdean, “StEG: generator de modernitate regională (1855-1918),” in *Relația rural-urban: ipostaze ale tradiției și modernizării*, pp. 215-228; Ioan Lumperdean, *Introducere în istoria economiei de piață*, Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2002, pp. 106-107; Andrei Roth, *Modernitate și modernizare socială*, Iași: Polirom, 2002, pp. 106-110.

<sup>76</sup> We intend to resume our analysis of this subject in a more extensive research.

is relatively well-circumscribed territorially: a village, a town, a region, or a province. The retrospective operativeness of the concepts used today is useful and sometimes necessary, but it can also lead to forced and counterfactual interpretations.

In the chronology of studies on the local, the regional and the provincial, the well-known texts authored by Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descriptio Moldaviae*, and Del Chiaro, *Storia delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia* (1718), are often invoked as pioneering efforts in the field. The next references to the topic under discussion appeared in various works written in the 18th century and in the first half of the 19th century. In our opinion, Romanian historical writing came to focus on local, regional and provincial spatiality after the 1848 Revolution, particularly in the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century. Of course, this occurred in a complex and complicated socio-economic, political and national context, when the North-Danubian, extra- and intra-Carpathian society was searching for the landmarks that could guide it on the pathway towards modernity. The entire array of events, phenomena, actions and activities that marked out the history of this space was also reflected in the manner in which the scholars of the time approached the problem of spatiality or aspects of territoriality. Whereas research priorities revolved around the exploration of national issues and the expression of European and universal allegiances,<sup>77</sup> the study of *fragments* or *selected parts* (to use Barițiu's inspired phrase),<sup>78</sup> represented by villages, towns, regions and provinces, was conducted with great difficulty, sometimes with restraint and even fear, demanding considerable attention and diplomacy. To understand this option, we should go back to the period of the 1848 Revolution and its aftermath and acquire a comprehensive image of the Romanian society of those times.<sup>79</sup> Initially, writings were dominated by generalities, in a more or less organised melange, with a focus on more or less relevant descriptions and representations. The sources used were mainly memoirs, correspondence and travelogues, the press of the time and some official documents. Only after the Union of 1859, the War of Independence (for the extra-Carpathian space) and the Austro-Hungarian Dualism (1867) did approaches to territoriality become more significant and more thematically diverse. These changes were consonant

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<sup>77</sup> Al. Zub, *A scrie și a face istorie (Istoriografia română post pașoptistă)*, Iași: Editura Junimea, 1981, pp. 91-98.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 82-91.

<sup>79</sup> *Istoria României. Formarea și consolidarea orânduirii capitaliste*, vol. IV, București: Editura Academiei, 1964; *Istoria Românilor*. vol. VII, Tome I, *Constituirea României moderne (1821-1878)*, ed. Acad. Dan Berindei, București: Editura Enciclopedică, 2003; *Istoria Românilor*. vol. VII, Tom II, *De la independență la Marea Unire, 1878-1918*, ed. Acad. Gheorghe Platon, București: Editura Enciclopedică, 2003.

with the modifications of the European political status of the Romanian principalities/Romania and, respectively, of Transylvania and other provinces in the Austrian and, after 1867, Austro-Hungarian Empire. Administrative organizations and reorganizations played an important role in the scholars' decision to present one territory or another. The texts recorded these phenomena and attempted to justify or disavow them with economic, demographic, ethnic, cultural, linguistic or geographical arguments. Historical data, especially of statistical import, were used in these approaches. Most of the times, cartography supported the argumentative scaffold of these studies with illustrations. Thus came into being an illustrative bibliography of the localities, *plăși*, *județe*,<sup>80</sup> districts and counties, which was disseminated in the press of the time, in brochures, calendars and booklets, but also in writings that anticipated the later monographic studies.<sup>81</sup> The relevant works included those signed by Ion Ionescu de la Brad (*Agricultura română în județul Mehedinți* [*Romanian Agriculture in Mehedinți County*], published in 1868); S. P. Radianu (*Județul Bacău – studiu agricol* [*Bacău County – A Study on Agriculture*]); Constantin Scheletti (*Dobrogea, organizarea* [*Dobrogea, Its Organization*], 1879); I. I. Nacian (*Le Dobroudja économique et sociale son passé et avenir*, 1886); Iosif Comănescu (*Studiu istoric-statistic asupra prezentului și trecutului românilor din opidul Codlea* [*A Historical-Statistical Study on the Present and the Past of the Romanians in the Oppidum of Codlea*], 1885. History and economics found their place, sometimes diffidently, at other times more consistently, in these works. Thus, the first steps were taken towards monographic studies of the localities and regions across the Romanian territory.<sup>82</sup> This action was congruous with the huge and ambitious program of identifying and publishing historical sources, in which local, regional and provincial themes were also encountered, and of compiling the first general and specialized bibliographies.<sup>83</sup> Much of the information provided by some of these works found its way then into the first syntheses of general or special history, such as those written by Alexandru D. Xenopol, Nicolae Iorga, Constantin Băicoianu and others.<sup>84</sup> However, regional economic history was not a prevalent subject of research at this time. Moreover, up until World War I, these works evinced a certain degree of dilettantism and attachment to “local patriotism” rather than rigorous, systematic and proficient approaches. Sometimes it is difficult to draw a clear line between the areas of scientific

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<sup>80</sup> Territorial division units.

<sup>81</sup> *Bibliografia istorică a României, Secolul XIX. Tom I Cadrul general. Țara și locuitorii*, ed. Cornelia Bodea, București: Editura Academiei, 1972.

<sup>82</sup> Miron Constantinescu, Ovidiu Bădina, Ernő Gall, *Gândirea sociologică din România*, București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1974, pp. 31-40.

<sup>83</sup> *Bibliografia istorică a României, Secolul XIX*, pp. 1-28.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 29-45.

enquiry (if we can speak of such a thing). In works on local-regional history, we can come across elements of history, geography, economics, ethnography and folklore, as well as references to the political and administrative organization, not to mention the aspects pertaining to ecclesiastical, educational and cultural activity.<sup>85</sup> Mention should be made of the openness of these studies to historical geography, as well as to subjects of cartography, historical demography and statistics.<sup>86</sup> Economics is more or less present in these works and, as mentioned before, information is sometimes disparate and non-systematic. What matters, however, is the huge documentary base these texts offer us, which, in our opinion is insufficiently known and explored, even though significant efforts have been made to bibliograph it.

The interwar period brought forth new approaches in the universe of social sciences and humanities, with many openings to scientific and institutional cooperation at European and international level. All this fostered local, regional and provincial researches. Romania was facing “the most important problem it had ever been confronted with: the organization of the new state and the establishment of new lines for its development in the future.”<sup>87</sup> In the world of the Romanian elites, there was launched a broad debate on the options, ways and paths of development and modernization. Having been addressed since the 19th century and emphasized before, during and after World War I, the problem of modernization and modernity stood under the sign of the *confluences* and interferences between *tradition and modernity*. What was at stake was an ample renovation of society, by preserving and adapting the regional and provincial forms and features to the general structures of Romanian civilization.<sup>88</sup>

Although committed to the huge argumentative effort supporting the nation-state that came into being through the great Union of 1918, historical sciences broadened their research and inquiry scope, embracing social and economic topics.<sup>89</sup> The interest in regional spatiality was motivated by the new

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<sup>85</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 157-300; Cf. Vasile Ciobanu, Anda-Lucia Spănu (eds.), *Bibliografia istorică a orașelor din România*, București: Editura Academiei Române, 2007.

<sup>86</sup> *Bibliografia istorică a României, Secolul XIX*, pp. 300-391.

<sup>87</sup> Grigore Antipa, *Problemele evoluției poporului român*, București, 1919, p. V.

<sup>88</sup> Pompiliu Teodor, “Climatul politic și cultural (după 1918),” in *Cunoaștere și acțiune. Profiluri de gânditori români*, ed. Andrei Marga, Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1986, pp. 26-34; Z. Ornea, *Confluente*, București: Editura Eminescu, 1976; Idem, *Tradiție și modernitate în deceniul al treilea*, București: Editura Eminescu, 1980; Lucian Boia, *Capcanele istoriei. Elita românească între 1930 și 1950*, 3rd revised edition, București: Humanitas, 2013, pp. 23-99.

<sup>89</sup> Ștefan Iancu, Ioan Scurtu, *Istoriografia în, Istoria românilor*, vol. VIII *România întregită (1918-1940)*, Ioan Scurtu ed., Petre Out secretary, București: Editura Enciclopedică, 2003, pp. 708-720; Al. Zub, *Istorie și istorici în România interbelică*, Iași: Junimea, 1988.

configuration of the states in the European space enacted in the aftermath of World War I. To this were added foregoing scientific accumulations, as well as attempts at modernizing historical writing through relevant critical analyses in the sphere of the socio-human sciences in a Romanian and European cultural context. A significant role in the continuation and development of these activities was played by the efforts towards administrative-territorial unification and reorganization after 1918. They had to be in tune not only with the new political and territorial realities, but also with the political, social and economic doctrines of the time, with European and international models. The idea of maintaining and generalizing the *județ* (county) as a regional administrative unit across entire Romania prevailed. At the same time, an idea that gained increasing legitimacy was that the old territorial administrative systems should not only be harmonized, but also changed, upgraded, Europeanized. Older projects, initiated since the pre-war period,<sup>90</sup> such as that for the *formation of regions* in order to optimize economic and administrative life, alternated with the establishment and then the dismantling of centralizing regional bodies, which included *regional directorates* (1930-1931) and/or districts (*ținuturi*, 1938-1940). Inevitably, these initiatives and options were reflected in public debates, but also in scholarship in the area of social sciences and humanities, on a rather wide-ranging thematic palette, which also had an economic component, focusing on the past, present and future of territorial organization.

During the inter-war period, Romanian researches on local, regional and provincial history were catalysed by transformations in the social sciences and the humanities and the reconfiguration of priorities relating to the national territory and its rapports with other territories or geographical areas, situated at closer or further away from Romania. Such approaches were conducted by historians, geographers, sociologists, economists, jurists, psychologists, ethnographers and ethnologists. Many of these approaches focused on present realities and future territorial projections, but not infrequently they referred to historical aspects as well.

In the field of Romanian historiography, contact with the Western European academic and scientific environment fostered openness to endogenous and exogenous regional realities. The works of Nicolae Iorga, P. P. Panitescu, Gheorghe I. Brătianu, Victor Papacostea, C. C. Giurescu, Ioan

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<sup>90</sup> In 1862 Barbu Catargiu proposed that the United Principalities should be divided into 4 regions. In 1912 P. P. Carp came up with the idea of 6 regions. Based on these initiatives, Constantin Argetoianu claimed that no less than nine regions should operate in Romania. Gh. Iancu, "Unificarea legislativă. Sistemul administrativ al României (1919-1939)," in *Dezvoltare și modernizare în România interbelică 1919-1939*, eds. Vasile Pușcaș, Vasile Vesa, București: Editura politică, 1988, p. 60.

Moga, David Prodan and others are relevant in this regard. In this context, the most representative work is, in our opinion, the one authored by Gheorghe I. Brătianu.<sup>91</sup> This was written in a new, modern manner, consistent with that of the *Annales* School, which exerted a positive influence on the Romanian historian.<sup>92</sup> Brătianu was a precursor of the Braudelian writings on the relations between territory-economy-the sea.

In the sphere of sociology, the initiatives and achievements of Dimitrie Gusti's School remain definitively associated with social research of monographic import. The Romanian Social Institute, the journal *Arhiva pentru știință și reformă socială* [*The Archive for Science and Social Reform*], and the numerous edited works, among which *Enciclopedia României* [*The Encyclopaedia of Romania*], published in four volumes, stands out, carried out a comprehensive and systematic territorial research program and imposed the *monographic method* in researches on the localities of Romania. Their thematic range was complex and their investigative methods and techniques were inter-, trans-, multi- and pluridisciplinary.<sup>93</sup> This is how a rich social scholarship was produced, including more or less thoroughly developed studies on regional economic history.

In the area of economics and economic education,<sup>94</sup> the main issues that were addressed were those relating to the character of the Romanian economy, the link between natural resources and development programs, the role and importance of the State in economic life, the interdependence of economic branches, the role of cooperatives in economic and social activity, the relations between the social and the economic and between the economic and the political spheres, the efficiency of democracy and its manner of operation in relation to economic life, the ratio between domestic and foreign capital, the participation of various countries in regional-zonal, European and global economic circuits, and the weight of their individual contributions thereto.<sup>95</sup> As a contemporary and historical reality, regional economy was

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<sup>91</sup> Gheorghe I. Brătianu, *Marea Neagră. De la origini până la cucerirea otomană*, vol. I – II, ed., introductory study, notes and bibliography by Victor Spinei, București: Meridiane, 1988.

<sup>92</sup> Pompiliu Teodor, "Gheorghe I. Brătianu și spiritul "Analelor". Analogii, sincronisme și convergențe," in *Confluente istoriografice românești și europene. 90 de ani de la nașterea istoricului Gheorghe I. Brătianu*, pp. 25-46; Ioan Lumperdean, Marin Balog, "Școala Analelor franceze și istoria economiei. Unele considerații," in *The Convergence of Diversity. In honorem Prof. dr. Nicolae Păun*, Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2014, pp. 261-274.

<sup>93</sup> Miron Constantinescu, Ovidiu Bădina, Ernő Gall, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-102; Traian Herseni, *Sociologie. Teoria generală a vieții sociale*, pp. 214-226.

<sup>94</sup> *Pagini din istoria învățământului superior economic din România 1843-2013*, eds. Ioan Talpoș, Constantin Roșca, Nicolae Isidor, București: Editura ASE, 2013.

<sup>95</sup> M. Todosia, I. Saizu, *Cultură și economie (Puncte de vedere din perioada interbelică)*, Iași: Junimea, 1988.

legitimately included in the curricula of the Academy of High Commercial and Industrial Studies in Bucharest and in the analogous institution in Cluj. The most eloquent example is Alexandru Bărbat's doctoral thesis, entitled *Dezvoltarea și structura economică a Țării Oltului. Cu un plan de organizare* [*The Development and the Economic Structure of the Land of the Olt. Including an Organization Plan*]. Although less well known, this work represents, in our opinion, one of the few inter-war Romanian undertakings that can fit into what we call *regional economy* today. In fact, George Moroianu, Professor of Political Economy and Rector of the Academy in Cluj from 1929 to 1935, wrote in the preface to Bărbat's work about "the importance of research on the economic and social realities of the country's different regions, with a view to reaching, based on these studies, a Romanian point of view guiding the future evolution of our unified State and producing new synthesizing scholarly contributions to the science of political economy."<sup>96</sup> At the same time, endogenous local and regional realities were approached in syntheses of provincial history, as were, for example, the important works written by Victor Jinga.<sup>97</sup>

In the postwar period, socio-political and economic realities were reflected upon in historiography and the social sciences in Romania.<sup>98</sup> Inevitably, by way of contagion, they were also addressed in researches on regional economy and its history. Several defining elements should be mentioned here: *the ideologization of research; the oscillation between minimizing and maximizing economic regionalization; arguments grounded in a historical perspective on centralism and economic statism; the advocacy of exogenous (regions and rayons) and, after the return to județe, endogenous models of economic and territorial organization; the importance of economic development along territorial lines, etc.* Undoubtedly, all these generated an interesting scholarship (yearbooks, dictionaries, newsletters, statistics, monographs, etc. with a substantial amount of data, and represent valuable sources of information. In historical scholarship, there was a genuine avalanche of regional and local history, especially after the end of the so-called "obsessive decade" (the 1950s). The economy was researched also from these

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<sup>96</sup> G. Moroianu, "Prefață" in Alexandru Bărbat, *Dezvoltarea și structura economică a Țării Oltului. Cu un plan de organizare*, Cluj, 1938, p. IV.

<sup>97</sup> Victor Jinga, *Aspecte și tendințe în viața economică a Ardealului*, Cluj, 1934; Idem, *Problemele fundamentale ale Transilvaniei*, vol. I-II, Brașov, 1945. Victor Jinga is also the author of a theoretical text, with geo-economic and geopolitical overtones: *Problema spațiului în economia politică*, Brașov, 1944. Victor Jinga was also the supervisor of an interesting PhD thesis on regional geoeconomy. See Augustin Tătaru, *Colaborarea economică în Bazinul dunărean*, Cluj, 1938.

<sup>98</sup> Mihail Roller, *Studii și note științifice privind istoria României*, București: Editura de Stat pentru literatura politică, 1956; Stan Stoica, "Evoluția istoriografiei (1948-1989)," in *Istoria românilor*, ed. Dinu C. Giurescu, București: Editura Enciclopedică, 2013, pp. 1034-1044.



perspectives, but in a descriptive, less analytical manner. At a time when in other cultural spaces historical-economic territoriality was regarded from the vantage point of West-European and North-American researches,<sup>99</sup> Romanian economic historiography remained traditional, with relatively tentative approaches to this problem, even though several significant efforts were indeed made in this respect.

## 5. Research methodology and design.

Our brief foray into the sphere of researches on regional economic history has convinced us of the importance and topicality of this theme. We have noticed the fragility of approaches and, especially, the confusion that still persists in researches on *regional economic history* and in those on *historical geography* and *regional economy*. There are also gaps in the methodological universe of the topic. So far, only general works on scientific research methodology or works focusing on the research methodology of history, economics, geography, sociology, etc. have seen the light of print.<sup>100</sup> Walter Isard, who founded the discipline of regional studies in the 1950s, had the excellent idea of publishing shortly afterwards (1960, second edition 1962), together with his collaborators, a study on the methods of research and analysis in regional sciences.<sup>101</sup> We believe that an interface between these approaches and the findings of previous research on the subject of regional economic history can generate an

<sup>99</sup> Ioan Lumperdean, "Istoria economiei regionale: diagnoza și metodologia cercetării," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie 'George Barițiu' din Cluj Napoca*, tom LIV, 2015, pp. 83-87.

<sup>100</sup> Michel Beaud, *L'art de la thèse. Comment préparer et rédiger un mémoire de master, une thèse de doctorat ou tout autre travail universitaire à l'ère du Net*, Paris, Éditions La Découverte, 2006; Iosif Marin Balog, "Istoria economică – ipostaze, paradigmă, destin", in, *Economie și Istorie. Dialog și interdisciplinaritate. In onoare prof. univ. dr. Ioan Lumperdean la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani*, (eds: Dana Bako, Iosif Marin Balog, Rudolf Grăf, Răzvan V. Mustăță, Academia Română/Centrul de Studii Transilvane: Cluj-Napoca, 2015, p. 243-268; Madeleine Grawitz, *Méthodes des sciences sociales*, Paris: Editura Dalloz, 1993; Guy Thuillerd, Jean Tulard, *La méthode en histoire*, Paris, 1986; Septimiu Chelcea, *Metodologia cercetării sociologice. Metode cantitative și calitative*, București: Editura Economică, 2007; Victor Jupp, *Dicționar al metodelor de cercetare socială*, Iași: Editura Polirom, 2010; Ronald F. King, *Strategia cercetării. Treisprezece cursuri despre științele sociale*, Iași: Editura Polirom, 2000; Constantin Popescu, Dumitru Ciucur, Gheorghe Răboacă, Daniela Iovan, *Metodologia cercetării științifice economice*, București: Editura ASE, 2006; Witold Kula, *The Problems and Methods of Economic History*, 2001; Jerzy Topolski, *op. cit.*, passim.

<sup>101</sup> Walter Isard in association with David F. Bramhall, Gerald A. P. Carrothers, John H. Cumberland, Leon N. Moses, Eugene W. Schooler, *Methods of Regional Analysis: An Introduction to Regional Science*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Technology Press Books, 1962.

evocative image, providing us with manifold relevant insights on the trajectories of these scientific approaches. In our opinion, these are:<sup>102</sup>

5.1. *Supporting the theme with arguments*, derived from the research spheres of general, universal, European, national and regional-local history and economics. Local and regional history has, most of all in the field of economic life, *its own particularities and development rhythms*. These are inextricably linked to what happens in closer or more distant geographic spaces. The rationale for the importance of the theme should also emphasize the relations, connections and interferences that are born and exist between these spatial entities. Since past economic facts represent the basis underlying certain interpretations, strategies and decisions that have an impact on the present and the future of the economy, we should mention the prospective and projective nature of research on regional economic space. The arsenal of such introductory approaches will have to include references to the *theoretical and methodological framework* that serves as a background for radiographing regional economic history. A defining role, in this respect, is played by the notional-conceptual aspects proposed and used in research, to which must be added the spatial/temporal options and the sources (published and unpublished) of regional thematic analysis.

5.2. *Outlining the regional economic geographical area*, by capturing the economic, geographical, demographic, social, religious, political, ethnic elements, etc., which define, *to the extent possible*, the administrative, political, territorial and economic status of the territory or region that has come under the attention of the researcher. The syntagm *to the extent possible* is not fortuitous. In the long history of territoriality, many geographic entities (cities, municipalities, villages, regions, provinces, countries) have been subject to geographical and status fluidity, generated by exogenous and endogenous factors. In and for the period that the researcher aims to investigate, *differentiating criteria* are sometimes extremely complex and unstable. Let us refer to examples relating to the territorial status of Banat, Bukovina, Bessarabia or other European territories, which have fleetingly been incorporated, for longer or shorter periods of time, into various states or empires. In this situation, regions and provinces are subject to political, legislative, fiscal and administrative

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<sup>102</sup> We have presented our views on this subject before, in texts published either individually or together with our colleague Rudolf Gräf, as part of our scientific obligations under various research grants: *The rural-urban relationship in the process of Transylvania's modernization 1850-1914*, project PN-II-ID-PCE-2008-2405, grant director Prof. Ioan Lumperdean, PhD, and *Regional economy and community identity in Transylvania, Highland Banat and Bukovina 1800-1914*, PN-II-ID-PCE-2011-0305, grant director Prof. Rudolf Gräf, PhD.

instruments that develop/impose economic activities which maintain or modify the productive and commercial systems, or the relation between the *centre* and the *periphery*. In configuring a *regional geographical area*, some authors choose the *historical tradition*. This *preserves* social and economic forces related to the past economy, represented by concentric regional circles, which are restrictive and inflexible. Of the many examples that we could invoke here, it would suffice to recall the reluctance to modernize the territorial infrastructure of Transylvania by way of introducing “iron roads”<sup>103</sup> or the stark defence of the outdated, albeit privileged system of guilds up until 1872.<sup>104</sup>

Any anthropic or natural geographical (re)configuration generates, either inside or in its proximity, micro-regions and/or subdivisions whose relations may be of cohabitation, coexistence and cooperation. At the same time, these entities can develop tensions and economic and institutional disparities, local and regional disputes and competition. During and after the period of Austro-Hungarian dualism (1867-1918), such situations were quite visible.<sup>105</sup> The new political architecture did not lead to reducing the differences/disparities that existed in relation to the Western provinces and/or the hereditary countries of the Habsburg Empire. The eastern territories remained relatively retrograde, at the edges of Central Europe, being positioned, as Fernand Braudel said, in the area of *marginal* or *peripheral economy*,<sup>106</sup> and Austro-Hungarian dualism was unable to surmount this reality, even though significant advances were made in the realm of economic life.<sup>107</sup> Moreover, the two capitals, Vienna and Budapest, developed, within their geographical span, areas of regional economic activity and influence. The *hinterland* of Vienna, in existence from before 1867, stretched all the way to Bohemia, forming the

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<sup>103</sup> Ioan Lumperdean, Rudolf Gräf, Thomas Nægler, “Economie și structuri sociale”, in *Istoria Transilvaniei*, eds. Ioan-Aurel Pop, Thomas Nægler, Magyari András, vol. III, pp. 508-509 and 521-522; Ilie Popescu, *Căi ferate transporturi clasice și moderne*, București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1987, pp. 77-92; Marin Balog, *Dilemele modernizării. Economie și societate în Transilvania 1850-1875*, Cluj-Napoca: International Book Acces, 2007, pp. 240-258.

<sup>104</sup> Ioan Lumperdean, Rudolf Gräf, Thomas Nægler, *op. cit.*, p. 516. The Law of 1872 was preceded by a series of measures adopted by the authorities and contested or eschewed by the guilds.

<sup>105</sup> Ioan Lumperdean, Rudolf Gräf, “Dualismul austro-ungar: realități, disparități și asperități economice. Unele considerații,” in *Călător prin istorie. Omagiu profesorului Liviu Maior la împlinirea vârstei de 70 de ani* eds. Ioan Aurel Pop, Ioan Bolovan, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2010, pp. 149-166.

<sup>106</sup> Fernand Braudel, *Timpul lumii*, vol. I, p. 39.

<sup>107</sup> For a relevant analysis of the historiography on the economy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, see Iosif Marin Balog, *Dilemele modernizării. Economie și societate în Transilvania 1850-1875*, Cluj-Napoca, 2007, pp. 49-56.

most powerful industrial pole of the monarchy, particularly as regards the heavy industry: the iron and steel industry, mining, machinery and heavy equipment construction, etc. The *hinterland* of Budapest developed mostly after the city acquired the status of a capital. It comprised the peri-urban and contiguous areas, relying on agricultural economy and the raw materials it provided. That is why this area fostered the development of agricultural machinery industry, construction materials, wood processing, milling and bread baking,<sup>108</sup> alcohol production, the textile and food industries, etc. This clearly shows that *economic regionality* develops in line with natural and human resources, investment activities, central and local economic policies, markets, commercial thoroughfares, etc. Added to these, and sometimes in congruence with or outside them, various political, military and diplomatic events at continental and world level, produced significant territorial consequences. Mankind has experienced such situations from antiquity to this day.

Another problem that researchers may face in their forays into regional economic history is linked to the information offered by historical sources about the status, throughout time, of some regions, territories and settlements. For example, in the case of Transylvania or the provinces/regions that were adjacent to it or situated in its geographical proximity, sources were imprecise and opinions diverged.<sup>109</sup> Medieval political and administrative concepts did not have the same clarity as modern ones, and the alternation or cohabitation of certain terms: *kingdom*, *country*, *voivodate*, *principality*, *province* or *region*, applied to the intra-Carpathian area, was perpetuated, in more or less justified manner, up until the modern period. At the same time, *regions* and *regionalities* gained shape inside them, generated by the “progress of history,” by administrative-territorial organizations and reorganizations, by the economic, social, military, ecclesiastical changes, etc. of some administrative, judicial and fiscal entities pertaining to local and regional structures: counties, districts, circles, regiments, lands, seats, etc. There are ambiguities also as regards other provinces and regions that, by way of historical tradition or administrative decisions, belonged to the intra-Carpathian area or Banat, Crișana, Sătmăr and Maramureș. These ambiguities are difficult to overcome and eliminate. What may, however, lead to knowledge on regional spatiality is the option for some *benchmarks*, be they *conventional*, on condition they are reasonable and consonant with past and present realities, especially since such benchmarks have been

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<sup>108</sup> In the second half of the 19th century, Budapest was the biggest milling centre in Europe and the second biggest in the world, after St. Paul in Minneapolis. See William M. Johnston, *Spiritul Vienei. O istorie intelectuală și socială 1848-1938*, Iași: Editura Polirom, 2000, p. 362.

<sup>109</sup> Ioan Aurel Pop, *Din mâinile vlahilor schismatici. Românii și puterea în Regatul Ungariei (secolele XIII-XIV)*, București: Editura Litera, 2011, pp. 4-6.

operated with in the field of *regional sciences*.<sup>110</sup> They can offer us interesting, but certainly not definitive answers about what a *regional economic system* or *typology* entails.<sup>111</sup> Of course, establishing the geographical boundaries of one economic region or another and attempting “arbitrary classifications”<sup>112</sup> in the presentation of uniform entities from a geographical, physical, economic and human perspective are difficult to accomplish and fraught with many question marks.

5.3. *Reconstituting the economic potential of a region*, from one period or another, by identifying its *natural, human and material resources*. By cumulating the three factors, we can reconstitute the *regional wealth* accrued as an evolutionary vector of economic growth and development. By applying models and methodologies of quantifying *regional economic potential*, historical reconstruction may contribute to highlighting the ways of enhancing this wealth and implementing economic policies and activities with a high degree of micro- and macro-economic efficiency and profitability. Natural resources: land, forests, plains, pastures, waters, minerals and many others have a special position in the space of the local and regional economies. Their capitalization was done according to human needs, investment opportunities and consumerist availabilities. The factors of production and the history of economic agents are equally important in explaining regional economic developments and realities. They can be illustrated with the technical and productive potential of various regions, which have become points of reference in the past and present economic architecture. Suffice it to recall the companies Bata and Skoda in the Habsburg Empire, which exerted a decisive influence in Bohemia, by attracting into their orbit some small to medium artisanal and craft units,<sup>113</sup> or the Krupp company in Essen,<sup>114</sup> which contributed to an unprecedented development of the Ruhr area. The examples could continue with other companies that participated directly in the formation of the first *modern industrial regions and cities*, as they were those of Liverpool and Manchester (U.K.) or Chicago and Detroit (U.S.), etc. Ever since the industrial revolution, these cities and regions have been an active presence in the economies of these countries, as well as in the global economy.<sup>115</sup> We can say that the Banat region, under the influence of StEG, falls within the regional economic – and, in this case, industrial – system and

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<sup>110</sup> Radu Cristian Barna, *op. cit.*, p. 12-27; Miklós Bakk, Cosmin Marian, “Construcția regională în Europa,” in *Politicile regionale în România*, ed. Miklós Bakk, Jozsef Benedek, Iași: Editura Polirom, 2010, pp. 15-44.

<sup>111</sup> Benko, Georges, *La science régionale*, Paris: PUF, 1998, pp. 15-16.

<sup>112</sup> Lucien Febvre, Lionel Batalion, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

<sup>113</sup> Jean-Paul Bled, *Franz-Joseph*, București: Editura Trei, 2002, p. 579.

<sup>114</sup> William Manchester, *Armele lui Krupp*, București: Editura politică, 1973, pp. 180-244.

<sup>115</sup> Ioan Lumperdean, Mihaela Salanță and Rudolf Gräf, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-161.

typology, specific to the regions that are homogeneous, to some extent, thanks to the activities carried out and preserved over the years. Research into the field of regional economic history becomes thus active and pragmatic, with multiple openings towards social economy, productive economy, the economy of trade, transportation and services.

5.4. *Estimating the demographic potential of the region* is situated in the extension of the economic potential. In reality, we cannot draw a clear separating line between the two components of the economy. We opted for this methodological approach for the purpose of individualizing human resources or *human capital*, to use the expression of Gary S. Becker, the Nobel Prize laureate for Economics. Human capital enhances all natural and productive resources and ensures the configuration and development of regional economy, through productivity, production and entrepreneurial initiative. As a result, research on demographic history and social history is compulsory in addressing regional economic paths. Through them, we can retrace relevant socio-demographic phenomena concerning the *relation* between: territory, natural resources, human resources and economic activities. Within the perimeter of this relationship, we may also detect and explain the behavioural aspects of consumers in the cultural and educational space. Such approaches in the field of regional economic history endorse the active and pragmatic nature of research, because depending on its population number and dynamics, consumerist options and educational opportunities, a region can be deemed to belong to a more or a less attractive regional economy.

5.5. *Analysing a territorial economic structure from a historical perspective* ensures the spatial reconstitution of regional economic realities. The introduction of railways, the modernization of road networks and means of communication as a result of the industrial revolution changed the territorial economic structure of localities, regions and provinces on all continents. Territorial reconfiguration imposes new habitats, the expansion or regression of some localities and regions, urban planning, leisure areas, heritage buildings, as well as cultural, health and education-related spaces. All have been highlighted and exploited through projects that have proved more or less viable, more or less hindered by obscure interests and corruption. A parallel between the territorial realities of the past and those of today will reveal the similarities between the Stroussberg case in Romania<sup>116</sup> and the fraud committed in the building of railways in Transylvania, on the Oradea-Braşov segment.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Anastasie Iordache, *Sub zodia Strousberg. Viaţa politică din România între 1871-1878*. Bucureşti: Editura Globus, 1991, pp. 184-199.

<sup>117</sup> Marin Balog, "Criza economică din 1873. Manifestarea şi percepţia ei în economia şi societatea transilvană," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie G. Bariţiu din Cluj-Napoca*, tome L, 2011, pp. 59-61.

A useful source for reconstituting a territorial economic structure, in this sense, consists of historical and economic atlases and albums, works of cartography or the maps that accompany texts on history, economic history and geography, economy, etc. Sometimes these texts have been and can be supplemented with pictures and period prints. Such a work was published by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Cluj<sup>118</sup> in 1927. Another is the one recently signed by Volker Wollmann.<sup>119</sup> Lately, such reproductions have appeared on numerous websites. An important role in analysing territorial economic structures is played by the knowledge of systems and forms of ownership: public, private, land, industrial, banking, individual, associative, cooperative, rural, urban, etc. Each of these has generated economic activities and realities with a certain degree of regional specificity. Of the many examples we could resort to, we have chosen the one referring to associative ownership in the Transylvanian guilds, which generated, among their associated members, a certain regional-urban economic behaviour, with economic, social, defence and mutual help goals and interests, based on professional solidarity, a productive and commercial monopoly, a competitive spirit and entrepreneurial initiative.

5.6. *The focus of research on the history of sectoral economy.* A region can be *mono-* or *multi-economic*. Regional economic specificity can be maintained for a long time, but it can also disappear or change depending on geo-economic and geopolitical developments, natural resources and human interests and needs. It is more than obvious that the rapports and positions of some of the economic branches and sub-branches have changed along regional lines too, for instance, with the major geographical discoveries or the fall of the totalitarian, Nazi-Fascist or communist regimes, with the demise or restriction of various mining or agricultural exploitations, etc.

5.7. *Regional economic continuities versus discontinuities* can be identified for some regional entities through an inventory of the existing, preserved, developed, transformed or adapted elements, but also of those that have been abandoned, in keeping with the market impulses, the economic realities, the social and natural resources, etc. We should not exclude comparative regional economic analyses, qualitative and quantitative approaches from the sphere of regional economy, cyclical evolutions or the Braudelian temporal rhythms. This is all the more so since every geographical area, region or province has its own social, demographic economic specificity, determined by its natural conditions, its climate and its soil, its traditions and mentalities, its trained human capital, investment interests, etc.

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<sup>118</sup> \*\*\* *Industria și bogățiile naturale din Ardeal și Banat*, Cluj: Tipografia "Cartea Românească S. A., 1927.

<sup>119</sup> Volker Wollmann, *Patrimoniul preindustrial și industrial în România*, vol. I-IV, Sibiu: Editura Honterius, 2010-2014.

5.8. *Capturing some aspects of everyday regional life*, particularly the mental frameworks generated by economic and technical changes, such as the introduction of electricity, the telegraph, the telephone, the development of railway and road networks, the continuity, decline and replacement of some economic activities, the shift from a subsistence economy to a market economy and others. In all these situations, researchers on regional economic history should turn their attention to the information provided by other socio-human disciplines.

5.9. *The connection between central economic policies and regional realities*. The analysis of regional economic policies cannot bypass the facts and phenomena generated by national or community political decisions, in the case of Europe, or those made by other institutions and bodies with a universal, zonal or regional vocation. Along history, these decisions have created continuities and discontinuities at the level of the micro-, macro- and Euro-economic policies and activities, which exerted a direct impact on urban and regional spaces. Compliance with, circumvention of or resistance against these decisions are topics that should interest researchers.

5.10. *The relation between rural economy, urban economy and regional economy*. Settlements (villages, communes and towns) and regions are territorial entities and forms of habitat, communal life and economic activity. Regional studies and research have granted increasing attention to these issues. In as early as 1910, Pierre Vidal de La Blanche, one of the founding figures of human geography, proposed conducting an analysis of regional developments through the prism of urban developments.<sup>120</sup> An entire host of specialists, historians, geographers, demographers, economists, sociologists, etc., have attempted to bring arguments *for* or *against* this idea.<sup>121</sup> An answer cannot be found easily or in unison, but history or the contemporary urban reality tells us about the role of certain urban settlements in generating functional regional structures, which have proved attractive for the population, the natural and the business environments, economic and cultural activities, etc. For our analysis, it is sufficient to recall that in the second half of the 19th century, various urban settlements in Transylvania: Braşov, Sibiu, Cluj, Arad, Oradea, Reşiţa, Timişoara, Turda, Câmpia Turzii, etc., were centres with a *regional vocation and openness*, supporting sustainable economic activities and projects. There are many arguments that can be invoked in support of this statement, but suffice it to recall the building of railroads and/or water adduction pipes, sanitation and/or the construction of the first gas pipelines along the segment Sărmăşel-

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<sup>120</sup> P. Vidal de La Blanche, *Principes de géographie humaine*, Paris: Armand Colin, 1975, p. 38.

<sup>121</sup> Mary E. Edwards, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-17.



Câmpia Turzii-Turda. The connections between rural and urban areas have supported, on the one hand, the intraurban or intrarural space and, on the other hand, the links between villages and towns, between the rural and the urban environments in a regional economic system. We should also not lose sight of the whole constellation of settlements that have drawn closer together and developed on the basis of a specific type of regional economic solidarity. A research model applied to the Transylvanian space, focusing on the configuration and regional influence of an urban-industrial economy, can be encountered in a recent study on the “Wire Industry” in Câmpia Turzii.<sup>122</sup>

## 6. Some conclusions.

The issues presented above are a mere *introduction* to the complex and complicated problem of regional economy, seen through the lenses of the economic past and present. Of course, this research can be expanded and improved. We have expounded on some problems that have gained contour in our previous research and investigations. A more comprehensive approach could bring into discussion also other aspects related to the activity and functionality of regional economy, seen from an economic, demographic, habitation, educational, ecological point of view, etc. An exploration of the regional past can enable us to understand more easily today's and tomorrow's challenges of spatial, rural, urban and regional civilization and economy.<sup>123</sup> We believe that such researches must be carried out in teams, over longer periods of time, in institutionalized forms, attempting to stay connected and be consonant with major European and international centres that have similar interests and concerns. The initiation and development of such Romanian bodies represents a civic obligation.

## -Abstract-

*The study aims to analyze main concepts related to regional economic history in terms of conceptual, methodological and analytical. The author explains how has been shaped and defined over time a number of concepts such as region, regionalism, regionalist, regionalization and its connected semantic groups: administrative region, economic area, industrial area, agricultural area, urban area, development region, the developed region, underdeveloped region, tourist region, ethnographic region, regional economy, regional geography etc.*

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<sup>122</sup> Vasile Filip Soporan, *Destine și oțel în spațiul transilvan al perioadei interbelice*, Cluj-Napoca: Editura Casa Cărții de Știință, 2011.

<sup>123</sup> For an extensive treatment, see Mary E. Edwards, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

*The second part of the study relates to the concept of regional economic history; the author's conclusion is that the history of the regional economy is an economic territorial reality, as well as, a component of historical and economic sciences, which reconstructs this spatial reality, natural or anthropogenic constituted. In terms of research methodology of regional economy, the author proposes an analytical structure which in his view, should include at least the following: regional geographical and economic configuration; reconstruction of the economic potential of the region, in a period or other; identifying natural resources, human and material; estimation of demographic potential of the region; focusing research on sectorial economic history; continuity versus discontinuity regional economic; capturing regional aspects of everyday life; the connection between economic power and regional realities; relationship between rural and urban economy at regional level.*

**Keywords:** region, regionalism, regional economy, history of regional economy, regional research methodology.

# **The Price of Gold. Regional Economy, Society and Modernization of the “Auriferous Quadrilateral” in the Apuseni Mountains 1800-1914\***

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## **1. Theoretical and methodological considerations\*\*.**

Although the region – as a unit of analysis in economic history – has not always been taken into account with sufficient determination and conviction, the need for analyses conducted at a regional level is often felt with increasing urgency whenever discussions focus on a region that is assumed to be backward, to be undergoing decline or, simply, to be different from a larger territorial entity or from other neighbouring regions. In their approaches to socio-economic phenomena in Western or Eastern Europe, historians have accepted and demonstrated the fact that industrialization was, above all, a regional process and that the so-called concept of “industrial revolution” refers to a cumulative phenomenon, comprising the industrialization of various regions.<sup>1</sup> In

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\* This study was conducted as part of the project CNCS – UEFISCDI, project code PN-II-ID-PCE-2011-3-0305. *Economie regională și dezvoltare comunitară în Transilvania, Banatul Montan și Bucovina în secolul 19 (1800-1914) - Regional Economy and Community Development in Transylvania, Highland Banat and Bucovina in the 19th Century (1800-1914).*

\*\* An abridged version of this study appeared in German in the journal *Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur. Mit Geographie. Themenheft: Historische Regionen der östlichen Habsburgermonarchie im Vergleich. Strukturwandel und Modernisierung in Siebenbürgen und der Bukowina*, Wien, 2013.

<sup>1</sup> See, in this sense, the older or the more recent debates in international historiography: Harvey S. Perloff, Edgar S. Dum (ed.), *Regions, Resources and Economic Growth*,

older or newer studies on economic and social history, the economic integration of regions within larger complexes has been regarded as the main premise of modern economic growth and, why not, as the main engine behind the fulfilment of the political projects of the emerging nation-states in the 19th century. How did those “enclaves of modernization” expand? Why were other areas left out of this process? How sustainable and durable was the process of regional modernization and development? Here are just a few general questions which are essential for such an endeavour.<sup>2</sup>

Beyond the general aspects of such preliminary interrogations, a study of regional economic history is bound to undertake a series of classifications and conceptual definitions in attempting to provide a satisfactory answer to the question: how do we define a region? Although a region can be relatively clearly and precisely delineated or defined in geographical terms, a definition from a socio-economic perspective is much more difficult to arrive at. First of all, the premise that we must start from is that regional specificity is shaped internally, through the articulation of economic and social relations that are based primarily on available sources and on the local needs of the individual, the neighbourhood and the community. These socio-economic relations expand and then interact with similar systems, a process that is achieved through ever more complex mechanisms, which are nonetheless similar in a given geographical area.

The establishment and development of socio-economic ties between the communities of a region and the emergence of intra- and extra-regional commercial relations represent the fundamental elements that provide the necessary coherence and contribute to the homogenization of these processes which, seen from outside, outline the specificity of a region. In this light, the region appears to be placed inside a network with multiple levels of identification between the smaller entities and the larger communities, the

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Baltimore, 1960; Walter Isard, *Methods of Regional Analysis*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960; L. Needelman (ed.), *Regional Analysis. Selected Readings*, Harmondsworth, 1968; Rainer Fremdling, Richard Tilly (Hrsg.), *Industrialisierung und Raum*, Stuttgart, 1979, S. 9-26; Sidney Pollard (Hrsg.), *Region und Industrialisierung*, Vadenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1980; more recently: Christian Korunka, Roman Sandgruber (Hrsg.), *Regionales Wirtschaften. Eine Chance für Lebensmittelunternehmen*, Wien, 2010.

<sup>2</sup> On the debates around these issues in international historiography, see, among others, P. K. O'Brien, “Do We Have a Typology for the Study of European Industrialization in the 19th Century?,” in *Journal of European Economic History*, vol. 15, Fall 1986, pp. 291-334; J. D. Marshall, “Why study regions? Some historical considerations,” in *The Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1, Spring 1986, pp. 1-12; J. G. Williamson, “Regional Inequality and the Process of National Development,” in *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, July 1965; R. Knunke, “Trade and Politics of the Zollverein Era,” in *Journal of Economic History*, Spring, 1978, pp. 307-sqq.

latter being, in turn, circumscribed by even larger entities, at the level of the province or of the country.

In defining a region from an economic viewpoint, it is necessary to identify the types of activities that grant that region its specific character, such as its socio-economic profile or many other aspects, the most important of these being the availability of resources that can help it reach its development potential. It is also important to identify those urban centres that represent the focal points around which economic activities are revolving in the area, as well as to understand how and on what basis these centres of attraction are formed. This brings us to a functionalist methodological option which, in our opinion, can ensure a satisfactory explanatory potential for the problem of regional economic development within a complex of known factors. On the other hand, it is also necessary to determine how sustainable and durable is the development triggered by a particular group of economic factors, both in regions with a diversity of resources and with economic potential and in regions in which a restricted set or even a single type of resources is available. It is also very important to establish to what extent the availability of a single category of resources can be seen as the guarantee of a safe, sustainable and durable development.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, industrialization leads to complex intra- and extra-regional relations, predicated not only on material, but also on human resources, on technology, know-how and capital, as well as on institutional factors, such as state policies. Adjacent factors, including the historical, geographical, anthropological and demographic conditions, should also be taken into account.<sup>4</sup> In this context, the role of the State should be analysed keeping in mind that it tends to be different from one region to another, even in the context of apparently consistent and uniform economic policies. Whether it resorted to general or specific mechanisms for one region or another, state interventionism had a tremendous impact in the 19th century, especially in the Central and East European states. Let us mention only the fact that in underdeveloped peripheral regions, it was crucial for the State to support and build a modern transportation infrastructure. When a region depended on the interest and the capacity of the State to connect it to the economic circuits through railroads, for instance, or when this was done inappropriately, with little regard for the regional options or with a delayed acknowledgement of these options, the chances of that region developing

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<sup>3</sup> See the introductory considerations proposed by S. Pollard in *Region und Industrialisierung*, Vadenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1980, pp. 11-21.

<sup>4</sup> Barry Supple, "The State and the Industrial Revolution," in *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, Carlo M. Cipolla (ed.), London: Collins Fontana Books, 1973, p. 303 sqq.

economically were severely diminished and competitive advantages were squandered most of the times through “wasted opportunities.” The capital, the workforce and the technology could not afford to wait for political decisions to be reached, as even in the past they were, naturally, on a continuous search for favourable placements.

Another aspect that should be mentioned in these introductory considerations concerns those regions whose development is based on a single category of natural resources. This invariably leads to a narrower range of economic activities and often to a valorization of these resources that does not bring too much added value locally. In these cases, the study of the relationship between natural resources and regional economic development has been the subject of numerous polemics among researchers.

In the international historiography on this issue, there are many approaches that advance two important categories of conclusions. Thus, some historians argue that the availability of natural resources can be an important catalyst for economic growth in a region,<sup>5</sup> while others argue that such a situation produces nothing but economic dependency and ephemeral, superficial and unhealthy development.<sup>6</sup> In between these two visions, one of which is optimistic and the other is profoundly pessimistic, there are, of course, approaches that propose a dialectic position, which takes into account a much wider range of particular aspects for each studied case, including both the favourable conditions and the factors that can distort the intended effects.<sup>7</sup> The case of regions based on the abundance of a single type of natural resources has generated numerous debates among scholars in this field. These debates started from the realization that, throughout history, there have been very few cases in which such regions experienced a sustainable and healthy process of economic growth and development. In this context, economic historians, among others, have attempted to explain why regions that are rich in natural resources tend to undergo, most often than not, a process of slow economic growth, a development that tends to be inversely proportional to the abundance of natural resources.<sup>8</sup> First of all, it was found that industries based

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<sup>5</sup> See W. A. Mackintosh, *The Economic Background of Dominion-Provincial Relations*, Toronto, 1964.

<sup>6</sup> For a classical approach, resumed by the advocates of the dependency theory, see H. A. Innis. *The fur trade in Canada. An introduction to Canadian economic history*, Toronto Univ. Press, 1956.

<sup>7</sup> Charles Harvey, Peter Taylor, “Mineral Wealth and Economic Development. Foreign Direct Investments in Spain (1851-1913),” in *Economic History Review*, vol. 40, no. 2, 1987, pp. 185-207.

<sup>8</sup> Thorvaldur Gylfason, “Natural Resources, Education and Economic Development,” in *European Economic Review*, 45, 2001, pp. 847-859, available online at: <https://notendur.hi.is/gylfason/pdf/eer2001.pdf>

on the extraction and valorization of primary resources involve low-skilled labour, demand relatively little capital investment, without access to technology, and bring very few advantages to other industries. Moreover, the communities in these regions become blocked and tied down to those activities that give them a false sense of economic security, as long as they can earn their daily bread. This sense is then transmitted to the authorities, the administration and the bureaucratic system, which become ineffective and are often corrupt. Neglecting the need for economic diversification and for activities that can bring positive secondary, derivative effects is reflected in a lack of concern for the development of human resources, through the allocation of investments and expenditure on education. Thus, it is no coincidence that education, at all levels, tends to become inversely proportional to the abundance of natural resources and to the share of the labour force engaged in primary production.<sup>9</sup> From this point of view, the examples of the past show that a successful model of regional development is primarily based on the creation of derivatives that will lead to the articulation of more complex structures of activities and services which, in turn, will offer sustainable grounds for a sufficiently diversified social structure and, implicitly, for an entrepreneurial category that can also diversify the nature of economic activities.<sup>10</sup> What is equally important is the control over the migration of the resulting profits, the share in the distribution of benefits and, above all, the extent to which local structures are capable of retaining and valorising the revenues, of investing them rationally and intelligently. Analysing the case of 19th-century Spain, Charles Harvey and Peter Taylor have relativized the orthodox and somewhat simplistic vision of the relationship between natural resources and economic development. Focusing their discussion on a wide variety of factors that were specific to the case they have studied, these scholars acknowledge the fact that the foreign companies that made massive capital investments in Spanish mining in the second half of the 19th century brought a short-lived, relative welfare, which was, in any case, beneficial to these regions and their inhabitants, since thousands of workers employed in the mining industry had access to “comparatively well-paid and secure employment,” for they “otherwise would have competed with hundreds of

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<sup>9</sup> Ibidem. See also Jeffrey G. Williamson, “Regional Inequality and the Process of National Development: a Description of the Patterns,” in *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, vol. 13, no. 4, part 2, 1965, pp. 1-84.

<sup>10</sup> A. O. Hirschman, “A generalized linkage approach to Development,” in *Essays in Trespassing, Economics, Politics and Beyond*, Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp. 59-98; see also the dialectical perspective proposed by Thomas Gouton, “Natural Resource and Regional Development. An Assessment of Dependency and Comparative Advantage Paradigms,” in *Economic Geography*, vol. 79, no. 1, 2003, pp. 67-94.

thousands of others to scrape a meagre existence from the land” in the region.<sup>11</sup> Harvey and Taylor also highlight a reality that can certainly be extended to other case studies, namely that domestic capital could, to a certain extent, have valorized the local resources, but given the low level of productivity, wages and profits, it would not have been able to produce beneficial effects on a broader level. Clearly, studies have reached the conclusion that in the regions where economic activities rely primarily on one category of resources, the “trap of resources must be avoided,” for otherwise the local economy risks staying dependent on a limited basis.

It should be noted that, from the perspective of historical analysis, it is difficult to extrapolate the specific concepts of regional studies to an investigation in the field of economic and social history, due to the inconsistency and precarious nature of the quantitative data and to their lack of continuity. The standard units with which researchers operate in studies on current or recent phenomena cannot be applied to the previous centuries. Consequently, continuity and change at a regional level, seen through the lenses of the past, in the medium and long durée, can only be studied by recourse to categories of hypotheses that are supported by direct and indirect historical sources, which must be clear and credible. Above all, it is necessary to validate the hypotheses through as many case studies as possible. From this point of view, what is particularly important for an analysis of regional economic history is the possibility of answering at least two questions: How can industrialization/modernization in a region be measured quantitatively and qualitatively? Why does a region become more developed than another and what kinds of interdependencies are established between various socio-economic regions at one time or another?

Experts who have studied these issues have grouped these hypotheses into two categories: direct hypotheses and derived hypotheses.<sup>12</sup> It should be noted that the direct hypotheses that can help clarify aspects concerning the degree and the pace of modernization/development in a region are also relative and that they differ from one case to another. First, research conducted from a historical point of view on regional modernization must take into account and analyse the place and share of a region on the general

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<sup>11</sup> Charles Harvey, Peter Taylor, “Mineral Wealth and Economic Development. Foreign Direct Investments in Spain (1851-1913),” in *Economic History Review*, vol. 40, no. 2, 1987, pp. 185-207.

<sup>12</sup> See Kieswetter, “Erklärungshypothesen zur regionalen Industrialisierung in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert”, in *Vierteljahrschrift für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 67, 1983, Heft 3, pp. 306-307; Alfred Heit, “Zwischen Gallia und Germania, Frankreich und Deutschland. Konstanz und Wandel raumbestimmender Kräfte,” *Trier historische Forschungen*, 12 (1987), pp. 11-27.



economic scale. Second, it is necessary to study the relations generated by regional economic developments and by transformations of the socio-demographic, anthropological, cultural and mentality structures, the causal relationship between them, the durability of these transformations, within a well-defined chronological segment, determined by certain economic activities in the region under examination.<sup>13</sup>

What is also essential for the type of economic growth and regional development is the structure of “imports and exports” into and out of the region, depending on the existing local natural resources. It is here that the great differences between various types of regions emerge. Thus, in the case under study – the auriferous regions of the Apuseni Mountains, extremely rich in just one type of raw material that also becomes a finished good with a very high value, produced at low costs, once this good is “exported” from the region, it leaves behind no added value other than the higher or lower wages that the workers cash out in various production stages. The phenomenon can be compared to speculative capital movements: these capitals are directed or migrate into another region where their rapid and safe investment is ensured in exchange for low costs, obtaining high profit rates and leaving no local added value with derivative effects for the benefit of the region. In the same way, the gold mined in the Apuseni Mountains could become, through its simple extraction and through primary gold ore processing, rapidly accumulated capital, which was swiftly dispatched into the safes of investors from outside the region or the state, without leaving behind enough added value in the form of profit for its actual producers, an added value from which the local community could then have created resources for its sustainable development and welfare growth.

In analysing the derived hypotheses and their impact on regional modernization, we should acknowledge the fact that although they were not conceived as policies with a specific regional target, some of the political-administrative measures adopted by the State had at least indirectly such an intention. We may include here the mercantilist policy measures that the Austrian State took in the 18th century in the area of the Apuseni Mountains, translating them into special measures for regional administrative organization, based on the creation of the fiscal and mining domains, with a set of specific advantages for the area:<sup>14</sup> direct investments made through State-owned

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<sup>13</sup> See, regarding this case, the partial conclusions I reached in the study “Efectele socio-economice ale mineritului în ‘Patrulaterul aurifer al Apusenilor’ în perioada 1850-1914,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie “George Barițiu.” Series Historica*. LII (2014), pp. 151-170.

<sup>14</sup> Schünemann Konrad, “Die Wirtschaftspolitik Josephs II. in der Zeit seiner Mitregentschaft,” in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Wien (1933), pp. 13-56.

companies (mines, smelteries, blast furnaces, other production capacities, erarial forests, which provided the wood necessary for its own activities, but also for individuals, etc.). To these were added the policies of successive colonization with skilled workers from other parts of the Empire. These measures clearly influenced the economy and the society at the local level in the 18th-19th centuries.

## **2. The regional economic area of the Apuseni Mountains in the 19th century (1800-1914). Specific features and development**

Ever since the 18th-19th centuries, geological scholarship had recorded the fact that the Apuseni Mountains represented the richest gold-field region of Europe. The travelogues and the geological maps compiled in the 18th-19th centuries by various specialists sent here by the Erarium pinpointed the existence of myriad locations with extremely rich gold ore deposits.<sup>15</sup>

Fratisek Pošpený, one of the Austrian geologists who studied and described this area in the middle of the 19th century, named it the “auriferous triangle of the Apuseni Mountains,” establishing a territorial delimitation of the areas with the richest deposits and the most numerous exploitations. This auriferous triangle was located by the above-mentioned geologist thus: “towards the North-West, it was marked by the village of Hălmagiu; to the North-East, by Baia de Arieș, and to the South by Săcărâmb.”<sup>16</sup> The name was quickly adopted in the scholarship of the time, but also in other categories of studies. Later, geologists who had thoroughly surveyed and mapped the area reached the conclusion that in reality this area with a concentration of rich and exploitable gold ore deposits was more extensive than originally believed. A territory of about 800 km<sup>2</sup> was thus circumscribed, comprising, at the end of the 19th century, over 77% of Transylvania’s total production of gold. According to Karl V. Papp<sup>17</sup> and, subsequently, to the German engineer Fr. Schumacher, the aforementioned region was shaped like an irregular quadrilateral, which stretched, in the “NE-SW direction, between Baia de Arieș to Căraci, then, from Căraci, along the S-E axis, to Săcărâmb, then again

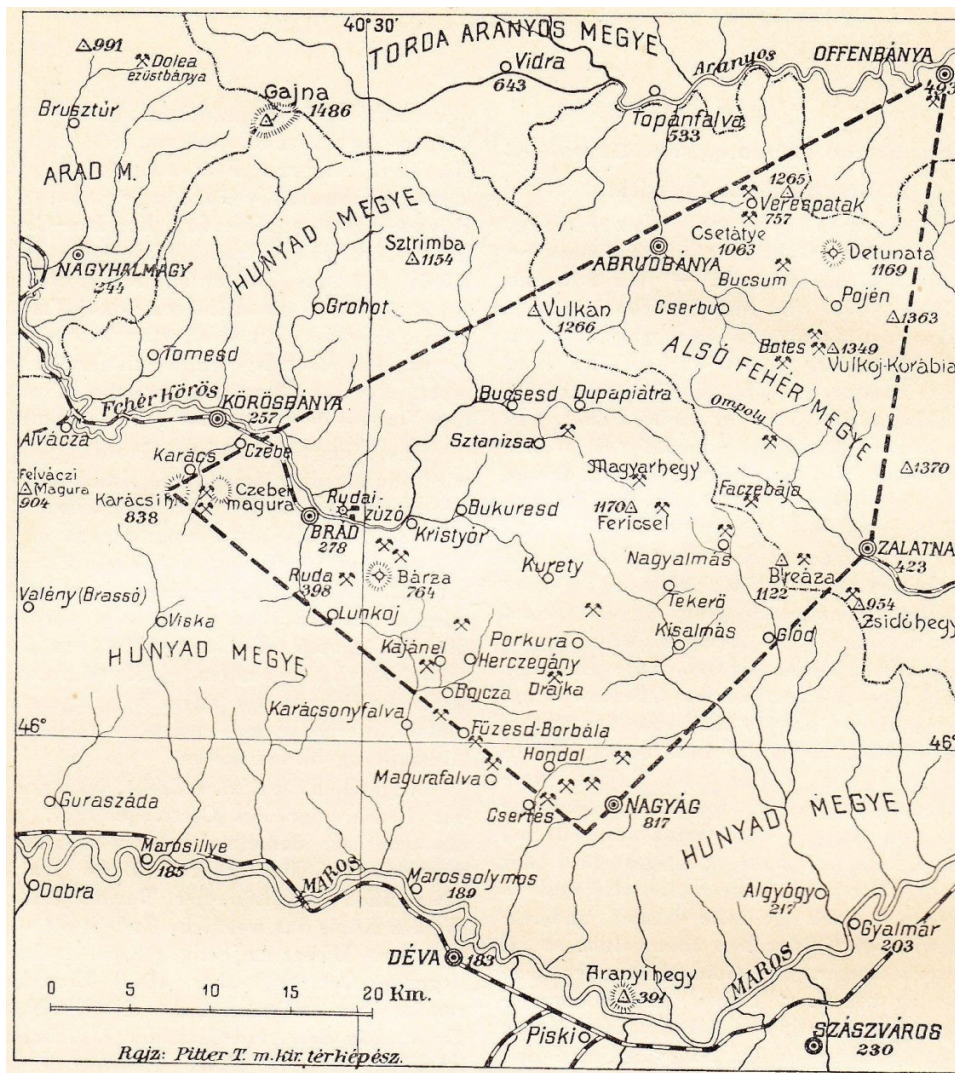
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<sup>15</sup> Edler Ignaz von Born, *Briefe über mineralogische Gegenstände auf seiner Reise durch das Temeswarer Banat, Siebenbürgen Ober- und Nider Ungarn*, Frankfurt u. Leipzig: Johann Jakob Ferber Verlag, 228 S. See also Johann Ehrenreich von Fichtel, *Mineralogische Bemerkungen von den Karpaten*, Wien: Joseph Edlen von Kurybeck k. k. Hofbuchdrucker, 2 Bände, 736 pp.

<sup>16</sup> František Pošpený, “Zur Geologie des siebenbürgischen Erzgebirges,” in *Jahrbuch der kaiserlich-königliche Geologischen Reichsanstalt*, 18, 1868, Wien, 1868, S. 56.

<sup>17</sup> Karl v. Papp, “Die Goldgruben von Karács und Czebe in Ungarn,” in *Zeitschrift für Praktische Geologie*, Wien, 1906, pp. 305-306.

towards the NE, including Zlatna and the other settlements back to the initial point of Baia de Aries.”<sup>18</sup> Incidentally, Fr. Schumacher also compiled a fairly detailed map of the mining sites in the region and, of course, of the most important localities.<sup>19</sup>



Source: Friederich Schumacher: *Die Golderzagerstätten und der Goldbergbau der Rudaer Zwölf Apostel Gewerkschaft zu Brád in Siebenbürgen*, Berlin 1912, p. 8.

<sup>18</sup> Friederich Schumacher, *Die Golderzagerstätten und der Goldbergbau der Rudaer Zwölf Apostel Gewerkschaft zu Brád in Siebenbürgen*, Berlin 1912, 106 p.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, p. 8.

There were, thus, 33 larger or smaller settlements, four of which had enjoyed, since the 18th century, the status of mining towns (*Bergstädte*), endowed with privileges during previous periods or after the installation of the Austrian administration in 1691.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, in the 18th century these urban or quasi-urban settlements had a special status, as regards both the fiscal system and mining laws. They were organized into the so-called mining domains (or districts), the most important of which were Abrud-Roșia Montană, Baia de Criș, Zlatna, Brad, Săcărâmb and Băița.

It goes without saying that the four small townlets in the region, known at that time as “the mining towns of Transylvania,” guided and influenced economic developments in the “auriferous quadrilateral of the Apuseni Mountains.” Given the geomorphological and geographical configuration of the region, these mining towns became “centres of attraction” for the surrounding villages, since economic life was based here primarily on gold mining and only to a lesser degree on traditional mountain agriculture, in which livelihood was supported by small, family-owned farmsteads. In the absence of modern transportation routes up until the end of the 19th century, the connections between these communities had to articulate themselves, in a fragmented manner, into small networks around those little towns, none of which had more than 5,000 inhabitants in the period studied. In addition to this, up until the end of the 19th century, the region’s economic ties with the other regions of Transylvania stayed within the century-old traditional frameworks, without experiencing profound changes. The most significant ties were, of course, those based on the exchange of goods. It is well known that the *moți* inhabitants (Motzen) travelled throughout Transylvania, receiving, in exchange for the products they made from wood (wooden pots, barrels, household utensils, even timber), cereals, potatoes and fruit necessary for their daily livelihood, given the poor local conditions for practising agriculture. In fact, even in the field of gold mining in the region, traditional techniques and production structures were not altered, except sporadically, until the end of the 19th century. These specific characteristics, analysed at the level of the socio-economic developments that took place “throughout the long 19th century: 1800-1914,” can provide relevant explanations about the process of regional modernization.

An attempt at identifying the stages in the evolution of mining in “auriferous quadrilateral of Transylvania” during the modern period reveals the existence of three distinct periods: a. 1745-1850; b. 1850-1885; c. 1885-1914.

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<sup>20</sup> See Gustav Gündisch, “Deutsche Bergwerksiedlungen in dem siebenbürgischen Erzgebirge,” in *Aus Geschichte und Kultur der Siebenbürger Sachsen. Ausgewählte Aufsätze und Berichte*, Köln- Weimar-Wien, 1987, p. 85 sqq.

This periodization has more of an orientative function, because it is impossible to establish strict chronological boundaries.

The first period of modern gold mining began in Transylvania in 1740-1750, when the region came into the attention of the Vienna authorities, who realized the economic potential of mining in Transylvania, not only in the field of gold and silver, but also in that of iron, copper, lead ores, etc., and started to reorganize these activities on new grounds. In Transylvania, gold mining was regulated on a legal basis that had been laid down in the Middle Ages: the Maximilian Mining Constitution from 1573, reconfirmed in 1703,<sup>21</sup> still in force in the mid-18th century, with a series of successive amendments that mainly concerned the reconfirmation of old privileges - both the collective privileges granted to various mining settlements, such as Abrud or Baia de Criș, and the individual privileges regarding the activities of gold mining and alluvial gold panning.

In the spirit of a mercantilist policy already enshrined throughout the whole Habsburg Empire, the activity of mining was supported in every way possible, both in the mines owned by the State (Erarium) and, especially, in the private sector that had a dominant share in Transylvania, providing most of the gold delivered to the exchange offices. Indeed, the revival of gold mining in the Apuseni Mountains was achieved after many decades of stagnation, thanks to the measures imposed by Empress Maria Theresa. To this end, she established a Mining Directorate for Transylvania, with the headquarters in Zlatna, which depended directly on the *Hof-Kommission in Münz und Bergwesen*.<sup>22</sup> Secondly, the State was involved in the development and construction of new collector lakes to ensure the water necessary for the operation of stamp mills, since there were the long periods throughout the year in which these stamp mills could not function because of the lack of water, negatively affecting the quantity of gold dispatched to the exchange offices. From an institutional

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<sup>21</sup> On mining laws in Transylvania during the modern period, see Cristoph Bartels, "Zum Bergrecht in Siebenbürgen," in Rainer Slotta, Volker Wollmann, Ioan Doredea, (Hrsg.) *Silber und Salz in Siebenbürgen*, (hereinafter: *Silber und Salz*), Band 1., *Einleitende Aufsätze, Gutachten, Reiseberichte und Katalog der Exponate*, Bochum, 1999, pp. 59-65. For the texts of the laws regulating Transylvanian mining, see Anton Schmidt, *Cronologisch-systematische Sammlung der Berggesetze der Königreich Ungarn, Croatien, Dalmatien, Slavonien und des Großfürstenthums Siebenbürgen*, Wien, 1834, vol. VI, pp. 161-167; vol. VII, pp. 96-105; 315-321; vol. XIII, pp. 319-340; for an concise analysis, see Ioan Doredea, "Aspecte din viața socială a lucrătorilor de la exploatarea Roșia Montană în secolul XIX," in *Revista Arhivelor*, 65, no. 1-2, 2003, pp. 232-237.

<sup>22</sup> For an extensive discussion on the measures adopted during the reign of Maria Theresa, see Tóth Zoltán, *Mișcările țărănești din Munții Apuseni până la 1848*, București: Editura Academiei, 1955, p. 79 sqq.

point of view, the Mining Tribunal, responsible for settling all disputes in the field with maximum efficiency, was moved from Abrud to Zlatna in 1746. The majority of the institutions that had to ensure the functioning and supervision of mining (the Mining Inspectorate, the main exchange office, the mercury shop) were, in fact, concentrated in this town. Particular attention was paid to the functioning of the exchange office in Abrud, which was constantly supplied by the Mint of Alba Iulia with sums of money necessary for the weekly acquisition of the precious metal. Furthermore, the Vienna authorities ordered the exchange office in Abrud to grant, if necessary, small sums to the mining peasants for the gold they delivered on other days than on Mondays, so that they could have the minimal revenue for their everyday needs. Vienna's principle of conduct as regards the gold mining conducted by private miners could be summed up in the phrase: "Work and pay me!" This maxim was also confirmed by a paragraph of the Mining Law of 1746, meant to reconfirm the old privileges and encourage gold mining: "Nobody may be oblivious to the fact that the freedom and protection under which people can live peacefully is the most effective remedy for the development and flourishing of metallurgy; let the officials learn then that they must properly protect and defend all miners in their liberties, privileges and immunities, which are of greatest benefit for the State."<sup>23</sup> In the same sense, the Vienna authorities considered that it was extremely important to encourage, in the long term, mining activities in the area of the Apuseni Mountains and to reconfirm the old individual and collective privileges of the miners. Since serf labour had an important share in agriculture and mining in Transylvania, including on the erarial domains from the area of the Apuseni Mountains, the State got involved, taking measures in favour of the mining serfs, who had to be protected from their feudal masters. The latter generally tried to always impose new obligations upon the serfs, both on those who worked mainly in agriculture and on those who, in theory, earned a living from mining and had no obligations to the agricultural landlords. It should be emphasized that up to 1848, serf labour played a significant part in the gold mining activities of the State. This aspect was regulated on several occasions, including by means of contracts of the Erarium with the local communities, under which they were bound to carry out mining-related activities, such as those involving the transportation of wood required for the foundries, road repair work and all other activities adjacent to mining. For example, the contract from 1789 established the labour obligations of the serfs from the mining domain of Zlatna. Its provisions remained in force for more than half a century, while the

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<sup>23</sup> Anton Schmidt, *Cronologisch-systematische Sammlung*. . . , vol. VII, p. 116; also cited in Tóth Zoltán, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

constraints of the authorities gradually intensified throughout this period.<sup>24</sup> Also characteristic of this period were the disputes between the provincial and the higher mining authorities, i.e. between the Gubernium of Transylvania and the Vienna officials: on the one hand, the latter saw the intensification of the obligations imposed on serfs as serious obstacles in the way of increasing the production of gold and silver, while the Gubernium had no such interest, being concerned only to protect the interests of the local landlords, who also represented the local administration, often regarded by Vienna as incompetent and corrupt.

The legislation passed in 1747, known as the *Novellar Artikel*, and the administrative measures adopted during the reign of Maria Theresa and Joseph II endorsed the reorganization of mining in Transylvania on new bases, in keeping with the practices of the time. Their main aim was to systematize, on one hand, the multitude of old and unsystematic local regulations, bringing them, as far as possible, under the umbrella of uniform principles and practices, and on the other hand, to give a new impetus to gold mining, both through private enterprisers and, above all, through the active involvement of the State, in the spirit of a mercantilist policy.<sup>25</sup> A particularly important moment in the regulation of the mining situation in Transylvania was the entry into force, on 19 July 1771, of the *System for Mining in Transylvania*, aimed at strengthening state control over mining; at the same time, for clearer registration purposes, it stipulated the creation of matriculation records for the personnel of the mines and established the regular inspection of these mines by the mining authorities. The most important facilities it introduced, with an impact on gold mining, were outlined in the following provisions: “all the miners coming from abroad, who work, for the most part of the year, in the mines or at the stamp mills shall be exempt from personal income tax; so shall be their children if they make a living from mining; foreign miners may have two cows and the locals just one, a little land and pasture, which shall be exempt from tax; the stamp mills shall be exempt from taxes, regardless of whether they are operated directly or are leased.”<sup>26</sup> In 1776 there were passed new gold mining regulations, known as the *Mining Constitution from Abrud*; modified and adapted then to the Mining Law of 1854, it stayed in force until 1867.<sup>27</sup> In order to understand the specifics of gold mining as it was practised in Transylvania at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the next

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<sup>24</sup> Tóth Zoltán, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-170.

<sup>25</sup> Volker Wollmann, “Der siebenbürgische Bergbau im 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Silber und Salz*, Bd. 1., p. 41-58.

<sup>26</sup> The provisions are analysed in Tóth Zoltán, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>27</sup> Ioan Dordea, *loc. cit.*, p. 239.

century, first of all, we should show how gold mining enterprises were organized in the auriferous quadrilateral of the Apuseni Mountains during the period under study. A classification of these exploitations according to their size and the complexity of the technical processes may reveal the existence of at least three categories. The first category was that of large-scale exploitations, carried out in underground shafts and galleries, coordinated and funded by the State, known as fiscal or erarial mines. The second category was that of private mines and exploitations, run by several entrepreneurs gathered together in gold-mining companies in which they owned parts of a mine called *cuxe*. These mines were placed under the direct control of the mining authorities. They could have salaried employees. Some of the owners who were also members of the noble class used feudal-type serf labour. The third category was represented by the small peasant or family exploitations, which were, in fact, the most numerous. This type of mining was based on traditional medieval technologies, to which minimal innovations and improvements had been brought, and was practised and developed out of the imperative need to ensure the daily existence of the peasant-miners in an area with very low chances of earning a living from other sources. This type of mining was carried out mainly through surface exploitations in which there was no need for investments, where the entire family worked and where assiduous searching, tenacious work and, sometimes, the lucky surprise of coming across a rich ore could enrich some, but kept most of them at the limits of daily subsistence.<sup>28</sup>

Peasant mining was practised primarily in the district Abrud-Roşia Montană and remained the same throughout the 19th century. These miners were content with little and did not regard “their undertaking as an activity whose profit could constantly be increased, but rather as a source of daily livelihood. It was, no doubt, a form of activity that derived from a century-old tradition that had remained almost unchanged, criticized by the observers of the time – geologists or mere traveller through the region – who, sometimes at

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<sup>28</sup> In *Minero-Logia Magni Principatus Transilvaniae*, the mineralogist Joannes Fridvaldszky noted with astonishment and pity how this type of mining was carried out: “You’d think that an army of satyrs had gathered to tear down the mountains, that’s how local Romanians crush down the rocks, drilling and rummaging them from all directions... Probably because of such fickle exploitation, mines that are exploited today will be abandoned tomorrow. [The people] are not driven by any laws, only desire pushes them where the star of a higher gain is shining... could there be a more astounding contrast between the richness of nature, the mountains filled with treasures, the rivers tumbling down grains of gold, and these people - stripped of all the goods of the earth, barely scraping a living from one day to the next? . . . Overcoming the many hardships of mining, they can barely earn enough to pay their annual taxes and to meagrely support their families.” Quoted after Tóth Zoltán, *op. cit.*, p. 103.



decades apart, encountered the same reality, unchanged.”<sup>29</sup> The entire family could be working in some of the small peasant farms; others were leased, in a specific system whereby the income was divided into two, between the owner and the leaseholder. Next came the category of small mining associations, in which each member brought, most of the times, a capital contribution in kind: his small leased mining perimeter, the necessary work force and, in rare cases, the money for covering some common costs.<sup>30</sup> The ore extracted was divided. Then, each of the association members carried it to their own stamp mill or to a rented one for processing. Sometimes these associated owners hired their own miners if they had enough money to do so. In this system of exploitation, the means and the path to a relative and ephemeral prosperity was ensured, in most cases, only by the circumstances of the discovery of a rich ore, which in theory allowed some to buy back parts of the mine and thus to expand their operation. When luck left them, they returned to the condition of day labourers in the mines. The share of this type of traditional peasant mining, whether we speak of individual exploitation or of small mining associations, prevailed in the 18th century and was maintained for the most part of the next century. As noted by the sources and statistics of the time, it furnished over 90% of the amount of gold extracted.<sup>31</sup> The State was aware of the importance and the potential of private mining. In particular, the so-called peasant mining provided the bulk of the gold extracted and the State endeavoured, through various administrative measures, to support it. Moreover, Vienna aimed to become involved in the opening of new mines, with the meagre resources it was willing to invest in them, so as to exploit deep ore deposits for which the private enterprisers lacked the necessary capital and opportunities. The strategy was that the State should open these mining operations and then rent them to

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<sup>29</sup> See the previous note. Similarly, after more than five decades, in the 1860s, Charles Boner undertook a journey through Transylvania, stopping at Abrud and Roşia Montană. Here he noted the myriad small peasant mines that “worked with the most primitive methods,” according to Charles Boner, *Siebenbürgen Land und Leute*, Leipzig 1868, p. 570; also published in *Silber und Salz*, vol. 4, Bochum 2002, p. 278. In the same period, the mineralogist Gustav Tschermak stated that “after 100 years, nothing significant had changed in the methods and practices of gold extraction and processing, nothing had been forgotten and also nothing had been learned.” According to Gustav Tschermak, “Das siebenbürgische Goldfeld,” published in *Silber und Salz*, vol. 4, pp. 365-369.

<sup>30</sup> The system is explained at large in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Bergbau und Hüttenwesen*, Wien, no. 5, 1 Feb. 1858, pp. 33-34.

<sup>31</sup> This was the situation at the end of the 18th century and later. See Erdelyi Viktor, “Tanulmányok az erdélyrészi bányászat történetéből,” in *Bánya- és Kohópár Lapók* (hereinafter: *BKL*), II, 1913. Regarding the situation in the mid-19th century, sources attest that 94% of the gold production came from these small exploitations, According to *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Bergbau und Hüttenwesen*, no. 19, 6 May 1866, p. 149.

private mining companies. For example, two mines were opened at Valea Rugina and Vulcoi in 1769, which were then leased in 1782. So was the mine Sf. Cruce from Orlea, near Roșia Montană, which was ceded temporarily for private exploitation in 1796. Previously, in 1746, the Chamber of Mines had launched the first exploitations at Ruda, Valea Arsului and Crișcior, which were expanded with new perimeters, so much so that in 1762, there were 26 stamp mills in the area, some of them being leased to private mining companies.<sup>32</sup>

Another area where the exploitations of the Chamber of Mines had a significant share starting from the second half of the 18th century was Băița, alongside the smaller perimeters from Toplița, Porcura and București. The exploitations from Băița had a significant share in State-owned gold mining enterprises in Transylvania, as almost 350 workers worked here. In addition, the State brought here a first contingent of foreign settlers from Idria. Later, this practice of bringing in foreign settlers, both officials and skilled workers, was extended to other mining sites as well.<sup>33</sup>

At Roșia Montană, known as the “El Dorado of Transylvania” in the 19th century,<sup>34</sup> the Erarium opened – besides the many existing private galleries – its own galleries, including one at Orlea in 1773, operated directly until 1810 when, due to the high costs of mining and processing and to some technical problems, it was decided that this mine should be leased to the private sector.<sup>35</sup> A customer was found only in 1816, in the person of Gritta Gyurka, the owners of small exploitations in the area. He established a mining company here with 20 *cuxe* (mining shares, mine parts). The high operation costs, amounting to more than 45,000 florins annually, led him to increase the number of the mining shares to 60, an operation from which he earned 4,000 florins, but the operation failed to become profitable and was soon abandoned. Its operation was resumed on behalf of the State only in 1844 -1846.<sup>36</sup>

The most important and most profitable mining company in which the Erarium had a significant share during the period studied was the one from Săcărâmb. Here modern exploitations began in 1746, when the Austrian

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<sup>32</sup> Volker Wollmann, “Der Bergbau von Brad und Umgebung (in Criscior, Ruda, Valea Arsului, Zdraholt und Musariu) von seinen Anfängen bis zur Gründung der Mica Gesellschaft im Jahre 1920,” in *Silber und Salz*, Bd. 10, Teil 1, Bochum, 2010, p. 40 sqq.

<sup>33</sup> Volker Wollmann, “Der Bergbau von Băița, Hărțăgani, Trestia, Draica, Porcura, Căinel, Crăciunești und Fizeș bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhundert,” in *Silber und Salz*, Bd. 10, Teil 1, p. 223 sqq.

<sup>34</sup> Bernard von Cotta, *Ungarische und Siebenbürgische Bergorte*, Leipzig, 1862.

<sup>35</sup> Franz von Hauer, “Der Goldbergbau von Vöröspatak in Siebenbürgen,” in *Jahrbuch der k. k. Geologische Reichsanstalt*, 2, 1851, Wien, p. 64-92.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*.

officer Ludovic Born and his associates received the first mine lease perimeter, where they opened the Maria Empăngnis Gallery; in 1747 the Chamber of Mines and the Imperial House owned the largest part of the mine shares (*cuxe*), the State becoming the main administrator here.<sup>37</sup>

Bernard Cotta, the mining engineer who called Roșia Montană the “El Dorado of Transylvania,” also called Săcărâmb the “treasure trove of Transylvania.”<sup>38</sup> The Austrian engineer’s assessment is fully justified, since the geological samples showed, in certain places, gold ore concentrations of 177.059 grams of gold per tonne and 224.48 grams of silver per tonne, about 17 times higher than in most of the mines of precious metals in Transylvania. There were 884 salaried workers on the pay lists at Săcărâmb in 1782.<sup>39</sup> From this point of view, it was the largest exploitation in the “auriferous quadrilateral of Transylvania,” also as regards the amount of gold extracted and delivered.

A specific feature of gold mining in Transylvania up to 1850, whether we talk of large-scale or peasant enterprises, is the persistent use of the old technologies. Certainly, the mining administrations sought to introduce technological innovations that enhanced productivity and reduced the human effort, but they were limited to technological and energetic resources that were locally available. These were solutions that were independent from technological developments in other parts of Europe. The State’s investment strategies were no exception in this regard; aside from the administrative, organizational and bureaucratic measures, there was no systematic and unitary plan for all exploitations, nor were there any coherent work plans, tailored to the requirements of each mining operation. Although there sometimes were such initiatives and the specialists sent to the scene of the place carried out serious studies, as in the case of Baia de Arieș or Roșia Montană, these initiatives were quickly abandoned when it was found that the necessary capital was lacking or when the higher mining authorities in Vienna refused to approve more consistent and long-term investment plans. Every time the problem of investments came up or when technical problems emerged and the costs of exploiting the galleries were high, the Erarium preferred either to abandon them or to lease them out or sell them, as new, easily exploitable deposits kept being discovered.

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<sup>37</sup> For data on the evolution of the mine in Săcărâmb: Ludovic Vajda, “Locul mineritului din Săcărâmb în cadrul exploatării metalelor prețioase din Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea,” in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia* fasciculus 1, 1973, p. 54-77.

<sup>38</sup> Bernard v. Cotta, “Die Goldlagerstätten von Vöröspatak in Siebenbürgen,” in *Berg- und Hüttenmännische Zeitung*, 20, 1861, no. 18, pp. 173-176.

<sup>39</sup> L. Vajda, *loc. cit.*, p. 58.

Here we should point out another unique feature of the gold mines in Transylvania: exploitation could often lead to considerable surprises: after months and, sometimes, years of operation with zero production, or even with losses, suddenly new gold veins could be discovered, especially the so-called “native gold nests,” sometimes weighing several kilograms, which managed to rescue the investment that was on the verge of going bankrupt. For example, the discovery in 1774 of the vein Magdalena at Săcărâmb ensured the prosperity of the enterprise for several more decades. The same happened in 1824, in the case of the Francisc Gallery, whose gold veins also ensured the profitability of the exploitation until around 1850.<sup>40</sup>

This reality – the wealth of resources in the “auriferous quadrilateral” – also had a negative impact on exploitation strategies, both those operated by the State and those in the private sector, at least until the 1880s. There was a real gold rush, based on minimum investment and rudimentary technology. The necessary prospecting and preparation works were neglected and the horizons of the galleries were established in unsystematic manner, unleashing a phenomenon of “predatory” mining, with serious technical consequences for the following decades. To this reality was added, at least until the Mining Law of 1854, a rather difficult situation regarding the management of the mining estates and perimeter concessions. In around 1855, the “auriferous quadrilateral” comprised 40 large mining exploitations which belonged to the Chamber of Mines and over 900 private mining operations run by associations and small galleries exploited by peasants.<sup>41</sup> According to the statistics of the time, these mining operations employed 6,900 workers, 2,000 of them being owners of galleries, which they exploited themselves.<sup>42</sup>

Another question we must answer in this context is: who were these entrepreneurs and shareholders in the Transylvanian gold mining sector and what was the origin of the capital invested there? The analysis of historical sources<sup>43</sup> shows that in the period 1750-1850 and, afterwards, up until 1885, mine shareholders and owners included the most diverse categories of people, ranging from senior officials from the Mining Office or the Mint in Alba Iulia

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<sup>40</sup> L. Vajda, *loc. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>41</sup> *The National Archives, Alba County Branch* (hereinafter: SJAN Alba...), inv. no. 337, fund *The Zlatna Mining Directorate*, file no. 3-168/1852-1863.

<sup>42</sup> The most comprehensive statistics of that time, listing all the large and the small mines, with the names of their owners: *Montan- Handbuch der Österreichischen Kaiserthums für das Jahr 1857*, Bd. 18, p. 284 sqq; also available in digital format at [http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10705715\\_00480.html](http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10705715_00480.html)

<sup>43</sup> See the study of Al. Neamțu, “Societățile pe acțiuni și proveniența capitalului în industria extractivă a Transilvaniei în a doua jumătate a secolului XVIII,” in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 7, 1970, p. 227 sqq., where the author cites numerous lists from the archive of the Chamber of Mines in Transylvania.

to high or petty Transylvanian nobles; physicians and pharmacists residing in the mining towns, local traders, priests and peasants, local craftsmen, pub-owners, etc.<sup>44</sup> Among the shareholders there were significant numbers of tax officials dispatched here by the state authorities, such as: Anton Meltzer, former fiscal administrator at Abrud; Nicolae Haportoni, former domanial prefect in Zlatna; the heirs of Ioan Zelenkay, former assessor at the Mining Tribunal in Zlatna; the Chamber officials Iosif Konrád and Adam Ujvári, etc.<sup>45</sup> A substantial category of shareholders was that of the noble Transylvanian families. In addition to the already mentioned Toldalagi and Zeyk families, the important names were: Kornis, Teleky, Bánffy, Bornemisza, etc.<sup>46</sup> A significant number of shares were held by officers and senior civil servants sent to Transylvania, working for the Mining Offices and not only. These senior officials had large enough salaries and not much to spend them on here, so they preferred to invest in mining, especially since this was a fairly fluid market: when some owners of mines no longer had financial resources or had accumulated debt, the exploitations were immediately taken over by others. In addition, we should not forget about gold smuggling: this brought rapid and significant revenue, which kept being invested in the mining domain.<sup>47</sup> The only restriction for the senior mining officials was that they should not own exploitations in their own mining jurisdictions, being free to invest in other areas.<sup>48</sup>

In addition to passing favourable legislation, the State granted a number of facilities that boosted gold mining to some extent. One of them was a relatively low taxation level: under the fiscal regulations from before 1850, the tax value was 1/10 of the amount of precious metal delivered to the exchange offices. In situations where the production was very low or absent, the applicant gold mine owner could ask for exemption from income tax for a year. This was known as the “free year.” Basically, the laws and regulations in force made it possible for anyone to engage in mining after paying the lease tax, which was not high, and provided that they handed over the gold to the exchange offices. These individuals could be nobles, serfs, landless peasants, vagabonds or Gypsies. All that was required was that they should have

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<sup>44</sup> Apud Al. Neamțu, *loc. cit.*, p. 230.

<sup>45</sup> *Erdélyi Bányász Kalendárium 1844<sup>re</sup>*, Kolozsvár, 1843; many names were also found in such documents after 1855. See *Montan- Handbuch der Österreichischen Kaiserthums für das Jahr 1857*, Bd. 18, p. 284 sqq.

<sup>46</sup> SJAN Alba, inv. no. 337, fund *The Zlatna Mining Directorate*, file no. 4/1856, f. 8-10; f. 18-21.

<sup>47</sup> Al. Neamțu, *loc. cit.*, p. 231.

<sup>48</sup> The situation was clearly regulated by an imperial rescript of 1782, which stated that the mining officials, their wives and children were prohibited from owning parts of mines and exploiting them in their own jurisdiction. According to *Silber und Salz*, vol. 10/II, p. 860.

minimum mining skills. However, neither the old tax system, which remained in force until after 1850, nor the administrative measures adopted by the State could bring about a substantial, constant boosting of mining in the “auriferous quadrilateral.” On the contrary, if we analyse the amount and the value of the gold delivered to the exchange offices, we may find that they increased during the period 1750-1780, dropping then quite sharply by 1810-1820.<sup>49</sup>

Tab. 1. The evolution of the estimated gold production in the period 1790-1818  
-a selective overview-

Year	Quantity estimated in kg.	Value in florins
1750	250,53	136.750,69
1760	287,30	156.822,72
1770	424,71	231.825,46
1780	430,61	235.042,82
1790	332,04	181.241,12
1801	374,90	204.637,72
1810	191,40	104.472,50
1820	438,37	239.279,36
1830	649,98	354.782,36
1835	792,61	432.630,31
1840	1144,73	1.488.957, 37
1845	935,55	1.460.834,70

**Sources:** For the period 1750-1835, the data have been calculated after the gold production reflected by the data of the exchange offices, synthesized by Zsigmond Szentkirály in *Az erdélyi bányászat ismertetése nemzetgazdasági, köz- és magánjogi tekintetben*, Kolozsvárt, 1841, pp. 42-51. The

<sup>49</sup> Although there is a very rich archival material on gold mining in Transylvania for this period, it is extremely difficult, if not downright impossible, to accurately determine the total amount of gold extracted and delivered to the exchange offices in the region under examination. Both the data synthesized at that time by the authorities and the data subsequently reconstructed by specialists in the mining domain or by historians are partial and cannot have statistical value according to the rigors of this discipline. Even after 1850, when the Austrian Empire entered the era of modern statistics, for which we have a broad range of quantitative data of all kinds, the information remains incomplete and relative as regards the total production of gold. Furthermore, in the case of gold, multiple specific measurement units had been operated with throughout time. The monetary value of these units changed several times, so attempts to convert them into units of quantity and value relevant for the long durée are often fraught with inaccuracies. Therefore, we cannot claim that the aggregate data on gold production disclosed in this study amount to a precise reconstruction of the quantities and the value of the ore extracted at that time. These data are mainly intended to illustrate, through estimates, the main trends and developments in the socio-economic context we have analysed.

units of measurement were converted as follows: in that period, 1 *piseta* was equal to the 48th part of gold mark = 233.947 g. According to the average price of gold in 1750-1830, 1 *piseta* = 2.62 florins. For the period 1835-1845, the data have been calculated after *Tafeln zur Statistik der oesterreichischen Monarchie*, 1835, 1845. Here the quantities were expressed in marks (one mark was equal to approximately 233.947 g, and the average price was 365.30 florins/mark).

The precarious situation of mining in the early decades of the 19th century was due to the technical conditions in which it was conducted, to the feudal social system, which was incompatible with modern entrepreneurial practices and with a much needed social mobility. As regards social mobility, the system that had already been enshrined locally, on the so-called fiscal (state-controlled) domains and on the landowners' estates (controlled by local nobles and the county authorities), distinguished between two groups of peasant subjects, some of whom had agriculture as their main occupation, the others working in the mining sector. This system had become stuck in inertia and immobilism, because of the already mentioned administrative circumstances and also due to more complex causes, including the local demographic evolutions. On the one hand, there was established a balance between the denser population on the domains of the State and the rarer population on the estates, as the low demand for labour in both situations did not foster demographic mobility. Furthermore, the displacement of the population from the nobiliary estates to the fiscal domains offered no chance for improvement of these individuals' material situation. On the other hand, the miners had a number of facilities and exemptions from payment of obligations to the State, enjoying certain immunities conferred by their status as serfs on the fiscal domain. However, in order to acquire this status, they had to be registered in the mining matriculation records, which was restricted to those who proved that they earned a living from mining. Naturally, many succeeded in enrolling in these records, in order to acquire the small privileges specific to the status of a miner, including: the payment of an annual tax of just one florin, in the form of capitation and exemption from military service. In reality, they often failed to carry out a sustainable economic activity, often barely scraping their daily livelihood. They were also not significant contributors to the State and the local authorities. In addition to this, administrative incapacity was visible at every level: from the local village authorities to the tax auditors and the inspectors sent from Vienna to investigate the economic and social realities. The local authorities concealed the reality and provided misleading data to eschew their obligations and taxes, and thus, those who had come to inspect them acquired a faulty perspective on the complex reality in these areas, reaching flawed decisions that were incorrectly applied.

The precarious situation of gold mining at the beginning of the 19th century is reflected in a report from 1823, whereby the residents of Bucium demanded a revision of the contracts from 1789 and 1819, which stipulated the obligations of miners in the area towards the local authorities and the Erarium.<sup>50</sup> The situation in Bucium, captured by the author of this report, was generally valid for the entire region. The causes of the precarious condition of mining included the numerous taxes and additional public duties imposed on the local population: duties to the county, to the revenue authority and to the increasingly corrupt local officials. According to the report, mining was carried out only by those who had accepted this way of life lest they should die from starvation. With regard to the administrative shortcomings, the report noted that on the one hand, the direction of the mines, and on the other hand, the domanial administration and the county official restricted the rights of the population, imposed their labour obligations and attempted to squeeze out of this a little personal gain.<sup>51</sup> Of course, the observers of the time had different outlooks on the evolution of mining and the material situation of the inhabitants in the auriferous quadrilateral. Although there are numerous sources that reveal the poor social and material situation of the communities and convey a pessimistic perspective, the quantitative data concerning the amount of gold extracted and delivered to the exchange offices suggests a revival after the Napoleonic Wars and the great famine of 1816-1817, reflected not just in the statistics (see the table above), but also in the number of mining permits that were issued: 750 new operating permits were issued in 1817-1835, their total number reaching 2,403.<sup>52</sup> According to calculations made by Szentkirályi, from 1825 to 1835 the production of gold delivered to the exchange offices increased by 31%.<sup>53</sup> Private mining continued to dominate, delivering more than 90% of the gold production.<sup>54</sup> Although the technical means were rudimentary, these disadvantages were outweighed by the geological conditions, the richness of the gold vein and the prospect of gold

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<sup>50</sup> For the full content of the report and commentaries on it, see Toth Zoltan, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-214.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 210.

<sup>52</sup> Z. Szentkirályi, p. 41.

<sup>53</sup> In 1832 the *piseta* was replaced with a new measurement standard for the delivered gold: the *gira*: one *gira* was the equivalent of ½ Pfund, that is, one mark or 280.64 grams. The exchange rate was: 1 *gira*=368.28 fl. See Z. Szentkirályi, *op. cit.*, p.; see also, *Historisch-statistischer Umriss von der Österreichischen Monarchie. 1834, Maß und Gewicht*, p. 150 ff, available online at: <https://books.google.de/books?id=j7UAAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA150#v=onepage&q&f=false>

<sup>54</sup> For partial data, see Z. Szentkirályi, p. 229; see also, *Allgemeiner montanistischer Schematismus des österreichischen Kaiserthums für das Jahr 1839*.



delivery at a fixed and stable price. The press of the time described this reality very suggestively: “it is true that their life and daily bread, like all things human, are sometimes subject to uncertainty, but they are protected and ensured against hail, floods, fire, that is, against almost all natural calamities... while the purse of the peasant workers is empty, the miners, few exceptions, fill theirs every week. In this way, they have easier access to more expensive grain and other goods.”<sup>55</sup>

**The period 1850-1885 may be associated with a new stage in gold mining.** While no major or significant changes occurred from a technological viewpoint, certain transformations were visible at the level of legislation or at the institutional level, as regards the administration and supervision of the mining activities. Last but not least, some of the changes were the result of the new entrepreneurial strategies adopted by the State in its own exploitations.

First, the economic policies of the State in an era of administrative authoritarianism and political conservatism, but also of economic liberalism led to the adoption of new economic legislation, in keeping with the realities of the time, including in the field of mining. Thus, the Mining Law of 1854 was an act of exceptional importance, because alongside other legislative measures regulating industry and trade, it deeply influenced regional economic life. In the field of mining, administrative rules and practices were standardised, thus ensuring much greater consistency and stability.

The new Mining Law of 1854 regulated in detail the conditions for launching mining exploitations, for the transfer of property and the rights of use over immovable and movable assets specific to the mining field.<sup>56</sup> Another change was brought about by the relinquishment of older fiscal privileges and practices, many of them inconsistent and unstandardized, and by the introduction of a system based on the principle of proportional taxation, dependent on individual revenue and applied to all the categories of taxpayers, even though this led to rather high levels of fiscality, in terms of the amounts subject to taxation. These measures, together with the liberalization of the gold market, gave a new impetus to mining in the area. The letter patent of 24 October 1856, binding for all provinces, made it mandatory that gold and silver should be delivered exclusively to the redemption offices of the State.<sup>57</sup> This led to a higher interest in gold mining in the area, a phenomenon that was

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<sup>55</sup> Quoted in Tóth Zoltán, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

<sup>56</sup> The text of the Mining Law passed on 23 May 1854 is found in *Buletinul Guberniului Provincial pentru Marele Principat al Transilvaniei, 1854*, II, p. 652 sqq.

<sup>57</sup> *RGBl, XII. Stück, 1857*, pp. 148-149.

also reflected in the growing number of concessions granted to the private enterprisers.<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, although these measures and regulations imposed through the consistent intervention of the State during the decade 1851-1860 had beneficial effects on mining in the area, they could not significantly change the economic landscape or improve the overall material status of the communities in the region due to a multitude of shortcomings that could not be dealt with successfully. Above all, it was noticed that the removal of the obligation to deliver the extracted gold to the exchange offices had not fostered a liberalization of the market or led to a price increase, because those who owned small gold exploitations were forced by the circumstances to continue handing over the rather insignificant quantities they extracted to the local exchange offices, which perpetuated, in a way, their monopoly. The critics of the Mining Law of 1854 claimed that the shortcomings of gold mining in Transylvania consisted not so much in the absence of a free market, but in the lack of capital and modern technology, which were necessary for the opening of large scale exploitations and to the employment of as many inhabitants as possible, even from outside the region.<sup>59</sup> In most of the situations, whether we speak of State-owned or private mines, there was a chronic shortage of the necessary capital for the introduction of technological innovations. Modern steam-based machinery and equipment, which had already brought significant benefits in other parts of Europe, in terms of production efficiency and cost-effectiveness, could not be imported in the area of the Apuseni Mountains in the 1850s. First of all, transport costs would have doubled the value of investments. Secondly, the lack of coal-based fuel would have raised the costs even higher because wood had already become very expensive and the cost was hardly sustainable even for the local foundries that relied on the older methods. For instance, the only steam-based machinery used in the gold mining industry in Transylvania was at the foundry in Zlatna. All the other production and processing capacities relied on technologies that used the force of the water, often depending on the whims of the climate. In any case, the higher production costs – generated by higher labor costs which, in turn, had been caused by the higher cost of living – significantly decreased the rate of profits. To this was added the extreme fracturing or dispersal of the exploitations, which were also adversely affected by the lack of adequate transport routes and generated very high costs. From ore extraction to the production of fine gold, up to 50-70% of the value of the

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<sup>58</sup> L. Vajda, *Locul mineritului...*, p. 60.

<sup>59</sup> There are interesting commentaries published in the Viennese journal *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Berg- und Hüttenwesen*, no. 10, 9. März 1857, p. 73; idem, no. 12, 23. März 1857, p. 94.

metal was swallowed by these costs due to the technological conditions of the 1860s-70s.<sup>60</sup> For example, the transport of one *zentner*<sup>61</sup> of gold ore from Săcărâmb to Zlatna cost 29 kronen and from Săcărâmb to Certej 7-8 kronen. To this were added the costs for the maintenance of the horses, the payment of the supervising staff that accompanied the shipments, etc.<sup>62</sup>

An analysis of the budgets the Austrian State allocated for the mining exploitations it owned in Transylvania in 1851 reveals very clearly the situation at that time: most of them were confronted with major difficulties and lack of profitability. Thus, the report compiled by Joseph Ritter von Ferro, the mining inspector for Transylvania, specified that the total expenditure incurred by the State's mining exploitations amounted to 2,610,193 florins, the losses being estimated at 129,889 florins.<sup>63</sup> Specifically, the estimated expenses were 625,185 florins at the smeltery in Zlatna alone, while revenues there were a mere 544,836 florins. At the foundry in Certej, considered to be a somewhat profitable enterprise, like that from Baia de Arieș, the estimated expenses amounted to 97,822 florins, while the revenues were 132,539 florins. For almost all of the gold mines, losses were estimated. The exception was the mine in Săcărâmb, where it was expected that the revenues would amount to 13,300 florins.<sup>64</sup> However, in the 1850s one of the State's main economic policy concerns was, in addition to bureaucratic and administrative reorganization, the lucrative exploitation of natural resources and increasing the profitability of existing mining operations.<sup>65</sup> In this sense, a series of specialists were sent to Transylvania to assess the situation and suggest investment plans. Thus, after 1850 Roșia Montană came into the attention of the Erarium, which requested comprehensive reports on the potential and profitability of expanding the activity of gold mining here and the necessary investments. To that effect, Ministerial Adviser P. Rittinger was assigned to describe the situation of gold mining there, both in the erarial and in the private sector. His report generally revealed a sad and pessimistic picture about those realities, caused by indolence, lack of qualified personnel, rudimentary techniques and, especially, the lack of water, which prevented the stamp mills

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<sup>60</sup> L. Vajda, "Întreprinderea metalurgică de la Zlatna între anii 1848-1918 (I)," in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, series Historia*, Fasciculus 2, 1973, p. 73.

<sup>61</sup> A *centenar* (Germ. *Zentner*) = 56 kg.

<sup>62</sup> Volker Wollmann, "Der Bergbau von Nagyág bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs," in *Silber und Salz*, vol. 8/1, p. 82.

<sup>63</sup> *Silber und Salz* vol. 10/II, pp. 1057-1058.

<sup>64</sup> For more detailed data, see *Ibidem*.

<sup>65</sup> See an extensive approach to this subject in Iosif Marin Balog, "Vienna's Economic policies in Transylvania 1850-1867," in *Transylvanian Review*, Vol. XXII, Supplement, no. 2, 2013, eds. Iosif Marin Balog, Rudolf Gräf, Cristian Luca, pp. 44-76.

from working more than four days a week.<sup>66</sup> On the other hand, the report noted the interest of the local people in mining, illustrated by the large number of private galleries, no fewer than 200, whose ore was processed in 1,074 of stamp mills with a processing capacity of 1.5 million ztr. of ore annually (about 750,000 t.).<sup>67</sup> In his report, the mining adviser explained that the erarial mines in the area, which had been reopened in 1846, had to be maintained and made profitable, but solely on condition that certain necessary investments were made, as regards ore transportation and processing. To this end, he proposed a series of concrete technical solutions and developed an investment plan worth 120,000 florins, spread out over a period of 8 years, which envisaged, among other things, the construction of at least four more stamp mills. One of these was to be a large stamp mill built by the River Arieş, where there was enough water to ensure a processing volume of at least 750,000 ztr. of ore per year. The investment plan also included the construction of ramps for the transportation of the ore, which were to operate based on the level difference between the stamp mills and the galleries.<sup>68</sup> Although it was extremely well argued and feasible, Rittinger's plan was not implemented except to a little extent, due to the lack of financial resources, a cause that was constantly invoked by the authorities in Vienna.

Another example of the state policy regarding its own exploitation capabilities was that of Baia de Arieş, where there was also a smeltery. In 1858 the question that openly debated was whether the exploitations in the area and the smeltery there deserved to be maintained given their very high costs and low efficiency. Thus, on 25 February, the Ministry of Finance to which mining was now assigned decided to close the smeltery at Baia de Arieş and to sell the erarial mines from Baia de Arieş and Băișoara to private owners.<sup>69</sup> After an inventory was carried out, it was decided that both the mines and the smeltery, valued at over 257,000 florins, should be sold, even though it was clear that "a buyer will be difficult to be found, considering that amount."<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> For a synthesis of the situation, see Franz von Hauer, "Der Goldbergbau von Vöröspatak in Siebenbürgen," in *Jahrbuch der k. k. Geologische Reichsanstalt*; also published in *SSS*, vol. I, pp. 308-323.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 318.

<sup>69</sup> According to the Directive of the Ministry of Finance to the Department of Mining, Forestry and Salt Mines from Cluj, in *Silber und Salz* vol 10/II, p. 1114.

<sup>70</sup> Volker Wollmann, "Die Geschichte des Bergbaus von Offenburg (Baia de Arieş/Offenbánya/Aranyosbánya von seinem Anfängen bis in die Gegenwart (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des 18. Und 19. Jahrhunderts)," in *Silber und Salz*, Bd. 10, Teil 1, S. 321.

The situation of erarial mining was not very different at Baia de Criș. Before 1848, under the old mining laws, Baia de Criș had enjoyed, together with the villages surrounding Țebea, Rișca and Căraci, a series of collective privileges. Thanks to the numerous efforts of the local communities, these privileges were largely maintained, ensuring a relative prosperity for private miners. Here the State owned two exploitations at Țebea and Valea Arsului. Like in the entire area, these exploitations suffered significant damage during the revolutionary events of 1848-1849.<sup>71</sup> Mining was resumed in Țebea and Valea Arsului only in 1853, but with rather poor results, so in 1854 the possibility of selling or leasing the mines to private enterprisers was raised. It was considered, and reports confirmed this, that the mines no longer generated significant profits for the State and, in addition, that losses had been recorded. In a report drafted to this effect it was mentioned that the erarial exploitation from Baia de Criș had brought much too small an income to continue being operated by the State. On the other hand, the report showed that there were sufficient rich ore veins at Valea Arsului to legitimize the expansion of the exploitation, but this required investments and a concentration of the activity, including by takeovers of or associations with private exploitations.<sup>72</sup> The repeated attempts to sell the mine at Valea Arsului were unsuccessful. In 1860 the Erarium sold the mine even though the losses were not very high, since from 1856 to 1861 the operating costs had not exceeded 15,000 florins and the revenues had amounted to more than 21,473 florins.<sup>73</sup> During this period, the village Baia de Criș, which had been an important mining administration centre, was beginning to lose its administrative prominence from before 1848. The headquarters of the local mining administration were moved to Băița and the gold exchange office was relocated to Brad. The consequences for the entire area would remain visible for decades to come.

At the same time, the Ministry of Finance in Vienna was concerned about the concentration of gold smelting activities at the plant in Zlatna, admitting that substantial investments were required for the introduction of

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<sup>71</sup> Volker Wollmann, "Die Bergstadt Altenburg/Baia de Criș," in *Silber und Salz*, vol. X/I, p. 487 sqq.

<sup>72</sup> The Report of the Mining Administration from Baia de Criș to the Department of Mining, Forestry and Salt Mines from Cluj, in *Silber und Salz*, vol 10/II, p. 1085. Idem, the Report of 23 May 1855, p. 1101.

<sup>73</sup> See the report, analysed by Volker Wollmann, "Der Bergbau von Brad und Umgebung (in Crișcior, Ruda, Valea Arsului, Zrdaholț und Musariu) von seinen Anfängen bis zur Gründung des "Mica" Gesellschaft im Jahre 1920," in *Silber und Salz*, vol. 10/1, p. 50.

new technologies there.<sup>74</sup> Of all the State-owned exploitations during the period 1850-1880, only the mine in Săcărâmb continued to bring profit due to the very high concentration of ore and to the opening of new ore deposits in the galleries Longhin and Bernard, which extracted important quantities until after 1880.<sup>75</sup> A new stamp mill was built at Săcărâmb in 1856. It could also process poorer-quality gold ore. Also, the system of horse-drawn ore transportation was introduced in the long galleries. All these measures led to a substantial increase in productivity. After state investments were resumed, to a certain extent, the exploitation in Roșia Montană yielded good results during this period. In 1867 approximately 30% of the gold in the Apuseni Mountains came from the two major State-owned mines, Săcărâmb and Roșia Montană. It is worth mentioning that in that period there were 610-800 workers at Săcărâmb and 176-300 workers at Roșia Montană.<sup>76</sup> At the end of the 18th century, the Chamber of Mines had an important share of gold mining exploitations at Băița, too. Nearly 350 people worked here. To boost mining productivity, a contingent of settlers was brought here from Idria.<sup>77</sup> In addition to this, efforts were made to introduce technological innovations based on the local technical and energetic resources, but like in the other cases financial resources and the State's willingness to make investments were limited. In 1825 the State decided to sell or lease the mines and equipment in Băița to some local entrepreneurs, but they did not have sufficient capital to modernize and improve production. Among the owners of the mines here were Lazăr Petcu, Dumitru and Petru Moldovan.<sup>78</sup> They solely processed rich ores and carried out no structural development activities, so mining continued on a path of decline up until the 1870s.

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<sup>74</sup> According to the Report the Administration of the Smeltery in Zlatna sent to the Department of Mining, Forestry and Salt Mines from Cluj, in *Silber und Salz*, vol 10/II, p. 1186.

<sup>75</sup> L. Vajda, *Locul mineritului....*, pp. 65-68.

<sup>76</sup> Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Finanz Hofkammer (abbreviated hereinafter as: FHKA), *Montan Akten*, Ktn. 521, no. 15171/1863.

<sup>77</sup> Volker Wollmann, "Der Bergbau von Băița, Hărtăgani, Trestia, Draica und Fizeș bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhundert," in *Silber und Salz*, vol X/1, p. 223 sqq.

<sup>78</sup> According to the mining land register, the exploitation in Băița was owned as follows: the *cuxe* from 1 to 50 belonged to the state, from 50 to 88 to Moldovan Dumitru, and from 89 to 127 to Moldovan Petru. One *cuxa* was divided between the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church in Băița. Other shareholders were: Curteanu Aurel and Curteanu Maria from Deva. In 1889 there was a massive transfer of *cuxe* from the majority of the shareholders to the name of Klein Heinrich from Neustadt an der Haar. The register is kept at SJAN Hunedoara, fund *The Geological and Mining Inspectorate in Deva, Brad Branch, Register of the Mining Companies in Zarand*, vol. 3, poz. 13.

Thus, during the period 1850-1885 gold mining in the Apuseni Mountains perpetuated so-called “predatory” mining practices, including the search for rich ore deposits and native gold and the avoidance of poorer ores due to the high costs of extraction and smelting. Still, there was an intense activity of the private mine owners in Transylvania, primarily due to the State’s permissive policy, with protectionist tendencies against foreign capital that had ambivalent effects in the region: while annual production was maintained at around 1,000-1,500 kg annually,<sup>79</sup> the actual income both of the entrepreneurs and of the workers underwent a rather noticeable decline amidst the general growth of prices.

Tab. 2. The evolution of the estimated gold production in the period 1850-1880  
-a selective overview-

Year	Estimated quantity in kg.	Value in florins
1850	818.90	1,065,157.54
1851	1,125.00	1,464,135.33
1855	959.65	1,507,208.87
1859	1,113.20	1,341,773.35
1860	1,006.89	1,213,634.72
1861	1,138.03	1,371,701.69
1865	1,154.42	1,391,456.98
1870	1,197.29	1,443,129.55
1871	1,125.18	1,356,229.91
1875	970.25	1,353,499.31
1880	1,997.19	2,786,080.05

**Sources:** for the period 1850-1865, the data were calculated after *Tafeln zur Statistik der oesterreichischen Monarchie. Neue Folge*, 1849-1851, 5-9; Idem, 1852-1854; idem, 1855-1858, 5-9; idem, 1858-1859; idem, 1860-1865, available in digital format at: [http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO\\_%2BZ150838200](http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ150838200). For the subsequent period, the data were processed after *Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv*. For a comparison of the data, we have also used *Hivatalos Statisztikai Közlemények* for the period 1863-1868.

Note: the quantities are converted into kilograms and the values are expressed in florins for the following units of measurement used in the statistics of the time: thus, for the period 1850-1858, the quantities are expressed in marks (1 mark = 280.64 g; the average price of a gold mark was 365.03 florins; for the period 1859-1870, the quantities are expressed in *Münzpfund* (*pénzverdei font*) = 560.012 g; the average price was 675 florins (1,205.33 florins/ kg of gold).

<sup>79</sup> The data also appear in L. Vajda, *Locul mineritului...*, but the author cited does not make reference to the manner of calculation and the sources used.

After 1872, quantities were expressed in kg in the official statistics and the average price was 1,395 florins/kg.

The economic crisis of 1873 significantly affected mining in the region: thus while in 1873 there were no less than 516 larger or smaller exploitations that employed 8,369 permanent and temporary staff, in 1876 there were no more than 383 mining exploitations employing 6,613 workers.<sup>80</sup> In addition, the new macro-economic and financial-monetary conditions of the 1870s made it inevitable for a reform of the monetary system in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to be undertaken: given that the florin depended on the silver agio, which had registered severe depreciation, the Austro-Hungarian currency was faced with the threatening prospect of domestic inflation and fatal stock speculations on the international markets.<sup>81</sup>

Under these circumstances, particularly in light of the fact that the majority of the European currencies had adopted the gold standard (one of the pillars of monetary stability up until 1914), the Governments in Vienna and Budapest reached the decision to launch a monetary reform and adopt the krone, with a value equal to the French franc. The reform was carried out in 1892. The major problem surrounding the introduction of the new currency concerned the possibility of purchasing the gold reserves needed to back up this currency and of selling the available stocks of silver. In this context, there was a very high risk that the gold price would explode on the domestic market, which is why gold was also purchased from abroad. However, since the available financial resources were limited, one of the solutions was stepping up domestic production.<sup>82</sup> Domestic production growth could not be achieved without massive capital and technological investments. Although the Hungarian State had an interventionist-protectionist economic policy during those years, it lacked the necessary capital for investments, so the only solution was the import of capital by stimulating foreign investment. In the field of mines, the Austrian Law of 1854 was also restrictive and unattractive to foreign investors. That is why in 1884 the Government of Hungary decided to amend the mining legislation, both for the sake of attracting capital in a field

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<sup>80</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 68.

<sup>81</sup> Reinhard Kamnitz, "Die österreichische Geld- und Währungspolitik von 1848 bis 1849," in *Hundert Jahre österreichische Wirtschaftsentwicklung 1848 bis 1948*, (Hrsg.) Hans Mayer, Wien, 1949, S. 130 sqq.

<sup>82</sup> On the relationship between the monetary reform of 1892 and gold mining in Transylvania, see Teodor Pavel, "Reforma monetară de la 1892 și extracția aurului din Munții Apuseni la finele secolului 19 și începutul secolului 20" in *Omagiu profesorului Magyari András* (ed.) Pál Judit, Rűsz Fogarasi Enikő, Cluj Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2002, pp. 257-266.



that demanded substantial investment and as a result of the pressures made by the big mining companies that were interested in exploiting gold in Hungary. As a result, one of the most important and controversial changes to the legislation of 1854 concerned the liberalization of the trade in gold and the possibility of marketing it across the borders of the Monarchy. The gates of an extremely profitable domain, with exceptional resources, were thus opened to foreign capital. Transylvania and the “auriferous quadrilateral” were seized by the “Californian gold fever,” as evinced by the series of unprecedented investments in the region.<sup>83</sup>

**Therefore, 1885 marked the entry into the third stage of the modern history of gold mining in the Apuseni region.** The launching of major investments naturally led to a concentration of mining exploitations in the region, as many individual owners decided to sell their galleries or the perimeters they had leased. Foreign capitals and local entrepreneurs engaged in land transactions, buying land from private owners, leasing it from the State and opening new exploitation perimetres and galleries. Basically, a process of fierce competition began, dozens of mining properties passing quickly from one owner to another. Multiple mergers took place, as the big companies, especially the foreign ones, attempted to concentrate their production capacities in compact areas in order to create conditions for profitability and cost reduction. Along with the French, Belgian and British capital, the German capital proved to be the most active.

The attention of foreign capital was naturally drawn to those private mining companies that had prospects of raising the profitability of the mines and of forming nuclei for expansion through new acquisitions. Such a mining company was Ruda 12 Apostoli. Its history began somewhere in the middle of the 18th century. It was first mentioned in about 1760, when a series of galleries in Ruda came into the possession of the Ribiczey family. The owners also bought a series of perimetres in Valea Arsului, Musari and Valea Morii from the Chamber of Mines. In 1791 these exploitations were taken over by the noble families Toldalagy and Zeyk, which constituted two joint stock companies (based on *cuxe*, mining shares): *Rudaer Zwölf Apostel Gewerkschaft* and *Zdrabolezzer Sankt Iohann Evangelist Gewerkschaft*. They had a favourable evolution over the years, as the shareholders, who were largely members of the Transylvanian aristocracy, did their utmost to ensure their good management, for as long as they brought a consistent and safe income (around 80-100 kg of

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<sup>83</sup> Nagy Róbert, *Capitalul, forță a transformării. Rolul capitalului german în industrializarea Transilvaniei (1880-1918)*, Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2011, pp. 165-176.

gold per year).<sup>84</sup> The analysis of the list of owners at Ruda 12 Apostoli confirms that the illustrious representatives of the Transylvanian nobility of the period were directly involved in gold mining in the Apuseni Mountains. Although the ownership documents were burned almost entirely during the Revolution of 1848, they were reconstituted after 1854, as the Mining Law enacted that year had specifically imposed that duty. According to the information found in the mining companies' register from 1858, Count Francisc Toldalagy owned 72 shares (*cuxe*), Iosif Teleki had 11.1/5 shares, Countess Teleki Domokos with her five sisters owned 11.1/5, Mihail Bruckenthal and his two sisters had 11.1/5 and Ladislaus of Thisa had 11.1/5 shares.<sup>85</sup> Of course, the owners changed in time, primarily by way of the inheritance of ownership rights. As regards the second company, *Zdraholczer Sanket Iohann Evangelist Gewerkschaft*, at the request of the same Mining Tribunal from Alba Iulia, share ownership rights were recorded as follows: the descendants of Carol Baternay had 21.5/6 *cuxe*, the heirs of Anton Baternay had 21.5/6 *cuxe*, Emeric Baternay had 12.3/6 *cuxe*, Aloisia Ribiczey, née Baternay – 12.3/6 *cuxe*, Amalia Nemeti – 12.3/6 *cuxe*, Hermina Vajda – 12.3/6 *cuxe*, while Francisc Vajda owned 12.3/6 shares, given his purchase of *cuxe* from Carol Baternay and Maria Debreczeny, née Baternay.<sup>86</sup>

The series of investments made by foreign capital in the area began in 1884, when the company *Harkort'sche Bergwerke und Chemische Fabriken zu Schwelm und Harkorten AG in Gotha* acquired the shares for the Ruda 12 Apostoli Company and, soon afterwards, those from Zdrholt, Valea Morii and Valea Arsului, along with the stamp mills from Brad, Gura Barza and Crișcior, which underwent a program of reconstruction and were equipped with the latest technologies. The takeover of the Ruda 12 Apostoli Company was made in exchange for 600,000 of florins. At Brad and Crișcior the old stamp mills were demolished and replaced with new ones, driven by turbines and steam machines. The ore was transported here with the help of cable cars, straight from the gallery. The company based in Gotha launched a systematic and extremely well-organized program, orientated towards a thorough, effective and lasting development. First of all, the geological research begun by the State in the previous periods was continued and extended. Thus, a detailed

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<sup>84</sup> Fr. Schumacher, *op. cit.*, p. 22; on the history of the Company Ruda 12 Apostoli, see Mircea Baron, "Die Entwicklung des Goldbergbaus im Gebiet von Brad von 1880 er Jahren bis 1948," in *Silber und Salz*, vol X/I, pp. 81-214.

<sup>85</sup> Mircea Baron, "Die Entwicklung des Goldbergbaus im Gebiet von Brad von 1880 er Jahren bis 1948," in *Silber und Salz*, vol X/I, p. 84; SJAN Hunedoara, fund *The Geological and Mining Inspectorate in Deva, Brad Branch, Register of the Mining Companies in Zarand*, vol. 3, poz. 16.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 84.

geological map of the “auriferous quadrilateral” was compiled using the most advanced technologies of the moment.<sup>87</sup> At the same time, the problem of energy sources was solved through the opening and exploitation of coal deposits along the valley of the White Criș River. The string of acquisitions made by the company in Gotha in 1889 continued through the purchase of the mines in Zdrahoľ, Valea Morii, Musari and Dealu Feti, leading to the biggest concentration of mining exploitations, the headquarters of the society being established at Brad.<sup>88</sup> The unification of the Ruda 12 Apostoli Company with Goldbergbau Muszări in 1898, under the aegis of the company *Harkort'sche Bergwerke und Chemische Fabriken zu Schwelm und Harkorten AG in Gotha*, marked a decisive step towards the concentration of gold mining exploitations in the Apuseni Mountains. No less than seven gold fields were joined together, totalling 1,300 hectares.<sup>89</sup> Besides the exploitations from Gura Barza and Valea Morii, the Brad area was also known through the mine in Musari. The galleries here were serviced by the stamp mill in Racova, operated with the help of a 3,030 m long cable car. The gold ore deposits in Musari lay near the villages Ruda and Luncoiul de Jos. They had been mined, over the course of time, by small gallery owners who had used the rudimentary techniques of past ages. Huge stockpiles of ore had been amassed and the owner regretfully lacked the necessary capital and technology for extracting gold from them. The area came to the attention of foreign capital at the end of the 1880s. The owners of the main gallery in Musari, Anton Pietsch, former Mayor of Brad, and Carl Wetzig sold it to the *Industrie- Gesellschaft Geislingen*, a German company with headquarters in Stuttgart. For ten years, this company extracted large quantities of gold from those stockpiles, which contained around 12 g. of gold/tonne. In 1898, *Industrie- Gesellschaft Geislingen* sold the entire operation to the company *Harkort'sche* from Gotha.<sup>90</sup>

Thus, thanks to capital investments and technological innovations, the area along the valleys of the Arieș and White Criș rivers turned, within only a few years, into the most modern and the largest gold exploitations in Europe. Here worked around 2,195 employees in 1910.<sup>91</sup> The process of the merger of all the companies taken over and integrated into the Ruda 12 Apostoli Company ended on 2 April 1910, when the shareholders' Extraordinary

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<sup>87</sup> Fr. Schumacher, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>88</sup> V. Wollmann, “Der Bergbau von Brad und Umgebung (in Crișcior, Valea Arsului, Zdrahoľ und Musari) von seinen Anfängen bis zur Gründung der “Mica” Gesellschaft im Jahre 1920,” in *Silber und Salz*, vol. 10/1...., p. 60 sqq.

<sup>89</sup> B. A. Vendeborn, “Die Goldindustrie in der Umgebung von Brad (Siebenbürgen),” in *Silber und Salz*, vol. 8/II, p. 1319-1320.

<sup>90</sup> B. A. Vendeborn, *loc. cit.*, p. 1355.

<sup>91</sup> Fr. Schumacher, *op cit.*, p. 22.

General Meeting, summoned for this purpose, confirmed the transaction. Following the unification of the two companies, the surface of the resulting company's mining perimeter encompassed 254 concessions, totalling 16,098,915 sqm of goldfields, 559,187 sqm of coalfields, 1,040.7 ha of woodland and 182.8 ha of other land.<sup>92</sup> The old wooden stamp mills, powered by the force of water, were replaced with the most advanced "Californian-type" facilities (*Roller-Mill-Pochwerke*), powered by electricity. The ore was transported with the aid of electric wagons and cable cars straight from the gallery into the stamp mills, which were equipped with copper amalgamation tables and the latest-generation purification systems. The central stamp mill at Gura Barza, built in 1897-1898, could process 600 tons of ore per day, making it the most modern and the largest in Europe.<sup>93</sup> For the first time, electricity was introduced in the Apuseni Mountains at Gura Barza, where there were installed 3 generators that provided the necessary energy for all installations, including for the workers' colonies. At the same time, the company in Gotha introduced here telephone switchboard and lines that connected all the exploitations to the administrative headquarters. The introduction of new modes of ore transportation via a 1,260 m cable car at Gura Barza dramatically reduced shipping costs, from 1.04 kronen/tonne to 0.12 kronen/tonne. The daily transport capacity was around 480 tonnes, but could be easily increased to 864 tonnes.<sup>94</sup>

The evolution of the quantitative data on the production of the company *Harkort'sche Bergwerke und Chemische Fabriken zu Schwelm und Harkorten AG in Gotha* reveals a spectacular growth: for example, in 1908, with its over 1,487 kilogrammes of gold, the company from Gotha alone ensured over 50% of the total gold production of Hungary.<sup>95</sup> The estimates made at that time by Fr. Schumacher, the company's director, revealed that a total amount of over 28,000 kilograms of raw gold had been produced during the period 1884-1911. At the level of the market prices for the year 1911, this quantity was worth over 64 million kronen.<sup>96</sup> The production and processing costs had dropped from 49.56 to about 11-12 kronen/tonne of ore.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 23.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>94</sup> B. A. Vendeborn, *loc. cit.*, p. 1327.

<sup>95</sup> V. Wollmann, *Der Bergbau von Brad*, p. 60 sqq.

<sup>96</sup> The price of gold was fairly stable during that period. Thus, from 1881 to 1896, the average price of a kg of raw gold was 1,395 florins. From 1905 to 1912, the average price of a kg of raw gold was around 3,280 kronen (1,640 florins). See Carl Tavi, "Goldproduction Siebenbürgens," in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Berg- und Hüttenwesen*, 36, no. 52, Wien, 1888, p. 401. See also *Ungarisches Statistisches Jahrbuch. Neue Folge*, 1905, Budapest, 1906, p. 136; *Idem*, 1912, p. 135.

<sup>97</sup> According to Fr. Schumacher, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

Tab. 3. The evolution of the estimated gold production during the period  
1885-1912  
-a selective overview-

Year	Quantity estimated in kg.	Value in florins (after 1900, in kronen)
1885	1,502.75	2,096,336,25
1890	1,921.25	2,680,143,75
1895	2,802.00	3,908,790,00
1900	2,909.00	9,541,520,00
1905	2,725.38	8,939,246,40
1910	2,229.68	7,304,574.00
1912	1,961.50	6,433,730.90

**Sources:** The data have been processed after *Ungarisches Statistisches Jahrbuch. Neue Folge*, VIII, 1900, pp. 132, 136; idem, XIII, 1905, p. 136; idem, XX, 1912, pp. 167-169. The data have also been compared with other sources, including Carl Tavi, "Goldproduction Siebenbürgens," in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Berg- und Hüttenwesen*, 36, no. 52, Wien, 1888.

Note: the data refer to the amount of gold produced in the jurisdiction of the Mining Captaincy of Zlatna, which overlapped, in geographical terms, the "auriferous quadrilateral," and include the overall amount extracted by the State and the private companies. In the period 1870-1914, the Mining Captaincy of Zlatna provided approximately 68% of the amount of gold extracted in the Kingdom of Hungary. For calculating the production value, we took the following references into account: thus, in the period 1881-1896, the average price of one kg of raw gold was 1,395 florins; from 1905 to 1912, the average price of a kg of raw gold was around 3,280 kronen (1,640 florins). These values have been retrieved and calculated according to the above-cited statistical source.

Modernization and efficiency were introduced according to the availability of capital and other production capacities, including in the smelteries, whose technological conditions were rather precarious and had low levels of profitability. The smeltery in Baia de Arieș was closed down in 1873. A decade later, the one in Certej was also closed down, in 1882. The smeltery in Zlatna had to service the entire area, but it was not in good condition either. One of the most acute problems was represented by fuel. After the possibility of purchasing timber at preferential prices from the forests of the State was cancelled in 1871, the prices of charcoal increased by 30-90%.<sup>98</sup> In addition, the lack of railway tracks prevented the introduction of the much cheaper mineral coal. All this created serious profitability and operation problems for

<sup>98</sup> L. Vajda, "Întreprinderea metalurgică de la Zlatna între anii 1848-1918 (I)," in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, series Historia*, Fasciculus 2, 1973, pp. 73-73.

the plant in Zlatna. Gold smelting costs amounted to 3.80 florins/ztr. of processed ore. Basically, 25% of the value of the finished product was swallowed up by the transportation, smelting and administrative costs, etc. Under these circumstances, it was estimated that gold mining and processing would succumb unless urgent measures were taken.<sup>99</sup> Because this smeltery was owned by the State, the decision to invest heavily in technology was reached with great difficulty. In the period 1879-1889, however, some technological improvements were made for the optimization of the smelting processes, 108,700 florins being invested. However, the problem of the fuel and the incorrect application of the smelting technology caused the plant to continue operating with deficits.

Only after 1890 was there a consistent technologization program launched. The extensive work done in 1890-1893 led practically to a reconstruction of the entire plant. Given the possibility of cost-effective poor-ore processing, the amount of ore processed grew substantially and the smelting cost was reduced by increasing the capacity of the smelting furnaces. At the same time, technological innovations resulted in lowering the amount of fuel needed, while ensuring the profitability of the plant in Zlatna.<sup>100</sup> Finally, the construction of the railway line Alba Iulia-Zlatna in 1895 and the linking of the factory to the railway in 1900 ensured the widespread introduction of coke and the transport of products directly into the factory, eliminating thus the old method of transportation by cart.

### 3. The social effects of gold mining

After a brief overview of these three major stages of gold mining in the area of the Apuseni Mountains in the period 1750-1914, the legitimate question that arises concerns the effects on community development, understood in a broad sense, rather than merely at the level of the quantitative data referring to the volume of investments, the value of production and the level of profit achieved.

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<sup>99</sup> These assessments belonged to A. Hauch, a specialist in metallurgy, who studied the situation of the smeltery in Zlatna. A. Hauch, "Über die jetzigen Verhältnisse des siebenbürgische Goldbergbaues und die zu seiner Unterstützung nothwendig gewordenen Hütten- Betriebsreformen", in *Berg- und Hüttenmännische Zeitung*, 35, 1876, p. 341-344; also published in *Silber und Salz*, IV, pp. 395-398.

<sup>100</sup> While from 1871 to 1878 the processing of a q of gold ore cost 13.56 kronen, in around 1900 it cost no more than 3.95 kronen. See the technical data in L. Vajda, "Întreprinderea metalurgică de la Zlatna între anii 1848-1918 (II)," in *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai, series Historia*, Fasciculus 1, 1974, p. 82.

Firstly, mining was the predominant occupation of the local population in the “auriferous quadrilateral.” There was also a significant category of people who earned a living from processing and using forestry products, wood in particular. In addition to this, they also practised agriculture, mainly livestock farming, primarily for meeting the family’s food needs, but also, to a small extent, for trade. Living and working in a mountainous area, unfavourable to agriculture, miners had to secure their livelihood, primarily through the salary they earned. As regards the earnings received by the workers in the gold industry, the existing historical sources enable us to reconstruct, to a certain extent, the mode of remuneration and the value of the miners’ wages compared to the prices and the living necessities of those times.

Before the middle of the 19th century, the traditional system varied from one area to another and even from one gallery to another. First of all, the amount of the salary was calculated according to the nature of the ore that was to be exploited, the depth at which it was extracted, the gold content of the mined ore, etc. It was an extremely complicated archaic system which generated an entire series of particular situations that were difficult to manage, even for the administrative officials of the mines. Of the best known systems in operation at the end of the 18th century, some of which were perpetuated until the middle of the next century, we should mention the so-called *Geding-Arbeit*, a kind of piece wage system, and *Haltarbeit*, which involved payment according to the content of the precious ore extracted.<sup>101</sup> The latter system was applied first at the mines in Săcărâmb and Băița and proved to be very lucrative for the shareholders. It should be noted that the workday in the underground mines was 8 hours out of 24, while that on the surface (ore transportation, preparation for stamping, etc.) was 12 hours. Likewise, wages depended on seniority and qualifications. At the end of the 18th century, an ordinary miner would receive between 5.38 and 10.17 florins/month. The monthly wage of a supervisor would exceed 20 florins/month and the administrator of the mine would be paid 50 florins/month.<sup>102</sup> Both during and after this period, although work in the gold mining field was far more difficult and dangerous than farming, the payment was lower, considering that the payment for a day of harvesting was 0.15 florins, while for a day of scything it was 0.34 florins.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> These systems are analysed in detail in Al. Neamțu, “Condițiile de muncă și salarizare în industria extractivă din Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea,” in *Apulum*, 4, 1961, p. 249 sqq.

<sup>102</sup> Ibidem, p. 257.

<sup>103</sup> Ibidem.

It was not until 1851 that a more uniform payment system was adopted. The so-called *Lohn-Regulativ* of 1851 attempted to introduce a series of wage standardization criteria in the domain of gold mining.<sup>104</sup> The basic principle consisted in calculating a wage rate that could meet the yearly minimum standards of living for a worker with a family of 3 or 4 members. The calculation procedure was based on the prices in the area for certain types of food (cereals, meat, bacon, lard, milk, butter, wine, spirits, tobacco, etc.) and other necessary goods (clothing, footwear), basic goods needed in the household (salt, candles, or contributions to the church). Based on those prices, calculated annually or every 2-3 years, the living wage was determined. However, it should be noted that the mining administrations always took into consideration the premise that miners also ensured those necessary for living from farming, which they and their families practised as a secondary activity. In general, in the mid-19th century the miners' wages in the gold industry were low not only in comparison with other socio-professional categories, but especially with their daily living needs. For example, while in 1850 a mining worker's salary was, on average, 0.36 florins a day and 103.68 florins a year, in 1857 it reached, on average, 0.38-0.40 florins a day that means 109.44-115.20 florins a year.<sup>105</sup>

The general growth in prices, particularly from 1854 on, and the repeated price rises in the subsequent years created a blatant discrepancy with the modest level of pay growth; thus, the value of real income dropped and the miners' standard of living plummeted.<sup>106</sup>

For example, at Săcărâmb maintenance expenses for a worker's family were set at 396 florins a year in 1857, while the annual salary ranged between 74.88 and 115.20 florins a year), which meant that wages ensured no more than one third of the basic needs.<sup>107</sup> In 1858 the minimum standard of living at Roșia Montană amounted to 453.96 florins per year, while the annual salary averaged 150 florins.<sup>108</sup> Thus, we can say that from the point of view of social and working conditions, the situation of the workers in Transylvania's gold mining industry was precarious, as they barely managed to scrape out a living and ensure their basic needs. The salaries were low not only in relation to the prices, but especially with the hard work in the mine, which usually lasted 10

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<sup>104</sup> FHKA, *Montan Akten, Ktn. 164, no. 16624/1851*.

<sup>105</sup> It should be noted that miners worked on average 288 days/year; SJAN Alba, no. 1038, The Mining Captaincy in Zlatna, file no. 1/1857- Permanent wage calculation register (18 files)

<sup>106</sup> L. Vajda, M. Mirel, "Condițiile de salarizare și revendicările minerilor de pe domeniul minier al Zlatnei în perioada 1849-1867," in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 7, 1970, p. 273 sqq.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibidem*.



per day or even 12 hours in the case of the workers at the stamp mills. At the end of the 19th century, there were no longer any colonies for the workers even at the larger exploitations, the miners being forced to commute on foot, most often across considerable distances, spending 2-3 hours on the road.

Since many of them had not permanently given up their farming occupations, they preferred to abandon work in the mine in summer and carry out agricultural activities that ensured their subsistence but brought them only a meagre income. The availability of the mining workforce was often problematic in summer, so administrators were forced to raise salaries temporarily in order to attract workers. However, no significant changes occurred before the end of the 1880s, when the major foreign-owned mining firms would reorganize their labour regime and remuneration system: old practices had continued to prevail and precarious social and working conditions had lingered on in the gold mining industry, barely providing workers with basic subsistence possibilities or advantages of any sorts. The situation was generalized at the level of entire Transylvania, whether we speak of workers in the industrial or in the agricultural sectors.<sup>109</sup> A similar example is offered by an analysis of the wages obtained by the miners working for the State-owned exploitations in Roşia Montană in the 1880s, more precisely at the Orlea mine, where 235 people were employed in 1880.<sup>110</sup> The monthly salary was around 19.60 florins, which meant that, on average, a worker did not earn more than 0.70 florins a day.<sup>111</sup> On the basis of local reference prices, the mine calculated the cost of living for a family consisting of 3 persons: for the year 1879, this cost amounted to 41.64 florins a month, so the average salary did not cover even half of a family's necessary monthly expenses.<sup>112</sup> This was the situation of employed miners: far from fortunate in terms of their earnings. Still, most of them had no other alternative to mining, which they had practised from generation to generation. The other category of miners, who worked in their own exploitations or in private mining enterprises that used salaried workforce, was most consistent numerically speaking, as they

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<sup>109</sup> For comparisons, see Iosif Marin Balog, "Prices, Wages and Consumption in Transylvania between 1850-1914. Tendencies and Developments in Rural and Urban Areas," in *Romanian Journal of Population Studies*, vol. V, 2011, Supplement, pp. 49-85.

<sup>110</sup> SJAN Alba Iulia, fund inv. no. 178, *The State's metal mines. Roşia Montană*, file no. 2/1880, f. 4

<sup>111</sup> Depending on the conditions of employment, type of work and seniority, the salary spreadsheets for this period indicate an income of 0.45 to 1.20 florins/day. According to SJAN Alba Iulia, the fund cited above, file no. 3/1880, f. 57.

<sup>112</sup> Ibidem, f. 40; the calculations comprised two categories of necessities: a) clothing, firewood and housing maintenance 119 florins/year (9.93 florins/month) b) basic food and drinks 380.52 florins/year (31.71 florins/month).

represented more than two thirds of the total of those who practised mining. It is difficult to ascertain how much a gold miner earned. For this, we should explore the data provided by the exchange offices, where gold was processed on a weekly or monthly basis (Abrud, Alba Iulia, Baia de Criș) and where all these transactions were rigorously recorded. Without going into the details now, we should highlight the assessments made by various observers who said that a stamp mill of the peasant type, with 6-12 arrows, like those from Roșia Montană, delivered about 15-20 grams of gold per week.<sup>113</sup> If such data are reliable, then the gross weekly income was of 18.07-24.10 florins a week. After the necessary expenses, the miners were left, at most, with 10.85-14.46 florins, which often had to be divided between the associates or the family members who had been working together.<sup>114</sup> In any case, those who mined on their own earned more than miners with various forms of employment, but it should be kept in mind that these revenues were not constant, that sometimes days and weeks on end of consistent effort were to no avail, and that only their tenacity and the hope of striking it big motivated these miners to carry on working.<sup>115</sup>

In the third stage, which corresponded to the period 1885-1914 and which, as we saw above, was affected by profound transformations in terms of the capital invested and the technologies introduced (especially in the case of the big private mining companies), there occurred beneficial changes in the remuneration system and in the social conditions of the miners and the administrative personnel. First of all, the need to ensure qualified workforce

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<sup>113</sup> E. Thilo, "Studien über den Goldbergbau und die Goldgewinnung in Siebenbürgen," in *Berg- und Hüttenmännische Zeitung*, 48, no. 14, 1889, p. 133.

<sup>114</sup> The calculations have a rather approximate value. Admitting that an amount of 15-20 grams was obtained in a week, the average transportation costs were estimated at 40 kronen/tonne of ore, the stamping costs were 50 kronen, plus other minor costs, so the overall cost was over one florin a tonne, according to E. Thilo (see note above). The calculated value takes as reference the average price of 1205.33 florins/kg of raw gold. On the other hand, in his study, Valeriu Butură appreciated that those who were involved in alluvial gold panning achieved on average 2 g/day, which meant earnings of 2.41 florins/day, without additional costs in this case (2.41 florins/day x 6 days of work = 14.46 florins a week. On gold panning, see V. Butură, "Spălarea aurului din aluviuni și mineritul țărănesc din Munții Apuseni," in *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei*, 1965-1967, pp. 25-94; Constantin Nichitean, Coralia-Maria Jianu, "Din istoria extragerii aurului aluvionar" in *Sargetia*, XXXII, 2004, pp. 85-120.

<sup>115</sup> On the way in which the gold rush marked the destinies and the mindsets of the locals, see the recent works of several anthropologists and ethnologists, which relate to periods closer to this day but can quite easily be extrapolated to bygone eras: Bernic Mihai, *Capitalul uman în Munții Apuseni. Apecte psiho-sociale*, Cluj, 1997; Mirela Crâșnic, *Tradiții și contrabandă cu aur la Roșia Montană, Abrud și Bucium*, Petroșani, 2009; Paula Popoiu, *Roșia Montană, studiu etnologic*, second edition, Cluj, 2010; Erchedi Nicoleta, *Țara Moșilor. Studiu de dezvoltare rurală și geografie socială*, PhD Thesis, Cluj, 2012.

and, above all, the maintenance of a constant number of workers throughout the year determined the companies to build the first colonies that would provide cheap housing to the miners. The first such colonies were built at Ruda, then at Brad and Musari. The conditions were thus created for attracting workers in the region from other areas of Transylvania. As the payment system was now regulated on clearer and more rational bases, it provided much more attractive incentives. Thus, at the mines and processing plants of the Ruda 12 Apostoli Company, the level of wages oscillated, in 1910, between 2.50 and 3.30 kronen a day for unskilled workers,<sup>116</sup> indicating a significant nominal increase in comparison with the previous years, even though, as we mentioned above, purchasing power had decreased quite a lot. At the plant in Zlatna, the technologizations of the late 1890s had resulted in a growing number of workers, from 116 in 1891 to 220 in 1910. Similarly, average wages increased from 1.64 kronen a day in 1900 (472.32 kronen a year) to 2.05 kronen a day in 1910 (590.4 kronen a year).<sup>117</sup> By contrast, at the State mines in Roşia Montană, wages remained low throughout this period. Thus, while in 1901 the average salary was 1.25 kronen a day, it barely reached 1.50 kronen a day in 1907, which was less than what a day labourer made in agriculture.<sup>118</sup> It should also be noted that it often happened for miners to receive less than half their due salary as a result of the debts they had incurred at the company's store or of the money they owed for medicine or other urgent needs.

On the other hand, looking at things from a wider and more comprehensive vantage point, through the lens of the so-called theory of comparative advantages, we may note that there were a multitude of factors at the regional level that produced positive effects on the economic and social life of the inhabitants. Although the wages were not in any way advantageous for workers in the region and their incomes were insignificant compared to the value they produced,<sup>119</sup> there was a whole series of benefits for the region

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<sup>116</sup> Fr. Schumacher, pp. 105-106.

<sup>117</sup> L. Vajda, "Întreprinderea... (II)," in *loc. cit.*, p. 82. Although wages increased nominally, in reality the value of this increase was cancelled by the spectacular price rises of 1907-1910.

<sup>118</sup> SJAN Alba Iulia, fund *The State's metal mines. Roşia Montană*, file no. 1/1907, f. 242, 258. The wage differences were significant, depending on seniority: for instance, with a seniority of 15 years, Bucurestian Ionaş earned 1.30 kronen/day. By contrast, Bucurestian Gyorgye (probably the son of B. Ionaş) had a seniority of 2 years and earned only 0.50 kronen/day. There were 229 workers on the payment lists of the Orlea Gallery in 1907.

<sup>119</sup> It was estimated, for instance, that in the 1860s the annual value of the gold extracted in Transylvania was about 1,340,000 florins/year, according to Fr. Ritter von Hauer, "Die Goldlagerstätten Siebenbürgens," in *Österreichische Revue*, 1, 1864, pp. 198-212. Another example: in the period 1853-1862, the value of the gold extracted in Săcărâmb was 294,520 florins, at an annual average of 30,000 florins/year, according to MNL OL, fund F 335 *Montan Akten*, 84 csomó, f. 85.

itself, which could not be encountered in other areas of Transylvania under the socio-economic circumstances of the time. First, even though in the 18th-19th centuries, the State did not have a coherent set of general social policies on its agenda, they were created at the local level, in every company, regardless of whether these were private enterprises or companies in which the State was the main investor. The need for social protection and welfare was extremely acute in the mining sector. Among the social regulations, mention should be made of the advantages provided to the administrative staff employed at the State-owned mines and the private companies (exemptions from certain fiscal obligations, free or very cheap housing, and “emoluments”). In 1781, a pension scheme for employees working for the State-owned mining companies was set up; in principle, a miner had to have a 40-year uninterrupted length of service to qualify for a state pension. In addition to this, the communities sought to create protection institutions in case of illness, accident or death; a very eloquent example was the so-called *Pisetel Fund* of the Abrud-Roșia Montană Mining District, established in 1790, based on a contribution of 1 krone for each *piseta* (4.8 g) of gold handed over to the Exchange Office.<sup>120</sup> It was from this fund that doctors and midwives were paid and aids for medicines or for widows and orphans were granted, even small loans being offered on rather advantageous terms. A similar role was played by mutual assistance funds, the *Bruderslade* (literally “chest of the brotherhood,” support associations), which provided the necessary aid to those in need and difficulty, as well as a pension fund. The status of these *Bruderslade* had to be approved by the competent mining authority in the region.<sup>121</sup> They were given special attention also because they represented the only way of enacting the minimum social protection that was to be provided to the employees. This explains why the importance of the *Bruderslade* was explicitly laid down in the Mining Law of 1854, which established a set of well articulated practices and regulations in this regard. The provision of medical services from the funds of the *Bruderslade*, of pensions and insurances for widows or for accidents in the work place was the duty and obligation of the employer, stipulated as such in the law. Companies were also bound to exert their patronage supporting the churches and the schools in their proximity and even some cultural associations. Thus, we can say that there are plenty of arguments attesting a genuine social responsibility of the corporate type, which, with the exception of Banat, no other regions of Transylvania experienced at that time. A few examples could be, in this context, illustrative: at Ruda 12 Apostoli the *Bruderslade* had been in existence ever since the opening of the mine in 1760. Its members were divided into three categories: permanent workers formed categories 1 and 2,

<sup>120</sup> Ioan Dordea, “Aspecte din viața socială” p. 248.

<sup>121</sup> SJAN Alba, fund no. 337, *The Zlatna Mining Directorate*, file 3/1861, f. 23-68.

while temporary workers represented category 3. Those of the first two categories had to pay a monthly contribution of 6% of their salary, while the others were bound to pay 4%.<sup>122</sup> The system was maintained and improved even after the mine was taken by the *Harkort'sche* Company from Gotha. Moreover, the company set up a pension fund and, independent of this, an insurance fund for the administrative personnel. The pension fund included two categories: the “founders” and the “insured.” The former were entitled to an invalidity pension if they had paid their contributions for a minimum of 8 years. In the latter case, the “insured” were provided with a policy paid by the company to an insurance company; after 10 years of ceaseless payment of their contributions, the insured were eligible for a pension.<sup>123</sup>

Towards the end of the 19th century, foreign-owned companies continued and expanded these services to both their own employees and the communities in question. They took over the patronage over churches and schools or built, at their own expense, hospitals, medical practices, elementary schools and food stores. For example, the *Horkort'sche* Company built a hospital with 16 beds at Brad and medical offices at Crișcior, Baia de Criș, Abrud and Băița,<sup>124</sup> two elementary schools at Gura Barza and Musari, attended by all children, regardless of their ethnicity and religion. At Săcărâmb, where mining exploitations belonged to the State at the end of the 19th century, there was no hospital, but the two physicians provided medical care both to the mining company and to the local population.<sup>125</sup> In other mining settlements – Baia de Arieș, Băița, Abrud, Băișoara – physicians and health services had been available to the population since the end of the 18th century, the doctors being paid higher or lower wages, depending on the evolution of the exploitations. Their salaries were funded both by the State or the mining company and by the *Bruderslade*. Miners and the support staff in the mining sector who contributed to the house of the brotherhood were entitled to free health care and received the necessary medicines at the expense of the *Bruderslade* in the district. Women and children were entitled to medicine, provided to them at the doctor's expense, where there was a community system of health insurance contribution – the so-called family *grös* (groschen, a subdivision of the schilling). Finally, anyone who required medical care but was not a member of some mutual aid or assistance system had to pay for these services in full. It should be noted that the mining authorities paid close attention to ensuring that highly trained doctors worked in the region, the

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<sup>122</sup> Mircea Baron, “Die Entwicklung des Goldbergbaus im Gebiet von Brad von den 1880-er Jahren bis 1948,” in *Salz und Silber*, Bd. 10, teil 1, p. 96.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>124</sup> Fr. Schumacher, *op. cit.*

<sup>125</sup> L. Vajda, “Întreprinderea Minieră”, p. 80.

professional requirements in this regard being more demanding than for the physicians employed throughout the rest of the province.<sup>126</sup> Special emphasis was laid on vaccinations; from 1801 onwards, vaccination became mandatory and cost-free for miners and the poor population, and physicians working in the mining areas gave particular attention to it, as attested by numerous reports.<sup>127</sup> The analysis of the data relating to the funds available to the benefit societies from the territory of the Mining Captaincy of Zlatna (*Bruderslade*) reveals that in the early 20th century they had considerable sums at their disposal. Thus, in 1905 their total assets amounted to 2,968,088 kronen in the case of State-owned companies and 1,936,241 kronen in the case of private companies.<sup>128</sup> The existence of such health services in the region undoubtedly represented a relative advantage for the population, since there was hardly any kind of medical services provided to the population in other areas of Transylvania, aside from the major cities. However, given the mining profile of the region, health problems were acute and numerous throughout this period. Occupational diseases and other serious ailments like syphilis remained an unresolved matter, with serious consequences.

In turn, schools in the region benefited to some extent from the mining activity, although in this case we cannot speak of a significantly better situation compared to other regions. Schools benefited from the patronage of the mining companies, which also founded secondary schools with a mining vocational profile, training workers and mid-level specialists necessary for the mining activities in the area.

#### 4. Demographic developments

The analysis of the demographic evolution in the “auriferous quadrilateral” in the period 1850-1910 reflects, to some extent, the socio-economic processes that took place in the region. What can be seen clearly from the analysis of the demographic data, in conjunction with the evolution of mining in the area, the dynamics of exploitations (reflected in the amount of gold mined) and the number of those involved in specific gold mining activities, is the existence of a visible correlation of the quantitative data that

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<sup>126</sup> Al. Neamțu, “Obligațiile medicilor montanistici din Transilvania secolelor XVIII-XIX,” in *Apărarea sănătății ieri și azi. Studii, note și documente* (ed. G Brătescu), București, 1984, p. 103 sqq.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 113.

<sup>128</sup> *Ungarisches Statistisches Jahrbuch. Neue Folge*, XIII; 1905, p. 141. For example, in the case of the state companies, out of a total revenue of 794,146 kronen, the following sums were spent: 181,659 kronen for pensions and provisions; 45,580 kronen on health aid; 13,235 kronen to support certain schools and churches.

reveal all these indicators. Without aiming to highlight the economic factor as an absolute determinant, we should underline a series of aspects that indicate both convergences with and divergences from similar demographic evolutions at the level of entire Transylvania.

Tab. 4. Demographic evolution in the “auriferous quadrilateral” 1850-1910

	Place	1850	1857	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
1.	<b>Abrud</b>	2,236	3,798	4,129	2,869	2,993	3,341	2,938
2.	Almaşu Mare	1,249	1,339	1,350	1,303	1,569	1,358	1,356
3.	Almaşu Mic	386	253	355	490	399	540	518
4.	Baia de Arieş	1,464	1,404	1,163	986	961	1,057	956
5.	Baia de Criş	457	533	726	637	664	965	1,001
6.	Băiţa	1,083	1,167	1,238	1,166	1,543	1,760	1,220
7.	Brad	1,887	1,890	2,433	2,326	3,006	3,896	4,272
8.	Buceş	706	700	821	791	806	800	821
9.	Bucureşti	468	1,259*	562	557	612	639	627
10.	Bucium	3,590	3,851	4,076	3,846	4,532	4,634	4,066
11.	După Piatră	1,747	1,713	1,869	1,779	2,078	2,132	2,240
12.	Căienel	146	346	434	414	594	569	597
13.	Căraci	340	338	351	271	297	284	272
14.	Certejul de Sus	749	725	746	655	745	775	768
15.	Cerbăl	344	534	574	586	576	572	568
16.	Criscior	846	833	982	978	1,295	1,793	2,247
17.	Curechi	820	808	883	878	848	878	941
18.	Fizeş	169	180	426	359	436	499	458
19.	Glod	252	239	312	329	356	411	441
20.	Hărtăgani	1,138	1,216	1,617	1,390	1,638	1,797	1,764
21.	Hondol	1,708	1,503	1,536	1,161	1,315	1,234	1,126
22.	Luncoiu de Jos	525	534	686	583	669	644	714
23.	Porcurea/Vălişoara	326	319	376	375	361	459	478
24.	Rişca	482	457	524	430	464	512	479
25.	Roşia Montană	3,132	3,413	3,703	3,439	3,361	3,350	2,907
26.	Ribiţa	568	576	677	535	693	769	892
27.	Ruda	443	442	560	433	474	1,001	781

28.	Săcărâmb	2,761	2,364	2,003	1,778	1,765	1,547	1,248
29.	Stănița	1,071	1,059	1,134	1,059	1,121	1,046	1,097
30.	Techeș	287	232	279	327	365	403	428
31.	Trăstia	450	400	464	422	499	551	589
32.	Țebea	1,229	1,206	1,308	1,046	1,067	1,195	1,227
33.	<b>Zlatna</b>	<b>2,847</b>	<b>2,928</b>	<b>5,327</b>	<b>2,662</b>	<b>3,369</b>	<b>3,823</b>	<b>4,317</b>
	<b>Population total in the “auriferous quadrilateral”</b>	<b>34,906</b>	<b>38,559</b>	<b>43,624</b>	<b>36,860</b>	<b>41,471</b>	<b>45,234</b>	<b>44,354</b>

\* Censused in 1857, along with the village Șesuri. See the explanation in *Recensământul...*, p. 284.

Sources: *Recensământul din 1850 – Transilvania*, ed. Traian Rotaru, Cluj-Napoca, 1996. Second edition 2004; *Recensământul din 1857 – Transilvania*, ed. Traian Rotaru, Second edition, Cluj-Napoca, 1997. *Recensământul din 1869 – Transilvania*, ed. Traian Rotaru, Cluj-Napoca, 2008; *Recensământul din 1880 – Transilvania*, ed. Traian Rotaru, Cluj-Napoca, 1997; *Recensământul din 1900 – Transilvania*, ed. Traian Rotaru, Cluj-Napoca, 1999; *Recensământul din 1910 – Transilvania*, ed. Traian Rotaru, Cluj-Napoca, 1999.

According to the table, which takes into account 33 localities from the region studied,<sup>129</sup> from 1850 to 1910 the population increased, in absolute figures, from 34,906 to 44,354 inhabitants. This represented an actual numerical increase of 9,448 inhabitants, by 27.06%.

Correlating these numbers with the population growth at the level of entire Transylvania during this period, we can notice that although this was an upward trend, it was far below the general average of 40.4%.<sup>130</sup>

Like at the level of the entire province, demographic growth occurred both in the period 1850-1857 and in the next decade: by 10.46% and, respectively, by 24.97%. From an economic point of view, the region was on an upward trend, marked by the new economic and legislative atmosphere. Private enterprises experienced an unprecedented expansion. Although the old technological processes continued to be used, the amount of gold extracted underwent a steady growth during this period: if the area produced around 820 kg of gold per year in 1850, 1864 saw a maximum production of 1,420 kg, the annual average exceeding 1,100 kg.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>129</sup> Schumacher's map recorded 33 localities, as mentioned in our table. Although there were small mountain villages adjacent to these administrative units, we will focus only on the 33 localities where gold was exploited, one way or another.

<sup>130</sup> Ioan Bolovan, *Transilvania între revoluția de la 1848 și Unirea din 1918. Contribuții demografice*, Cluj-Napoca: Fundația Clturală Română, 2000, p. 35.

<sup>131</sup> *Statistisches Handbuchlein für die Österreichische Monarchie von der k. k. Direktion der administrativen Statistik*, Wien, 1864.



The decade 1871-1880 witnessed a demographic decline of 15.51% at the regional level, way above the average in Transylvania, which during the same period showed a population decline by 5.8%.<sup>132</sup> This was the period of the economic crisis triggered in 1873, which strongly affected the mining activities in the region. Thus, while in 1873 there were no less than 516 larger or smaller exploitations that employed 8,369 permanent and temporary workers, in 1876 there were only 383 mining exploitations, employing 6,613 workers,<sup>133</sup> most of the small-scale private enterprises having suspended their activity due to their lack of capital and rudimentary technological equipment that had led to very low profitability levels and revenues. Of course, we should not omit other demographic causes, above all the virulent cholera epidemic that broke out in the Apuseni Mountains in 1873.

By contrast, the following period reveals a higher demographic growth in this region (by 12% compared to the previous decade) than at the level of the entire province, the Transylvanian average for this decade being 8.3%.<sup>134</sup> Firstly, as regards economic developments, a radical change occurred in the gold mining sector after 1884, when foreign capital made its appearance in the region. This was the period when towns and villages like Brad, Ruda and Crișcior underwent spectacular demographic growth, the most important investments being concentrated here. This demographic growth was partly due to immigrations from outside of the region, these settlements becoming attractive centres for those looking for a job.

Ten years later, we find the same upward trend of demographic growth (+ 9.7%) compared with the previous decade, revealing a convergence with the average of Transylvania (9%),<sup>135</sup> amid generally positive economic developments in those areas where the volume of investments was higher. Technologization and the concentration of production at the level of several mining companies led to their dominating the gold mining sector in this region, in terms of both productivity and the number of workers employed.

However, the evolution was divergent in the decade 1901-1910: whereas Transylvania witnessed an overall demographic growth of 8.3%, the region analysed reveals a demographic decline by nearly two percentage points (1.94%). The situation may seem paradoxical if we consider that the mining activity continued to intensify, having been dominated, for a good while now, by a few large companies with foreign capital. On the other hand, a significant restriction affected the small private exploitations, whose land tended now to

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<sup>132</sup> Ioan Bolovan, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>133</sup> L. Vajda, "Locul mineritului din Săcărâmb în cadrul exploatării metalelor prețioase din Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea," in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia* fasciculus 1, 1973, p. 68.

<sup>134</sup> Ioan Bolovan, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 45.

be leased to the larger companies. Given the new technologies they had been implemented and financed, these companies limited the number of workers they employed. This maximum level reached a peak value around the 1900s, after which it stagnated. At the same time, in the case of State-owned mines in Roşia Montană and Săcărâmb mining activities stagnated and even declined amid a lack of investments and up-to-date technologization. At Săcărâmb, the gold deposits were nearing exhaustion. As a result, the surplus of workers in the region who failed to find employment in the gold mining sector were forced to choose the path of emigration. One of their destinations was the Jiu Valley, an area whose economic profile was similar to that of the Apuseni Mountains and which was relatively close to it in geographical terms, attracting, during this period, an important demographic contingent.

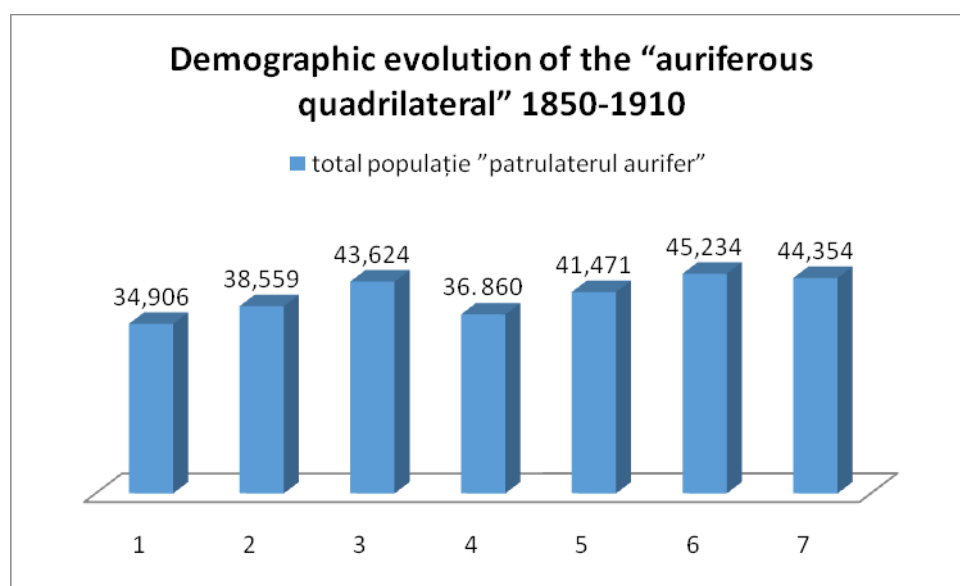


Chart no. 1: The demographic evolution of the “auriferous quadrilateral” according to the data provided by the censuses of 1850, 1857, 1869, 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1910.

The relationship between the economic developments and the demographic trends in the goldfield region of the Apuseni Mountains can also be highlighted at the level of the villages and the towns. I have chosen for this purpose nine situations where the mining activity was carried out in different ways and at specific rhythms. These situations can be grouped into three patterns:

1. A pattern of significant demographic growth, at Brad, Crişcior and Ruda, where the activity of large foreign-owned companies was concentrated towards the end of the 19th century. The most

important company of this kind was the *Harkort'sche Bergwerke und Chemische Fabriken zu Schwelm und Harkorten AG in Goth*, whose headquarters were located in Brad and which gradually took over vast auriferous perimeters at Musari, Ruda, Valea Morii, etc., creating the largest mining area administered by this company in the Apuseni Mountains.<sup>136</sup> These localities had the highest demographic growth rates in the entire “auriferous quadrilateral.” Thus, from 1850 to 1910, the population had increased by 226.39% in Brad, by 265.60% at Crișcior and by 176.29% at Ruda (see Chart no. 2).

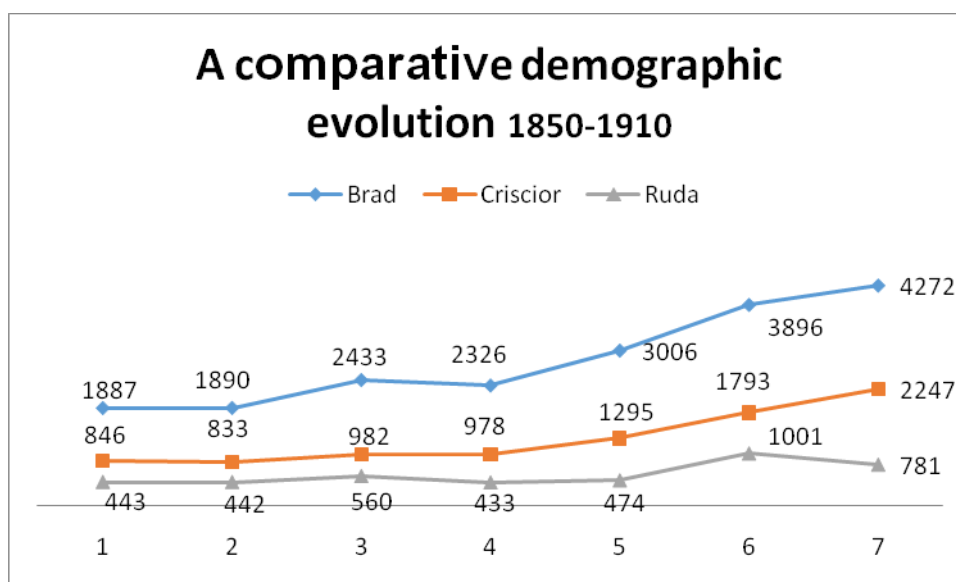


Chart no. 2. Pattern 1: Demographic growth

2. The second pattern - demographic decline - was detectible at Căraci, Roșia Montană and Săcărâmb. It should be noted that in these localities, the State owned the largest share in the gold mining sector. Roșia Montană was an exception, because there were numerous small private exploitations here. Although the production of all these mines had been very good right up to the end of the 19th century, the lack of high-profile investments, the declining ore concentration and the technical problems associated with poorly designed underground exploitations generated a drop in productivity and a rather large fluctuation of employment possibilities. The demographic decline at

<sup>136</sup> B. A: Wendenborn, “Die Goldindustrie in der Umgebung von Brád (Siebenbürgen),” in *Silber und Salz*, vol. 10, part II, Bochum 2010, pp. 1319-1356.

Roşia Montană was 7.18%, evincing a continuous process of population decline after 1870. The same process affected Săcărâmb, where the population decreased throughout the period 1850-1910. By 1910, the population had declined here by 54.79%. At Căraci the population dropped by 20%.

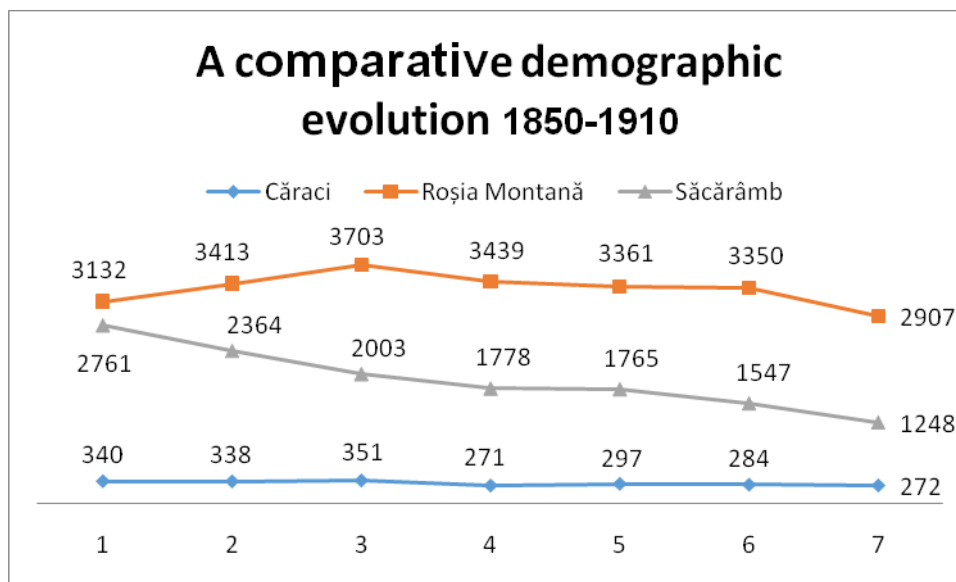


Chart no. 3. Pattern 2: demographic decline

3. Finally, the third pattern - of demographic “stagnation” - was encountered in several villages in the region. In the three examples we have chosen, mining was done mostly through small private operations, which, alongside agriculture, provided the inhabitants of the area with modest livelihood sources. There were many such exploitations, both at Bucium and at Tebea, that were carried out with traditional technological means by the locals, the areas being insufficiently dynamic and attractive to absorb workforce from the outside. At Certeju de Sus, the closing of the smeltery in 1882 resulted in a significant decline in economic activities. Demographic growth was just over 2.53%. In Bucium there was an increase of 13.25%, well below the region’s average (27.06%). The situation in Tebea reveals a special case: if we look at the data reported at the two chronological extremities (1850-1910), there was a demographic decline of 0.16%. It should be noted, however, that the period 1890-1910 witnessed a 14.99% increase.

## A comparative demographic evolution 1850-1910

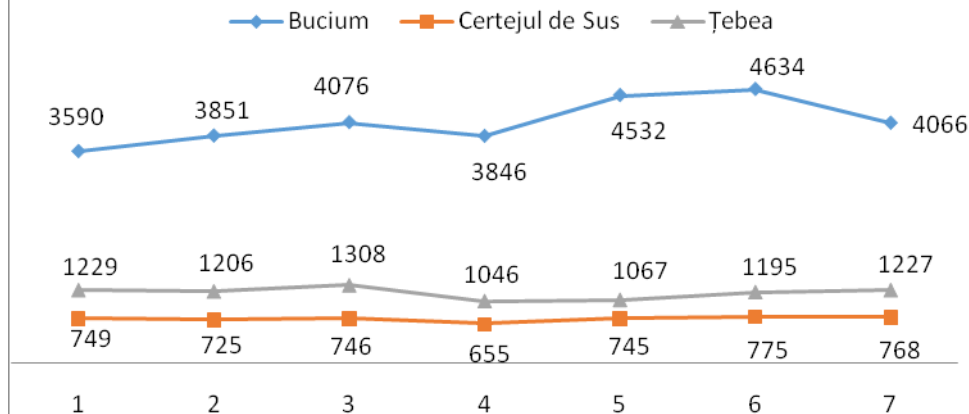


Chart no. 4. Pattern 3: Demographic “stagnation”

Another demographic aspect that reveals the modernization of a region is the share of urban population. From the very beginning, it should be noted that only two of the 33 localities were towns (Abrud and Zlatna). In 1850 the population of these two towns amounted to 5,083 inhabitants, i.e. 14.56% of population in the region studied.<sup>137</sup> In 1910 they had 7,225 inhabitants, i.e. 16.35% of the region’s population, the percentage share being above the average of Transylvania’s urban population, which at that time was 12.4%.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>137</sup> See the data in the table.

<sup>138</sup> Ioan Bolovan, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

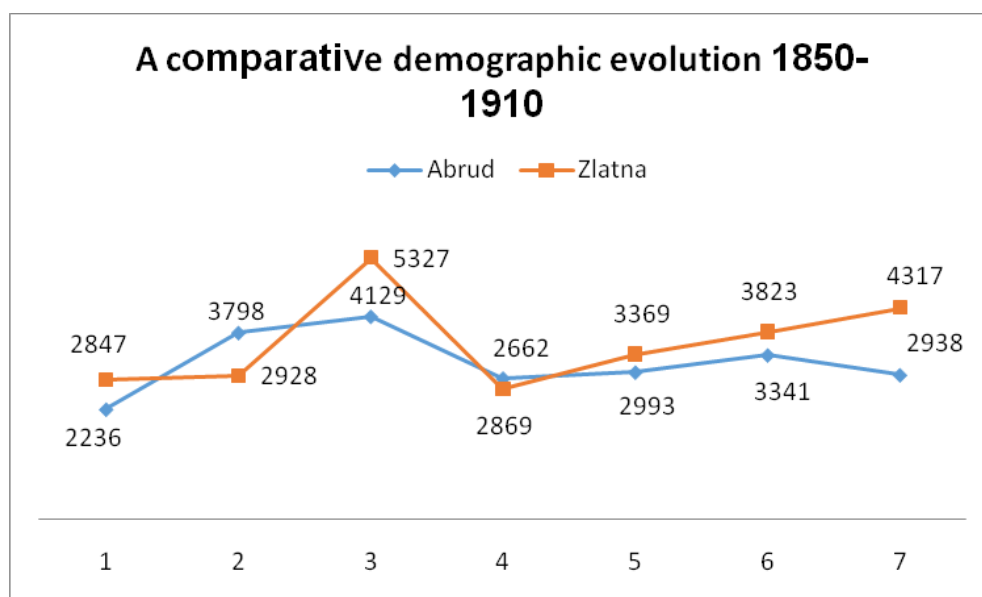


Chart no. 5: A comparative demographic evolution of Abrud and Zlatna 1850-1910

However, it cannot be claimed that the region was urbanized. These small mining towns lacked the force of attraction, the resources and the potential necessary for becoming urban centres. First of all, they relied on a restricted set of activities: Abrud was a mining town and, in addition, it concentrated several commercial activities that ensured a market of modest demands for the surrounding villages. To this were added a series of administrative functions of local interest (the town housed the headquarters of a circle/district or *plasă*). Zlatna was an important mining centre and also the seat of the mining captaincy that coordinated, along with the Directorate of Mines and Salt Mines in Cluj, the mining activities across most of Transylvania. The provincial mining appellate tribunal was also located in Zlatna.<sup>139</sup> Throughout the period studied, the mining captaincy in Zlatna had virtually all the powers set out in the Mining Law of 1854 in terms of ensuring the surveillance and supervision of mining activities, the maintenance of order and

<sup>139</sup> Heinrich Schmidt, *Die Bergbehörden der österreichischen Monarchie*, Hermannstadt, 1859, p. 9 sqq.

discipline in the mining perimeters and the metallurgical plants, as well as the inspection and control of the “chest of the brotherhood” (*Bruderslade*). The captaincy in Zlatna was also in charge of land measurements and had to grant its approval to the leasing of various mining perimetres.

The town also benefited from the metallurgical plant (smeltery) that concentrated the local economic activity. The plant experienced different stages of development, its favourable evolution being the result of structural and technologization investments. From 1850 to 1918, there were three stages in the evolution of the plant in Zlatna. The first phase lasted until 1878 and was based on traditional processing procedures. The second comprised the period 1879-1889, when Hauch’s new metallurgical procedure was introduced and experimented, ore processing being combined with chemical production. A consistent technologization program was adopted only after 1890. The extensive works carried out in 1890-1893 practically led to a reconstruction of the entire plant.<sup>140</sup> All these stages are detectable at the level of the town’s demographic evolution: an overall demographic growth of 51.63% over the course of those 60 years (1850-1910).

The analysis of the socio-professional evolution of the “auriferous quadrilateral” from 1850 to 1910 is difficult to undertake because of a lack of statistical data that might suggest a necessary continuity and uniformity. Up until 1900, every census operated with different indicators, so no attempt at the computation could provide accurate quantitative data. For instance, the Census of 1857 recorded the social structure down to the level of localities, but operated with different rubrics than the one conducted in 1910. In 1857, there were no explicit rubrics, for example, for the people who were employed in the mining and metallurgical sectors. Hence, even though their number may be inferred from other categories recorded in the census, it cannot be regarded as accurate. In the case of the 1869 Census, there were provided no statistical data on the socio-professional structure of the towns and villages of interest for our study. Under these circumstances, taking the necessary precautions, we will analyse the socio-economic profile of the region from a comparative perspective, taking 1910 and, respectively, 1857 as benchmark years. The social composition of the “auriferous quadrilateral,” both in 1857 and in 1910, reveals their specific profile from the vantage point of the economic activities that were carried out here.

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<sup>140</sup> For an extensive overview of the evolution of the plant in Zlatna, see L. Vajda, “Întreprinderea metalurgică de la Zlatna între anii 1848-1918 (I),” in *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai, series Historia*, Fasciculus 2, 1973, pp. 67-93.

Tab. 5. Socio-economic structures in the “auriferous quadrilateral” in 1910

Locality	Population in 1910	Employed in industry	%	Employed in the mining and metallurgical sector	%	Employed in the trade and banking sectors	%	Employed in agriculture	%	Day labourers	%
Abrud	2,938	364	12.3	118	4.01	125	4.25	54	1.83	155	5.27
Almaşu Mare	1,356	17	1.25	22	1.62	0	0	549	40.48	4	0.29
Almaşu Mic	518	6	1.15	0	0	2	0.38	231	44.59	0	0
Baia de Arieş	956	51	5.33	19	1.98	8	0.83	235	24.58	22	2.3
Baia de Criş	1,001	110	10.98	7	0.69	27	2.69	96	9.59	0	0
Băiţa	1,220	73	5.98	193	15.81	6	0.49	68	5.57	0	0
Brad	4,272	278	6.5	120	2.8	89	2.08	803	18.79	15	0.35
Buceş	821	9	1.09	3	0.36	1	0.12	376	45.79	0	0
Bucium	4,066	126	3.09	689	16.94	26	0.63	136	3.34	0	0
Bucureşti	627	7	1.11	56	8.93	0	0	171	27.27	0	0
După Piatră	2,240	26	1.16	1	0.04	2	0.08	777	34.68	0	0
Căienel	597	2	0.33	26	4.35	0	0	224	37.52	0	0
Căraci	272	2	0.73	7	2.57	1	0.36	123	45.22	0	0
Cerbăl	568	7	1.23	29	5.10	1	0.17	180	31.69	7	1.23
Certejul de Sus	768	20	2.6	64	8.33	3	0.39	193	25.13	4	0.52
Criscior	2,247	98	4.36	354	15.75	21	0.93	317	14.1	0	0
Curechi	941	6	0.63	1	0.1	1	0.1	394	41.87	0	0
Fizeş	458	4	0.87	15	3.27	0	0	141	30.78	0	0
Glod	441	14	3.17	0	0	0	0	160	36.28	0	0
Hârţăgani	1,764	21	1.19	14	0.79	0	0	618	35.03	0	0
Hondol	1,126	46	4.08	44	3.9	5	0.44	348	30.9	0	0
Luncoiu de Jos	714	15	2.1	3	0.42	0	0	258	36.13	0	0
Porcurea/ Vălişoara	478	7	1.46	14	2.92	0	0	183	38.28	0	0
Rişca	479	14	2.92	0	0	0	0	203	42.37	6	1.25
Roşia Montană	2,907	93	3.19	712	24.49	44	1.51	48	1.65	35	1.2
Ribiţa	892	18	2.01	0	0	0	0	304	34.08	0	0
Ruda	781	14	1.79	186	23.81	2	0.25	81	10.37	2	0.25



Săcărâmb	1,248	31	2.48	279	22.35	7	0.56	36	2.88	5	0.4
Stănița	1,097	8	0.72	5	0.45	0	0	508	46.3	0	0
Techeș	428	5	1.16	20	4.67	1	0.23	124	28.97	0	0
Trești	589	11	1.86	11	1.86	0	0	189	32.08	3	0.5
Țebea	1,227	11	0.89	14	1.14	2	0.16	535	43.6	0	0
Zlatna	4,317	315	7.29	237	5.48	89	2.06	498	11.53	326	7.55
<b>Total</b>	<b>44,354</b>	<b>1,829</b>	<b>4.12</b>	<b>3,263</b>	<b>7.35</b>	<b>463</b>	<b>1.04</b>	<b>9,161</b>	<b>20.65</b>	<b>584</b>	<b>1.31</b>
Total Transilvania* /average	5,243,180	286,151	5.45	29,113	0.55	55,885	1.06	1,546,082	29.48	48,390	0.92

\* We refer to the total population of Transylvania as it appears in the Census cited below.

Source: the data were selected and processed after *Recensământul din 1910. Transilvania, vol. 2, Populația după ocupații*, Traian Rotaru (ed.), Cluj Napoca, 2006.

The analysis of the data enables us to distinguish between three types of settlements:

1. Mining settlements: Abrud, Băița, Bucium, Roșia Montană and Săcărâmb. It can be easily noticed that most of the population here was employed in the mining and industrial sectors<sup>141</sup> and that agriculture had a low share in the occupational structure. Thus, in 1857, 13.94% of the population in Roșia Montană carried out activities related to mining.<sup>142</sup> By 1910 this percentage had reached over 27.68%, while employment in agriculture had undergone a sharp decrease from 18.16 to 1.65% (see Table 2), well below the average of the region (20.51%) or of Transylvania in general. The situation was also valid in the case of Bucium, where more than 20% of the population carried out mining-related activities, while agricultural occupations did not exceed 3.34%. In these cases, of course, we should take into account the fact that the landscape and the climate favoured agricultural activities only to a very limited extent. This conclusion is reinforced by the cumulative analysis of the five settlements mentioned above: basically, in all of three cases, in 1910 16-19% of the population was employed in the mining sector or carried out related activities, while agriculture accounted for a marginal share of 1.83-5.57% (see Table 2).

<sup>141</sup> I refer to them thus because in statistical terms it is difficult to make a clear dissociation between the two categories of occupations.

<sup>142</sup> *Recensământul din 1857 – Transilvania*, ed. Traian Rotaru, second edition, Cluj-Napoca, 1997, pp. 62-63.

2. A second category includes the localities marked by a complementarity between specific mining occupations and those related to the practice of agricultural activities. Such situations were encountered in Baia de Criș, Crișcior, Ruda and Zlatna. In Baia de Criș, the ratio between the number of those employed in mining and industrial activities was around 11%, while more than 9% of the population was employed in agriculture. In Crișcior, where mining activities gained impetus toward the beginning of the 20th century, there occurred a significant demographic growth. Moreover, the social composition reflected the profound changes that had taken place compared to the mid-19th century. Thus, while in 1857 only 1.08% of the inhabitants were employed in mining, in 1910 over 20% of the population carried out mining activities. Agriculture also maintained an important position, since over 14% of the local population continued to practise it as their main source of livelihood. As an urban settlement, Zlatna had a specific situation: the level of employment of the population in industrial and mining activities was 12.77% in 1910, but agriculture also had a share of over 11.53%, which was a lot, in any case, for a town in 1910.
3. Finally, there was a third situation that could be encountered in numerous localities from the “auriferous quadrilateral” featured agriculture as the dominant sector, mining activities being carried out at small exploitations, the great majority of which were private. Basically, in 22 out of the 33 localities agriculture accounted for over 20% (see Table 2). The villages that illustrated this situation were Almașu Mic, Buceș and Căraci, where the population employed in agriculture had a share of over 40%. (In fact, with the exception of the village Căraci, where there were gold exploitations, the others belonged to the “auriferous quadrilateral” geographically, but no large-scale mining activities were conducted there.

## 5. School and the development of literacy

Recourse to general quantitative data does not, of course, suffice for providing a satisfactory explanation on the relation between the dynamics of economic activity in the region and demographic phenomena: it is also necessary to study the deeper mechanisms, the sources of demographic growth and decline, the dynamics of internal and external migrations, the rate of natural increase, changes in birth or death rates. However, this would exceed the framework and the aim of this study. What is certain, however, as

demonstrated by the examples above, is that there was a visible, direct relationship between the evolution of mining activities and the socio-demographic realities in the region.

The situation was, in fact, specific to all mining and, in general, to all mono-industrial regions, which depended on large-scale activities, correlated with the existence of exploitable resources. This can ultimately reveal, alongside other indicators, how fragile and unstable or untenable economic growth can be in such a region. When the natural resource disappears, when interest in it dwindles or when it is no longer profitable to exploit it, what also basically disappears is the sustainable source of economic growth and, in fact, the source of livelihood for the local population, which can find viable alternatives and diversification resources in other domains only with great difficulty. Although this phenomenon is extremely visible in the Apuseni region today, it appears that things evolved in similar terms even during the period before World War I.

We believe that the aspect of the school education promoted by state policies or by the initiatives of local communities should also be considered in this context. From a historical point of view, the analysis of the three basic elements of this equation - education, social discipline, and the formation of practical and entrepreneurial skills - leads to the idea of a causal relationship between them and the process of economic modernization and community development. It is clear that where these elements converged and expanded, the process of modernization acquired substance and durability, ensuring the prerequisites for self-sustained development.<sup>143</sup> Taking into account the fact that a discussion of these working hypotheses is more likely to raise questions than to formulate satisfactory answers, we shall address, in what follows, the relation between the economic evolution of the “auriferous quadrilateral” and its effects on the educational level, the advancement of literacy and the provision of training opportunities for the local population. We shall adopt a comparative perspective with the general developments in the province of Transylvania during the same period.

The questions that arise legitimately and naturally are thus: to what extent did the school policy promoted at regional level, the schools and the communities benefit from local mining activities? Did the State and the local businesses support and foster this process? Did this improve the situation of the local communities? In general historical terms, the effects of the mining industry upon the school enrolment of the population in the region and the advancement of literacy in the Apuseni area highlighted an evolution along

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<sup>143</sup> See Angelika Westermann, (Hrsg.) *Montanregion als Sozialregion*, Husum: Mathiesen Verlag, 2012, 11 sqq.

similar lines with the developments in other regions of Transylvania, but disclosed also some regionally specific peculiarities. First of all, in the mid-18th century, the involvement of the State in organizing education, driven by economic interests, began to grow. This phenomenon should also be assessed in light of the mercantilist conception. It was, after all, the dominant economic policy option in the Empire at that time, particularly in a region like the “auriferous quadrilateral,” which was such an important source of revenue for the State Treasury.

An attempt at identifying the stages in the historical evolution of education in this region reveals the existence of several periods which overlapped the general history of education in Transylvania, primarily determined by educational policies, by the legislation adopted and its practical effects. In this sense, we can speak of at least five main stages for the period 1780-1914, with specific features (1. 1780-1790; 2. 1791-1848; 3. 1849-1859; 4. 1860-1868; 5. 1868-1918). Acknowledging that the chronological division we came up with after studying the most important - older or newer - historiographical approaches to this issue might be considered somewhat didactic, we shall analyse, also from this chronological perspective, the educational developments in the mining region of the Apuseni Mountains.

The first thing that should be noted is that at the end of the 18th century the most important localities in the region benefitted not only from a network of health services, but also from the possibility of attending elementary school, at least. The interest of the Austrian State in the establishment of schools in the Transylvanian province during this period was visible primarily through the multitude of directives and regulations synthesized in the *Norma Regia*, which laid down the main lines of school policy development in Transylvania, valid until 1805.<sup>144</sup>

The introduction of the *Norma Regia* brought about a fundamental change of perspective on education in the state's provinces. Thus, education was no longer seen as the exclusive preserve of the Church, as the State also became involved in managing it. Beginning with the reign of Joseph II, schooling became a genuine state affair, whose purpose was to educate children and the youth and prepare them to become good, sensible and responsible citizens. In the case of the mining area of the Apuseni Mountains, administered by the Chamber of Mines, the extension of elementary education in the German language was seen as an essential, pragmatic priority, as the

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<sup>144</sup> On that legislation, see Ileana Bozac, “Politica școlară a curții din Viena în domeniul fiscal al Zlatnei în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea,” *Studii și cercetări de istorie*, 1-4, (1956), 122 sqq; Lucia Protopopescu, *Contribuții la istoria învățământului din Transilvania 1774-1805*, București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1966, p. 28 sqq.

resident miners had to know the technical terms and communicate with the administrative personnel and the officials from the mining enterprises in which they conducted their activity. Thus, starting from the second half of the 18th century, primary schools in the mining area of the Apuseni Mountains were inspected and supervised both by the senior inspectors appointed by the authorities in Vienna and by the officials of the local mining enterprises, because many of these schools were under the patronage of these companies, which also provided them with material support. In order to equip the population with a vocational type of education, which was also in the interest of the local economy, the central mining administration, based in Zlatna (*Oberbüttel Wald und Reviers Verwaltung*), was instituted as a higher school authority, exerting control over all the schools in this region. On the other hand, as regards the organization of elementary education, the vision of the State collided with that of the local communities, in many aspects, the thorniest of which was the language of instruction and, implicitly, the ethnic character of the schools. Thus, in 1792 the authorities proposed that both at Săcărâmb and at Zlatna, where the Romanians had requested the establishment of their own schools, “unified schools” should be created. The idea was that all students could acquire - in addition to their mother tongue - all the languages of the country (region), German in particular, which was considered indispensable.<sup>145</sup> For this purpose, it was recommended that schools should hire teachers who could speak both German and Romanian so that they could communicate with the children. However, this requirement was difficult to put into practice in the local circumstances. This was acknowledged in numerous reports which attested that fact that Romanian students often did not attend school because they could not communicate with the teacher. For instance, the case of Băița was invoked, in this respect, in several reports of the time.<sup>146</sup> There was a similar case at the school in Săcărâmb, where although the teacher could speak both German and Romanian, he showed total disregard for his didactic mission. Inspection reports underlined the fact that his students, often summoned from the streets of the village or from herding the cattle and assembled for ad hoc examinations, did not have even a bare minimum of writing and reading skills.<sup>147</sup> During the Josephine period, the insistences of the Austrian State for the creation of unified state schools in the Apuseni Mountains area led to a series of successes. Thus, it was in this period that mixed schools were built

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<sup>145</sup> Ileana Bozac, *Politica școlară*, p. 124.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>147</sup> Apud Ioachim Lazăr, “Contribuții la istoria învățământului elementar românesc din județul Hunedoara (1780-1848),” *Sargeția*, XXI-XXIV (1988-1991), p. 216.

not only in Abrud, Zlatna and Băița, but also in Săcărâmb, where a communal elementary school also attended by Romanian children was already in operation in 1795, two teachers being employed there.<sup>148</sup> In 1786 a similar school was created in Brad and a mixed elementary school was founded in Hondol. From the very beginning, these schools were envisaged to provide the students with an elementary degree of literacy and to assist them in acquiring the local languages, but also to ensure that they attained a minimum level of knowledge in the field of mining. Despite these generous intentions, the authorities failed to translate the latter goal into reality, primarily because of the lack of qualified staff, the name “mining schools” being, in fact, a misnomer. At the end of the 18th century, it was only at the central school in Zlatna that certain subjects related to mining were taught (drawing, mineralogy), but this was far from the complex curriculum that a vocational school was supposed to be teaching.<sup>149</sup> The intention of the Austrian mining authorities was, on the one hand, to ensure that the school in Zlatna would become a model for the schools in the area. On the other hand, it was expected that at least a small proportion of the graduates would continue their specialized studies at the higher mining schools in the Empire and that the mining officials here could have a school they could send their children to, being thus able to stay as long as possible in the area while exercising their profession. These were very pragmatic intentions, but the vision of the local authorities and communities was different: they wanted segregated local schools, with their own mother tongue as the language of instruction, controlled by their respective ethnic group and religious authorities. It should be noted that beyond certain ideological and confessional arguments, these projects lacked a realistic and pragmatic approach to the local needs. Hence, the efforts of the authorities in Vienna were often hampered by the financial impotence and voluntary sluggishness of the local authorities, both secular and ecclesiastical.

The Viennese authorities’ repeated hesitations to build a Romanian educational system on the fiscal domain of Zlatna, their partial success in creating mixed schools during the period of Josephine reformism and the local authorities’ lack of involvement had an adverse effect, especially since Josephine reforms were abandoned after the last decade of the 18th century. They fatally delayed, for many decades, the establishment of a system of elementary education in Romanian. The situation was extremely lucidly analysed in a report of the time in which the school inspector Franz Henne reflected on the situation of the Romanian schools on the fiscal domain of

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<sup>148</sup> Ioachim Lazăr, *loc. cit.*, 220; Nicolae Albu, *Istoria școlilor românești din Transilvania între 1800-1867*, București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1971, 100.

<sup>149</sup> The first mining school was established only 1835 at Săcărâmb. See below.

Zlatna: “*Although the bias (of the local authorities, our note) against the Romanian schools is expanding more and more in the current circumstances, everyone with an enlightened way of thinking can see that this would be the only way to provide a neglected nation, deceived through ignorance and superstitions, with culture and sound moral principles.* Of course, this work is bound to last more than a few years, and only their descendants will reap the benefits. However, it is high time we rose above all prejudices and seriously considered whether it would be more useful for the State to leave one million people weltering in stupidity and the darkest ignorance, instead of teaching them the true notions of Christianity and the solid principles of a citizen’s duties.”<sup>150</sup> Subsequent developments fully confirmed the insights of the Austrian inspector: while during the decades of Theresian and Josephine governance, a few German-language schools had fortunately been built for all the children in the mining area of the Apuseni Mountains, regardless of the nation to which they belonged,<sup>151</sup> the fact that the local nobiliary power structures cancelled the school reforms and undermined the educational efforts of the Austrian State after 1791 caused an obvious setback for the schools in Transylvania, for the Romanian schools, in particular. Basically, from this point onward, the non-German ethnicities in the region reacted against the attempt to impose German as the main language of instruction. The language problem became a sensitive issue, not only at the level of the national ideology, but also at that of school policies. In the case of the Romanians, the Church was the only institution that could take over the mission of school organization. Thus began a long series of efforts to establish elementary schools with a confessional character, but the material situation remained difficult and geographical-economic conditions posed inescapable, insurmountable obstacles in the way of expanding the system of denominational elementary education.

In the period 1805-1849, legislative and political conditions also represented a difficult obstacle for the mining communities in the Apuseni Mountains and in the Transylvanian province in general. Thus, the Decree of 20 April 1790 issued by Emperor Leopold II exempted the local authorities and the nobility from the obligation to maintain and provide the local schools with teaching equipment. The new school law *Ratio Educationis*, issued in 1806, obviously meant a setback compared with *Norma Regia*, as it restored the old practices that cancelled out the central authorities’ powers of control over the primary schools. Moreover, it did not stipulate the obligation that estate

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<sup>150</sup> A document cited extensively in Ileana Bozac, *loc. cit.*, pp. 146-147.

<sup>151</sup> According to the rather incomplete data, such schools existed in Roșia Montană (1736), Zlatna (1774), Certej (1776), Băița (1779), Săcărâmb (1780), Baia de Arieș (1784) and Abrud (1786).

owners should support schools, but considered that such provisions violated ownership rights.<sup>152</sup> The fact that the Gubernium of Transylvania made no efforts to ensure the quality of denominational education was proved by its claim that the posts of teachers should be filled by the local parish priests or cantors, who completely lacked academic training in most cases. Moreover, the burden of financing these schools fell almost exclusively with the local communities that either lacked the necessary resources, or were not willing to support these schools financially as long as they did not fully understand the usefulness of elementary school education. Three other insurmountable obstacles were added to this: the lack of teachers, the lack of textbooks and the totally inefficient and anachronistic teaching methods. It is no wonder that at the turn of the 19th century the situation of the denominational Romanian educational system was disastrous. The sporadic and incomplete statistical data reveal the existence, in 1842-1843, of 282 Orthodox elementary schools and 409 Greek-Catholic schools throughout Transylvania.<sup>153</sup>

At the end of the 18th century, there were still a few denominational schools in the “auriferous quadrilateral.” Among these were the Greek-Catholic schools from Roşia Montană, Abrud and Bucium. At Săcărâmb, a mining centre that was particularly flourishing at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the next, in addition to the state school, there was also founded a mixed Greek-Catholic and Roman Catholic denominational school in 1815, attended by children of both confessions.<sup>154</sup> Shortly afterwards, there was attested an exclusively Romanian school, attended by Romanian Orthodox and Greek-Catholic children. It was under the patronage of the mining company, which had the obligation to contribute to the maintenance of the school regardless of its denominational orientation: the teacher was paid from the *Bruderslade* and the cost of the school supplies was withheld from the salary of the students’ parents, who were miners. In fact, the patronage exerted by the local Mining Directorate, by virtue of the rules and regulations laid down by the Viennese authorities at end of the 18th century, was beneficial. In addition to ensuring that the necessary financial resources were made available to the schools, the intention of these authorities was to provide rigorous education in these schools, as also acknowledged by the Romanian priests.

One of the realities that dominated the entire period under discussion consisted in the fact that although the State and the Church had been in

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<sup>152</sup> Lucia Protopopescu, *Contribuții*, p. 22-23.

<sup>153</sup> Paul Burusanowski, *Învățămintul confesional ortodox din Transilvania între 1848-1918*, Cluj Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2005, 81; see also Ioachim Lazăr, *loc. cit.*, p. 220.

<sup>154</sup> Ioachim Lazăr, *loc. cit.*, p. 217.



constant competition over the position of primacy in terms of the influence they exerted on schools, neither of the parties managed to provide these schools with the necessary material support. Not even the community contributions, which were modest (8-10 kronen/family) and were supposed to cover, together with in-kind contributions, two thirds of the primary teachers' salary, could be collected in time.<sup>155</sup>

The deplorable situation of the Orthodox denominational schools in the Apuseni Mountains in late 1849 was captured in the ecclesiastical census records compiled that year. In addition to the material damage and the victims caused by the revolution and the civil war, these census records also included information about the schools.<sup>156</sup> Thus, in his report, the Archpriest of Geoagiul de Jos recorded the fact that in Săcărâmb "the school is in the worst possible condition, so much that even stepping inside it would be hazardous. ... *And besides this great difficulty of having no school, the priest is forced to teach the infants in his home.*"<sup>157</sup> In fact, throughout the deanery, which encompassed 11 parishes/villages, there were no schools and no teachers.<sup>158</sup> Similarly, in the deanery of Zarand, which included Brad, Țebea, După Piatră, Băița and Crișcior, only two of the 48 parishes were featured as having a denominational school: Brad and Trestia. As regards the latter, the archpriest reported that "there is no school, only a teacher, but he has no source of payment."<sup>159</sup> There had been a school in Zlatna, but it had been burned down during the events of 1848, just like in Bucium, where the school was "in poor condition."<sup>160</sup> Although there was a school building in Abrud, there was no teacher. In Baia de Arieș there was a teacher but he was not paid. Thus, the data invoked above reveal the quasi-absence of elementary school instruction supported by the Orthodox Church. The Greek-Catholic schools had fared no better. In around 1850 the only localities in the "auriferous quadrilateral" that had Greek-Catholic schools were Abrud, Bucium, Săcărâmb, Roșia Montană and Zlatna.<sup>161</sup> All the schools except those in Săcărâmb and Roșia Montană, which were under the patronage of companies belonging to the Chamber of Mines, were in a precarious situation. Moreover, what was taught in these schools was far below the minimum requirements of the time, because the so-called

<sup>155</sup> Lucia Protopopescu, *Contribuții*, p. 69.

<sup>156</sup> See *Revoluția transilvană de la 1848-1849. Date, realități și fapte reflectate în documente bisericești ortodoxe*, Dumitru Suci (ed.), Alexandru Moraru, Iosif Marin Balog, Diana Covaci, Cosmin Cosmuța, Lóránd Mády, București: Edit. Asab, 2011, part II.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibidem*, part II, table no. 18.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibidem*, table no. 33.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>161</sup> Nicolae Albu, *Istoria*, p. 100.

teachers were poorly trained and recruited by subjective criteria. Even in the case of those teachers who ventured into the Apuseni Mountains, the meagre salary, unpaid in time, scarcely enabled them to purchase the bare necessities of life.<sup>162</sup> Thus, the few students attending these schools hardly managed to learn a few hymns, to read and, to some degree, write. According to the reflections of an observer of this situation at that time, “the gathering of children merely for the sake of teaching them how to make the sign of the cross and say their prayers cannot be called schooling.”<sup>163</sup>

The neoabsolutist decade (1850-1860) was a period of significant transformations for school policies in Transylvania, under the pressure exerted by the State, which conclusively and decisively took the initiative with regard to the organization of elementary education.<sup>164</sup> State intervention was achieved both through legislation that strengthened the State’s involvement in the organization of elementary education, stipulated the mandatory character of this type of education, delegated more powers and responsibilities to the ecclesiastical institutions and demanded that the local authorities should provide more material support to schools. Even though the Churches did not necessarily look favourably upon that determined intervention of the State in school policies, they were also forced to become more involved in reviewing and improving their standards in the denominational schools. The Austrian administration assessed the dramatic situation of education in Transylvania, appreciating and supporting the Romanians’ efforts and aspirations. Although financial support from the State was scanty, all the Romanian testimonies from that time acknowledged that the new Austrian administrative bodies had accomplished, in a few years, incomparably more for promoting instruction among the Romanians than the Hungarian nobiliary administration had done throughout the ages.<sup>165</sup> On the other hand, the data reveal that the sums the State allocated directly for education were very small: for example, in 1855, out of a total of 5,087,553 florins spent at the level of the province, only 72,310 florins had been allocated for education, and although the sums progressively

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<sup>162</sup> Elena Cernea, L. Botezan, “Un document inedit privind situația politică și administrativă a Transilvaniei din anii 1850-1853,” *Apulum*, X (1972), 467 sqq; see also the data in Ioachim Lazăr, *Învățământul românesc din sud-vestul Transilvaniei, 1848-1883*, Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2002, 364 pp.

<sup>163</sup> “Foae pentru minte, inimă și literatură,” Brașov, 26, 1842; quoted in N. Albu, *Istoria*, p. 10.

<sup>164</sup> See Simion Retegan, *Satul românesc din Transilvania cîtor de școală 1850-1867*, Cluj Napoca: Echinox, 1994 (introductory study). Dumitru Suci, “Aspecte privind situația școlilor confesionale române și problematica celor mixte din Transilvania în epoca lui Bach,” in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu din Cluj Napoca. Series Historica*, XLVII (2008), 165-189; see also Paul Brusanowski, *Învățământul confesional*, p. 99 sqq.

<sup>165</sup> Simion Retegan, *Satul românesc*, p. 21.

increased in the following years,<sup>166</sup> they remained insufficient for the requirements of the moment. It was up to the local communities to finance and manage this problem, with multiple social and economic implications. The economic circumstances amid which the school policies were enforced were extremely unfavourable: the peasants had barely been liberated from serfdom and were perplexed by the new path they were to follow in their relations with the former landowners. They could not find the necessary financial resources, but financial relations or expenses had become dominant in numerous aspects of life. The chronic lack of money led the school-supporting communities to look for the most diverse solutions: paying teachers in grains, firewood or working days. These were the signs of searches and adjustments, be they with traditional methods, to the requirements imposed by the new economic atmosphere, and the results were contradictory. Testimonials from the period underlined both types of realities, positive and negative. Many of them highlighted the fact that success was predicated on personal initiatives and qualities in a world which, in its process of modernization, began to valorize individual qualities and examples.

On the other hand, although the situation of the schools was incomparably better at the end of the neoabsolutist decade than in the previous decades, at least in statistical terms, the shortcomings of elementary confessional education had persisted due to a host of mainly economic factors, but also because of the teachers' poor training and preparation, the clergy's lack of interest in inspecting and overseeing the quality of education and, most of all, because of the children's attendance of school. Faced with this reality, the state authorities took a series of institutional measures such as the establishment of secular school inspectorates, in parallel with their ecclesiastical equivalents.<sup>167</sup> It delegated important responsibilities to the local communities whose main representatives, the local judge and the parish priest, were directly entrusted with organizing and supervising elementary education.

Thus, during this period, the "auriferous quadrilateral" witnessed, much like, in fact, entire Transylvania, positive developments, which led to the establishment of schools even in the smaller settlements that had been deprived of any educational facilities prior to that moment. For example, an Orthodox school was founded in Crișcior in 1850: it was located in the priest's house, where his son, who was a cantor, also worked as a teacher. Schools were created in the village După Piatră in 1853, as well as in Țebea and in

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<sup>166</sup> Rodica Sofroni, "Situația financiară a Transilvaniei 1849-1867," in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 13 (1976), p. 461, (Annex 6).

<sup>167</sup> Ordinance no. 9561 of 8 May 1858, published in *Foaia Legilor pentru Marele Principat al Transilvaniei*, no. 5 (1858).

Rișculița in 1854.<sup>168</sup> By the end of 1858, schools had also been founded in București, Luncoiul de Jos and Ribița, so statistically, at least, there were schools in all the major settlements of the “auriferous quadrilateral.”<sup>169</sup> However, the actual situation as regards the quality of this elementary education was far from the one recorded in statistics. It was illustratively and objectively captured by Pavel Vasici, Gubernial Adviser for the Orthodox schools in Transylvania. In a report compiled in 1862, Vasici described the deplorable state of the schools in the Apuseni Mountains, offering several concrete examples, like the praetorship of Abrud, where for a population of more than 48,000 Romanian inhabitants “there was not even one decent school.”<sup>170</sup> In another report, the same Romanian inspector noticed the overall deplorable reality: “no buildings for schools, no teachers, no teachers’ salaries, then, what’s even sadder, most of the teachers lack the will, the energy and even the necessary understanding.”<sup>171</sup> The author of the report referred, in this context, to the local authorities’ lack of interest, to the religious differences between the Orthodox and the Greek Catholics on the issue of mixed schools. He also deplored the fact that some of the members of the Romanian local intelligentsia were concerned with political issues and sterile discussions, limiting themselves to promises and postponements.<sup>172</sup> One of the solutions proposed with a view to the establishment of viable and sustainable schools by the community was the creation of central schools that would bring together school-age children, regardless of confession.<sup>173</sup> Such attempts were made in Abrud in 1855, but the denominational differences thwarted this plan. In 1855 efforts were made to set up a central school in Câmpeni. The school was to be maintained from the revenues of pub leases and from the contribution of the surrounding villages via a subscription of the interest rates with which they had participated in the 1854 state loan. Indeed, at the beginning of 1860 a fund of 22,000 florins was set up. The local communities contributed to it: Câmpeni, with 5,000 florins, and Certege with 1,000 florins.<sup>174</sup> However, despite all these efforts, the school in Câmpeni could not be built. Instead, schools were opened in Baia de Arieș, Vidra de Sus and Lupșa. What seriously impeded the development of elementary education in the “auriferous quadrilateral” of the

<sup>168</sup> Ioachim Lazăr, *Învățământul*, p. 54.

<sup>169</sup> See the statistical tables published by Șerban Polverejan in *Cumidava*, II (1968), pp. 161-211, on the basis of the census records conducted by the Church in 1865.

<sup>170</sup> The report published in *Amicul Școalei*, no. 7, 18 February 1861, p. 49.

<sup>171</sup> *Idem*, no. 39, 29 September 1862, p. 310.

<sup>172</sup> *Amicul Școalei*, no. 7, 18 February 1861, p. 49.

<sup>173</sup> Romulus Felea, “Contribuții la istoria învățământului din Munții Apuseni,” in *Apulum*, XVIII (1980), pp. 355-363.

<sup>174</sup> *Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură*, Brașov (1860), no. 25, p. 188.

Apuseni Mountains was the lack of a gymnasium that could ensure the training of teachers. The Romanian gymnasia that existed at that time, few in number, were located at great distance and entailed significant schooling expenses. The attempts to establish a gymnasium in Motzenland began in 1850, when Bishop Andrei Șaguna began a series of undertakings for the establishment of two gymnasia, one in Brad and another in Abrud. However, these efforts would materialise much later, in 1869 (1872), with the establishment of the gymnasium in Brad.<sup>175</sup>

All these hesitations and delays could be accounted for by the fact that, in general, during the early years of semi-liberal governance, at least until 1864, the situation of education throughout Transylvania had evidently regressed. On the one hand, the return of the Church to the forefront of school-related decision-making meant the relapse of disorder, indolence, inefficiency and lack of resources. After the administrative reforms of 1861 and the return to the old organization, school counsellors ceased their activity. The Ministry of Education in Vienna was dissolved, school issues being entrusted to a simple counsellor subordinated to the Austrian Prime Minister.<sup>176</sup> Most sources confirm these school policy drawbacks but, fortunately, they were countered by the State's intervention in 1864-1865. Thus, the former inspector for Orthodox schools, Pavel Vasici was reinstated as school counsellor and Ioan Maior was appointed to a similar position, overseeing the Greek-Catholic schools. Correctly appreciating that one of the causes of the poor situation of elementary education in Transylvania was the insufficient material support granted to schools and the fact that the teachers' salaries were paid by the communities, the State intervened through the imposition of binding contracts and commitments, in written form (foundational school instruments).<sup>177</sup> Elementary schools and education were set thus, at least from this point of view, on much safer bases. On the other hand, at the request of the state authorities, the religious authorities began to assess the situation of denominational schools.<sup>178</sup> According to the reports, the precarious state of elementary education was the result of the same causes as in the previous decades. The poverty of the inhabitants and the lack of interest in school and its usefulness were most often invoked as such root causes. In this context, the

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<sup>175</sup> On the circumstances in which the gymnasium was established in Brad, see Ioachim Lazăr, *Învățământul*, 249 sqq; see also Lupei Nestor, *Monografia Liceului "Avram Iancu" Brad*, Deva: Editura Cetate Deva (2009), 13 sqq.

<sup>176</sup> The entire context is analysed in Paul Brusanowski, *Învățământul confesional*, p.119 sqq.

<sup>177</sup> Simion Retegan, *Satul românesc*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>178</sup> Pavel Vasici, "Raportul în cauza școlilor din 1864," in Ștefan Pascu, Iosif Pervain (eds.), *George Bariț și contemporanii săi*, vol. II, București (1975), pp. 87-105.

ecclesiastical authorities in Sibiu synthesized the archpriests' reports in a document which provides information about denominational education, including in the area of the "auriferous quadrilateral."<sup>179</sup> Thus, in the deanery of Lupșa there were only three Orthodox denominational schools, "in bad shape," in 1864. In Baia de Arieș, where the situation was somewhat better, the teacher's salary was set at 110 florins. Here the surrounding villages offered the revenue obtained from the interest rates on the state loan, amounting to 2,060 florins, for building a well-equipped central school. The same report showed that in the aforementioned deanery there were also downright ridiculous salaries of 25-50 florins per year, requested and granted to teachers who, besides the fact that they had no training, intended simply to escape the obligation of military service.<sup>180</sup> In the village of Hondol, the report compiled by the Archpriest of Geoagiu I noted that a landplot for building a school had been purchased for 240 florins and that a school had existed here before, but it had been dilapidated during the revolution. One of the local impediments was a problem that afflicted the entire region: the local administrative authorities were insufficiently committed to the welfare of the schools, just like the parents' indolence was a serious obstacle in the path of initiatives designed to improve the school situation and the schoolchildren's attendance.<sup>181</sup> In the deanery of Zlatna de Jos, denominational school existed in 16 of the 22 villages, most of them constructed after 1850. In this case too, there was a total lack of involvement on the part of the political authorities in supporting the schools, the churches and the communities remaining the only supporters of the schools.<sup>182</sup> The situation in the Apuseni Mountains area was more precarious than in other areas of Transylvania, especially with regard to the remuneration of teachers. While the average annual salary was around 120 florins during this period,<sup>183</sup> in Almașu Mare, for example, the teacher's salary did not exceed 100 florins. At Săcărâmb, half of the annual salary (54 florins) was paid from the funds of the mining company, and another 54 florins from the contribution of the local community. These could be considered good salaries in the region,

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<sup>179</sup> The data are gathered in *Adunarea rapoartelor de la directorii districtuali de școală în Arhidieceza greco-răsăriteană din Ardeal*, Sibiu: Tipografia Arhidiecezană, 1865. In terms of the details, the archpriests' reports are extremely uneven: although Metropolitan Andrei Șaguna demanded a full and uniform format of the data that were to be sent, some reports are very general, almost without relevance, while others are rigorously drawn and detailed, depending on the competence and diligence of each archpriest.

<sup>180</sup> According to *Adunarea*, p. 32.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 83.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 116.

<sup>183</sup> *Hivatalos Statisztikai Közlemények, Ungarn's Volksschulen im Jahre 1869 nach ihrer Eigenschaft Comitatsweise*, Pest, 1869, p. 404.

where the majority of the wages were around 50 to 60 florins and were not paid consistently by the communities.<sup>184</sup>

The new stage in the evolution of schooling in the Hungarian part of the Monarchy was inaugurated by the Education Law of 1868.<sup>185</sup> This law confirmed the prevalence of the State in matters of school policy and educational organization, laying emphasis on the principle of supra-confessionality. In addition, the local political administration had an obligation to establish and maintain schools and to oversee school attendance. The Churches still had the right to establish schools, but were bound to enforce certain standards of educational quality and to respect the school curricula, in which the Hungarian language occupied a significant place. Gradually, as the authorities' intervention was intensified through new legislative measures, the non-Hungarian nations became increasingly discontent. Moreover, the State conditioned the financial support it granted on the use of its official language. In turn, the Church insisted on its moral patronage over education, fighting against the State in defence of the denominational schools and trying to include them under the umbrella of ecclesiastical autonomy. However, it was still in no position to assume on its own the task of providing material support to the schools.<sup>186</sup> As a result, the mission of material support fell upon the shoulders of the local communities, leading to considerable differences as regards the evolution of the number of schools and their quality not only from one area to another in Transylvania, but even from one village to another, as long as the wealth of the school's supporters and of the parents of the children that had to attend it was one of the most important determining factors. As proof of the exceptional role that the communities played in supporting these schools, we can mention a relevant example for the region under study: the Orthodox gymnasium in Brad, one of the most outstanding community contributions and school creations in the area of the Apuseni Mountains: the mobilization of no less than 92 villages in Motzenland and the Land of Zarand, which pooled together a fund of 61,000 florins, necessary for the financial support of this school and for ensuring its good functionality standards.<sup>187</sup>

Without insisting, in this context, on the history of the gymnasium in Brad, which has been discussed in detail in the local historiography, we should stress the fact that it secured a significant level of schooling in its area of

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<sup>184</sup> *Adunarea*, 128 sqq.

<sup>185</sup> For an extensive discussion of Law no. XXXVIII of 1868, see Paul Brusanowski, *Învăţământul confesional*, 209 sqq.

<sup>186</sup> Simion Retegan, *Satul românesc*, 15.

<sup>187</sup> Ioachim Lazăr, *Învăţământul*, 249 sqq;

influence. Thus, in the period 1869-1880, the annual number of students attending it was somewhere between 40 and 80. After 1895, the annual number of students was over 100. The peak year was 1908, with 171 students.<sup>188</sup> However, it can be concluded that as regards the demand for teachers in the region, the gymnasium in Brad did not fully achieve its purpose, since between 1872 and 1910 only 62 graduates chose the profession of teachers, which is an extremely small number for a region that desperately needed qualified teachers. Barely one in ten preferred the teaching profession, most of them becoming priests. Ministry remained the most attractive career, followed by that of officers in the administrative or financial-banking domains.<sup>189</sup>

A special category of schools that contributed, to some extent, to the vocational training of the young people in the auriferous region of the Apuseni Mountains were the mining schools that aimed to form skilled workers and mid-level specialists in the mining domain. After the school in Zlatna, which offered vocational training only to a certain degree, the first school of mining in the proper sense was the one founded in Săcărâmb in 1835.<sup>190</sup>

These schools accepted elementary school graduates who had basic writing and reading skills and proper moral behaviour. Studies lasted two and a half years and the main subject matters were mathematics, geology, mineralogy, trigonometry and geometry.<sup>191</sup> Thus, through the courses it offered, the school in Săcărâmb ensured the basic knowledge necessary for any kind of activity related to gold mining, ranging from notions of geology, measurements and sampling, to mechanics or mineshaft maintenance and consolidation. Supported by the royal mining administration, the school acquired prestige relatively quickly, not only given the fact that it was the only one of its kind in the region, but, primarily, due to its high requirements. Rigor, discipline and assiduous learning were the main criteria for graduating this school, while teachers, who were renowned mining engineers, also imposed exacting requirements. The period of studies lasted two and a half years, and

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<sup>188</sup> Lupei Nestor, *Monografia*, p. 267.

<sup>189</sup> This idea is based on the analysis of the lists of graduates from the period 1872-1910, according to Lupei Nestor, *Monografia*, 274 sqq. (Annex).

<sup>190</sup> Several studies have been written about this school: Mihai Cerghidean, "Școala de minerit din Săcărâmb," *Sargeția*, 7 (1970); Viorel Vânătoru, "Statutul școlii montanistice de la Săcărâmb," *Sargeția*, 18-19 (1984-1985), pp. 289-292; V. Wollmann, R. Slotta, Constantin Nichitean, "Die Bergschule von Nagyág," in Rainer Slotta, Volker Wollmann, Ioan Doredea, (Hrsg.) *Silber und Salz in Siebenbürgen*, Band 8, Teil 1, Bochum: 2007, pp. 195-216.

<sup>191</sup> V. Wollmann, R. Slotta, Constantin Nichitean, *Die Bergschule*, p. 99.



from 1879 on it lasted three years.<sup>192</sup> The first year was intended for preparatory courses and its main aim was to identify the students capable of following these courses, given that most of the young people were already working as miners in order to make a living and had no preferential treatment compared to the others. Thus, the dropout rate after the preparatory course was quite high: in the school year 1857/58 9 out of 15 students managed to pass the preparatory course,<sup>193</sup> the success rate being similar in the subsequent years.<sup>194</sup> The school's statutes were drawn up in 1863,<sup>195</sup> when its status as a lower-rank school of mining (*Bergschule*) was recognized.<sup>196</sup> The annual number of students attending the school was thus quite oscillating: in the 1850s-60s, there were between 9 and 16 students;<sup>197</sup> in the decade 1871-1880, there were around 18-20 students per year.<sup>198</sup> It was not until the end of the century that a more significant increase was registered, with an average of 38 pupils annually.<sup>199</sup> The peak year was 1898, with 62 students. The students generally came from the area of Săcărâmb, Abrud and Roșia Montană, but there were exceptions of students from other regions of Transylvania or even from other provinces of the Monarchy.<sup>200</sup> The graduation rate, however, was always quite low in relation to the number of students enrolled initially. Some

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<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

<sup>193</sup> *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Berg- und Hüttenwesen*, (hereinafter: ÖZB...), Wien, no. 10, (1859), p. 78.

<sup>194</sup> In the school year 1858/59, out of the 10 students enrolled in the preparatory class, only one was admitted to the normal class, cf. ÖZB... , no. 14, (1860), p. 119; in the school year 1862/63, there were 10 students enrolled in the preparatory class, with ages between 14 and 17 years, 7 of them being forced to repeat the school year. According to ÖZB... , no. 5, (1864), p. 38.

<sup>195</sup> Viorel Vânătoru, *Statutul*, pp. 289-292; for complete data about the status of the school, see ÖZB... no. 5, (1864), p. 40; no. 6, (1864), pp. 47-48; no. 7, (1864), pp. 55-56.

<sup>196</sup> The higher ranking schools were called *Bergakademie*, the only one of this kind being the school from Schemnitz. Lower schools of mining, *Bergschulen*, still functioned in Baia Mare, Pribram, etc. According to ÖZB... , 23, (1866), p. 103.

<sup>197</sup> Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár Budapest (hereinafter: MNL OL...), fund *F335 Montan Akten*, 84 csomó, no. 3802/1863; ÖZB... , no. 14, 1860, p. 119; idem, no. 5, 1864, p. 38; idem, no. 13, 1866; FHKA, fund *Montanakten*, Ktn. 521, no. 17868/1863; Ktn. 546/1865, no. 21672/1865; Ktn. 521, no. 17868/1863.

<sup>198</sup> "Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv," (hereinafter: MSÉ...), 1872-1880.

<sup>199</sup> Calculated after MSÉ... the years 1892-1900.

<sup>200</sup> For instance, among the students in 1863 there was a certain Schupp Friederich, aged 27, born in Salzburg; given his poor results, he had to repeat the year. According to MNL OL, fond *F335 Montan Akten*, 84 csomó, no. 3802/1863, f. 65; similarly, in 1864 the list of the students featured a certain Jannick Stefan, born at Grosdansko, Croatia, aged 18, who had activated before as a miner in the copper mine from Bălan. According to FHKA... , no. 21672/1865.

repeated the first preparatory year, while others dropped out along the way. The situation was similar both for the period 1860-1870 and later: for example, in the school year 1863-1864, just 5 of the 11 students successfully completed their studies. Likewise, in the school year 1900-1901, a mere 30 of the 61 enrolled students graduated.<sup>201</sup>

Up until 1881, German was the only language of instruction, but students of all ethnicities appeared in the school matriculation records. After 1881 Hungarian became the language of teaching. In that same period, the number of vocational schools grew through the establishment of two similar schools in Baia Sprie (1873) and Roșia Montană (1896). As for the presence of Romanian students in these schools, the statistical data from the beginning of the 20th century attest a percentage of 7-18%. This share decreased with the passage of time.<sup>202</sup>

The slowing down of the mining activity in Săcărâmb, especially after 1902, was reflected in the dynamics of the school here: the number of the students attending it virtually dropped to half. As a result, the authorities decided to suspend classes, the students being directed towards similar schools in Roșia Montană and Baia Sprie. In 1911 an attempt was made to resume the activity of the mining school in Săcărâmb under the patronage of the Ruda 12 Apostoli Company in Brad, which provided a funding of 1,000 kronen a year. This undertaking was without success, the school being closed definitively in 1914.<sup>203</sup>

In the approximately 75 years in which it functioned, the school of mining in Săcărâmb produced about 1,213 graduates<sup>204</sup> (17 students per year, on average), having a positive impact and providing a better qualified and, hence, better paid human resource for mining in the area.

Another school of mining in the “auriferous quadrilateral” was founded in Roșia Montană, in as late as 1896.<sup>205</sup> In terms of educational purpose, organizational structure and subjects taught, it was similar to the school in Săcărâmb and, generally, to vocational schools of this kind in the Monarchy. Students aspiring to be admitted to these courses had to be secondary school graduates. During the period of schooling, practice in mines

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<sup>201</sup> V. Wollmann, R. Slotta, Constantin Nichitean, *Die Bergschule*, p. 201.

<sup>202</sup> The data available to us permit a more accurate assessment of the situation for the period after 1900. Thus, in 1900, the Romanians held a share of 18%, in 1905 - 13% and in 1901 - 7%. It should be noted that after 1906 the school in Săcărâmb was closed down. The data were calculated after MSÉ... , 1900, p. 137; idem, 1905, p. 142; idem, 1910, p. 157.

<sup>203</sup> V. Wollmann, R. Slotta, Constantin Nichitean, *Die Bergschule*, p. 202.

<sup>204</sup> According to the authors' calculations. See *idem*, p. 202.

<sup>205</sup> For data about the school in Roșia Montană, see Aurel Sântimbreanu, “Învățământul minier de la Roșia Montană,” in *Apulum*, XVIII/2, (2001), pp. 147-154.

and auxiliary activities were compulsory.<sup>206</sup> The number of students was quite low, oscillating between 7 and 13.<sup>207</sup> For example, in 1910 there were 12 students enrolled in the third grade. They were aged between 18 and 29 years old, most of them coming from that village. This was a local school, without too much influence in the region.<sup>208</sup>

In terms of the rate and pace of literacy in the “auriferous quadrilateral,” the analysis of the centralized data regarding elementary and secondary education, regardless of whether it was confessional or state-run, reveals a rather similar situation to that of other regions in Transylvania. For example, in Săcărâmb, where as already indicated, there was a relatively well-developed education system, the rate of literacy was 35.46% in 1880, reaching 40.54% in 1910.<sup>209</sup> Another example was that of Zlatna, a town where the rate of literacy was 19.94% at 1880, improving to 37.80% in 1910.<sup>210</sup> In Roșia Montană, the rate of literacy was 20.03% in 1880, evolving towards 47.60% in 1910, at a convergent pace with that of Transylvania as a whole. In the case of Abrud, the evolution was somewhat better: against the same chronological horizon, there was an increase from 25.19% to 58%, which can be considered a good pace compared to the province as a whole. It should be noted, however, that the percentages identified above represented average figures, valid for the entire population, regardless of ethnic origin and religious denomination.

We can thus conclude that within the timespan 1890-1910, the situation of literacy in the “auriferous quadrilateral” registered a relative improvement, consistent with the general trends identifiable throughout the province during this period. Although denominational schools, communal state-run schools and schools patronized by mining companies existed now in most of the villages from the Apuseni Mountains, the advancement of literacy did not exceed the averages recorded at the level of entire Transylvania.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> Thus, the first-year students had five 8-hour shifts/week, while the second- and third-year students had one 8-hour shift and two 16-hour shifts/week. According to SJANAB, fund no. 178, *The State's metal mines. The mining exploitation in Roșia Montană*, file no. 3. 1907.

<sup>207</sup> Calculated after MSÉ, years 1897-1911.

<sup>208</sup> SJANAB... the fund cited above, file no. 1/1907, f. 267.

<sup>209</sup> For numbers close to the average in Transylvania, see *Recensământul din 1880 - Transilvania*, ed. Traian Rotaru, Cluj-Napoca, 1997; *Recensământul din 1900 - Transilvania*, ed. Traian Rotaru, Cluj-Napoca, 1999; *Recensământul din 1910 - Transilvania*, ed. Traian Rotaru, Cluj-Napoca, 1999.

<sup>210</sup> The data are calculated after the above-cited censuses.

<sup>211</sup> Thus, in 1890 27.5% of the total civilian population in Transylvania could read and write, while in 1900, the percentage was around 35%. If we refer to the population aged over 6 years old, the percentage amounted to 32.9% and, respectively, 41.1% (significantly

## 6. The financial-banking life

In addition to the indicators of regional economic modernization and community development that we have already examined, we shall refer, in what follows, to several issues pertaining to the evolution of the banks and credit unions, as well as to their impact on the local economy.

It should be noted, from the very outset, that historical sources are rather lacunary, unfortunately. They consist only in a few sets of quantitative data that have been preserved, the majority of which represent the financial and accounting data in the annual balance sheets published in the statistical directories of the time and in the specialized press. Any attempt at the reconstitution and analysis of such topic will inevitably remain at some level of generality. The archival funds of the banks in this region have not been preserved except by chance.<sup>212</sup> There is a mini-monograph on only one bank.<sup>213</sup> We have therefore been forced to reconstruct the local history of these banks from dry accounting figures and statistical data.

Convinced of the usefulness of this approach, which can provide a more complete picture of the other aspects of economic evolution in the region studied, we shall let the quantitative data speak and through these data, where possible, also the people, the institutions and the communities these banks served.

It should be noted that the financial-banking life in the auriferous region of the Apuseni had barely started at the end of the 19th century, more precisely in 1887, when the establishment of two banking institutions in Abrud was attested: *Auraria*, a joint-stock company with Romanian capital, and *Az Abrudbányai Takarékpénztár Részvény Társaság*, a mutual savings bank with Hungarian capital.

It was, in fact, a characteristic of the financial-banking life in Transylvania and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was that all of these nations set up their own networks of banks, designed to serve their own clients. In practice, however, this separation did not impede business transactions in any way. Unlike in Western Europe, where the financial-banking system had appeared and evolved within the frameworks created by the demands of the

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lower than at the level of the entire Kingdom of Hungary, where 59% of the total population aged over 6 years old could read and write in 1900. Source: *Ungarisches Statistisches Jahrbuch, Neue Folge*, XIII, 1905, Budapest, 1906, p. 324.

<sup>212</sup> There are sporadic data in the archival funds of the tribunals where, according to the Commercial Law of 1875, all companies, including the banks, had to submit their statutes: for instance, the Hunedoara County Branch of the National Archives, fund. inv. no. 277, Hunedoara Tribunal, file no. 14, *Matca* Bank in Țebea.

<sup>213</sup> Ioan Ghișa, *Banca Crișana SA din Brad, 1891-1940*, Arad: Tipografia Concordia, 1942, 119 pp.

market economy, in Central and Eastern Europe regional specificity left its mark on the establishment and functioning of the banking system. First of all, in addition to the evident time gap compared to Western Europe, it should be noted that in the Danubian Monarchy, characterized by different economic levels and by often antagonistic and competitive ethnic or cultural particularities, the credit system was forced to develop within these outlines. Leaving aside the great capital intended for major investment projects, whose flow was channelled through the financial centres in Vienna, Prague or Budapest, it should be noted that regional banking markets emerged in the early stages of the financial-banking system, orbiting around their own centre, with a larger or smaller area of influence. Moreover, given the national and political disputes between various ethnic groups, a sort of competitive separatism emerged at the financial-banking level, each nation endeavouring to create its own banking system, so long as the accomplishment of its own social, political and cultural projects was not possible without capital sources and as long as the State often allocated these resources according to discriminatory criteria. In this way, the non-Magyar nations from the eastern regions of the Monarchy sought to counter the Hungarians' centralizing and standardizing projects through mobilization at the local level, including by organizing and supporting banks whose often modest capital came largely from the small savings of the wealthier peasants, of the entrepreneurial classes and of the few local intellectuals. In the case of the Romanians, too, the need for establishing their own banking system was supported both with economic and with national-political arguments. In this sense, the banks were envisaged as undertakings capable of providing the resources for economic activities, so as to avoid dependency on the financial-banking institutions of the competing nations and, as far as possible, to avoid the interference of the state institutions in their own cultural, political and educational projects. Attempts were made to finance these projects from local resources. From an economic perspective, we should not overlook the real and acutely felt need to attract and consolidate sources of capital in a region where it was rare, expensive and difficult to access.

In Transylvania, the Romanian banks appeared much later than the banks of the other nations, more than three decades after the Saxons had created, in 1836, the first savings bank in Braşov,<sup>214</sup> and after the Magyars, in turn, had opened their own savings bank in Arad, in 1840.<sup>215</sup> At the same time, the establishment of the first Romanian bank in Sibiu led to this town becoming a regional financial centre both for the Romanians and for the Saxons, who also had important credit institutions here.

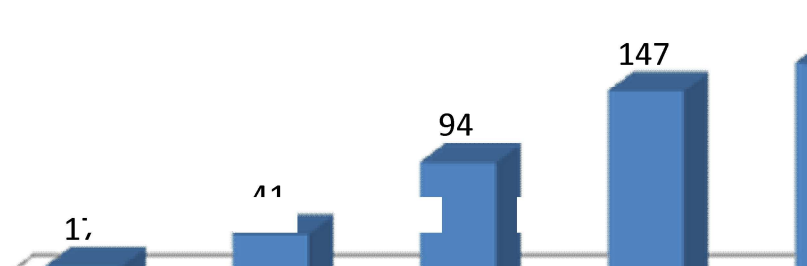
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<sup>214</sup> Rösler Rudolf, *Die Kreditorganisation der Sachsen in Siebenbürgen*, Hermannstadt, 1914, p. 21.

<sup>215</sup> Ottenberg Tivadar, *Az Első Aradi Takarépenztár hatvan éve*, Arad, 1901, p. 24 sqq.

As regards the pace at which Romanian banks were set up during the period 1872-1914, one can distinguish three stages: 1872-1890; 1891-1900; 1901-1914.<sup>216</sup> Although the major achievement of 1872 - the establishment of Albina Bank, with a significant capital for the Romanians' financial power at that time - seemed to represent the forceful debut of this process, things evolved much more slowly afterwards because of a complex set of economic and financial factors, including the monetary crisis of 1869 and the great economic and financial crisis that broke out in 1873, whose adverse effects lingered until 1885.<sup>217</sup> Secondly, postponing the creation of new Romanian banks for a decade was due to the limited economic sphere in which they were determined to act: agricultural and related activities, with all the difficulties entailed by the lending process in this area.<sup>218</sup> An analysis of the numerical evolution of Transylvanian Romanian banks reveals that the bases of the Romanian financial-banking system expanded from 1885 to 1890, but the real expansion period occurred only after 1900 (see the chart below):

### The numerical evolution of the Romanian in Transylvania (1888-1914)



Sources: The processed data were taken from the following works: for the year 1890, Vasile Dobrescu, *Sistemul de credit românesc din Transilvania*, Târgu Mureș: Editura Universității "Petru Maior," 1996, p. 25.; Nicolae Petra, *Băncile românești din Ardeal și Banat*, Sibiu, 1936, p. 32; for the years 1900-1914, *Anuarul Băncilor Române*. It should be noted that the sources differ in

<sup>216</sup> Lucian Dronca, *Băncile românești din Transilvania în perioada dualismului austro-ungar (1867-1918)*, Cluj: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003, p. 82.

<sup>217</sup> Iosif Marin Balog, "Criza economică din 1873. Manifestarea și percepția ei în economia și societatea transilvană," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "George Barițiu" din Cluj-Napoca, series, Historica*, 50, 2011, pp. 51-75.

<sup>218</sup> Lucian Dronca, p. 77.

respect to these data, so they should be taken with caution. See also the assessments of Lucian Dronca, *Băncile românești din Transilvania în perioada dualismului austro-ungar (1867-1918)*, Cluj: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003, p. 80.

Later, although their number increased significantly from 1892 to 1900, the banks created during this period were small, activating in localities with few inhabitants, but they increased the area of influence of the Romanian credit system. By 1900, the Romanian credit system of Transylvania had been established along broad lines and was evolving now towards a centralized organization. New ideas emerged in the debates of the time on the functionality of the Romanian banks: first of all, the need for a reform that would ensure the standardization and optimization of the bank management system, the professionalization of the clerks, the adaptation and diversification of the banking operations in accordance with the requirements of the clients and the opportunities offered by the capital market. The partial success of these undertakings was materialized in the founding of the “Solidaritatea” Banking Union in 1907. The objectives of this institution, which coordinated the financial and banking activity, envisaged, above all, the consolidation of the Romanian credit institutions, the improvement and streamlining of banking management and the creation of risk-prevention mechanisms, designed to counter the effects of possible bankruptcies arising from mismanagement or fraud.<sup>219</sup> Thus, in 1907 “Solidaritatea” began to put many of these goals into practice, bringing together no less than 120 larger and smaller credit institutions, whose activity was coordinated through a coherent set of demands and financial auditing and control mechanisms.

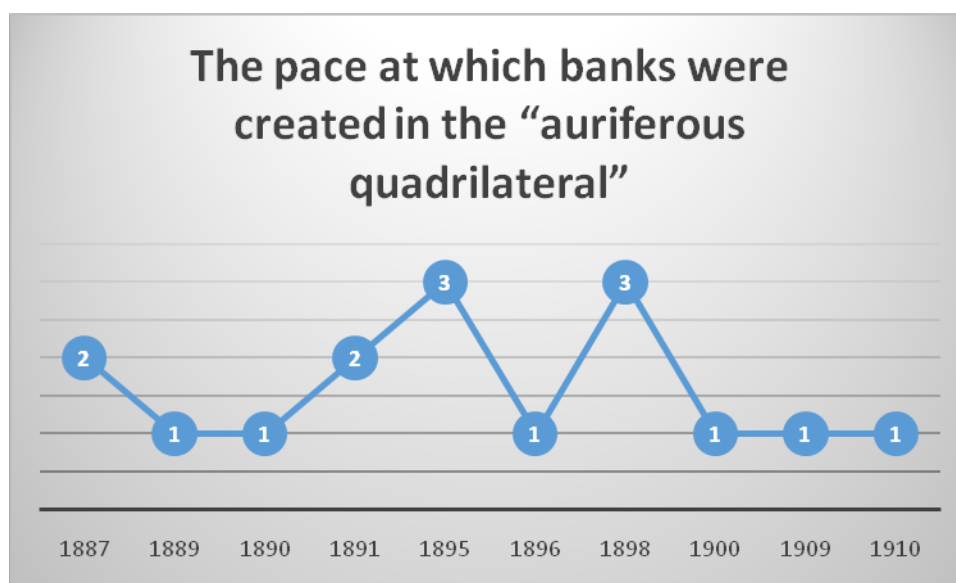
On the other hand, it must be stressed that although there were numerous Romanian banks, they did not cover, either in geographic or in financial terms, the credit needs of the population. Generally speaking, except for a few larger banks, which could support the establishment and operation of agencies and branches in various localities, the coverage of Romanian banks was quite low, limited to several dozen kilometers around the town where its headquarters were located. Often, these small banks were, in turn, credited, in order to secure their banking liquidities, by the major commercial banks in the Monarchy or even by the Austro-Hungarian National Bank. Of course, we should not omit the fact that some of the Romanian banks’ clients worked with foreign capital banks or with the already consolidated Hungarian and German banks. These banks had a tradition and, what is more important, they

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<sup>219</sup> Vasile Dobrescu, *Funcții și funcționalități în sistemul de credit românesc din Transilvania până la Primul război mondial*, Târgu Mureș: Editura Universității “Petru Maior,” 2006, p. 169.

were extremely reliable. At the third level, there were small banks, most often established according to the cooperative system (Reiffeisen). In addition to attracting the investment of local savings, these banks offered short-term loans to local clients, whose capital needs were modest, in general.

As for the temporal horizon, the banks in the auriferous area of the Apuseni Mountains were founded later than in other regions, more specifically during the second stage, when the majority of these institutions, with small capital, were set up. The pace at which these banks and mutual savings institutions were created reveals the fact that most of them were founded in 1895 and in 1898.



Sources: *Magyar Compass*, vol. 28, 1900-1901, Budapest, 1901; *idem*, vol. 38, 1910-1911, Budapest, 1910; *Anuarul băncilor Române*, year XV, 1914, Sibiu, 1915.

From the point of view of the dynamics of economic activities in the region, local banks appeared in a period when, at least in some localities, mining witnessed a new expansion stage, marked by foreign capital and technological investments. It should be emphasized that these local banks were not intended to support economic activities in the area with capital, this being the preserve of the great capital circulated by the German and the Hungarian banks. Still, they reflected the fact that at least during the period in which they were created, the number of employees increased in the mining sector and that capital was needed in the adjacent sectors that developed as a result of the intensification of mining, namely in the areas of trade or the crafts.



Consumption led to more dynamic monetary transactions so banks appeared as an expression of the local need for capital, modest, but indispensable. If we refer to the social capital these banks coagulated when they were created, we may notice that it was rather modest, particularly if we consider that during that period a bank was considered large if it had a registered social capital of at least 100,000 kronen. Most of the local Romanian banks began with modest capitals that did not exceed 20-30,000 kronen, but in most cases these capitals were increased sometimes in spectacular fashion.

Overall, by 1914 the banks of the “auriferous quadrilateral” had managed to increase their registered capital by over 61% (see Annex 1). The most spectacular increase was registered at *Crișana* Bank in Brad, which multiplied its initial capital by 14 in only 23 years.<sup>220</sup> The actual share or importance of the local banks in the area of the gold fields from the Apuseni Mountains can be better ascertained if we correlate it with the general situation in Transylvania during the same period. According to the statistical data, the total social capital of the Transylvanian Romanian banks was around 20,776,840 kronen in 1914.<sup>221</sup> 13 banks in the area examined in this study had a joint social capital of 1,361,670 kronen, that is, 6.55% of the total. It should be noted that of the total number of 16 banks and savings houses existing in the “quadrilateral” in 1914, 8 had exclusively Romanian capital, 5 had mixed capital and 3 had exclusively Hungarian capital (see Annex 1). Basically, if we consider that there were 168 banks and savings houses in Transylvania in 1914,<sup>222</sup> the 13 local banks with full or partial Romanian capital accounted for 7.73% of their total number.

Another indicator illustrating the development of these financial institutions was the evolution of assets. According to the accounting procedures of the time, the value of the assets was given by the different types of loans in progress, by the movable properties and the real properties owned by the bank, by securities, various overdrawn accounts, the cash liquidities, etc. The evolution of the assets of the 16 banks and savings houses we have studied reveals a significant increase, consistent, in each case, with the evolution of the turnover. Overall, from 1900 to 1914, there was an increase from 2,717,498 kronen to 11,649,124 kronen, amounting to a growth of 428.67% (see Annex 2).

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<sup>220</sup> From 28,296 to 400,000 kronen in 1914. See *infra*, Annex 1.

<sup>221</sup> According to *Anuarul Băncilor române*, year XI, 1910, Sibiu 1911. This amount represented approximately 2% of the total social capital, therefore a marginal share, if we think that during this period the banking system in the Hungarian part of the empire had a total social capital of 1.4 billion kronen. For comparison, see *Magyar Kompass 1910, XVIII Évfolyam, II. Rész*, Budapest, 1911.

<sup>222</sup> See *supra*, Chart.

Of course, in this context, the questions that may be raised are: who set up those banks? How? What was the source and the structure of the capitals needed to establish those banks? Who managed them? How were those banks managed? We shall not insist, in each individual case, on the specific circumstances in which these banks were created. In fact, there is little factual information in this regard. What is certain is that all of them were the result of initiatives undertaken by the local elites and businessmen, who decided to jointly mobilize their small capitals, with the main purpose of making profit but, equally, to mobilize financial resources for the implementation of local projects and initiatives that could support the ongoing need for capital and for small investments, for financing the schools, the churches and cultural activities, in the absence of funding from the State.

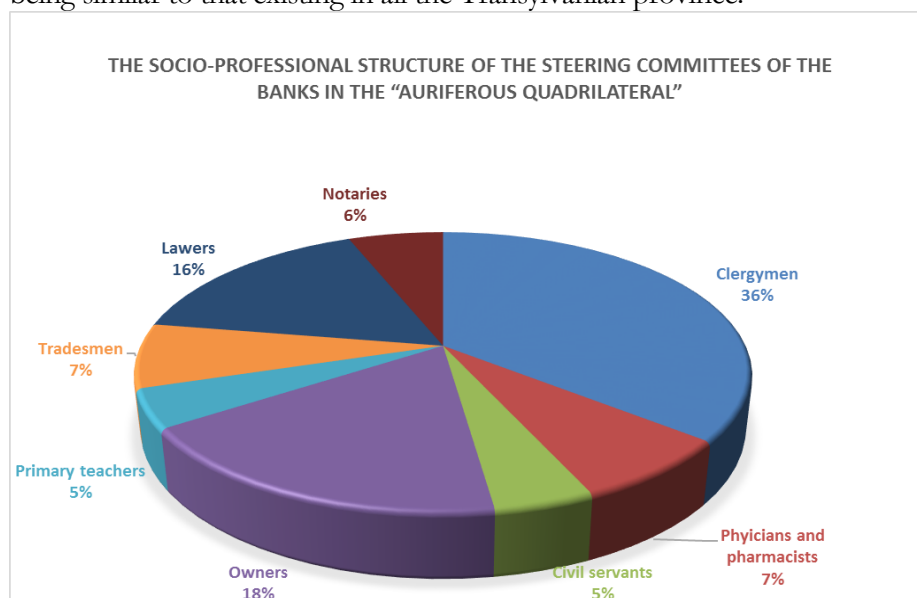
The analysis of the socio-professional structure of the bank managers in the gold-mining area of the Apuseni Mountains can provide interesting and relevant data on the local functions and functionalities of these financial institutions and, at the same time, confirm some conclusions reached by analysts of the phenomenon in their studies on the socio-professional composition of the Romanian financial and banking elite in Transylvania at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.<sup>223</sup> To this end, we focused on two important indicators: the socio-professional structure of the direction and of the supervisory committees.

Besides the shareholders, who provided the necessary capital for the establishment and functioning of these banks, a particularly important role in ensuring the efficient operation of the banks was played by the steering committees. These were executive bodies of the banks that laid down the general lines of the banking activity in order to ensure the proper operation of the banks, to create a favourable image among the clients and to promote profitability. Their tasks were extremely important in the light of the fact that they decided on all the affairs of the banks, including on the recruitment and appointment of banking officers. At this level, decisions were made in all cases by an absolute majority of votes.

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<sup>223</sup> Vasile Dobrescu, *Sistemul de credit românesc din Transilvania*, Târgu Mureș: Editura Universității “Petru Maior,” 1996; idem, *Funcții și funcționalități în sistemul de credit românesc din Transilvania până la Primul război mondial*, Târgu Mureș: Editura Universității “Petru Maior,” 2006; Iosif Marin Balog, “The Clergy’s Involvement in the Romanian Credit System from Transylvania during the Late Nineteenth and the Early Twentieth Centuries. Case Study: the Greek-Catholic Clergy,” in *Recruitment and Promotion among the Romanian Greek-Catholic Ecclesiastical Elite in Transylvania (1853-1918): A Collection of Studies*, Mirela Popa-Andrei (ed.), Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2014. (hereinafter: *The Clergy’s Involvement...*).

The analysis conducted on nine Romanian banks in the area (9 out of 10, as there are no concrete data for one of these banks) highlights the fact that the structure of the steering committees included: churchmen, who prevailed in numerical terms, accounting for 36% of the members of these committees, exceeding by 9% the provincial average;<sup>224</sup> they were followed by lawyers, who represented 16%, the proportion being relatively similar to that of Transylvania in general. The remaining positions in the steering committees were divided between other socio-professional categories, among which, a significant proportion belonged to “owners,” with 18% of the total, without specifying what kind of owners they were (landowners, real estate holders); very likely, some were owners of mines or mining shares. This situation reveals their willingness to become involved in the local banking life and, of course, to place their capital in local bank shares. Thus, we may consider that they formed a local category with a fairly well-defined entrepreneurial profile. Tradesmen represented another category, amounting to 7%, their proportion being similar to that existing in all the Transylvanian province.



This local reality reveals that a similar process was underway, at a larger scale, among the Romanian elites of the time: the use of a horizontal extension of the banking elite members, without major impediments for those who had sufficient economic resources for becoming involved in the

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<sup>224</sup> Iosif Marin Balog, *The Clergy's Involvement...*, p. 172.

establishment of, sometimes, more than one bank.<sup>225</sup> The finding is also valid in the case of the physicians and pharmacists, who owned a share of 7% in the management structures of the local banks, a higher average that could also be explained through the fact that in the mining area of the Apuseni Mountains these health care services were better represented and implemented as a result of the local needs.

The high degree of heterogeneity detectible at the level of the representative socio-professional groups in the managing structures of the local banks finds its explanation, on the one hand, in the socio-economic circumstances of the region and, on the other hand, in the capacity of this local elite to muster the social, moral and educational prestige that was necessary for the establishment of banking institutions, even though of a lower financial standing. The significant presence of priests in the management structures of the banks in the region suggests the considerable influence of the Church at the local level, the important economic resources of its representatives, but also their moral prestige, which could raise the potential clients' confidence in these institutions.

Moreover, the presence of clerics as chairmen of the steering committees was, for the local communities and for the businessmen willing to engage in banking activities, a guarantee for success and a possible argument in dealing with the conservative mindset of the population, persistent among the so-called rural middle class. We should not omit, in this context, the fact that in the absence of alternatives and opportunities for meeting small credit needs, the Churches had assumed the role of short-term creditors for their parishioners. Even though it may seem surprising, in light of its own precepts, that the Church should have given money with interest, the reasons for undertaking this role were pragmatic: interest in profit should be taken into account here, but if we consider that the sums borrowed and circulated were modest and that the interest practised was identical to that of the banks (6-8%) or even lower, the profit was not significant. A reason that was often invoked was the desire to protect the community members from the scourge of usury, which ravaged the world of the villages through the onerous lending conditions (up from 52% per year).<sup>226</sup> The numerous interventions of the priests, urging the villagers not to squander their wealth in favour of usurers bear witness to this effect (circulars, sermons, etc.).

There were many cases in which the parishes assumed the role of creditors (of course, those that had some wealth and stable sources of income). This was the case of the Greek-Catholic parish in Roşia Montană,

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<sup>225</sup> V. Dobrescu, *Funcții și funcționalități*, p. 115.

<sup>226</sup> According to Ioan Ghișa, *op cit.*, p. 17.

whose sources of income included several stamp mills of the peasant type, one share at the gold mine, plus three *iugăre* of land.<sup>227</sup> Of the entire revenue for the year 1888, which was modest, 609 florins (the equivalent of a year's salary for two teachers), more than half was given in the form of small loans to "private" individuals,<sup>228</sup> while the remaining amount was allocated to the elementary denominational school and for its own needs. This, like many other similar examples, confirmed that the priests were familiar with the elementary mechanisms of financial transactions. This was one more natural reason why clergymen were included in the management structures of the local banks, most commonly in the supervisory committees. Known, at that time, as audit or revision committees, they had the role of supervising and controlling all banking operations, as well as the administrative activities undertaken by the steering committees; they also audited all annual balance sheets. Without the report of the supervisory committees, general assemblies had no right to decide on the quality of the balance sheets and on the manner of distributing dividends and other financial benefits resulting from the banks' annual turnover.<sup>229</sup> Therefore, the members of the supervisory committees had a role that was at least as important as that of the banks' directors, because these committees had the mission to ensure the correctness of the banking operations and management, as well as, most importantly, to promote a trustworthy image of the banking institution among the clients. Therefore, all the banks, regardless of their size, paid special attention to the selection and appointment of members in the supervisory committee. They were elected by the general assemblies for a period of three years, with the possibility of being re-elected. Their numbers oscillated between 3 and 7, depending on the size of the bank. Of course, the members of the management board, the bank officers and shareholders could not be part of the supervisory committee at their own bank, but they could be members of the supervisory committees of other banks. In this way, a system of interrelations between the Romanian banks was created. It was beneficial for the correlation and synchronization of lending policies across the entire province. Without a doubt, at least one or two of the members of the supervisory committee was supposed to possess specialized financial and banking skills: to be familiar with accounting, to know and

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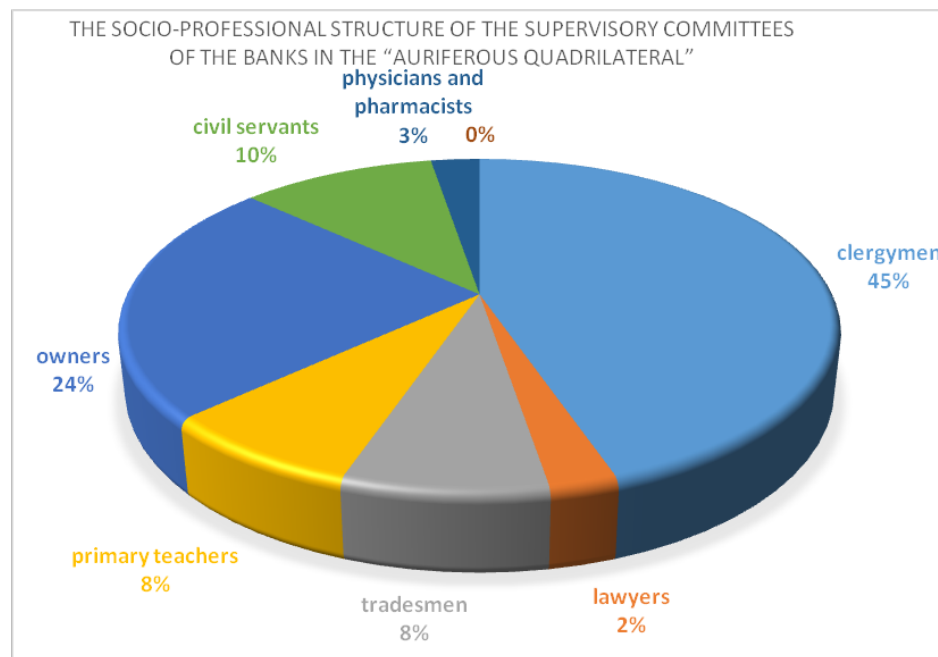
<sup>227</sup> One *iugăr* was the equivalent of 0.57 ha.

<sup>228</sup> SJANAB, fund *The Greek-Catholic Parish Roșia Montană*, inv. no. 1774, file no. 1/1888, f. 7.

<sup>229</sup> Nicolae Petra Petrescu, *Băncile românești din Ardeal și Banat*, Sibiu, 1936, p. 172; for an analysis of the role of the supervisory committees in the Romanian banking system from Transylvania, see Vasile Dobrescu, *Funcții*, pp. 50-53.

understand perfectly the types of banking operations, etc. Those who did not necessarily have formal qualifications, but were self-trained in in this field had to have an irreproachable conduct in their profession and a very good image among the community, so that they could inspire confidence both at the level of the bank's leadership and, especially, among the clients and the shareholders.

The statistical analysis on this indicator in the case of the banks from the “auriferous quadrilateral” reveals the clear prevalence of clergymen, who dominated from afar this management structure, at a rate of 45% or, in absolute numbers, 17 out of 48 members. They were followed by so-called category of owners (24%) and, respectively, by civil servants, the remaining positions being distributed among the other socio-professional categories.



Compared to the overall situation at the level of the province, the local percentages reveal a massive representation of clergymen in the local banks (45% compared to the average of only 26% in Transylvania, as well as a good representation of owners, 24% vs. 9% at the general level.<sup>230</sup>

A brief analysis of these quantitative data, meant to identify a few specific aspects concerning the socio-economic composition of the management structures from the banks of the “auriferous quadrilateral,” and a

<sup>230</sup> See the full data in V. Dobrescu, pp. 50-53; see also Iosif Marin Balog, *The Clergy's Involvement*, p. 175.

comparative approach to the general situation of Transylvania within the same timespan may also generate other conclusions. Apart from the above-mentioned remarks, we should also take into account the following findings. First of all, we could find, at both levels, a “plurality of offices” and a multiplicity of roles that the Romanian Transylvanian elite held via its active involvement and concurrent presence at several levels: spiritual-cultural-economic (see the clergymen), professional-entrepreneurial-cultural (the case of the lawyers, physicians and pharmacists). This was a defining characteristic for the evolution of the Transylvanian Romanian elites, which, despite their progressive diversification and multiplication, failed to sufficiently cover all the areas of public, economic and cultural life, as required by the dynamics of modernization at that time. This reality has already been discussed in serious studies devoted to the political and cultural history of the elites.<sup>231</sup>

Like the entire banking system of Transylvania at that time, the banks in the studied area had a well-defined purpose and functionality. They catered for the needs of the local clients, both in terms of offering them the possibility to place their savings or to resort to loans for their current needs or business purposes. An analysis of the amounts deposited by the local population in these banks may reveal interesting data about the level of prosperity in the region. However, the few sources that have been preserved with respect to the activity of these banks provide only general quantitative data, so we cannot form an image, for instance, of the socio-economic profile of those who chose to place their savings in these banks. The general data indicate that in 1900 the value of the sums “deposited for being turned into good account” in the banks from the Apuseni Mountains area was 2,645,139 kronen, that is, only 1.21% of the total of 32,212,828 kronen representing the approximate sum of the deposits made in the Transylvanian Romanian banks in 1900.<sup>232</sup> It was very little from all points of view! From 1900 to 1914, there occurred a significant increase in the amount deposited, by 219%, so the value of the local deposits,

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<sup>231</sup> V. Popovici, *Acte și documente privind elita politică românească din Transilvania 1869-1896*, Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2010; Idem, *Studies on the Romanian Political Elite from Transylvania and Hungary*, Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2012; Idem, “The Electoral Process in the Banat (1861-1918). Statistics. Evolution. Prosopography,” in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie “George Barițiu”. Series Historica*. LII, 2014, pp. 31-44; *Canonici, profesori și vicari foranei din Biserica Română Unită (1853-1918). Dicționar*. Mirela Popa-Andrei (ed.), Diana Covaci, Ana Victoria Sima, Mihaela Bedecan, Aurelia Dan, Iosif Marin Balog, Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2013, 455 pp.

<sup>232</sup> The estimated figure is approximate and should be regarded with caution; this is also acknowledged in *Anuarul băncilor române*, 1901, Sbiu, 1900, p. 119, because not all the banks provided complete data. It is important just as a reference point. Lucian Dronca suggests the amount of 34,953,431 kronen. See Lucian Dronca, Annex I. 1.

with the 5,794,273 kronen, represented 5.17% of the total amount deposited in the Transylvanian Romanian banks (111,879,978 kronen).<sup>233</sup> The local growth rate was significant now, being much higher than the average rate in the province, which did not exceed 28.79% in the period 1900-1914. In terms of the value of the sums deposited, *Crișana* Bank in Brad stood out: in 1914 it attracted over 23.55% of the total deposits in the banks studied. With a considerable local influence, the bank in Brad had a large clientele that lived in an area to which the mining activities of the time had imparted a genuine dynamism, thanks to the massive investment made by foreign capital. The Savings House in Roșia Montană also managed to dramatically increase the amount of deposits, by over three times and a half.<sup>234</sup> The stability of the interest rates and the security of the banks made them attractive to the local population. To these was added the propaganda of the local elite, especially of the priests who pleaded, whenever they had the opportunity, in favour of “nurturing a spirit of thriftiness among the common people.” This slogan was present in almost all the charters of the banks, which invoked it as the principal goal underlying their existence.<sup>235</sup>

Like in the case of all the Romanian banks, attracting deposits at an interest rate was a fundamental activity. According to the practice of the time, these were generally long-term deposits (1-3 years), which meant that this money could be used by the banks in giving short-term loans (3-6 months, called “discounted bills”), as well as longer-term loans with mortgage guarantees. Thus, while their primordial function was that of deposit banks, they used the savings deposited, in the absence of other sources of capital, as their main sources of capital for loans. This situation was due to the Romanian banks’ reduced capacity of accessing rediscounts. Hence, they could not rely, except to a small degree, on capital attracted through loans from other bigger banks, being forced to work with the capital available locally and to continuously adapt their businesses to this scale. Therefore, one of the credit operations most commonly practised were short-term exchange rate loans (90-180 days) that were generally of a lower value and had annual interest rates of 8-10%. This type of loans was preferred by the banks’ management given the faster capital movement and the good and stable turnover that could be obtained. Although they were not suitable for the peasants who needed capital in order to streamline their farmsteads, they had the advantage of being granted relatively easily, without guarantor mortgages. For example, *Crișana* Bank in Brad mainly granted this type of loans, which accounted for over 60%

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<sup>233</sup> Lucian Dronca, Annex I. 1.

<sup>234</sup> See tab. 6.

<sup>235</sup> *Statutele băncii Crișana din Brad*, Sibiu: Tipografia Arhidiecezană, 1897, 32 pp.



of its total portfolio in 1913.<sup>236</sup> Exchange rate loans were preferred by tradesmen, who resorted especially to bills with mortgage securities, in this case, the guarantees being represented by assets that could easily be converted into cash. In 1914, the bank in Brad owned a considerable portfolio of the mortgage credits (over 28%).<sup>237</sup> Another specific operation of these banks was the so-called bond loans with *caveți* (guarantors), also known as the peasants' loans. The amounts of these loans were generally small (50-200 kronen) and they were intended for covering personal needs or for organizing events such as weddings or funerals, ensuring the working capital, or purchasing livestock. They were of two kinds: with mortgage insurance and with guarantors. These loans were popular because they were given relatively easily and could be paid back in small installments, with the possibility of extending the repayment period, of course, with a recalculation of the due interest. An analysis of the loans offered by the banks we have studied reveals that the overwhelming majority were focused on exchange rate loans: thus, at *Buciumana* the share of these operations was 94%,<sup>238</sup> at *Matca* Bank in Țebea the proportion was 93%, while at *Zărândeana* it was 78%.<sup>239</sup> An exception was *Auraria* Bank in Abrud, where mortgage loans amounted to an important 28%, but this was an exception, because in general, mortgage loans had a marginal share in the portfolio of the banks in the area. The interest on exchange rate loans ranged between 7 and 8%, to which a provision of 1% was sometimes added.

Limited to the role of creditors for the local communities, the banks in the Apuseni Mountains area, just like the other banks across Transylvania, assumed an important mission in support of the communities they served. Many arguments attest the fact that these banks did not regard customer interaction simply in terms of the lender-borrower relation at an individual level. First, because their clients were rather clearly circumscribed geographically and socio-economically, they were regarded and treated as a collective entity towards which the financial institutions assumed an important role of social responsibility. The founders and the management structures of the banks, whose members came, in most cases, from those communities, had conceived and made these financial institutions work not only as entrepreneurial structures designed to produce profit, but also as alternative mechanisms meant to support and sustain the local people and institutions in general, given their lack of financial backing and resources from the State. These banks channelled some of their profits to the benefit of the local communities. There

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<sup>236</sup> *Anuarul Băncilor Române...*, 1914, p. 59.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibidem*. See also Lucian Dronca, Annex X. 1.

<sup>238</sup> *Anuarul Băncilor Române*, 1914, p. 179.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 102, 170.

are numerous arguments to support this finding. First of all, even at the level of lending policies, these banks often supported loan projects and applications for activities with a multiplying potential, from which others, beside the client, could also benefit. We should mention, in this context, the decision of *Crișana* Bank to grant preferential loans for the purchase of superior breeds of cattle. In 1909, the same bank financed, from its own resources, a nursery from which fruit trees could be distributed, free of charge, in all the villages where such an activity could flourish.<sup>240</sup> Efforts were made, year after year, to use their own turnover and pay part of the salaries of the local teachers and parish priests, as well as to support various local charity projects or projects of broader interest. According to a widespread practice, around 5% of the yearly profit made by all the banks in Transylvania was redirected for funding cultural and philanthropic projects. An example is offered by the same bank from Brad, if we analyse the balance sheet for 1913 (the same reality is detectible whatever the year we might consider). According to the decision of the steering committee, a part of the net profit that amounted, that year, to 61,643 kronen, was not only meant to cover the payment of dividends, to ensure the reserve fund or pay the director's fees, but was also allocated for charitable purposes (8,200 kronen, i.e. 13%).<sup>241</sup> A good portion of the funds were intended for the Orthodox gymnasium in town. Amounts of 100-300 kronen were given to various local parishes, but also to the tree nursery in Mihăileni, 300 kronen, to "Astra", etc. Part of the subsidies were intended as scholarships for students, but also for various charitable destinations across Transylvania,<sup>242</sup> in the spirit of genuine national solidarity and of a strategy that characterized the entire banking system in Transylvania during that period. Overall, in 1891-1914 *Crișana* Bank allocated no less than 136,034 kronen<sup>243</sup> for cultural and philanthropic purposes, being the biggest supporter in the area of numerous cultural and, especially, educational projects. Even smaller banking institutions assumed this philanthropic mission, each according to their possibilities. For example, *Detunata* Bank in Bucium allocated, from the modest profit of 14,492 kronen it had made in 1913, the amount of 400 kronen for philanthropic and cultural purposes (2.76%).<sup>244</sup> It funded the local schools, the women's associations and the church choir, but it also sent the modest amount of 30 kronen for the meals of the students at the gymnasium in Brașov. The small

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<sup>240</sup> I. Ghișa, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>241</sup> *Anuarul Băncilor Române...*, 1914, p. 59.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>243</sup> Lucian Dronca, *op. cit.*, Annex X. c.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 64.

contributions arriving there from across Transylvania could sustain this project and others like it.<sup>245</sup>

These few examples outline the conclusion according to which the banks in the Apuseni Mountains had assumed, just like the other banks in Transylvania, an important social-philanthropic mission in an area where the financial resources necessary for such undertakings were rather scarce. They managed, thus, to rally an effort of communal solidarity, which was all the more commendable since, on the one hand, these banks supported, sometimes with extremely modest possibilities and contributions, the most stringent needs of the local Romanian schools and institutions. On the other hand, let us not forget that the function of any bank - giving out loans and making profit - contributed in this way to the economic development of the region as a whole.

And yet... despite the huge resources and values extracted from the gold mines here, far too little was left in the area to generate real added value and sustainable development at the local level. At the macro level, these banks did not make a significant contribution to boosting economic activities, because what was needed for this purpose was capital that vastly exceeded their possibilities. As a result, their functionality and contribution were limited to the secondary and tertiary sectors of the local economic life, to the strict and elementary needs for capital, which had become indispensable in the context in which real regional development and modernization could no longer be envisaged without money and capital.

## Conclusions

While a few provisional findings have already been outlined in this synthesis on the significance of gold mining in the Transylvanian Apuseni Mountains during the modern era, there are also several other conclusions that need to be pointed out.

First, I have tried to operate with an appreciable amount and with a diversity of historical sources and information that can provide answers to the hypotheses I formulated and, especially, to the question regarding the relationship between the resources of a region and their impact on the process of modernization. It is clear that the mining region studied here can be defined as a social region, considering that mining represented the dominant driving force behind its configuration and existence as a region, in which socio-

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<sup>245</sup> For the entire matter, see Lucian Dronca, *op. cit.*, pp. 463, 495; the meals of the students in Cluj were paid for by the banks, the sums amounting to 3-4,000 kronen a year. See Dronca, *op. cit.*, Annex VII. 3.

economic processes, in their long *durée*, had a functional significance at all levels (administrative, social, economic, demographic and cultural), particularly as regards the emergence of solidarities and conflicts, so much so that, regardless of the nature and pace of the changes, the profile of the region remained virtually unchanged.

During the three stages that marked the economic and social evolution of the region from 1750 to 1914, the modernization process was essentially asynchronous not only at the temporal, but also at the spatial level, many of the times among well-defined communities. These transformations represented flexible and dynamic phenomena that did not have a pre-established schedule, being sometimes the result of decisions imposed by the State. Still, these changes were often incomplete and non-systematic, occurring almost always against the background of local immobilism, defined by the inability to come up with the necessary sources for self-supported modernization efforts and by the self-sufficiency of the local communities, which limited themselves to minimal changes that could ensure their daily subsistence without upsetting their traditional patterns of existence.

These findings are valid for the entire period up until the end of the 19th century. After that, a vaster and more profound process of change/modernization and regional development began in the region.

Although the abundance of natural resources would have created the premises for an earlier modernization, this did not occur due to the objective factors mentioned and analysed above: lack of capital, technological constraints, lack of skilled labour, lack of modern entrepreneurship, lack of policy strategies specific to the local realities and the perpetuation, among the local communities, of practices and conceptions according to which most of the locals did fine as long as they could ensure their modest subsistence needs in natural harmony with the local environment and with the social arrangements in which they lived. In addition to the dominance of small peasant gold-mining exploitations until the end of the 19th century, these activities were regarded by most as a source of daily livelihood, perpetuating among the inhabitants an individualistic conduct, often suspicious of and hostile to the emergence of more complex economic initiatives based on association and collective solidarity. A good indicator in this respect was the reluctance of many to find employment as workers at the larger mining enterprises even though most of them, working on their own, did not earn more than the income they would have obtained from salaried work.

In its turn, the State was tempted to obtain a higher profit from the gold-mining exploitations. Even though investments were needed to this end, the State preferred to adopt limited local measures of a palliative nature, supporting the local administrative model in legislative and bureaucratic terms.

Thus, up until 1885 the sources and the pace of regional modernization were relatively modest: generated by the oscillating policies of the State and the needs of the local communities, they were also heavily conditioned and limited by many technological factors, the lack of capital and the lack of connectivity of the region to modern means of transport.

The penetration of foreign capital fostered a stream of massive investments and an influx of technology that brought about an irreversible process of transformation in the region, particularly in those communities that were focused on these investments. The fact that the region was connected to the railway network via the Alba Iulia-Zlatna line in 1895 and, then, the Arad-Hălmagiu-Brad line in 1896 (albeit with an obvious time lag in comparison with other regions of Transylvania) had a significant economic and social impact for the decades that followed.

However, the pace of modernization depended on and complied with the region's mining profile, without too many derivative effects. The concentration of production and capital investment in the area created jobs, ensuring a certain level of income for the locals, avoiding demographic pressures thus. Still, sufficient alternatives were not created, so the economic profile of the region remained tributary to a limited base, generating a frail and unsustainable model of modernization.

Finally, the specifics of the region, with its legendary gold resources, marked and shaped local mentalities. Quotidian existence hovered between, on the one hand, the need and the effort to ensure a livelihood and, on the other hand, the restless search for the big strike, creating, across generations, a specific attitude towards work, different from the steady mindset of the ordinary peasant, accustomed to the peculiar rhythms of his existence, situated somewhere in between frugality and pragmatism and supplemented by a propensity towards mysticism, superstition and the tendency to spend recklessly what had been earned sometimes through relentless toil, at other times overnight. Historical sources attest to all these attitudes and models of existence. The idea that gold meant riches, hazardous luck or a curse was, without a doubt, a reality confirmed by history

### **-Abstract-**

This study, proposes a multi-level analysis of the history of gold mining in the Apuseni region, one of the richest of its kind in Europe. The author distinguishes several stages in the evolution of mining in the chronological period 1750-1914, each with its own defining characteristics.

The study identifies and analyzes the main mining exploitations, providing quantitative data on the evolution, in time, of the amounts of noble metal extracted; the ratio between state and private mining exploitations; the evolution of the number of workers and their wages. From a demographic perspective, the author examines the evolution of several mining settlements in connection with the pace and intensity of the exploitations, outlining three main demographic models: sustained growth, stagnation and decline. Moreover, the author offers concrete data on the evolution of social structures in the region, delineating several types of mining settlements. Another level of analysis explores the social effects of gold mining in the area, as regards health services and education, one of the analyzed indicators being the evolution of the number of elementary schools, coupled with the level and pace of literacy development. The author's main conclusion is that while both elementary schools and specialized (vocational) mining schools played a beneficial role in the region, the state of education was generally dismal. This was due to the lack of elementary and secondary school teachers, the meagre financial support provided by the state and communities for school maintenance, and the children's and their parents' low interest in school education. The comparison made by the author with other regions in Transylvania during the same period reveals the fact that the changes that took place in the 19th century failed to improve conditions in the region. Another line of investigation refers to banks and the credit system in the area. The author has identified 16 banks and credit unions with Romanian, Hungarian and German capital. They were the result of economic initiatives undertaken by local entrepreneurs and leaders, who channeled and made their capital available for local loan needs. Even though, theoretically, a rich auriferous region should have benefited from substantial capital funds, the author shows that the situation was quite the opposite, since much of the valuable gold ore extracted left the region without leaving behind sufficient added value to ensure durable and sustainable economic growth at the local level. The overall conclusion of the study emphasizes the fact that throughout the period under study the development and modernization process was rather fragile. The situation was, in fact, specific to all mining or, in more general terms, to all mono-industrial regions. Like several other indicators, this shows how fragile and ultimately unstable or unsustainable economic growth was in such a region. When the natural resource dwindled, when interest in or the willingness to exploit it vanished, the source for sustainable economic growth and, ultimately, for the well-being of the population in the region also vanished, the process of finding viable alternatives and diversification resources in alternative domains being extremely difficult.

**Keywords:** Apuseni region, gold mining, regional development, modernization, community development.

## Ohaba-Bistra/Ferdinand/Oțelu-Roșu The fortunes and misfortunes of a microregion (the 19<sup>th</sup> Century)\*

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### 1. Premises

The heavy industry of Southern (Highland) and Eastern Banat left its mark on the region in terms of the vast changes it produced and the influence it exerted in the surrounding areas. It developed at the junction of three essential factors: natural resources (mineral deposits), energy resources (wood and water), and qualified labour force (indigenous or settled), plus the means and routes of transport, which, in turn, underwent a process of transformation precisely because of the industry that developed there.

Historical Banat<sup>1</sup> can be divided into several industrial microregions situated along the valleys of the Danube River, the Bârzava, the Cerna and the Bistra or in the area whose centre is Timișoara; to these are added the copper mines in Maidanpek, from the present-day Republic of Serbia.

All these became, after 1718,<sup>2</sup> the destination of intense visits, with the purpose of detecting and prospecting ores of copper, lead, gold, silver or, later, coal and iron.

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\* This study was conducted as part of the project CNCS – UEFISCDI, project code PN-II-ID-PCE-2011-3-0305. *Economie regională și dezvoltare comunitară în Transilvania, Banatul Montan și Bucovina în secolul 19 (1800-1914) - Regional Economy and Community Development in Transylvania, Highland Banat and Bucovina in the 19th Century (1800-1914).*

<sup>1</sup> Banat, bordered by the Mureș-Tisza-Danube and the Carpathians, formed a harmonious economic unit before it became divided between Romania, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Hungary under the Treaty of Trianon, on 4 June 1920.

<sup>2</sup> When, under the Peace of Passarowitz /Požarevac (21 July 1718), the Ottoman Empire ceded the Banat of Timișoara to Austria.

In this study, we shall trace<sup>3</sup> the beginnings and evolution of the mining and metal processing industry in the eastern part of Caraş-Severin County and, respectively, along the Corridor of the Bistra, which links Banat and Transylvania and whose industrial centres are Oţelu Roşu,<sup>4</sup> Rusca Montană<sup>5</sup> and Ruschiţa.<sup>6</sup>

Located in the North-East of Caraş-Severin County, along the geographic coordinates of 45°30'55" North latitude and 22°34'13" East longitude, the Bistra Valley stretches from the Poiana Ruscă Mountains in the North to the Țarcu Mountains in the South, and from the Caransebeş Depression in the West to Sarmisegetuza in the East. It is a crossing point from Banat to Transylvania, the symbolic border being the Iron Gate of Transylvania.<sup>7</sup> The Bistra Corridor starts from the Iron Gate of Transylvania, which is also a watershed where the Bistra (a tributary of the Țimiş) is divided from Râul Mare (a tributary of the Strei) and stretches over a length of about 50 km, until it reaches the Caransebeş Depression. It is crossed, as its name suggests, by the Bistra River, which is 46 km long and flows into the Țimiş.<sup>8</sup> The town Oţelu Roşu, around which revolve six communes<sup>9</sup> and nine villages,<sup>10</sup> is the economic centre of the Bistra Corridor.

The Poiana Ruscă Mountains, located at the intersection of the administrative jurisdictions of Hungary (the Banat of Țimişoara), Transylvania and the Military Border,<sup>11</sup> had important natural resources, such as iron ore

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<sup>3</sup> I analysed the history of the industrial region in the southern part of the county in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in *Contribuții la istoria industrială a Banatului Montan. StEG, Factor de modernizare. 1855-1920*, Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2011.

<sup>4</sup> The locality Oţelu Roşu was formed on the site of the ancient settlement Ohaba Bistra (attested in documents of the 14<sup>th</sup> century) and of the industrial settlement Ferdinandsberg (1806), Ferdinand (1924-1945), with which it was united under the name of Ferdinand-Bistra, bearing, as of 8 June 1848, the name Oţelu Roşu. In 1960 it was declared a town. Cf. Dan Ghinea, *Enciclopedia geografică a României*, vol. I, A-G, Bucureşti: Editura Enciclopedică, 1996, p. 149.

<sup>5</sup> Ruskberg.

<sup>6</sup> Ruskiza.

<sup>7</sup> Prof. Marinela Răduță, *Dinamica spațiului rural din bazinul superior al Văii Bistrei*, Methodical Scientific Dissertation for Obtaining the Senior Teacher Degree, Scientific advisor, Prof. Pompei Coccean, PhD, Babeş-Bolyai University, Faculty of Geography, 2011, p. 10. I must thank Prof. Răduță for making available to me her dissertation.

<sup>8</sup> Vasile Sencu, I. Băcănar, *Județul Caraş-Severin*, Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1976, pp. 60-61.

<sup>9</sup> Băuțar, Marga, Zăvoi, Rusca Montană, Glimboca and Obreja. Cf. Răduță, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> Bucova, Marga, Voislova, Valea Mare (Valea Bistrei), Rusca Montană, Cireșa, Glimboca, Obreja, Iaz. Cf. Răduță, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Caraş-Severin County Branch of the National Archives (hereinafter SJANCS), Fund: *Călan Mining and Blast Furnace Company*, inv. no. 26, file no. 25/1872, f. 1.



deposits, which were mined at Ruschița and Băuțar (in CS), or at Teliuc and Ghelar in Hunedoara County, lead and zinc, at Ruschița, or “good quality” white marble at Ruschița.<sup>12</sup>

Forests of beech, spruce and fir trees used to cover and still partially cover the Bistra Basin. As the main natural conditions were met (mineral and energy resources: water and forests), the first industrial installations appeared at Ohaba-Bistra (Oțelu Roșu), Ruschița and Rusca Montană in the late 18th century and, especially, in the early 19th century. The third element that was indispensable for industrial development, qualified workforce, was ensured through colonizations or through labour migration from the existing industrial centres to the microregion examined here. At first, unskilled labour force was provided, like everywhere else in the industrial centres of Banat, by the local Romanian population.

The fourth factor that was a prerequisite for organized and effective development was the legal and institutional framework, which was ensured by the political power holders. It should be noted that the Austrian rule that was established here under the Peace of Passarowitz (1718), through which the Ottoman Porte recognized the Austrian dominion over Banat, Oltenia and Serbia, fundamentally changed the economic coordinates in Banat. The removal of Ottoman rule and the introduction of Habsburg rule decisively and directly influenced the economic, social and cultural evolution of Banat over the next 200 years. We should add yet another element that was far from negligible in the Corridor of the Bistra: the existence of a company headquartered at Ohaba Bistra, as of 1768, of the Wallachian Border Guards Battalion,<sup>13</sup> which became the Wallachian-Illyrian (1774) and, then, Romanian-Banatian Border Regiment,<sup>14</sup> guarding over a large forested area that was the object of several leasing transactions between the owners of mines or industrial plants and the Military Command in Timișoara.

## 2. The “discovery” of the microregion

One of the first documents that gives us an overview of Banat as it had recently been taken into possession by the Habsburgs is Hamilton's

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<sup>12</sup> Sencu, p. 49.

<sup>13</sup> Locotenent-colonel Liviu Groza, *Grănicerii bănățeni, Pagini din cronica Regimentului de grăniceri din Caransebeș*, București: Editura Militară, 1983, p. 15 and the map.

<sup>14</sup> Dr. Antoniu Marchescu, *Grănicerii bănățeni și comunitatea de avere (Contribuțiuni istorice și juridice)*, Foreword by Eng. Ștefan Bornuz, Caransebeș 1941, pp. 76, 80; Dr. J. H. Schwicker, *Geschichte der Österreichischen Militärgrenze*, Wien und Teschen, 1883; Fr. Vaniček, *Spezialgeschichte der Militärgrenze*, aus Originalquellen und Quellenwerkgeschöpft, I-IV, Wien 1875.

report,<sup>15</sup> which mentioned, in 1734, the “Process” (circle) belonging to Caransebeș District (the Administrative Office of Caransebeș),<sup>16</sup> but did not list Ohaba-Bistra among the mines existing in Banat in 1734.<sup>17</sup>

Shortly afterwards, in 1743, in a synthetic document reporting on the localities, the population by ethnicity and the taxes paid, Ohaba-Bistra was referred to as having 52 “chimneys” (taxable units) “Personal Kopff,” which had paid taxes to the State amounting to 222 guilders in 1743.<sup>18</sup> Ehrler shows that in 1774 Ohaba Bistra, alongside five other settlements, all of them inhabited exclusively by Romanians, belonged to the Military Border.<sup>19</sup> After the union of the Banat of Timișoara, Ohaba was referred to as being part of the County of Caraș (Comitatus Krassoviensis).<sup>20</sup>

None of the cited documents mentions the existence of resources and industrial establishments in Ohaba-Bistra or in the surrounding areas up to that moment.

Beginning in the second half of the 18th century, however, researchers, mineralogists and encyclopaedists developed an interest in Banat, exploring it from corner to corner and studying its geological structure or natural resources.

Ignaz von Born, who visited Banat in 1770,<sup>21</sup> departed from the area along the route Lugoj-Dobra-Deva, without visiting the Bistra Corridor, so we suspect he had no information about the existence of copper deposits there, otherwise he would not have bypassed it.

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<sup>15</sup> “Chorografia Bannatus Temessiensis sub auspiciis novi gubernatoris edita,” published by Josef Wolf in *Quellen zur Wirtschafts-, Sozial- und Verwaltungsgeschichte des Banats im 18. Jahrhundert*, in: “Materialien”, Hrsg. Vom Institut für donauschwäbische Geschichte und Landeskunde, Tübingen 1995, p. 47ff.

<sup>16</sup> Wolf, *Materialien*, 5 ..., p.140.

<sup>17</sup> *O logică a munților Banatului Ibidem*, p. 173. For the year 1734 only the mines in Dognecea, Oravița, Maidanpeck, Cernestiza, Moldova and Bocșa are mentioned.

<sup>18</sup> *Manuale Nach dem Effectiven Standt des Temesvarer Bannathd Eingereicht, und zu Behulf der Gedächknuß Zusammen gebracht auf das Jahr 17[43]* in Wolf, “Materialien”..., p.275.

<sup>19</sup> Wolf, “Materialien”, 5 ..., p. 301. (See Johann Jakob Ehrler, *Banatul de la origini până acum*, translated and edited by Costin Feneșan, Timișoara: Editura Facla, 1982.)

<sup>20</sup> Wolf, “Materialien” V, ..., p. 346.

<sup>21</sup> Ignaz von Born, *Briefe über mineralogische Gegenstände, auf seiner Reise durch das Temeswarer Bannat, Siebenbürgen, Ober- und Nieder-Hungarn*, an den Herausgeber derselben Johann-Jacob Ferber, geschrieben, Frankfurt und Leipzig 1774. He visited Timișoara, Oravița, Sasca, Moldova, Dognecea, Bocșa and left Banat across Lugoj-Dobra.



1. Map Ohava Bistra: Banat Josefinische Landaufnahme 1769-1772  
 ([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Banat\\_Josephinische\\_Landaufnahme\\_pg122.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Banat_Josephinische_Landaufnahme_pg122.jpg)) 07.05.2016 h.0:48

However, these deposits were mentioned by Francesco Grisellini, who also visited Banat at the invitation addressed to him by Josef Brigido von Bressowitz, Chairman of the Administration of the Banat of Timișoara. From 1774 to 1777, he was commissioned by the governing authorities of Banat to provide a description of the history, populations, customs, religion, natural configuration and industry of Banat. He mentioned both the Bistra River and the Poiana Rusca ("Ruska") Mountains in one of his letters in which he engaged in a polemic with Christoph Traugott Delius regarding the geological structure of the Banat Mountains.<sup>22</sup> In **Letter X**, addressed to the abbot and scientist Lazzaro Spallanzani,<sup>23</sup> Grisellini referred to some old mines which were thought, he said, to date from Roman times. Among these he mentioned the mines in "Valea Mare (along the Corridor of the Bistra/*our note*), towards the border with Transylvania, from Ohaba Bistra to Marga, along the banks of the rivers bearing the same name as these settlements."<sup>24</sup>

The mountains connecting the Hațeg Depression and the Bistra Corridor were also mentioned by Johann Ehrenreich von Fichtel. Visiting the mines from Moldova, Oravița, Dognecea and Sasca, he said that he had not seen these mountains, so he could make no comment regarding the corridor.<sup>25</sup>

Jens Esmark travelled through the Bistra Corridor more than two decades after the arrival here of Born and Grisellini. On 19 July 1794, Esmark set off from Vienna on a "mineralogical journey," passing through Preßburg/Bratislava-Schemnitz/Banská-Štiavnica/Selmezbánya-Timișoara-Oravița-Sasca-Moldova-Dognecea, which he left through the Iron Gate of Transylvania,<sup>26</sup> reaching Hațeg and Hunedoara. He continued his journey by visiting the mines in the Apuseni Mountains and, then, those in Cavnic.

In 1828, Johann von Csaplovics spoke about the iron plants in Rusca Montană,<sup>27</sup> alongside those in Reșița, Bocșa and Ruschița.

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<sup>22</sup> Franz Grisellini, *Versuch einer politischen und natürlichen Geschichte des temeswarer Banats in Briefen an Standespersonen und Gelehrte, Zweyter Theil*, Wien 1780, p. 16. See the translation of Costin Feneșan, Francesco Grisellini, *Încercare de istorie politică și naturală a Banatului Timișoarei*, foreword, translation and notes by Costin Feneșan, Timișoara: Editura Facla, 1984.

<sup>23</sup> Lazzaro Spallanzani, 1722-1799, an Italian natural scientist and professor at the University of Modena and, then, at Pavia.

<sup>24</sup> Grisellini, p.101.

<sup>25</sup> Ehrenreich von Fichtel, *Mineralogische Bemerkungen von den Karpathen, I.*, Wien: 1792, bei Joseph Edlen von Kurzbeck, p. 338.

<sup>26</sup> Jens Esmark, *Kurze Beschreibung einer mineralogischen Reise durch Ungarn, Siebenbürgen und das Banat*, Freiberg: 1789.

<sup>27</sup> Johann v. Csaplovicz, *Gemälde von Ungern, I. Theil*, Verlag von G.A. Hartleben, Pest 1829, p. 128: "Bocsaner, Resiczter und Rußberger Hammerwerke vom Aerarium betrieben."

In the 19th century, Banat and Transylvania became a subject of interest for the Viennese Mineralogical Society (K.K.Geologische Reichsanstalt M.K.A. Wien), for the Vienna Geographical Society (Geographische Reichsanstalt),<sup>28</sup> for the Geological Institute in Budapest, but also for the Transylvanian scientists who were members of the “Verein für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde.”

In the late 1840s, John Paget, who was travelling on the road between Caransebeș and Deva, described the industrial establishments in Rusca Montană and Ruschița.<sup>29</sup> He recounted that the Hoffman brothers had purchased the Rusca estate<sup>30</sup> from the Erarium, setting up in that “wild valley” a colony of 2,500 people who industriously worked in those factories. The iron foundry was their central occupation, Paget said, but the Hoffmann brothers also exploited silver, copper and lead. Moreover, they had set up the only foundry casting lead shot (pellets) in Hungary, Transylvania and Wallachia, even though “hunting is one of the very popular pastimes.”<sup>31</sup> A little more upstream, he mentioned the iron plant in Ruschița, where “there is a second colony, which consists of all the nations and where all the languages are spoken.”<sup>32</sup> He identified a spirit of innovation at the plants owned by the Hoffmann brothers, depicting it with a certain degree of wonder (the building of bridges after their own plans, the drying of the wood necessary for the iron and steel industry, etc.)<sup>33</sup>.

### 3. The beginnings

#### 3.1 The period of the Erarium

The region’s industry developed in line with the general trends in the Empire and in Hungary, even though it was part of the Military Border or, if we speak of the area between the Mureș and the Danube, a domain of the Crown up until 1779/80. It benefited from a timid legislation in the direction of economic change, initiated only by the Diet of 1790/91, a legislation that lacked tangible effects or that remained “solely on paper,” as Karl Keleti said

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<sup>28</sup> In 1859-1860, it completed the geological map of Transylvania, as part of a project to advance geological knowledge across the Empire.

<sup>29</sup> John Paget, *Ungarn und Siebenbürgen, Politisch, statistisch und ökonomisch*. Aus dem Englischen von E.A. Moriarty, II. Bd, Leipzig: Verlag I. I. Weber, 1842, p.132.

<sup>30</sup> Rußberg. They set up in this wild valley a colony of 2,500 people.

<sup>31</sup> Paget, p. 132.

<sup>32</sup> Paget, p. 122: “Hungarians and Wallachians, Germans and Gypsies, Slavs and Frenchmen worked here apparently in complete harmony.”

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*



in an article dedicated to the industry, published in *Kronprinzenwerk*.<sup>34</sup> The process of transforming Hungary from an agrarian region, which exported agricultural products (with significant increases especially until 1815, during the liberation wars fought by Austria against Napoleon), from a country, that is, in which the influence of the guilds was still dominant into a country with a strong, innovative industry, with a network of modern roads and means of transport began only in the 1830s, under the impact of the ideas set forth by István Széchenyi,<sup>35</sup> Lajos Kossuth (who was influenced by Friedrich List in promoting the idea of the need to develop the industry, the railways, the loan houses and the banks, as well as a customs territory) or, in Austria, by Karl von Kübeck.<sup>36</sup>

Thus, the first factories were founded in the second half of the 18th century. Due to the need for large capital investments for the iron plants, most of them were established by the Erarium, but more and more such factories were set up by the wealthy land owners. While in 1780 the iron production of Hungary was 8,000 tonnes annually, by 1841 it had risen to 18,000 tonnes annually.<sup>37</sup> The number of capitalist enterprises grew in Hungary from 124 in the 18th century to 548 in 1840. The production value per capita<sup>38</sup> and the use of steam energy were lagging far behind the situation in the west of the monarchy.<sup>39</sup>

Under these circumstances, it took just one investor to assume responsibility for the exploitation and processing of the existing resources. According to the authorities, the region did not have a good reputation, as it served as the favourite retirement place for the thieves and brigands from Transylvania and Banat, being also a safe haven for growing numbers of highwaymen who had operated in the region since the latest Turkish invasions.<sup>40</sup> Hence, all these entrepreneurs envisaged themselves as creators of culture and civilization.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*. Auf Anregung und unter Mitwirkung Seiner kaiserlichen und königlichen Hoheit des durchlauchtigsten Kronprinzen Erzherzog Rudolf, I. Band *Ungarn*. Wien: 1888, p. 493.

<sup>35</sup> He advocated the necessity of ensuring the legal framework of modernization, of credit, salaried labour, and profitability.

<sup>36</sup> Zoltan Káposi, *Die Entwicklung der Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Ungarn 1700-2000*, Passau: Schenk Verlag, 2007, p. 42 ff.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52: In Hungary 5 forints, in Lower Austria 77.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52: 1841: 11 steam engines in Hungary with a total capacity of 120-130 HP, while in the hereditary countries there were 337 steam engines in operation, with 7,733 HP.

<sup>40</sup> SJANCS, inv. no. 26, file no. 25/1872, f. 1.

<sup>41</sup> SJANCS, inv. no. 26, file no. 25/1872, f. 1-2. "...diese Wildniß durch Erbauung von Wegen und Wohnstätten, durch Ansiedlungen einer friedlichen arbeitsamen Bevölkerung, ihres unseeligen Charakters zu entkleiden und der Ordnung und Cultur zu erschließen..."

### 3.2 The beginnings – The Hoffman Brothers & Maderspach

An investor was found in the person of Anton v. Hoffmann, Lieutenant Major with the Württemberg Dragons. Together with his brother, Franz v. Hoffmann, he visited the iron plant in Gladna and participated in a hunt at Rusca, where he discovered the iron ore deposits here. After that he began negotiations with the Command of the Wallachian-Illyrian Regiment in Caransebeș to obtain exploitation rights over the iron fields discovered and the region in which they were located. Negotiations ended with the signing of a contract in Caransebeș, on 14 December 1803, and, respectively, in Vienna, on 16 May 1804, whereby the two brothers leased 14,556 jugers (*jugăre*)<sup>42</sup> of land in Mala Rusca for a period of 28 years in exchange for the amount of 300 guilders in conventional currency (CM), which was to be paid annually to the revenue authority (Erarium), the lessees assuming the obligation to preserve the forest. The two entrepreneurs were also awarded other benefits, such as: the right to carry out colonizations, to organize the police forces, to preserve the regalian rights and to ensure that the command of the regiment took safety measures against robbers and built a road that led to the military road toward Transylvania. It was a profitable contract for the Hoffmann brothers, as the rent paid to the Erarium for the land was “relatively insignificant” and could be explained only by the fact that the authorities were prepared to take exceptional measures to develop the region,<sup>43</sup> or by the unproved hypothesis that the Hoffmann brothers had an arrangement with the authorities. We incline to believe, however, that the existence and the success of the plants and domains in Southern Banat represented an incentive for those who hoped to lay the foundations of an industry that would prove useful for the population and that would become a “gain for the national wealth.”<sup>44</sup>

The new company started exploitation preparations by purchasing the mining perimeters, organizing and launching the mining operations, and starting the necessary colonizations. Things did not go very well, however, because on 29 August 1807, prior to the commissioning of any productive objective, the association sold the mining perimeters and the subject of the lease to the Mining Erarium for the sum of 100,000 Ft (guilders) Banco Zettel.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> 1 juger = 0.5775 ha, that is 8,406.09 ha.

<sup>43</sup> SJANCS, inv. no. 26, file no. 25/1872, f.2.

<sup>44</sup> SJANCS, inv. no. 26, file no. 25/1872, f.2. This summative document compiled by the management of the plant, at Rusca Montană on 18 September 1872, includes the dominant ideas of the national economy as they were formulated by the Austrian and Hungarian economists: industrialization brings forth civilization and culture, the entrepreneur's gain brings forth a gain for the population and the national wealth, etc.

<sup>45</sup> Banco-Zettel: the name of the first banknotes launched in circulation in Germany and Austria. They circulated in Austria in 1762-1812.

The Mining Erarium proceeded to colonize Slovaks from the regions Hámor and Diósgyőr, settling them in Rusca Montană in the “Slowakendorf” colony (the village of Slovaks). It built in Ruschița an ore melting furnace (Stückofen) and a deposit of coal in order to construct, in Rusca Montană, Franz Forge (Franzhammer), two bloomeries, two stamp mills for crushing the ore, a storage place for coal, various types of housing, an administrative building, military barracks, shops, sheds, workshops and a saw mill.



Rusca Montană

The Erarium also began the construction of a blast furnace at Ruschița. However, the Erarium considered that the expenditure would be too high, so after the construction work and the activity there were suspended for a few years, the entire complex was put up for sale by tender for 17,000 Fl (guilders) conventional currency (CM).<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> The “Bancozettel” introduced by the *Wiener Stadtbanco* in 1760 were massively devalued during the Napoleonic Wars, leading to the bankruptcy of the State in 1811. The so-called “Wiener Währung” were introduced into circulation. After the wars of liberation and the establishment of the National Bank, the banknotes from the time of the crisis were withdrawn and new banknotes were issued, “Conventionswährung.” A stable rapport was





Rușchița

During the period in which activity was discontinued, the overseer of the factory in Rusca Montană was Anton Hoffmann, a practitioner, who, just like in 1803, discovered argentiferous lead ores while hunting in the mountains.<sup>47</sup> Together with his brother, he leased several mining perimeters, which gave him the opportunity and the means to buy at an auction the iron plant in Rusca Montană, with all its annexes and contractual rights, for the sum of 45,000 guilders CM. The **Hoffman Brothers & Carl Maderspach** Association was founded then. In the following period, the plants were developed and expanded. The new owners developed the enterprise: in 1824 a lead oven with two furnaces, a bloomery and an exploitation tower were installed at Rusca Montană; an ore crushing installation and an ore panning installation were created at Ruschița; then, in 1826, the Ferdinand Hammer with four bloomeries was

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achieved between “Conventionswährung” and “Wiener Währung”: 100 Conventions Münze guilders = 250 Wiener Währung guilders. Cf. [http://www.aeiou.at/aeiou.encyclop/g/g215938.htm/21.02.2016 h.21:43](http://www.aeiou.at/aeiou.encyclop/g/g215938.htm/21.02.2016%20h.21:43).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. SJANCS, inv. no. 26, file no. 25 f.2. We cannot ascertain if the story of the two hunters was true or not, especially since the text I have used was written half a century after the events. But the story of the discovery, purchase, sale and repurchase of the right of exploitation over the industrial complex suggests a close link between Hoffmann family and the authorities of the time, the Erarium or the military border.

introduced at Rusca Montană, followed by the Josefi tool hammer in 1827, the Andreas Furnace in Ruschița in 1828, then by a second furnace, a foundry, a woodshop for templates and a mechanical workshop.

In 1832, the lease contract concluded with Border Regiment no. 13 expired. Negotiations with the military authorities were difficult and the new terms and conditions that the military authorities wanted to impose led the owners of the factories to shut them down. Appeals were submitted to the Emperor and to the Hungarian Diet. This ultimately made possible the conclusion, on 4 May, of a new contract, which would be valid until 1912.<sup>48</sup>

This contract brought several new elements: the land leased to the society was expanded to 18,652 jugers, the lease was raised to 1,000 guilders MC and – extremely important also regarding the policy for attracting skilled workforce – the company and all those belonging to it were relieved from the payment of taxes for the duration of the contract.<sup>49</sup> To this was added the mutual agreement between the company and the military authorities regarding the attraction of skilled workers, which did not fit within the framework established by the border guards' constitutions, as well as those relating to the exemption of the colonists from military service, a provision that was not recorded in writing, but that was commonly applied in practice. All these created favourable conditions for attracting foreign workers.

In order to ensure the necessary wood in case the aforementioned contract was not signed, the company bought from the Royal Hungarian Aulic Chamber (Königliche Hofkammer) the adjoining nobiliary estate of Luncani, in Caraș County, Făget Circle, comprising 15,593 jugers, largely forested.<sup>50</sup> The estate contained metalliferous ore deposits. The Erarium built a furnace there in the mid-18th century, which was operated by using the corvée imposed upon the peasants from the estate and the neighbouring areas. The author of the document mentioned the fact that the peasants were so aggravated because of that corvée obligation that during the last war with the Turks and the ensuing turmoil they had killed the imperial officials in Luncani and had destroyed the iron and steel plants.<sup>51</sup>

The new owners of the Luncani domain, the “Hoffmann Brothers & Maderspach Associates” built a blast furnace and the necessary outbuildings, while for the transport of its products they built a road all the way to Tomești. Prospecting for copper ore deposits was unsuccessful.

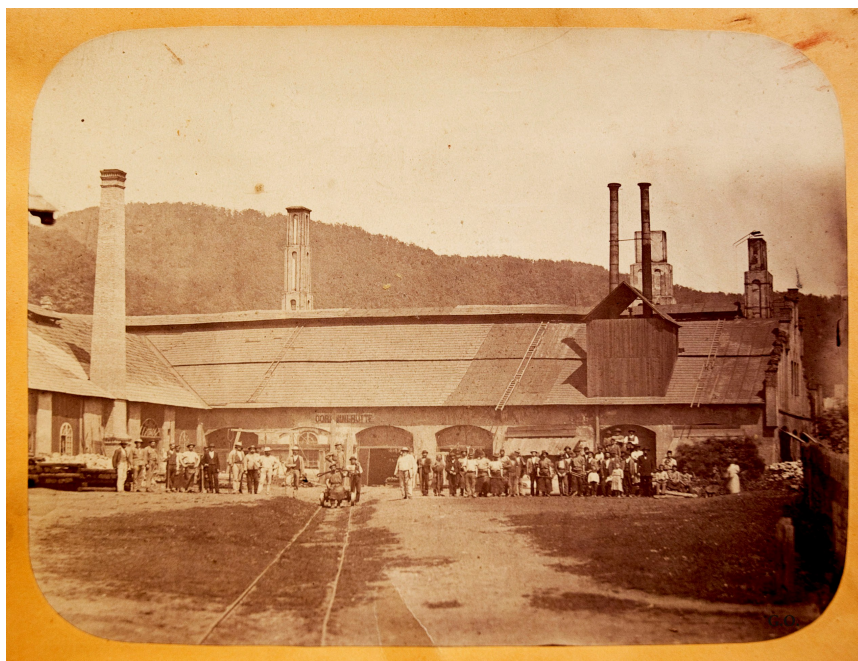
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<sup>48</sup> SJANCS, inv. no. 26, file no. 25 f.2.

<sup>49</sup> Ibidem: “absolute Steuerfreiheit.”

<sup>50</sup> SJANCS, inv. no. 26, file no. 25 f.3.

<sup>51</sup> See, referring to this war: Valeriu Leu, Rudolf Gräf, *Din istoria frontierei bănățene. Ultimul război cu turcii 1788-1791*, Reșița: Editura Banatica, 1996.



Melting furnace Coronini, Ferdinandsberg

The industrial complex underwent further development in 1839, when the mining company (Gewerkschaft<sup>52</sup>) from Ferdinandsberg near Ohaba Bistra was purchased. This company had been founded in 1823, under the name *Ohaba-Bistraer Gewerkschaft* (*The Ohaba Bistra Mining Company*), benefiting from the energy furnished by the Bistra River, the iron ore deposits in the mountains and the contracts with the military Erarium under which the company leased several jugers of forest for the sum of 6 guilders MC a juger. In one furnace the iron ore was processed into wrought iron. The company was not profitable. The owners changed successively until the *Hoffman Brothers & Carl Maderspach Association* was bought, from its owners at that time, by Baltzmann & Hansovits.<sup>53</sup> Hoffmann and Maderspach built a flatting mill. One bloomery processed a part of the cast iron produced at Ruschița and Luncani (brought here on a 17-mile long road, which detoured through Făget and Lugoj). They built then another ore melting furnace,<sup>54</sup> a glazing workshop and two puddling furnaces at Rusca Montană, whose products were laminated in Ferdinandsberg.

<sup>52</sup> Gewerkschaft: "bergbauliche Unternehmensform einer Kapitalgesellschaft" Cf. Duden/ <http://www.duden.de/suchen/dudenonline/Gewerkschaft-24.02.2016-h.22:22>. Form of organizing a mining company through capital participation.

<sup>53</sup> SJANCS, inv. no. 26, file no. 25 f.3.

<sup>54</sup> Schweißofen.

Because of the 1848/49 Revolution, the region witnessed some dramatic scenes at Rusca Montană. These events left their mark on the Maderspach family, which, just like many other families of owners, had taken the side of the Hungarian Revolution.<sup>55</sup>



Ferdinandsberg

In this way, however, an industrial complex was born, comprising the establishments from Luncani, Ruschița, Rusca Montană and Ferdinandberg, belonging to the *Hoffmann Brothers & Maderspach*. It operated more or less profitably until 1857, when it was purchased by a consortium consisting of the Prince of Fürstenberg, Count Chotek and Baron Haber, who formed the *First Mining Company in Banat and Transylvania* (*Erste Banat Siebenbürger Gesellschaft*). The consortium had already acquired from the Harz family the nobiliary estate Istvanhegy, where a furnace was in operation at Timiș. Through this acquisition, 7,000 jugers of beech and oak forest went into the property of the consortium. This purchase, like all the other previous acquisitions, led to the birth of an industrial complex that entitled the entrepreneurs to hope that they would be able to manage the business of the “iron factories in great style.”<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Telegdine Csetri Clará, *A hidepitő Maderspach Károly 1791-1849, "Műszaki Szemle"*, 1998, 1-2, pp. 60-62.

<sup>56</sup> SJANCS, inv. no. 26, file no. 25 f.4.



#### 4. The neoabsolutist period – The Braşov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company

This was the so-called neoabsolutist period, which followed the Revolution of 1848/49, a period during which, despite “political immobilism,” as Iosif Marin Balog describes it, the Empire experienced a series of modernizing, often quite liberal economic reforms, which laid the “foundations of the transition towards a modern economy and society.”<sup>57</sup> The Banat of Timișoara formed, once again, an autonomous political-administrative unit, having been removed from under authority of Budapest and placed directly under that of Vienna (Kronland): “Serbian Vojvodina and Timișan Banat.” A series of legislative measures catalysed the investments that were made in industry, mainly in the mining<sup>58</sup> and metallurgical sectors, Transylvania benefiting from them too.<sup>59</sup> A key role was, however, played by the Customs Union between the western parts of the monarchy and the eastern and southern areas. The new common customs space<sup>60</sup> allowed the free movement of goods and capital, but also of technology.<sup>61</sup>

The associates were forced to make new financial sacrifices, given that the conditions for a “sound basis for marketing the products and for a colonization that could provide the necessary work force” could not be ensured. Two new furnaces and a foundry workshop were built at Ruschița and Luncani was directly connected through a road that was 5 miles long (it crossed the lake Tăul Ursului, at a height of 3,000 feet).<sup>62</sup> The road cost 120,000 guilders MC. A puddling workshop and a fine rolling line were built at Ferdinandsberg, so the company had a well-equipped mechanical workshop.

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<sup>57</sup> Iosif Marin Balog, *Înalta birocrație austriacă din Transilvania și rolul ei modernizator la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea*, pp. 98-99. [http://www.historica-cluj.ro/anuare/Anuar\\_Historica\\_2008/05.pdf](http://www.historica-cluj.ro/anuare/Anuar_Historica_2008/05.pdf).

<sup>58</sup> Allgemeines Österreichisches Berggesetz vom 23. Mai 1854, enforced in the Military Border area only under the directive of 27 January 1856/ [http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb11101181\\_00018.html](http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb11101181_00018.html).

<sup>59</sup> Iosif Marin Balog, “Vienna’s Economic Policies in Transylvania (1850-1867),” in *Economic and Social Evolutions at the Crossroads of the World-System. Eastern and Central Europe From the Early Modern Age to the Twentieth Century*, Ed. Iosif Marin Balog, Rudolf Gräf, Cristian Luca, *Transylvanian Review*, vol. XXII, Supplement no. 2, 2013, Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2013, p.44 ff.

<sup>60</sup> Herbert Matis, *Österreichs Wirtschaftspolitik 1848-1913. Konjunkturelle Dynamik und gesellschaftlicher Wandel im Zeitalter Franz Josefs I*, Berlin: Duncker&Humblot, p. 54.

<sup>61</sup> Iosif Marin Balog, *Dilemele modernizării. Economie și societate în Transilvania 1850-1875*, Cluj-Napoca: International Book Acces, 2007, p. 78; Balog, *Vienna’s Economic Policies in Transylvania (1850-1867)*..., p.47.

<sup>62</sup> SJANCS, inv. no. 26, file no. 25 f.4: “den 3000’ Teu Ursului übersetzt.”

Houses were built for the colonists both in Ferdinandsberg and at Rusca Montană. The coal fields from Rusca Montană in Loşniţa were also “thoroughly” exploited.<sup>63</sup>

The company entered new contracts for leasing an area of 2.2 square miles of forest, valid until 1912.

Despite all the financial and technologization efforts, the crisis generated, among others, by the consequences of Austria’s defeat in the war with the Kingdom of Sardinia and France (a war that had been preceded by the economic crisis of 1857)<sup>64</sup> and the impossibility to maintain the pace of investments in 1854-1855 led to the stagnation or, at least, the massive decline of investments in the construction of railways. This, in turn, caused a crisis in the metallurgical sector, manifested in the lower levels of production and in the lower price of cast iron.<sup>65</sup> This crisis did not bypass the metallurgical enterprises in Transylvania and Banat or the industrial complex in Rusca Montană-Ruschîţa/Ferdinandsberg.

On 16 November 1858, at the meeting of the **Iron and Coal Company in Braşov** (Kronstädter Eisen-und Kohlengewerkschaft) and the members of the **Braşov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company** (Kronstädter Bergbau- und Hütten Aktien Verein, which was about to be formed), the joint-stock company stated that it would agree to take over the assets of the **Braşov Mining Prospecting Company** and, respectively, of the **Iron and Coal Company in Braşov**, worth 630,000 Ft<sup>66</sup> (Austrian guilders) in paid shares. The **Braşov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company** was declared established. The General Manager was Ministerial Secretary-General Gustav Mannlicher.<sup>67</sup> It was an exciting time also for the general economic policy of the Empire, because during that period the Viennese Government showed an interest in building the Transylvanian railway that was to link it to Romania and the Black Sea. The Braşov-based society was entitled to hope that it would obtain the concession rights for building the railway.<sup>68</sup> In fact, the originators of the project of the **Braşov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company** hoped to penetrate the

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<sup>63</sup> “gründlich exploitiert.” Cf. SJANCS, inv. no. 26, file no. 25 f.4.

<sup>64</sup> This defeat had obliged Austria to continue its arming policy with serious drawbacks for the state finances. Eduard März, *Österreichische Industrie- und Bankpolitik in der Zeit Franz Josephs I.*, Wien-Frankfurt-Zürich: Europa Verlag, 1968, p. 95.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 100-101.

<sup>66</sup> Ft (Hu.): short for Guilder. In 1892 the guilder was replaced by a kronen worth 100 hellers. Guilders remained in circulation until 1900, the exchange rate being 1 guilder=2 kronen.

<sup>67</sup> SJANCS, Fund: *Călan Mining and Blast Furnace Company*, inv. no. 26, file no. 4.f.3-6

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., file no. 4, 1861, f. 30.

market of the lower Danube and to provide Transylvania with the machinery and equipment necessary for agriculture.<sup>69</sup>

This led to the signing of a merger between the **First Mining Company in Banat and Transylvania (Erste Banat Siebenbürger Gesellschaft)** and **Kronstädter Bergbau und Hütten Aktienverein (Braşov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company)**.<sup>70</sup> The latter owned a few small furnaces in Braşov and several coal mining exploitations in the Jiu Valley and it hoped to purchase the iron plants in Hunedoara from the Erarium. However, the establishment of the joint-stock company did not lead to the fulfilment of the shareholders' hopes to monopolize the production of steel in Transylvania. The financial situation of the new company proved to be extremely precarious and continuously got worse.<sup>71</sup> Already before the founding of the new company, given the merger of the two *K.K. priv. Öst. Credit-Anstalt*,<sup>72</sup> the bank that had made an essential contribution to financing the construction of the Austrian railways through the consumer credit system and the businessmen's hopes<sup>73</sup> about the good evolution of the Transylvanian mining and metallurgical industry prompted the bank to cultivate business relations with those enterprises.<sup>74</sup> At the time when, due to the adverse economic

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<sup>69</sup> Iosif Marin Balog, "The Exports of Austrian Capital in Transylvania in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and Its Effects on Industrialization. The case of the Anonymous Society of Mines and Furnaces from Braşov (1856-1894)," in I. Bolovan, R. Gräf, H. Heppner, I. Lumperdean, *Demographic Changes in the Time of Industrialization (1750-1918)*, *Transylvanian Review*, vol. XVIII, Supplement no. 1, 2009, Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2009, p. 22-26.

<sup>70</sup> Historians use different translation forms of the German and Hungarian names of the company ("Societatea Braşoveană pe Acţiuni de Mine şi Metalurgie"/Volker Wollmann, *Patrimoniu preindustrial şi industrial în România*, vol. I. Sibiu: Editura Honterus, 2010, p. 266; "Societatea de Minerit şi Metalurgie din Braşov"/Nagy Róbert, *Capitalul, forţă a transformării. Rolul capitalului german în industrializarea Transilvaniei (1880-1918)*, Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2011, p. 172; "Societatea de mine şi furnale Braşov"/SJANCS etc). Mărgan Serafim, Popescu Dan, Mărgan Silvia, *Studiu Monografic. Uzina Oţelu Roşu 1796-1971*, Tipografia Reşiţa 1971, p. 10: "Asociaţia braşoveană pe acţiuni de mine şi metalurgie din Braşov." (In fact, the work authored by Mărgan/Popescu can serve as an exemplary textbook regarding the distortion and falsification of historical truth, the adaptation of history to the desired reality in the communist era.)

<sup>71</sup> SJANCS, inv. no. 26, file no. 25 f. 6.

<sup>72</sup> It was the first Austrian banking institution entitled to finance (grant advance payments) for raw materials, goods and effects. See März, p. 85.

<sup>73</sup> Eduard März, *Österreichische Industrie- und Bankpolitik in der Zeit Franz Josef I.*, Wien/Frankfurt/ Zürich: Europa Verlag, 1968, p. 102, note 14, cites a 1861 report of the Board of Directors which shows that when the **Braşov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company** was set up there was already a very optimistic atmosphere, the shares being purchased by "all walks of life in the Transylvanian society, even the communes being granted the authorities' approval to deposit their financial savings in this company's shares."

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

situation and to the continued negotiations about the construction of the Transylvanian railway, *Credit-Anstalt*<sup>75</sup> (which had suffered losses from this business) raised claims over the **Braşov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company**, the main shareholders were forced to make new financial efforts to restore the buildings of the old workshops and to keep under contract numerous workers even though the marketing of the plant's products was very weak.

In order to increase sales at Ferdinandsberg, a rail mill was built and another furnace was constructed at Lozna. The ores came from Glăvan and the energy came from the course of the Şoimul Rivulet.<sup>76</sup> In February 1862, the Board of Directors of the **Braşov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company** sent one memorandum to Ignaz von Plener, the Empire's Minister of Finance, and one to Emperor Franz Joseph I. The authors of the memorandum showed that in 1856/57 these factories had been relaunched and expanded with an investment of 3.5 million guilders, collected from many Austrian citizens, in good faith that the Hungarian transportation system, including by rail, would develop further.<sup>77</sup> The authors of the memorandum complained that the financial administration had imposed new taxes, which they could not pay because this would endanger the jobs of 4,000 people and, ultimately, the very existence and functioning of the industrial complex. The Board of Directors was now appealing to the Emperor's willingness to intervene with the Ministry of Finance to relieve the **Braşov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company** from the payment of the additional taxes amounting to 15,721 guilders and 68 kreutzers, as this would have caused massive damage to the company. They also called for tax relief on stamp duty, worth 14,707 guilders for the 3,922 shares, which had lost their value in the meantime.<sup>78</sup> In any case, production on the Istvanhegy estate was halted in 1864, the domain no longer being used except as a logging area.

In the "Appeal" addressed to the Ministry of Finance it was shown that the merger of the **Braşov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company** and the factory complex at Rusca Montană, carried out at the initiative of Minister von Plener's predecessor,<sup>79</sup> with the "best intent," would

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<sup>75</sup> In fact, Prince Fürstenberg, Count Chotek and Baron Louis von Haber, who were shareholders at the **Braşov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company**, were also members of the Board of Directors at *Creditanstalt*.

<sup>76</sup> SJANCS, inv. no. 26, file no. 25 f. 6 "Schoima."

<sup>77</sup> SJANCS, inv. no. 26, file no. 12, f. 6-7.

<sup>78</sup> SJANCS, inv. no. 26, file no. 12, f. 7; at the purchase, the purchasing association had already paid nearly 21,000 guilders MC.

<sup>79</sup> Karl Ludwig Freiherr von Bruck, Minister of Finance in 1855-1860, encouraged the development of industry, the railway network and the modern banking system. He contributed to setting up the bank *Österreichische Creditanstalt für Handel und Gewerbe*.



have made sense only if the Association had been able to buy also the Iron Plant in Hunedoara, as it had been promised.<sup>80</sup> This purchase no longer took place, although the deal had almost been traded, because the two complexes of the **Braşov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company** had become a burden for one another, even more so since the company had been subjected to additional tax burdens, eventually coming to depend on the goodwill of the creditors.<sup>81</sup> The company was subject to further demands on the part of the tax authorities. The company rejected those tax demands, requesting the support of the Ministry and, then, of the Emperor. Thus, the Tax Office in Alba Iulia raised claims that the company should pay 1,000 guilders for the purchase of the iron mine in Racoş, with 128 *cuxe* (mine shares). Moreover, for the purchase of the complex in Rusca Montană (12 September 1857), for which the Association had paid 21,000 guilders, the Tax Office had unreasonably demanded that the company should make an additional payment of 15,721.62 guilders, as the document stated. However, for the merger mentioned above, disadvantageous for both parties and produced solely by the will of the Ministry of Finance, the company had still not received the calculations for the due sums; it therefore took precautions and protested vehemently against a new abuse.<sup>82</sup> Consequently, the Board of Directors of the **Braşov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company** requested the Minister of Finance to order by telegraph that the Financial Directorates in Vienna, Transylvania and Timişoara should no longer require indirect contributions and to insist that the Districtual Financial Department in Lugoj should cease the forced execution of the Mining and Siderurgical Directorate in Rusca Montană until a resolution was passed on the case. At the same time, the Minister was required to demand from the three financial directorates (Landesadministration) a situation of the tolls which the **Braşov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company** had to pay to the tax revenue office. The Board of Directors also requested the Minister, in the same document, a direct negotiation of the already established or imminent fees and a grace period of five years regarding the payment of debts from Creditanstalt and the former shareholders of the Company in Rusca Montană.<sup>83</sup>

Eventually, the Company was able to overcome these difficulties, without succeeding, however, in making the investment and technological leap that would enable it to produce metallurgical products at a price comparable to those in Prague or Reşiţa, and without solving a crucial problem, mentioned by

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<sup>80</sup> SJANCS, inv. no. 26, file no. 12, f.1.

<sup>81</sup> The shareholders of the former *Banatian-Transylvanian Mining Associations* and of *Creditanstalt für Handel und Gewerbe*. Cf. SJANCS, inv. no. 26, file no. 12, f.1

<sup>82</sup> SJANCS, inv. no. 26, file no. 12, f.1

<sup>83</sup> SJANCS, inv. no. 26, file no. 12, f.4.

the administrators and owners of plants to have started in the sixth decade of the 19th century: establishing a connection with the railroad system by building a link between Caransebeș and Hațeg.<sup>84</sup>

After 1867 industry in Hungary grew at a fast pace, due to the banks' industrial investments, the expansion of the railroads and the possibilities of capital accumulation.<sup>85</sup> The favourable situation after the proclamation of dualism was felt in the mining and in the steel industries. After the 1873-1879 crisis, the industry was supported by the State through laws that encouraged it (1881, 1890, the law that made possible interest-free loans and grants, the law of 1899 which sanctioned the need to support the metallurgical and the textile industries and then the law of 1907 which stipulated the industries that were to be backed up).<sup>86</sup> In this context, joint-stock companies became important and a door was opened to foreign capital.

In 1872 the industrial complex in Ferdinandsberg-Rusca Montană-Ruschița-Luncani was equipped with the following facilities which produced the annual amounts of siderurgical products that can be seen below:

1.	Luncani	Furnace	17,000 Ctr. Cast iron and smelted iron
2.	Lozna	Furnace	27,000 Ctr. Cast iron and castings
3.	Ruschița/Ruskiza	4 furnace (2-3 in operation)	29,000 Ctr. Grey cast iron 25,000 Ctr other furnace products (castings, etc.)
4.	Rusca Montană/ Russberg/Russkberg	Forges:	15,000 Ctr wrought iron products and tools
5.	Ferdinandsberg/Ohab a Bistra/Oțelu Roșu	Mechanical workshop	2,500 Ctr machinery for its own use and for sale

**Tab. 1. The industrial establishments and the main production data of the Brașov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company in 1872.**

In 1872 the company's turnover reached a value of 800,000 guilders MC. 5,000 people earned their living directly from their work in the iron plant. To these were added many seasonal workers (in forestry, constructions, etc.).<sup>87</sup>

The document upon which I have structured this part of my article notes with bitterness that the situation of the plant in Ferdinandsberg could be characterized with a maxim used by the entrepreneurs (which contradicts the economists' theories), according to which when an industrial establishment

<sup>84</sup> SJANCS, inv. no. 26, file no. 36, f.23.

<sup>85</sup> *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918*, Bd.1, Hrsg. von Alois Brusatti, Wien:Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1973, p. 501 (cap.XI, written by Iván T. Berend and György Ráanki, *Ungarns wirtschaftliche Entwicklung 1849-1918*, pp. 462-527.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 505.

<sup>87</sup> SJANCS, Fund: *Călan Mining and Blast Furnace Company*, inv. no. 26, file no. 25/1872, f.7.

reaches certain limits, higher production levels no longer generate revenue but bring about disadvantages. This situation was also due to the large distance from the modern ways and means of transport (railway), but, interestingly, also due to the “indifference and lack of pretensions of the native inhabitants,” as well as to the “prevalence” of foreign workers.<sup>88</sup> The only solution that could be envisaged consisted in expanding the network of railways and establishing a railway link between Ferdinandsberg and Caransebeș or, respectively, Hațeg, which would have connected the industrial complex to the Empire’s railway network, making it possible to connect the plant to the transport system on the Danube or to Budapest and Vienna. On the other hand, it would have linked the Ferdinandsberg area to the Company’s properties in the Jiu Valley, i.e. to the coal fields there. Realistically, the document stated that the production had reached the maximum attainable under the given circumstances.

In 1873 the **Brașov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company** owned and exploited in Banat – in addition to the iron mine in Rusca – the blast furnaces and the foundry in Ruschița, the forgers in Rusca Montană, and the flatting mill in Ferdinandsberg. In Transylvania, it owned coal mines in the Jiu Valley, iron mines in Teliuc and a furnace at Călan.<sup>89</sup> August Marx, who had visited the plants in the summer of 1873 together with William T. Mulvany,<sup>90</sup> mentioned in his report the low efficiency of the iron mine in Rusca (200,000 centenaries per year) due to the numerous points of exploitation and the inefficiency of the workers. The ore was transported with the help of carts to the four blast furnaces in Rusca Montană, which produced together 240 centenaries of cast iron every 24 hours.

The blast furnaces in Ruschița were still working by wasting great amounts of energy, so the above-mentioned report described as “enormous/abnormal” the amount of good charcoal used in the production of cast iron. The industrial complex was to face constantly this problem identified by Marx and Mulvany. Marx actually noticed the great content of metal that still existed in the dumps of sterile, the inefficiency of the exploitation points and the workers’ low levels of performativity.

This was followed by years of investments and retechnologization efforts, by the attempt of the company to position itself in the context of the mining and iron industry across Hungary and the Empire. The background

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<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.*, file no. 25/1872, f.7.

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.*, file no. 26/1873, f. 1.

<sup>90</sup> William T. Mulvany: (1806 Sandymount/Dublin-1885 Pempelfort/Düsseldorf), industrial mining entrepreneur. He contributed to the transfer of mining technology from Great Britain to Germany. Cf. Kroker, Evelyn, “Mulvany, William Thomas” in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* Bd.18, (1997), pp. 577-578 [Onlinefassung]; URL: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd119491311.html>.

was that of a long-lasting economic crisis, which had begun in 1873,<sup>91</sup> generated by the very collapse of private investments in the construction of railways.

Still, from 1881 to 1892 there took place, at least from a quantitative point of view, a permanent growth of production capacities and labour.

Thus, the production capacities in all the three major locations of the **Braşov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company**<sup>92</sup> grew: at Ruschiţa, the Company had a metallurgical factory with two blast furnaces that operated on charcoal.

In 1895 the factory complex was subjected to a quantitative and qualitative analysis. The document noticed the relatively poor content of the ore, the large costs of transportation and the need for modernization, but assessed the results (proceeds – Ertrag) as respectable in relation to the investments, because at that time the prices were considered more favourable to the factory. However, the author of the report drew attention to the fact that all the products of the factory complex (iron, cast iron, laminates) had higher production costs than those of the main competitors.<sup>93</sup> Thus Prager Eisenindustriegesellschaft produced cast iron in Kladno at 2.20 guilders/centenary, the local coal costing the Prague-based company 32 kreutzers/centenary, so the plant produced ingots at 4 guilders MC and rail tracks along with sleepers at 5.50 guilders MC. Similarly, cheaper iron was produced at the plant in Rimamurány Salgótarján (cast iron at 2.50 guilders, rail tracks reaching a cost price of 6 guilders) and at the plant of StEG in Reşiţa (cast iron at 3 guilders and rail tracks at 6.50 guilders). This would mean that at a reduction in the selling price of cast iron by 1 gulden (from 9 guilders), at Ferdinandsberg the plant was incurring losses, while the other companies were still working at a profit.<sup>94</sup> The signers of the memorandum revealed that the plants of the **Braşov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company** would never be able to produce at a cheaper cost than the plants mentioned above due to the high cost price of coal. At the same time, they highlighted the benefits of building a railway line that would link Caransebeş and Haţeg.<sup>95</sup> In 1895 the **Braşov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company** owned and exploited the following properties: in Caraş-Severin County: the estate Luncani

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<sup>91</sup> The so-called “Gründerkrise.” The period 1873-1886 was known as the “Great depression.”

<sup>92</sup> The company had its headquarters in Vienna. Its general manager was Emil Heyrowsky. The company was organized under the administration of the iron plant Ruschiţa, Ferdinandsberg, Rusca Montană, Luncani and had a forestry administration at Rusca Montană.

<sup>93</sup> SJANCS, Fund: *Călan Mining and Blast Furnace Company*, inv. no. 26, file no. 36/1895, f.21.

<sup>94</sup> SJANCS, Fund: *Călan Mining and Blast Furnace Company*, inv. no. 26, file no. 36/1895, f.21-22.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, file no. 36/1896, f. 12, 23.

(Făget District), the estate Istvanhegy/Stefansberg/Ștefănești (Căvăran-Sacul District), the iron factory in Ruschița (Caransebeș District), the iron factory in Ferdinandsberg (Caransebeș District), in the County of Hunedoara, the iron plant in Călan (Vajda-Hunyad District).<sup>96</sup> By 1 January 1895 the company had sold its coal mines in the Jiu Valley (Petroșani) to the Anonymous Coal Company in Salgótarján (Salgótarjáni Kőszénbánya Rt.), paying its debts with the proceeds obtained thus.

All calculations predicted a decline in the cost price and a profit growth if a railroad was built between Caransebeș and Hațeg. Its construction would start only in 1905.<sup>97</sup> It was inaugurated partially in 1908 (Caransebeș-Bouřari) and, respectively, in 1909 (Bouřari-Hațeg-Subcetate).<sup>98</sup>

	1879 <sup>99</sup>	1888 <sup>100</sup>	1892	1893	1894	1909 <sup>101</sup>
<b>Ruschița</b>	2000000kg iron ore (worth 90000 kronen) 7000000 kg cast iron (worth 26000 kronen) 800000 kg castings(worth 65000 kronen)	55000 q iron ore 30000 cast iron 15000 q castings	65902 q iron 8742 q cast iron 22 348 castings 33115 m <sup>3</sup> wood coal 1044 m <sup>3</sup> lumbe-red wood	68781 q iron 28400q cast iron 25 231 castings 34642 m <sup>3</sup> wood coal 1059 m <sup>3</sup> lumbe-red wood Proceeds: 17.323	98608q 27568q 25823m <sup>3</sup> 30402 m <sup>3</sup> 1260	681q iron ore (worth 817 kronen) Castings: 222496q (worth 487000 kronen)
<b>Employees</b>	400-500 workers	In mines: 100 men, 10 women, 10 children In smelteries and foundries: 150 men, 50 children				168 workers 138 workers in forestry related activities

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, file no. 36/1896, f. 2.

<sup>97</sup> Ioan Munteanu, *Banatul istoric. 1867-1918. Ocupații. Economia*, Vol. 2, Timișoara: Excelsior Art, 2007, p. 166.

<sup>98</sup> The Caransebeș-Hațeg line is one of many secondary railway lines built during that period in the Kingdom of Hungary. It satisfied two needs: economic, by linking the two industrial complexes in Transylvania and Banat (the Jiu Valley and the mining region of Banat, StEG) and it met the need for political unification of the Kingdom. The railroad had economic, but also symbolic importance in this respect.

<sup>99</sup> Carl Déry, *Ungarisches Montan-Handbuch*, erster Jahrgang 1881, Wien, p.45 ff. (General Manager Carl Heyrowsky).

<sup>100</sup> Carl Déry, *Ungarisches Montan-Handbuch*, 1888, Wien, p.48.

<sup>101</sup> Carl Déry, *Ungarisches Montan-Handbuch*, 1910, p.131.

Turnover			183,73 guilders	264982 guilders	303237 guilders	
Proceeds			8258 guilders	17.323 guilders	1173 guilders	
<b>Rusca Montană/ Ruszkberg</b> <sup>102</sup>	800000 kg wrought iron (worth 92000 kronen). 100000 kg tool products (worth 24000 kronen)	5000q wrought iron 2000q iron and steel pieces	wrought iron (centenari es): 4114 castings: 827 Hamm- ers and shovels: 698	Wrought iron 3604 Castings 791 Hammers and shovels: 847	Wrought iron 2885 Castings 904 Hammers and shovels: 902	The iron plant leased to Dusan Milosevic from Ruschița
<b>Employees</b>	60	112 men and 12 apprentices				80
Turnover			84063 guilders	81649	77247	
Proceeds			Losses 5439 guilders	Profit 4127 guilders	Profit 4400 guilders	
<b>Ferdinandsberg</b>	5000000 kg sheet iron (worth 525000 guilders.) Farming products, workshop products (worth 24000 guilders.)	46000q sheet iron (worth 483000 guilders) 6000q black sheet (worth 102000 guilders) Farming machinery , ploughs, turbines, pieces for mills worth 45000 guilders	Cast iron: 67225 q Ingots: 4263 Metal sheets: 48429 Plate: 6243	73812 578q 48609 6945	66900 (?) 190 (?) 54600 (?) 7600 (?)	153337q laminated products (worth 2768331 kronen)
<b>Employees</b>	260 employees	350 workers				648
Turnover			638642 kronen	658627	690900 (?)	
Proceeds			29989	37141	29500 (?)	
<b>The Forestry Administra- tion in Rusca Montană: a</b>	60000 cubic metres of wood coal worth					158466 hl charcoal, 54560 cubic metres of fire wood in

<sup>102</sup> Four hammers (forges): Josef, Anton, Franz and Ferdinand.

turbine sawmill and a hydraulic sawmill	126000 kronen; wood worth 23000 guilders.					Rusca Montană and 110000 cubic metres in Ferdinandsberg/Nándorhegy
<b>The iron plant in Luncani</b>	1200000 kg iron ore, worth 50000 guilders					
Employees	60					
The brown coal exploitation in <b>Armeniș</b>	21 mining perimeter with a surface of 1218142.8 square meters					

**Tab 2. The evolution of the industrial complex Ferdinadsberg, Ruschița, Rusca Montană from 1879 to 1909.**

The authors of the 1895 report found that the retechnologization from the early 1890s – the introduction of ingot production in the Martin ovens – had led to a 12% increase in production in 1894 compared to 1892, as well as to a cheaper production of ingots by 20 kreutzers and of metal sheets by 1.20 kronen. The introduction of the Martin process – considered cheaper and more flexible than the Bessemer process, not recommended at that time – entitled them to hope for an increase of the proceeds by 25,000 kronen.<sup>103</sup>

At the beginning of the 1890s, the demand for wrought iron products decreased, which is why they were exported to Romania and Bulgaria. They were also used by the rural smiths for making agricultural tools. Industrialization and ever cheaper agricultural tools for the agricultural producers decreased their interest in wrought iron, the management of the factory being convinced that the production of this item would come to a complete halt.<sup>104</sup>

## **5. The Călan Mining and Blast Furnace Joint Stock Company**

After having had to cope with the economic crises that had plagued the metallurgical industry (1873, 1891-93 and, then, the stagnation period 1900-1903), after having sold the mining exploitations in the Jiu Valley, the **Brașov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company**, which had meanwhile retechnologized itself, sold its remaining assets to a newly established company: the **Călan Mining and Blast Furnace Joint Stock Company** (Kaláni Bányá

<sup>103</sup> SJANCS, Fund: *Călan Mining and Blast Furnace Company*, inv. no. 26, file no. 36/1896, f. 2 (169, I. 36/1895), f. 8, f. 24.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, file no. 36/1896, f. 2 (169, I. 36/1895), f. 6.

és **Kohó Rt.-Kalaner Bergbau Hütten-Aktien-Gesellschaft**). The company had been established in 1889, being funded by the Wiener Bankverein and the Hungarian Bank of Industry and Commerce. Its registered capital amounted to 9 million kronen. The shares of the company were purchased by various German and Hungarian banks, the most important being *Bank für Bergbau und Industrie* from Berlin with 50% of the shares, *Allgemeine Depositenbank* in Vienna with 11%, the *Hungarian Commercial Bank* with 4%, Jakab Haas with 5%, plus other investors with 17%.<sup>105</sup> It was, as shown by Róbert Nagy, the “first metallurgical society in Transylvania with considerable German capital.”<sup>106</sup> Not long after that, in June 1901, most of the shares were taken over by a consortium headed by Depositenbank, the position of the German capital on the market in Transylvania being consolidated thus.<sup>107</sup>

The **Călan Mining and Blast Furnace Joint Stock Company** purchased from the **Braşov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company** the mining exploitations in Ruschiţa, Rusca Montană and Teliuc, the furnaces in Ruschiţa, Rusca Montană/Russkberg and Călan, as well as the metallurgical plant in Ferdinandsberg. Robert Nagy shows in his book that based on a study conducted in Budapest, the **Călan Mining and Blast Furnace Joint Stock Company** submitted a project for the modernization of the factory complex which took into account connecting the microregion to the railroad network of the empire.<sup>108</sup> The company, whose headquarters were in Vienna, continued its investments and the technological modernization begun by the company in Braşov (the reconstruction and enlargement of the furnace in Călan – 1896, or the entry into service of a new flatting mill at Ferdinandsberg/Oţelu Roşu – 1897). At Ferdinandsberg there was introduced a Siemens/Martin oven in addition to the five smelting bloomeries with a hearth bottom. The furnaces in Ruschiţa were rebuilt. New iron exploitations were opened at Plosca in Hunedoara County. Railways were built connecting the places of exploitation to the places where the ore was processed (Plosca-Călan, Călan-Teliuc), Teliuc Plosca.<sup>109</sup>

This investment and development boom experienced a period of stagnation in 1900-1903.<sup>110</sup> The new buildings stagnated almost completely and the production was drastically reduced both in Călan, where the coke-

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<sup>105</sup> Nagy, *Capitalul*, p.177.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177.

<sup>108</sup> Nagy, p. 177; see: SJANCS, Fund: Călan Mining and Blast Furnace Company, inv. no. 26, file no. 36/1896, f. 2 (169, I. 36/1895) *Studie über den gegenwärtigen Zustand und Ertrag der Berg und Hüttenwerke und Domänen des Kronstädter Bergbau-und Hütten- Aktienvereins und über die Erweiterung derselben in den nächsten Jahren, Budapest im Juli 1895.*

<sup>109</sup> Nagy, p. 178.

<sup>110</sup> März, p. 293



fuelled furnace was shut down in 1901, and at the foundry in Ruschița, where the company's loss in 1903 amounted to 2,128,193 kronen. The consequence was that the mining exploitations in Ruschița were stopped and the workers were laid off.<sup>111</sup>

Despite the unfavourable economic situation, to which were added the technical shortcomings and problems that had been causing accidents, the company's production of cast iron grew steadily in the first decade of the 20th century. Thus, the **Călan Mining and Blast Furnace Joint Stock Company** became the fourth-largest steel company in Hungary after the Rimamurány-Salgótarján Iron and Steel Company, the State Iron and Steel Company and StEG in Banat.<sup>112</sup>

A final stage, before the outbreak of World War I, of the iron and steel complex in Ferdinandsberg/Oțelu Roșu, now connected to that in Călan, was the acquisition of the majority shares of the **Călan Mining and Blast Furnace Joint Stock Company** by the Rimamurány-Salgótarján Iron and Steel Company, without integrating it, however, lest they should be forced to increase the registered capital of the latter company (Rimamurány-Salgótarján Iron and Steel Company).

It was not until after the Hungarian State issued the *Law supporting the industry* in 1907, which recreated a favourable context for the development of industry, that things began to change again for the better for the **Călan Mining and Blast Furnace Joint Stock Company**, a phenomenon that permanently accompanied the evolution of the industry in Hungary. With the reduction and then the shutdown of siderurgical activity in Ruschița and Rusca Montană, there occurred a transfer of this activity to Ferdinandsberg first and then to Călan, which had the iron ore mines but also the coal mines in the neighbouring Jiu Valley. To this was added the construction of the railway line between Caransebeș and Hațeg, which facilitated the transport of iron from the blast furnaces in Călan to the flattening mill in Ferdinandsberg. There, the two Siemens Martin ovens that were inaugurated in 1912 produced, in 1913, 20,000 tonnes of steel, 15,000 of which were rolled, the products here being more easily shipped to the market.

By the end of the period under study, the Ruschița-Rusca Montană-Ferdinand complex had become the Ferdinand-Călan complex.

The discovery and the use of natural resources, the emergence and development of the first establishments of the mining and siderurgical industry in the Bistra Corridor and the Poiana Rusca Mountains profoundly changed the microregion in economic, demographic, ethnic, cultural and civilizational terms.

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<sup>111</sup> Nagy, p. 178-179.

<sup>112</sup> Nagy, p. 178; see also Béla Köpeczi (Hrsg.), *Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990, p. 576.

## 6. The consequences of these economic transformations

From the 52 “chimneys” mentioned in 1743,<sup>113</sup> when the region was inhabited only by Romanians, to the industrial developments from the end of the 19th century, the villages and the towns discussed above saw the arrival and settlement of other ethnic groups as well. This, however, did not change the region’s ethnic configuration, but merely that of the industrial hubs.

In 1890 Rusca Montană (Rußkberg/Rußberg) had a population of 2,992 inhabitants (1,328 Romanians, 70 Hungarians, 1,113 Germans, 371 Slovaks, 106 Roma, etc.), who lived in 611 houses, the village having an area of 29,500 jugers.<sup>114</sup>

By 1910, the total population of Rusca Montană had dropped to 2,601 inhabitants, almost half of the population being employed (48 in mining, 592 in the industry and 99 in transports).<sup>115</sup>

In the same year (1890) Oțelu Roșu (Ferdinandsberg) had a population of 2,060 inhabitants, who lived in 338 houses, the village having an area of 1,820 jugers. (936 Romanians, 27 Hungarians, 563 Germans, 398 Slovaks, 3 Serbs and 133 Gypsies, with Cîreșa and Mal, 3,012 inhabitants, of which 849 were Romanians, 27 Hungarians, 592 Germans and 398 Slovaks. Houses: 485. Surface: 3,694 jugers).<sup>116</sup> Unlike in Rusca Montană, at Ferdinandsberg (Oțelu Roșu) there was an increase by 29.3%, in 1910, explicable since this locality had become a centre of the region. There were, at that time, 5,483 inhabitants in Ferdinandsberg, with Cîreșa and Mal – 11,106, living in 455 (655) houses.<sup>117</sup> This development had already been noticeable in 1900, when the demographic numbers were already close to those in 1910.<sup>118</sup>

The transfer of this population in the region entailed a transfer of technology and civilization, the workers being trained in highly skilled domains for that time. These workers came from the Reșița-Oravita area of industrial establishments, directly from Slovakia or from the Italian provinces of the

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<sup>113</sup> See notes 17 and 18 above.

<sup>114</sup> Traian Rotariu (ed.), *Recensământul din Transilvania și recensământul țiganilor din 1893*, Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2009, p. 142.

<sup>115</sup> Traian Rotaru (ed.), *Recensământul din 1910. Transilvania*, vol.II. *Populația după ocupații*, Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2006, p. 228-229.

<sup>116</sup> Traian Rotariu (ed.), *Recensământul din Transilvania și recensământul țiganilor din 1893*, Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2009, p. 130.

<sup>117</sup> Traian Rotariu (ed.), *Recensământul din 1910. Transilvania*, Cluj-Napoca: Editura Staff, 1999, pp. 208-209. (Romanians 1,361 (2,439), Hungarians 277 (308), Germans 1,053 (1,092).

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 222-223. (population 5,486, (11,102) in 410 (566) house, of whom 1,131 (2,145) were Romanians, 98 (109) Hungarians, 799 (826) Germans, 315 Slovaks, etc.

Habsburg Empire. They brought with themselves a way of life that was characteristic of industrial regions.

Among others, regardless of its name and its shareholders, the industrial company took over its rights and obligations as an employer, assuming by contract<sup>119</sup> the duty of ensuring the maintenance of churches and priests, of teachers and schools, of physicians and medical surgeries. The company had the right to open taverns, bakeries and butcher's shops and to have its own employees in the two locations, Ruschița and Rusca Montană. Thus in 1881 there was an industrial school in Rusca Montană, the teachers being Julius Barth and Johann Barth. There was also a teacher for girls here, Elise Beitz, a Greek-Orthodox teacher, Simon Lunia, a Roman Catholic priest, Franz v. Vuchetich and an Orthodox priest, Nicolae Velovan.<sup>120</sup> In the same year, in Luncani there was a Roman Catholic teacher, Josef Wyhnalek and an Orthodox priest, Nicolae Barbon. In Ferdinandsberg there were also two teachers (Wenzel Klier and Mathias Walter), a Roman Catholic priest (Damaskus Gázsó) and a Protestant pastor (Andreas Bukwa).

Moreover, this assumption of patronage for schools, the Church and medical assistance was counterbalanced by the recognition by the Erarium and the military authorities of the company's right to control the settlement of new labourers or new trades in the mining towns and villages, solely in keeping with their needs and in compliance with the Statute of Labourers<sup>121</sup> (Gewerbeordnung).<sup>122</sup>

From the period 1881-1888, the **Braşov Mining and Metallurgical Joint Stock Company** had data recorded about the *Association for the Mutual Aid of Workers, Patients and Pensioners* ("**Arbeiter-und Kranken-Pensions-Verein**"), which at the end of 1879 had a wealth of 18,181.74 guilders. The Association was run by the plant manager from

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<sup>119</sup> SJANCS, Fund: *Călan Mining and Blast Furnace Company*, inv. no. 26, file no. 1/1834, "Contract welcher in FolgehoherHochkriegsräthlichenAnordnungvom 8. April 1832, B 1263 ..." f.2, f.8. The contract signed on 22 April 1832 by Imperial Commissioner Christof Ritter von Schretter and Adam Hoffmann was ratified on 4 May 1834 by Count Hardeg for the period 1 July 1832 – June 1912. The contract was renewed in 1859, being accompanied by explanations, requested, among others, by the border troops command and by the military command in Petrovaradin on 12 March 1869.

<sup>120</sup> *Magyar Bánya-kalauz – Ungarisches Montan-Handbuch*, Kiadja/Hersg. Oscar Guttmann, I. Jhrg., 1881, Wien 1881, p. 46.

<sup>121</sup> SJANCS, Fund: *Călan Mining and Blast Furnace Company*, inv. no. 26, file no. 1/1834, "Contract...", "Erläuterungen der zwischen dem hohen Ärar einerseits und der Russkberger Gesellschaft beziehungsweise der ersten banat siebenbürger Bergwerksgesellschaft andererseits unter dem 28. April 1834 und 3. Februar 1858 abgeschlossenen Verträge...29 Juni 1869" f.8 and "Erläuterungen zum Verträge vom 3. Februar 1858," f. 14.

<sup>122</sup> See: <http://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=rgb&datum=1859&page=692&size=45>

Ruschița, Alois Semlitsch, counting, among its members, also two doctors: Dr. Julius Schrödter, in Ruschița, and Heinrich Karrer, a retired military physician.

Among other things, the forms of organization of these inhabitants in order to ensure themselves and their families in the event of sickness, accidents, work-related disability or death were a consequence of the industrial development of the region within the frameworks provided by the Habsburg Monarchy and, respectively, by the Hungarian State after 1867. A specific form, in this regard, was represented by the “Bruderlade/ chests of the brotherhood,” which had appeared at the time of the first settlements, but whose maximum organizational development was reached in the 19th century.

In 1888, a *Central Chest of the Brotherhood / Brudelade* was mentioned as having 1,200 members and a fund of 20,000 guilders, housing for the workers and schools in all three industrial locations.<sup>123</sup> Just a few years later, in 1892, the “Bruderlade” of the three factories had 996 members and featured a wealth of 18,189.37 kronen (a revenue of 18,718.15 kronen, expenses amounting to 19,725.72 kronen).<sup>124</sup> The number of members of this Brudelade remained approximately the same in the coming years (912 in 1896), just like the funds of the Association: 22,769 kronen.<sup>125</sup> In 1900, when the plants were owned by the **Călan Mining and Blast Furnace Joint Stock Company**, the Bruderlade had only 750 members and a fund of 66,418 kronen, featuring instead 12 workers’ houses, 2 communal bathhouses, a school, a hospital, a restaurant, five houses for the administrative personnel and a food store.<sup>126</sup> The number of the Bruderlade members plummeted with the transfer of the centre of activities to Călan. In 1905 there were mentioned only 359 members in Ruschița, where the workers also had 14 houses, 2 communal bathhouses, a school, five houses for the administrative personnel and a food store.<sup>127</sup>

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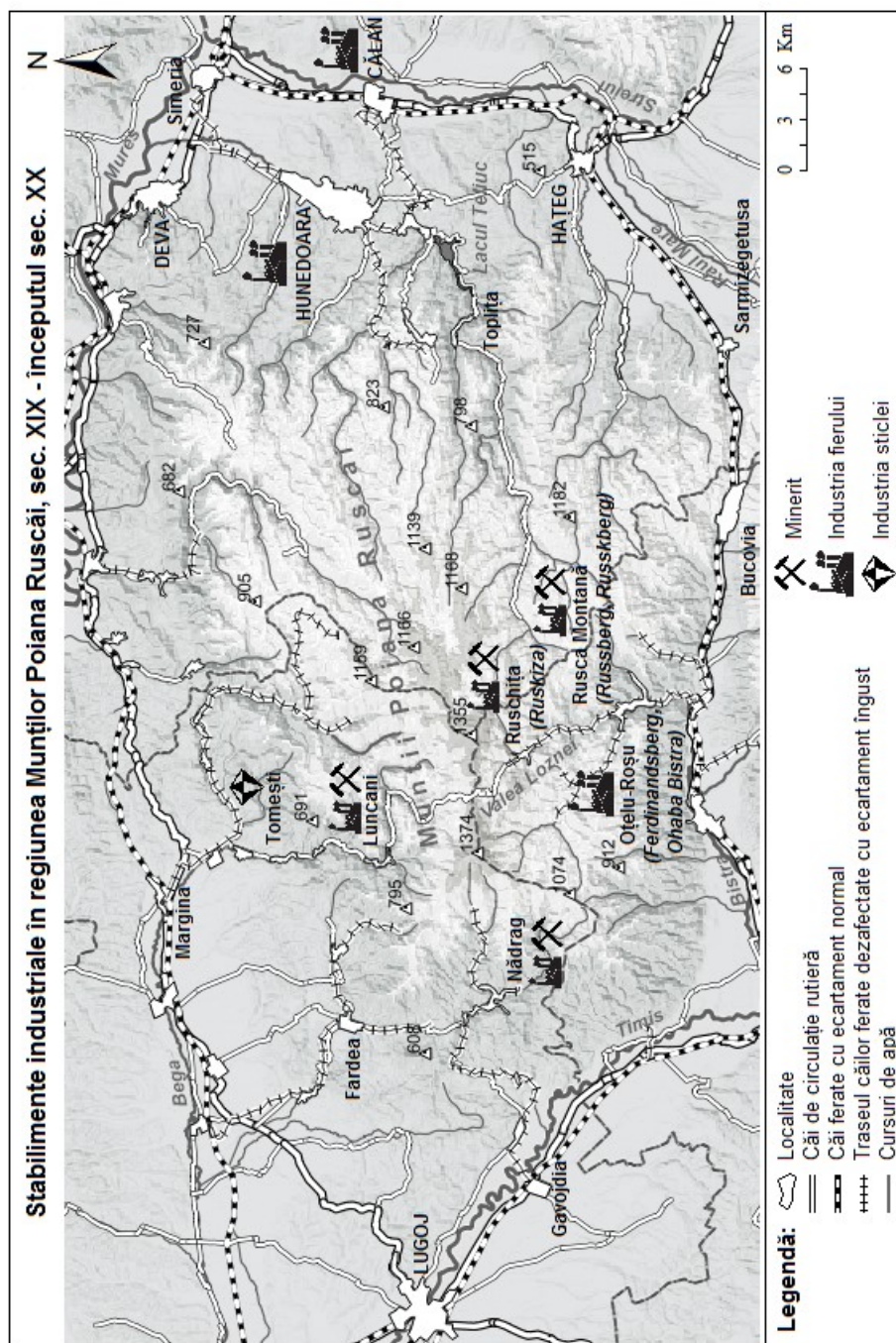
<sup>123</sup> *Magyar Bánya-kalauz – Ungarisches Montan-Handbuch*, zweiter Jahrgang 1888, Kiadja/Hersg, Carl Déry, Wien: 1888, p. 50.

<sup>124</sup> *Magyar Bánya-kalauz – Ungarisches Montan-Handbuch*, dritter Jahrgang 1892, Kiadja/Hersg, Carl Déry, Wien, p. 57.

<sup>125</sup> *Magyar Bánya-kalauz – Ungarisches Montan-Handbuch*, vierter Jahrgang. 1896, Kiadja/Hersg, Carl Déry, Wien, p. 69.

<sup>126</sup> *Magyar Bánya-kalauz – Ungarisches Montan-Handbuch*, fünfter Jahrgang, 1900 Kiadja/Hersg., Carl Déry p. 73.

<sup>127</sup> *Magyar Bánya-kalauz – Ungarisches Montan-Handbuch*, V. Jhrg., 1905 Kiadja/Hersg., Carl Déry, p. 95.



2. Harta regiunii Munților Poiana Ruscăi cu stabilimentele industriale. Sec. 19-începutul secolului al 20-lea.

## 7. Conclusions

Since the beginning of its economic intervention in the region and, then, after the **Hoffmann and Maderspach Associates** had begun investing in the region, the State – in addition to drawing the legislative, administrative and territorial framework of the region – intervened in the area of the Poiana Rusca Mountains in order to ensure its authority and, by this, the safety of the inhabitants in a region that offered good hiding places for the brigands that found refuge here from Transylvania and Wallachia. The State provided the security service needed through the Wallachian-Banatian and, then the Romanian-Banatian Border Regiment in exchange for quarterage, food (bread and meat) and payment for the troops.<sup>128</sup> Moreover, the company recognized and reinforced through a subsequent agreement the role of the Border Regiment in keeping law and order, the peace of the residents and a good forestry management. According to the contract between the mining company and the regiment's command, the company was to care of the roads on the leased estate and to deliver metal pieces for the bridges, while the regiment was to contribute to the maintenance of the road through the corvée provided by the villages on the military border.

By 1918, the region of the Bistra Corridor had undergone profound economic, demographic, cultural and social changes. A very good overview of the effects of the Austrian and, respectively, the Hungarian rule in Banat appears in a document published by the British Foreign Office, drafted for the British delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. It is a synthetic document that mentions Ruschița and Oțelu Roșu (Nándorhegy) with 2,345 tonnes of castings annually and with 15,000 tonnes of metal products.<sup>129</sup> The region was linked to the railway Timișoara-Orșova-Vârciorova and to Transylvania through the Caransebeș-Hațeg railroad. *Transylvania and the Banat*<sup>130</sup> provides an accurate image of the changes that took place in the province under Austrian dominion. I have tried to offer a general perspective based on several concrete data regarding the transformation of the Bistra Corridor from a rural region, located at the border between two provinces of the empire, into an active region which changed by attracting labour force as industrialization and the conquests of the industrial revolution were transferred also to this part of Europe.

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<sup>128</sup> SJANCS, Fund: *Călan Mining and Blast Furnace Company*, inv. no. 26, file no. 1/1834, "Contract...", f. 3.

<sup>129</sup> *Transylvania and the Banat*, Handbooks prepared under the Direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, no. 6, London 1920, p.69.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*

In this respect, it should be noted that the force that ensured the conditions for the development of this microregion belonged to the State and its cameralist politics, with liberal nuances at a later time, as it created the legal framework and imposed the directions for economic development. It also safeguarded political stability, the security of the inhabitants in this area, in such a way as to make economic life possible. At the same time, it ensured the necessary skilled and even unskilled workforce. This meant that at the time of the Great Union, the Romanian State took possession of the large-scale industrial complexes in Reșița, Oțelu Roșu/Ferdinandsberg and Hunedoara, referring only to this part of the country, and became the beneficiary of sustainable economic policies, anchored in the economic reality of the time, which was to serve as the basis of Romania's industrialization during the interwar period.

### **Glossary of technical terms**

**Frischeisen**/Frischfeuer Eisen: charcoal hearth iron/ smelted iron

**Frischhütte**: bloomery, smithery forge

**Kupoloofen**: cupola

**Möllerung**: blending, batching of ore with fusing agents

**Schmiedeeisen**: wrought iron

**Grobzeugwaare**: raw products

Tools

**Hammerwerke**: smithery, forge, steam hammer, sledgehammer.

### **-Abstract-**

The main goal of this paper is to offer a general perspective based on several concrete data regarding the transformation of the Bistra Corridor from a rural region, located at the border between two provinces of the empire, into an active region which changed by attracting labour force as industrialization and the conquests of the industrial revolution were transferred also to this part of Europe.

The discovery and the use of natural resources, the emergence and development of the first establishments of the mining and siderurgical industry in the Bistra Corridor and the Poiana Rusca Mountains profoundly changed the microregion in economic, demographic, ethnic, cultural and civilizational

terms. The heavy industry of Southern (Highland) and Eastern Banat left its mark on the region in terms of the vast changes it produced and the influence it exerted in the surrounding areas. It developed at the junction of three essential factors: natural resources (mineral deposits), energy resources (wood and water), and qualified labour force (indigenous or settled), plus the means and routes of transport, which, in turn, underwent a process of transformation precisely because of the industry that developed there.

**Keywords:** regional economy, Highland Banat, community development, minning area, modernization, demografic chenges.



## Progress and Change. The Economic and Social Development of the Jiu Valley (1880-1914)\*

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This study examines the economic and social evolution of the Jiu Valley coalfield in the late 19th century and the early 20th century. International scholarship in the field includes a study written by E. A. Wrigley in 1961, concerning the late 19th-century economic and demographic evolution of the coalfield areas in North-West Europe.<sup>1</sup> In addition to this, a collection of studies entitled *Region und Industrialisierung. Studien zur Rolle der Region in der Wirtschaftsgeschichte der letzten zwei Jahrhunderte/Region and Industrialisation. Studies on the Role of the Region in the Economic History of the Last Two Centuries*, edited by Sidney Pollard, was published in 1980.<sup>2</sup>

In the Romanian historiography of the past few decades, numerous studies and books published by authors like Mircea Baron,<sup>3</sup> Ludovic Báthory,<sup>4</sup>

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\* This study was conducted as part of the project CNCS – UEFISCDI, project code PN-II-ID-PCE-2011-3-0305. *Economie regională și dezvoltare comunitară în Transilvania, Banatul Montan și Bucovina în secolul 19 (1800-1914) - Regional Economy and Community Development in Transylvania, Highland Banat and Bucovina in the 19th Century (1800-1914)*.

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Wrigley, *Industrial Growth and Population Change. A Regional Study of the Coalfield Areas of North-West Europe in the Late Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1961.

<sup>2</sup> Sidney Pollard (Hg. /Ed.), *Region und Industrialisierung. Studien zur Rolle der Region in der Wirtschaftsgeschichte der letzten zwei Jahrhunderte/Region and Industrialisation. Studies on the Role of the Region in the Economic History of the Last Two Centuries*, Göttingen, 1980.

<sup>3</sup> Mircea Baron, *Cărbune și societate în Valea Jiului: epoca interbelică*, Petroșani, 1998; Mircea Baron – Oana Dobre-Baron, “The Emergence of the Jiu Valley Coal Basin (Romania) – A Consequence of the Industrial Revolution,” in *Annals of the University of Petroșani, Economics* 9 (3), 2009, pp. 53-80.

<sup>4</sup> Ludovic Báthory, *Contribuția industriei carbonifere la dezvoltarea social-economică a României între 1919-1929*, Cluj-Napoca, 1981; Idem, *Societățile carbonifere și sistemul economic și politic al României: (1919-1929)*, Cluj-Napoca, 1999.

Lajos Vajda<sup>5</sup> and others have been devoted to the history of mining in the area. The undeniable merit of these works lies in the publication of detailed information relating to the evolution of coal production, the number of staff employed by the mining companies and the development of the technical means of production and transport. However, a demographic approach to the modernization process in the area is yet to be undertaken. This study embarks on a complex examination of the major social-economic processes that took place in this region from 1880 to 1914. It will focus on the production of coal, on the evolution of the number of employees and on their average wages and it will compare the development of the Jiu Valley with that of the other coalfields in the Hungarian part of the Dual Monarchy. We shall also analyse the ethnic and confessional composition of the coal mining companies' employees, their origins (birthplaces), the changes caused by the massive immigration phenomenon, the development of educational institutions in the area and the living conditions of the population.

The microregion situated in South-Western Transylvania, along two intramontane valleys of the Southern Carpathians, had 14 local communities that formed a single *plasa* (administrative territorial unit) in the second half of the 19th century. Thanks to its bituminous coal resources, the importance of this area increased in time. These resources were discovered in the first decades of the 19th century, but large-scale mining began only in 1870, after the Simeria-Petroșani railway line was put into service. The real industrial boom began in the 1880s, when coal mining gained momentum in this region. Once the railway was completed, investments in the area began. Several mines were opened. Due to the acute lack of skilled labour, miners and craftsmen were settled along the Jiu Valley. At the end of the century, visitors could already find a flourishing mining industry in the area. The most obvious evidence of this development was the amount of bituminous coal extracted: production increased from 2,000 in 1868 to 2.5 million tons in 1913. Thus, the Jiu Valley became the first coalfield in the Hungarian region of the Dual Monarchy.<sup>6</sup>

### **The macroeconomic environment**

Coal exploitation in the Jiu Valley has always been closely linked to economic development in the area. From 1880 to 1914, the development of this region was influenced by the economic evolution of the Dual Monarchy,

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<sup>5</sup> Vajda Lajos, *Erdélyi bányák, kohók, emberek, századok. Gazdaság-, társadalom- és munkásmozgalomtörténet a XVIII. század második felétől 1918-ig*, Bukarest, 1981; Ludovic Vajda, "Începuturile dezvoltării mineritului de cărbuni în Transilvania," in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, I, 1964, pp. 397-419.

<sup>6</sup> Béla Köpeczi-László Makkai-András Mócsy-Zoltán Szász (eds.), *History of Transylvania* (3 vol.), New Jersey: Boulder-Highland Lakes, 2001-2002, vol. 3, pp. 518-520.

more specifically of its Hungarian part.

Within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the area located this side of the Leitha River had always lacked the much-needed coal for its industry. This problem had persisted for some time. By the end of the 19th century, after two decades of coal mining development, domestic production had managed to cover a mere 78% of the necessary amount.<sup>7</sup> The rest was imported from the Austrian parts of the monarchy (Bohemia and Austrian Silesia) and from Germany. The situation did not improve even later. In 1907, domestic production managed to cover only 70.6% of the demand. In the year 1907, 21% of the domestic production was taken over by the Hungarian Railways, 58% by the industry, 1.25% by the state institutions and companies, 1.29% by private individuals, 17% of the coal produced being consumed by the 65 coal companies in the region.<sup>8</sup>

At the beginning of the period under study, in 1881, the difference between the two parts of the Monarchy regarding the coal mining industry was 7.8:1 in Austria's favour.<sup>9</sup> In spite of the Hungarian governments' policies to support domestic production, the balance could not be redressed even at the end of this period. As can be seen in the chart below, during the last year of peace before World War I, the ratio was 4:1 in Austria's favour.<sup>10</sup>

Neither the quantity, nor the average production cost placed coal producers in the Kingdom of Hungary at an advantage. In 1881, the average price of coal and bituminous coal in Hungary was 32% higher and that of anthracite was 33% higher than in the Austrian region. In 1913, the average price of coal and bituminous coal in Hungary was 45% higher and that of anthracite was 24% higher than in Austria.<sup>11</sup>

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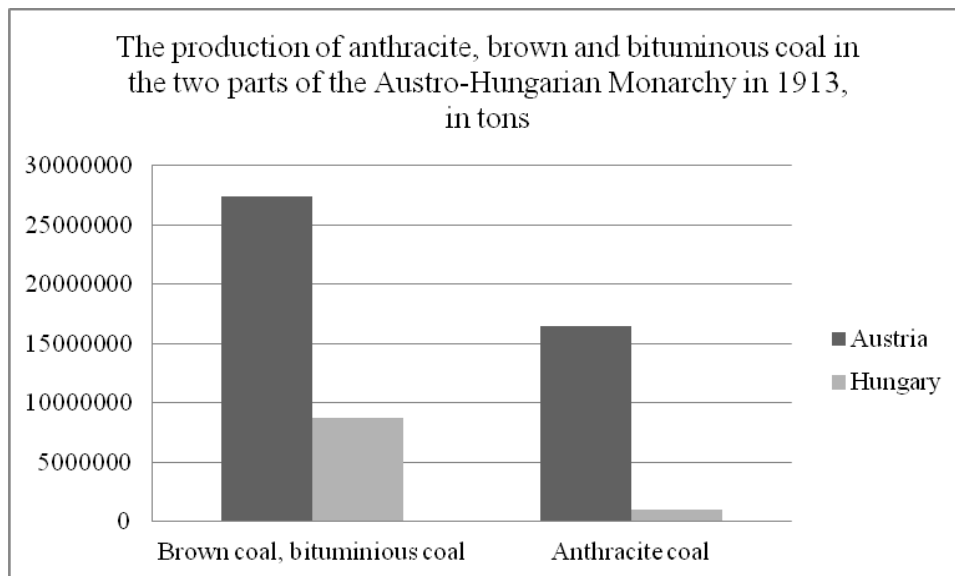
<sup>7</sup> Andreics János, "A magyar szénkérdés," in *Bányászati és kohászati lapok* (hereinafter: *BKL*), XXII (1899), no. 22, p. 430.

<sup>8</sup> Andreics János, "A magyar kőszénbányaviszonyok rövid ismertetése," in *BKL* XLII (1909), no. 1, p. 48.

<sup>9</sup> *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Jahr 1881*, Teil 1/II (Montanindustrie der in Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder im Jahre 1881), Wien, 1884, pp. 48-49, and *Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv*, XV (1885), Budapest, 1888, pp. 27-28.

<sup>10</sup> Przyborski Mór, "Ausztria bánya- és kohótermelése 1913-ban," in *BKL* XLIX (1916), vol. I, no. 21, p. 362, and Wahlner Aladár, *Magyarország bánya- és kohóipara az 1913. évben*, *BKL* XLVIII (1915), vol. I, no. 12, p. 752.

<sup>11</sup> *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Jahr 1881*, Teil 1/II (Montanindustrie der in Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder im Jahre 1881), Wien, 1884, pp. 48-49; *Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv*, XV (1885), Budapest, 1888, pp. 27-28; Przyborski Mór, *op. cit.*; Wahlner Aladár, *Magyarország bánya- és kohóipara az 1913. évben*, *BKL* XLVIII (1915), vol. I, no. 12, p. 752.



These differences in production quantities can be explained through the belated industrialization of Transleithania compared with the Alpine and Czech provinces, and through the smaller coal deposits found in the Kingdom of Hungary. In addition to this, anthracite deposits were much poorer than those of brown coal and bituminous coal in the Hungarian area. In the Austrian region, the ratio between these different types of coal was much more balanced. These were the circumstances that led to the development of coal mining in the Jiu Valley.

Despite these unfavourable ratios – smaller quantities of extracted coal and higher average exploitation costs – in Hungary, there were other factors that fostered the development of coal mining here, such as the lower transportation prices, the proximity of developing industrial centres and the good quality of the coal. During the period of Austro-Hungarian dualism, seven large coal mining centres were formed in the Empire on the Hungarian side of the River Leitha. Anthracite coal was extracted in two of these mining centres: in the surroundings of the town Pécs, in the southwest of the country, and in Highland Banat. Brown coal and bituminous coal deposits were exploited in the other important coalfields: the Salgótarján area, the Sajó Valley area (both lying north-east of Budapest), the Tata area, the surroundings of Esztergom and the Jiu Valley.

The largest anthracite production company on the territory of Hungary, both before and after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, was the First Danube Steamboat Shipping Company (*Első Dunagőzhajózási Társaság/ Erste Donau-Dampfschiffahrts-Gesellschaft* – abbreviated as DGT/ DDSG), which

was owned by Austrian investors. In 1852, this company purchased the first mines in the south-western parts of Hungary, more precisely in the Pécs area. As a consequence of the consistent expansion of their activity, in 1867, the year of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, these mines were already producing a quarter of the amount of coal extracted on the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom.<sup>12</sup>

The second company in terms of the amount of mined anthracite coal was the Austrian State Railway Company, also known as StEG (short for Staats-Eisenbahn-Gesellschaft). After it took over the Marchegg-Pesta-Timișoara-Baziaș railway line from the state in 1854, in the following year this company bought the crown domains in Highland Banat, covering an area of 133,168 ha of forests, meadows and, what is more important, exploitations of anthracite coal, bituminous coal, ferrous and non-ferrous ores and iron and steel industrial plants.<sup>13</sup> The company had every reason to invest in this area as it aimed to secure the materials for the construction and maintenance of railways. This led to the development of a major heavy industry centre here, at European technical and technological standards.

StEG and DGT dominated the production of anthracite and bituminous coal throughout the period of the Dual Monarchy, these two companies owning 81.5% of the national production.<sup>14</sup>

The coalfield from the surroundings of Salgótarján was also remarkable as regards brown coal production. Situated north-east of the Hungarian capital and benefiting from the proximity of outlet markets, this was the area where, in 1868, the largest brown coal production company in Hungary was founded: the Coal Mining Company in Salgótarján (*Salgótarjáni Kőszénbánya Rt.*) It was founded by both Austrian and local investors, more precisely, by large merchants and industrialists from Pest. In 1870 the company provided 40% of the national production of brown coal, occupying thus the first place. It continued to maintain its leading position even though this percentage had dropped to 25% by the year 1880. As a result of the activity of this company, this coalfield became by far the most important provider of the major industries in the Hungarian capital.

### The Jiu Valley

The second most important coalfield where bituminous coal was extracted was the Jiu Valley. Here, immediately after the completion of the

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<sup>12</sup> Déry Károly, *A magyar szénbányászat ismertetése, különös tekintettel az 1900. évi párizsi nemzetközi kiállításon résztvevő vállalatokra*, Budapest, 1900, p. 77.

<sup>13</sup> Rudolf Gräf, *Domeniul bănăţean al StEG 1855-1920*, Reșița, 1997, pp. 50-51.

<sup>14</sup> Berend T. Iván-Ránki György, *Magyarország gyáripára 1900-1914*, Budapest, 1955, p. 184.

Petroșani-Simeria sector of the First Railroad Company in Transylvania, the Mining and Metallurgical Company in Brașov (Kronstädter Bergbau und Hütten Aktien Verein), owned by the Austrian investors, began mining its activities in the area. In 1879-1880, this company ensured 14-15% of the bituminous coal production at national level. After its bankruptcy and liquidation, the coal mines in Petroșani were sold, on 1 January 1895, to the Coal Mining Company in Salgótarján (in Hungarian, *Salgó-Tarjáni kőszénbánya-részvénytársulat*, and in German *Salgó-Tarjáner Steinkohlen-Bergbau-Actien-Gesellschaft*). This company also contracted the state-owned mines in the valley.<sup>15</sup> In 1891, French and Hungarian investors founded the Uricani-Jiu Valley Hungarian Coal Mining Company Ltd. (*Urikány-Zsilvölgyi Magyar Kőszénbánya Részvénytársaság/Urikány-Zsilvölgyer Ungarische Kohlenbergwerks-Actien-Gesellschaft*).<sup>16</sup> In the early 20th century, this company became the third largest producer of bituminous coal and brown coal in the Kingdom. As a result of these transactions and arrangements, there began an unprecedented development of the mining industry in the history of Transylvania.

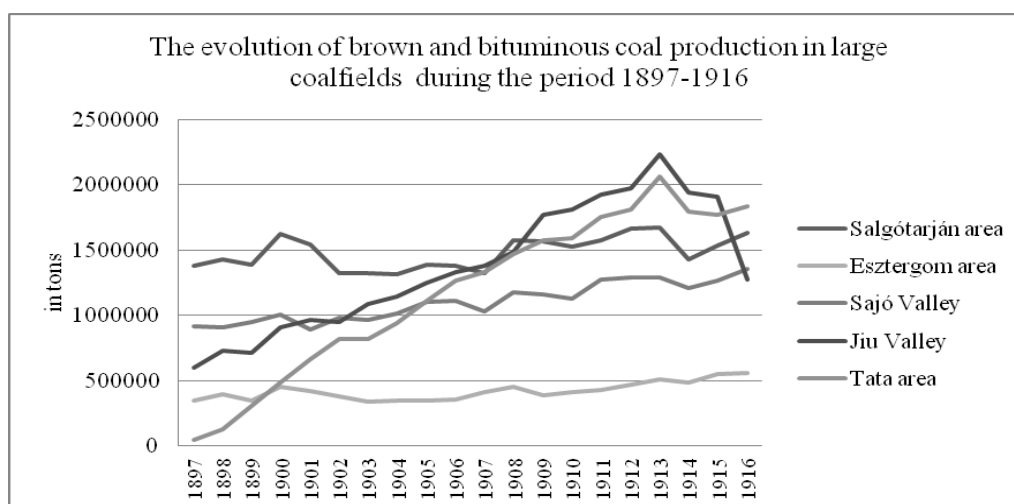
In the period 1880-1918, three major mining companies operated in the region. The largest was the Coal Mining Company in Salgótarján, the second largest was the Uricani-Jiu Valley Hungarian Coal Mining Company, and the third was the Royal Hungarian Coal and Graphite Mining Company (*Magy. kir. barnaszén- és grafitbánya/ Kön. ung. Braunkohlen- und Grafit-Bergbau*). Besides the three large companies, there also operate the Upper Jiu Valley Coal Mining Company (*Felső-Zsilvölgyi Kőszénbánya-Társulat/ Ober-Zsilthaler Steinkohlen-Bergbau-Gewerkschaft*). Of these four, the former two were companies whose annual production exceeded the amount of 1 and, respectively, 0.5 million tons in 1900. The other two companies extracted 0.1-0.2 and, respectively, under 0.1 million tons.<sup>17</sup> The Company in Salgótarján stayed in close contact with the Hungarian Commercial Bank in Pest, the vast majority of the shareholders being the great capitalists in Budapest and Vienna. The investors of the Uricani-Jiu Valley Company were a Franco-Austrian group, while those of the Upper Jiu Valley Company belonged to a group that also had an interest in the Salgótarján Company.

<sup>15</sup> Ion Poporogu, "Pătrunderea capitalului străin în industria minieră a Văii Jiului în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea," in *Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis*, 1981, 15, p. 258 and\*\*\*\* *A Salgó-Tarjáni Kőszénbánya Részvény-Társulat petrozsényi bányaművének rövid ismertetése*, Petrozsény, 1901, p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Sándor Vilmos, *Nagyipari fejlődés Magyarországon 1867-1900*, pp. 130, 131, 135, 412.

<sup>17</sup> National Archives of Romania, Hunedoara County Branch (hereinafter ANSJHD), Salgótarjáni Fund, file 22/1911, f. 5.

As a result of consecutive investments and the colonization of workers, coal production in the Valley increased almost fourfold. The chart below shows the major trends at the turn of the 20th century. The exploitations that had opened in the 1870s (the Esztergom and the Salgótarján areas, as well as the Sajó Valley) were gradually outpaced by the coalfields where large-scale exploitation started one or two decades later: the Jiu Valley and the Tata area. In the case of these two regions, production increased gradually, but steadily, until it surpassed, in 1908, the production of the Salgótarján area.<sup>18</sup>



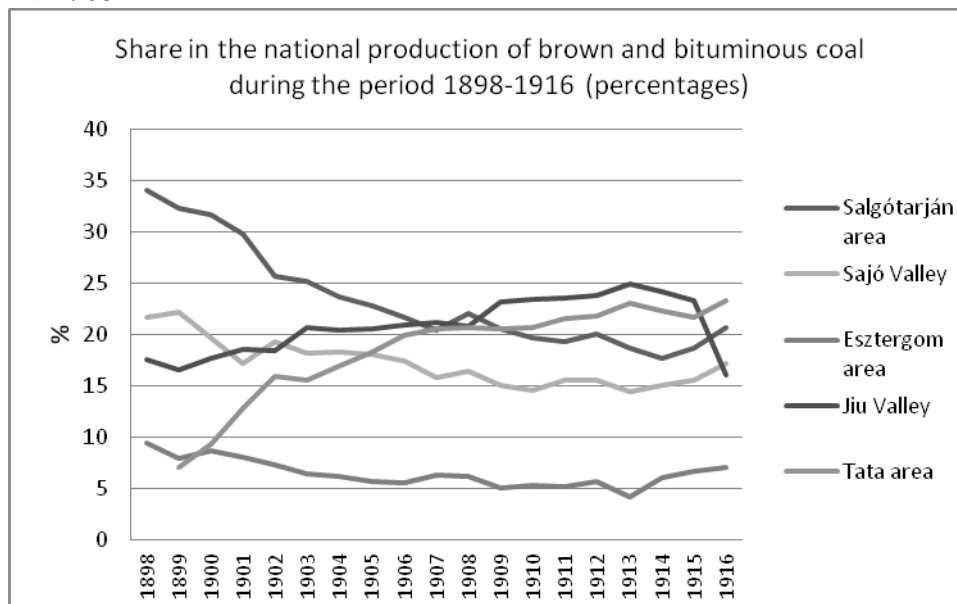
As can be seen, the Jiu Valley had become the most important coal mining area in the country. The causes were manifold: the huge deposits of bituminous coal, the acute need of coal for the state railways and industrial development, which had been elevated to the level of an official policy by the governments in Budapest. In spite of its unfavourable climatic and geographic conditions, the Jiu Valley had far from negligible advantages. In 1870 a rail line linked it to the main Braşov-Arad-Budapest railroad; hence, it enjoyed convenient transportation facilities. The quality of bituminous coal in the area was superior to the coal extracted from the other coalfields. In 1900 the calorific value (over 7,000) of the bituminous coal mined in Petroşani and Lupeni neared or even equalled that of the anthracite coal in Doman.<sup>19</sup> For this reason, both state

<sup>18</sup> The data come from the annual mining statistics of the Hungarian Kingdom, compiled and published by Aladár Wahlner in the Hungarian journal of mining and metallurgy *Bányászati és kohászati lapok*, 1899-1920.

<sup>19</sup> Andreics János, "A magyar kőszénbányaviszonyok rövid ismertetése," in *BKL*, XLII (1909), no. 1, pp. 54-56.

railways and private companies preferred it to other types of brown coal. Although the price of bituminous coal had always been higher, even by 30% than that extracted from other regions, demand had remained constant.<sup>20</sup>

With the development of the coal mining companies in the area, the contribution of the Jiu Valley to the national production of brown coal and bituminous coal increased. The chart below shows a steady increase, of up to 25%. This region outranked the Salgótarján<sup>21</sup> area, occupying the top position in 1908.



### The beginnings of coke production in the Jiu Valley

In addition to the exploitation of bituminous coal, investors in the area very soon began exploring ways in which the carbonaceous material could be processed for obtaining derived products that were increasingly sought-after on the domestic market. The proximity of an iron and steel industrial plant – the Călan Mines and Blast Furnaces Company (*Kaláni Bánya- és Kohómű Rt/ Kalaner Bergbau und Hütten-Aktien Verein*) – and the need for providing coke to the furnace in Călan prompted the owners of the Uricani-Jiu Valley Company

<sup>20</sup> See Wahlner Aladár, “Magyarország bánya- és kohóipara az 1898. évben,” in *BKL*, XXII (1899), no. 24, pp. 484-485.

<sup>21</sup> The data come from the annual mining statistics of the Hungarian Kingdom, compiled and published by Aladár Wahlner in the Hungarian journal of mining and metallurgy *Bányászati és kohászati lapok*, 1899-1920.



to found a coke plant in Lupeni. The idea of coking the bituminous coal in the area appeared at a time when the mining and metallurgical company in Braşov was in operation, but it also preoccupied Rafel Hoffman and the Siersch-Maderspach entrepreneurs. Of these, Hoffman conducted several experiments at the coke plants in Reşiţa, Karwin and Trzynietz (the latter two in Austrian Silesia) in the autumn of 1888.<sup>22</sup> After these mines went into the property of the Uricani-Jiu Valley Mining Company, they sent a greater quantity of bituminous coal for experiments to the coke plant of the company Oberschlesische Kokswerke u. chem. Fabriken-Actien Gesellschaft, with the headquarters in Berlin and the production units in Gleiwitz (German Silesia). Despite the fact that the results were not outstanding, several of the shareholders of the mining company and, respectively, of the iron and steel industrial plant became associated and, with the help of the Hungarian Credit Bank, they founded the Uricani-Jiu Valley Coke Plant (*Urikány-Zsilvölgyi Coaksgyár Részvénytársaság/Urikány-Zsilthaler Coakswerk Actiengesellschaft*) in 1899 (officially in 1900).<sup>23</sup>

Construction works started at Lupeni in November 1899 and were completed in September 1900. The raw material was provided by a gallery of the Uricani-Jiu Valley Mining Company, situated 200 metres away from the plant, by the northern gallery, located at a distance of 2,100 metres, and by the southern gallery. The entire complex was provided with electricity, so the machines were powered by electric motors. A technique from Silesia was used to improve the quality of the coke: coal was compacted before coking with the help of a machine. This technique proved to be effective, raising the production of coke usable as fuel for furnaces from 46% to 80% 80%.<sup>24</sup> The coke plant was designed for an annual production of 30,000 tons, but the quantity produced varied between 11,000 and 19,000 tons.<sup>25</sup>

On 30 September 1906, without any forewarning, the duct for heating the batteries collapsed. Because of the sudden cooling, the batteries got

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<sup>22</sup> Semlitsch Alajos, "A zsilvölgyi barnaszén kokszolása," in *BKL*, 1904, 7, vol. I, pp. 469-471. (See also the translation into German: Semlitsch, A., *Die Verkokung der Braunkohle im Zsilthale in Ungarn*, Petrozsény, 1905.)

<sup>23</sup> Semlitsch Alajos, *op. cit.*, pp. 472-473 and *Compass. Finanzielles Jahrbuch für Österreich-Ungarn*, 1905, vol. II, p. 200.

<sup>24</sup> The Hungarian State Archives, Budapest (hereinafter ASU), Z300 Urikány-Zsilvölgyi Kokszgyár Rt. (Uricani-Valea Jiului Coke PlantLtd.), fasc. 1, theme 1/1902 Protocols of the General Assembly, Activity report of the coke plant for the year anul 1902, f. 4.

<sup>25</sup> From 1903 to 1905, production dropped from 12,234.7 tons to 11,636.6 tons and then rose to 19,043.6 tons. See in *Compass. Finanzielles Jahrbuch für Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 1907 (XL), II., Wien, 1908, p. 206 and Wahlner Aladár, "Magyarország bányá- és kohóipara 1905. évben," in *Bányászati és Kohászati Lapok*, 1906 (XXXIX), II, pp. 764, 845.

deformed past the point of repair. This accident led some of the Lupeni-based company's shareholders, such as the representatives of the German company *Oberschlesische Kokswerke u. chem. Fabriken-Actien Gesellschaft*, to withdraw. The shareholders who were co-interested in the Uricani-Jiu Valley Mining Company moved for its dissolution and for the integration of the production unit into the mining company. In 1907 the procedure for winding up the company began. All assets and liabilities passed into the ownership of the Uricani-Jiu Valley Mining Company Ltd.<sup>26</sup> The leadership decided to have the entire unit reconstructed, increasing the number of batteries to 45. However, preference was given to the Otto type of battery over the Coppé one and the plant was equipped with the necessary equipment for obtaining the by-products of the coking process.<sup>27</sup> Following this transformation, the production unit became a coke and chemical plant. Construction works were completed in April 1908. The annual production capacity reached 50,000 tons of coke, 4,000 tons of tar and 1,200 tons of ammonium sulphate.<sup>28</sup> In 1913-1914 the unit was supplemented with a benzole factory.<sup>29</sup>

Year	Coke	Tar	Ammonium sulphate	Benzole
1901	15,692.0	-	-	-
1903	12,234.4	-	-	-
1904	11,636.6	-	-	-
1905	19,043.6	-	-	-
1906*	18,306.3	-	-	-
2010	40,506.0	2,533.0	767.0	-
1910	40,500.0	2,660.0	960.0	-
1911	40,424.9	2,669.0	1,013.2	-
1912	40,827.4	2,736.4	1,009.9	-
1913	47,227.4	2,893.0	1,082.2	-
1914	42,116.7	2,845.8	1,019.2	343.9

After the reconstruction, the annual output of coke stabilised at over 40,000 tons, tar production stabilized at around 2,600-2,800 tons and ammonia

<sup>26</sup> MNL OL, Z300 Urikány-Zsilvölgyi Kokszgyár Rt. (Uricani-Valea Jiului Coke Plant Ltd.), fasc. I, theme 1/1902 Protocols of the General Assembly, f. 11.

<sup>27</sup> Wahlner Aladár, "Magyarország bányá- és kohóipara 1906. évben," in *BKL*, XL (1907), vol. II, p. 758.

<sup>28</sup> *Compass. Finanzielles Jahrbuch für Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 1911 (XLIV), II., Wien, 1910 [1911], p. 668.

<sup>29</sup> Wahlner Aladár, "Magyarország bányá- és kohóipara 1914. évben," in *BKL*, XLIX (1916), vol. I, p. 553.

at 1,000 tons. After an increase of 100%, benzole production dropped. In 1903, the company produced 18% of the coke obtained at national level. This percentage rose to over 27% in 1905 and to 25% after the reconstruction, in 1909. In its best year, 1913, it reached 29%.<sup>30</sup> The most important buyer of coke was the Călan Mines and Blast Furnaces Company, but the product was also sold to other customers. In terms of receipts, an amount of over 1.5 million kronas was realised from the sale of coke and its by-products in 1913 (the best year). Ammonium sulphate had the best price (300 kronas/t), followed by tar (48 kronas/t) and coke (22 kronas/t).<sup>31</sup>

The coke plant and, then, the coke and chemical plant in Lupeni represented an investment made in response to the demand for fuel, needed by the furnaces in Călan. The very fact that coke was produced from coal here was an innovation that attempted and managed to satisfy the need of the industry in the region. The initiative became profitable and led to strengthening the heavy industry in the south-western area of Transylvania. It should be noted that the furnaces used coke produced at the coke plant in Lupeni mixed with imported coke from Zarbrze, Karwin and Great Britain.<sup>32</sup> In 1904, every charge of the blast furnaces in Lupeni consisted of coke produced in Lupeni (40%) and German coke (60%). Thus, cheap coke made possible effective production costs at the iron and steel plant in Călan.<sup>33</sup>

### **The Jiu Valley mining complex of the Salgótarján Coal Mining Company Ltd.**

The evolution of the Jiu Valley branch of the Salgótarján-based company and the rapport between the production and the number of staff compared with that of the parent company can illustrate and explain most eloquently the development of the Jiu Valley. At a price of 3.5 million florins (7 million kronas), the Salgótarjána Company acquired a domain in the Jiu Valley from the Mining and Metallurgical Company in Braşov, assuming the state-

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<sup>30</sup> See Wahlner Aladár, "Magyarország bányá- és kohóipara 1903. évben," in *BKL*, XXXVII 4 (190), vol. II, pp. 780, 789; Wahlner Aladár, "Magyarország bányá- és kohóipara 1905. évben," in *BKL*, XXXIX (1906), vol. II, pp. 764, 833, 845; Wahlner Aladár, "Magyarország bányá- és kohóipara 1909. évben," in *BKL*, XLIII (1910), vol. II, pp. 803, 912; *Magyar Bánya- Kalauz – Ungarisches Montan-Handbuch* (red. Károly Déry), 1914 (8), p. 189 and Wahlner Aladár, "Magyarország bányá- és kohóipara 1913. évben," in *BKL*, L (1915), vol. I, p. 752.

<sup>31</sup> *Magyar Bánya- Kalauz – Ungarisches Montan-Handbuch* (red. Károly Déry), 1914 (8), p. 189.

<sup>32</sup> ANDJH, F417 The Victoria Călan Steel Works, file no. 1/1908, f. 1, 167, 177, 198.

<sup>33</sup> Semlitsch Alajos, *op. cit.*, p. 482.

owned mining enterprise in the area. The lease of the mines belonging to the Chamber of Mines was extended to a period of ten years, i.e. until the end of the year 1906.<sup>34</sup> Thus, a coal field of 55,728,777 sq m was placed under the company's administration: the purchased area measured 31,619,329 sq m, while the leased area measured 24,109,448 sq m.<sup>35</sup> After purchasing these domains, the company became the largest mining enterprise in the Jiu Valley.<sup>36</sup>

In 1899, the production of the coal mines in the Jiu Valley amounted to over 30% of the Salgótarján Company's annual production. The parent-company produced 31.3% of the brown coal in the Hungarian Kingdom and, respectively, 28.57% of the coal produced nationwide.<sup>37</sup>

The importance of the mines in the Jiu Valley grew with the passage of time.

Year	Coal production of the Salgótarján Company			
	The company's overall production (in tons)	Of which, the production of the Jiu Valley mines (in tons)	% of the Jiu Valley mines' contribution to the company's production	% of the company's contribution to the national production of brown coal and bituminous coal
1895	1,289,816. 0	299,816. 0	23. 2	37. 1
1896	1,396,250. 8	372,742. 6	26. 6	37. 1
1897	1,313,869. 5	357,514. 4	27. 2	33. 9
1898	1,413,305. 9	423,316. 8	29. 9	31. 2
1899	1,345,212. 0	405,212. 0	30. 1	31. 3
1900	1,670,849. 7	516,890. 0	30. 9	32. 1
1901	1,627,183. 5	563,970. 0	34. 6	31. 2
1902	1,449,179. 1	567,340. 0	39. 1	28. 0
1903	1,549,179. 1	687,070. 0	44. 3	29. 5
1904	1,598,213. 0	715,480. 0	44. 7	29. 1
1905	1,775,982. 2	819,830. 0	46. 1	29. 1
1906	1,765. 618. 1	821,710. 0	46. 5	27. 6
1907	1,856,109. 5	891,100. 0	48. 0	28. 5

<sup>34</sup> Ion Poporogu, "Pătrunderea capitalului străin în industria minieră a Văii Jiului în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea," in *Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis*, 1981, 15, p. 258 and\*\*\*\* *A Salgó-Tarjáni Kőszénbánya Részvény-Társulat petrozsényi bányaművének rövid ismertetése*, Petrozsény, 1901, p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> Ludovic Vajda, "Capitalul străin în industria minieră și metalurgică a Transilvaniei (1867-1900)," in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 1972, 9, p. 239.

<sup>36</sup> On mining concessions in the Jiu Valley, see Mircea Baron, *Cărbune și societate în Valea Jiului. Perioada interbelică*, Petroșani, 1998, pp. 69-74.

<sup>37</sup> Sándor Vilmos, *op. cit.*, p. 415, and *Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv. Új folyam, VII. 1899*, Budapest, 1900, p. 127.

1908	1,991,860. 7	963,740. 0	<b>48. 3</b>	27. 8
1909	2,103,162. 4	1,034,120. 0	<b>49. 1</b>	27. 4
1910	2,113,696. 1	1,055,830. 0	<b>49. 9</b>	27. 3
1911	2,199,337. 0	1,102,810. 0	<b>50. 1</b>	27. 5
1912	2,330,982. 0	1,208,750. 0	<b>51. 8</b>	28. 6
1913	2,411,229. 0	1,282,540. 0	<b>53. 1</b>	27. 3
1914	2,129,898. 0	1,156,800. 0	<b>54. 3</b>	26. 9

By 1910, the percentage of the annual production of the Salgótarján Company's mines in Hunedoara County had gradually increased to nearly 50% of the parent-company's annual production; afterwards, as can be seen from the table below, it exceeded this percentage.<sup>38</sup> 1911 was the point at which the subsidiary company surpassed, in terms of production, the units located in the surroundings of Salgótarján. This increase continued until 1914.

In parallel, related to the national production, the percentage of the brown coal and bituminous coal produced in these mines increased from 8.6% to 13.93%, while the overall coal production increased from 6.5% to 11.8%. The percentage compared to the production of bituminous coal and brown coal from the territory of the Mining Captaincy in Zlatna remained relatively constant: over 52%. From 1895 onwards, the Jiu Valley mining complex of the Salgótarján Company produced over 57% of the coal extracted from this coalfield, reaching 65% in 1905 and in 1908.<sup>39</sup>

With the 2.2 million tons of bituminous coal it produced, the Jiu Valley occupied one of the last places in the regional ranking of coalfields with an average production in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, after the northern and north-eastern parts of Bohemia and Austrian Silesia.<sup>40</sup> With these results, however, it was one of the largest suppliers of the Hungarian Railways, of the industrial platforms in Hunedoara, Arad, and of the enterprises in the Transylvanian counties. The coke produced in Lupeni made it possible for the production units in Călan and Oțelu Roșu of the Călan Company to remain competitive on the internal market. The products of the Jiu Valley reached

<sup>38</sup> According to the data of the Hungarian statistical yearbook *Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv. Új folyam*, the years 1895-1910, of the Austro-Hungarian financial yearbook *Compass. Finanzielles Jahrbuch für Österreich-Ungarn*, the years 1913, 1916, 1918 and ANSJHD, Salgótarjáni Fund, file 22/1911, f. 5.

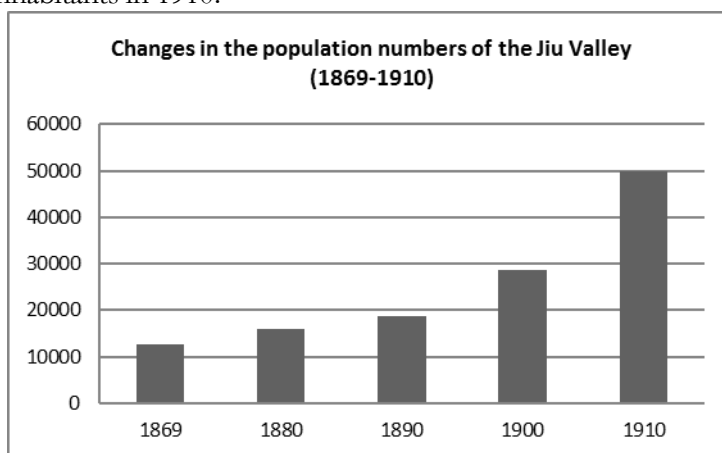
<sup>39</sup> See the Hungarian statistical yearbook *Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv* and the annual mining statistics of the Hungarian Kingdom compiled and published by Aladár Wahlner in the Hungarian journal of mining and metallurgy *Bányászati és kohászati lapok*, 1899-1920.

<sup>40</sup> Przyborski Mór, *op. cit.*, p. 362, and Wahlner Aladár, "Magyarország bányá- és kohóipara az 1913. évben," *BKL XLVIII* (1915), vol. I, no. 12, p. 752.

Budapest and, given the decline of some traditional mining areas and the increasing demand on the domestic market, they were also shipped well beyond the capital's boundaries. On the eve of World War I, this coalfield was preferred by investors due to the increasingly important role it had played in the economy of the Hungarian Kingdom. As a result of the rapid growth in the number and proportion of the population employed in the mining industry, this area became one of the centres with left-wing political affiliations in the Hungarian part of the Monarchy at the beginning of the 20th century.

### The workforce and colonizations

Population increased in the area from 12,671 inhabitants in 1868 to 50,015 inhabitants in 1910.<sup>41</sup>

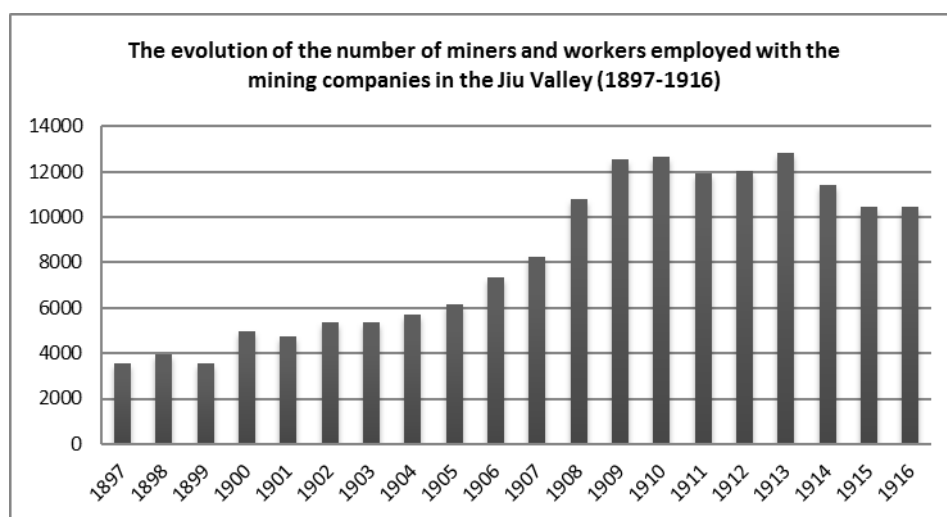


The diagram above reveals the fact that this demographic growth was most dynamic from 1890 to 1910. Over the course of these two decades, the number of inhabitants of the Petroșani *plasa* (district) multiplied 2.67 times. Of course, the source of this numerical increase was not the high birth rate, but massive immigration. As mentioned before, the lack of skilled and unskilled workforce was so pressing that the mining companies were forced to bring over workers from other parts of the Monarchy. Of the eight large coalfields in the Hungarian Kingdom, the one in the Jiu Valley reached the highest number of colonized miners and workers. In 1911, only 853 of the 11,912 workers were natives of one of the 14 localities in the Petroșani *plasa*. Thus, 93% of the

<sup>41</sup> *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények. Új sorozat. I, A magyar szent korona országainak 1900. évi népszámlálása. Első rész. A népesség általános leírása községeként* (Budapest, 1902), p. 588, and *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények. Új sorozat, 46, A magyar szent korona országainak 1901-1910. évi népmozgalma községeként* (Budapest, 1913), p. 404.

employees had been colonized from outside the region. A similar situation was encountered in the coalfield around the locality Tata, west of Budapest, but the proportion of foreign workers was not so high there (85. 9%).<sup>42</sup> In the mining industry in Transylvania, only the large companies in the Jiu Valley employed such huge numbers of workers from other parts of the Monarchy. The lack of workforce was so acute that in 1910, 1,600 people could find a job with the companies in the area. The vast majority of the workers brought from outside the region carried out basic mining activities. The proportion of mining supervisors and craftsmen was smaller.<sup>43</sup>

Due to this large number of immigrants, the number of the mining companies' employees tripled in the period 1890-1910. We can trace this process on the diagram below. At the moment, we have only data relating to the period 1897-1916. The decline of the year 1910 was due to an industrial crisis. We can see that by 1913, production and the number of employees had already increased. With the outbreak of World War I, many miners and workers were enrolled in the army and, thus, the number of employees dropped at a time when production should have been high.<sup>44</sup>

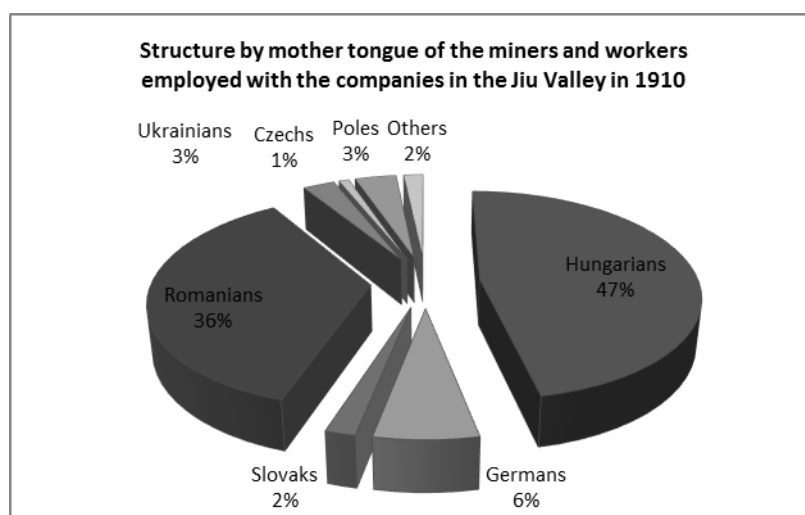


<sup>42</sup> Wahlner Aladár, "Magyarország bányá- és kohóipara az 1911. évben," *Bányászati és Kohászati Lapok*, 45/24 (1912), pp. 920-930.

<sup>43</sup> Wahlner Aladár, "Magyarország bányá- és kohóipara az 1910. évben," *Bányászati és Kohászati Lapok*, 44/24 (1911), p. 872.

<sup>44</sup> *Magyar Bánya-Kalauz – Ungarisches Montan Handbuch*, ed. Déry Károly, 3 (1892), 4 (1896), 5 (1900), 6 (1905), 7 (1910), 8 (1914), Wahlner Aladár, "Magyarország bányá- és kohóipara az. évben," *Bányászati és Kohászati Lapok* 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1920.

We have very little information about the ethnic and denominational structure of this mass of workers that had arrived from various regions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The only usable source is the Hungarian Census of 1910. That year data were also collected about the mother tongue and the citizenship of the workers in industrial companies that had at least 20 employees. After processing these data, we prepared a series of diagrams. As seen below, most of the employees, but not their absolute majority, mentioned Hungarian as their mother tongue. The second place was occupied by speakers of Romanian. They were followed by Germans, Poles, Ukrainians, Slovaks, Czechs, Italians, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes and other ethnicities, who are listed under the heading “others” in the statistics. Due to the fact that the speakers of Italian, Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian represented under 1% on the chart, we have included them in the group “others.”<sup>45</sup> The situation by mother tongue of this population of workers does not, however, also indicate their regional origins or give precise indications about their citizenship. In 1910, the overwhelming majority (90%) of the workers and miners in the Jiu Valley comprised citizens of the Hungarian region of the Dual Monarchy. Officially, citizens of the Austrian region of the Monarchy amounted to 8% of the workers, while the remaining 1% were Italian and German nationals.<sup>46</sup> These data, however, varied from year to year. For instance, in the industrial statistics of 1911, 13.09% of the workers in this



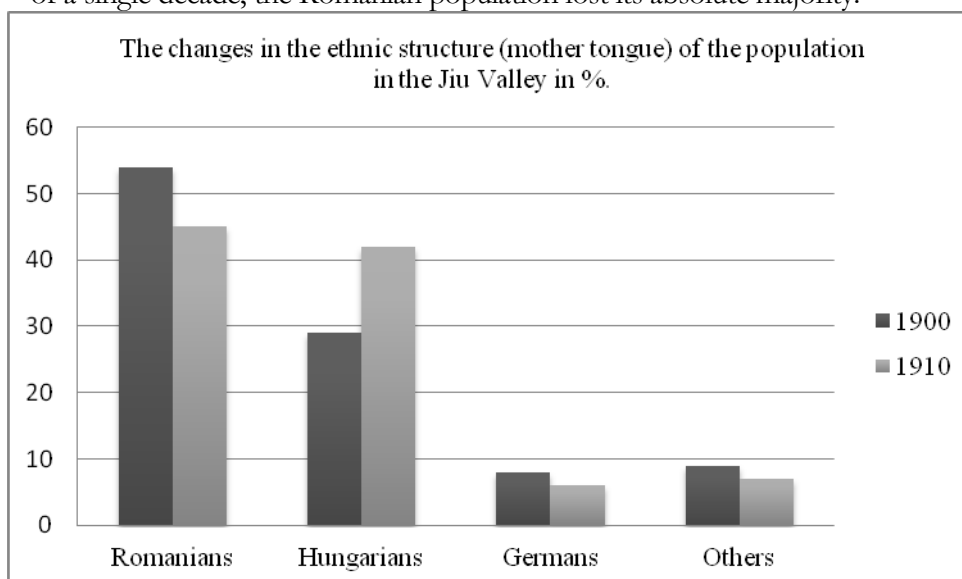
<sup>45</sup> *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények. Új sorozat, 48, A magyar szent korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása. Második rész. A népesség foglalkozása és a nagyipar* (Budapest, 1913), pp. 1068-1069.

<sup>46</sup> *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények. Új sorozat, 48, pp. 1068-1069.*



coalfield were not citizens of the Hungarian area of the Monarchy, 95% of these coming from the Austrian area.<sup>47</sup>

This large-scale immigration radically changed the ethnic-confessional structure of the population in the Jiu Valley. From 1900 to 1910, over the span of a single decade, the Romanian population lost its absolute majority.



In a relatively short period of time, the proportion of Hungarian speakers increased, while the percentage of the others decreased. This phenomenon was primarily due to immigration and, to a lesser degree, to assimilation.

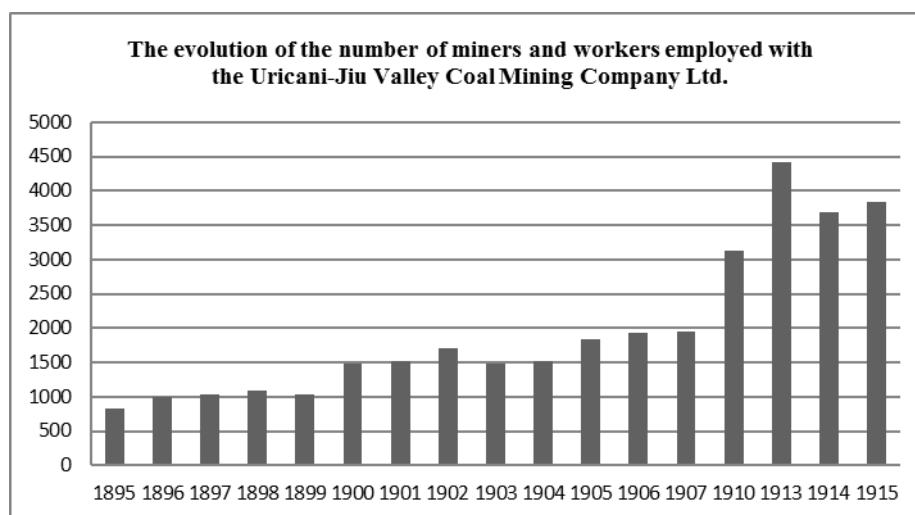
The Uricani-Jiu Valley Coal Mining Company Ltd. (*Urikány-Zsilvölgyi Magyar Kőszénbánya Rt.*) was the second largest of the four most important companies in the area. Having come across archival sources about this company's employees, we shall analyse their ethnic and confessional structure, as well as their origin by birthplace.<sup>48</sup>

The company, founded with the help of French capital, built a complex of mines and bituminous coal processing units, with the headquarters in Lupeni. The latest machinery and equipment were used and, where possible, production was mechanized. Two thermal power stations were built in order to ensure the electrical power necessary for the mines, the processing facilities,

<sup>47</sup> Wahlner Aladár, "Magyarország bányá- és kohóipara az 1911. évben," *Bányászati és Kohászati Lapok*, 45/24 (1912), p. 931.

<sup>48</sup> These sources include the National Archives of Romania, Hunedoara County Branch, Deva, and the Hungarian State Archives (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár) in Budapest.

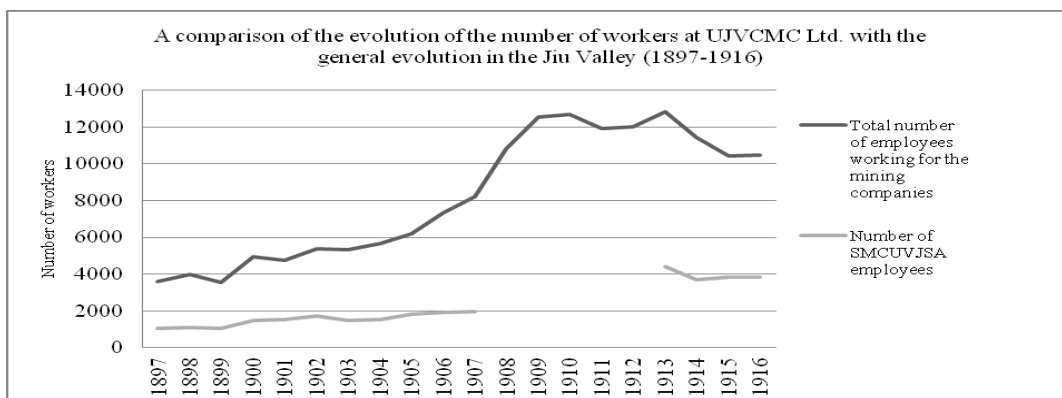
the repair shops and the mining colonies.<sup>49</sup> The number of the company's workers increased from 150 in 1892 to 4,424 in 1913. Apart from these, there were 234 other people who worked at the coking plant. The evolution of the number of miners and workers reflected periods of regress, stagnation and progress. The chart below shows that after a period of fluctuations at the end of the 19th-century, the period from 1907 to 1913 witnessed a rapid development, the number of workers increasing twofold. As a direct result of the outbreak of World War I, more and more employees enrolled in the army from 1914 onwards. Our data are incomplete and we do not have precise information for the years 1908, 1909, 1911 and 1912, so we cannot ascertain whether during these years the evolution in the number of the company's workers followed the major trends. This lack of data is due to the fact that in 1908, data protection measures were introduced at the insistence of the mining companies, which barred the publication of information relating to the production values, the exact number of employees and the wages offered by different companies.<sup>50</sup>



If we compare the chart relating to the total number of workers in the entire Jiu Valley with data referring to this company, the fact that stands out is this: contrary to trends in the region, the number of employees hired by the Uricani-Jiu Valley Coal Mining Company Ltd. continued to grow from 1910 to 1913.

<sup>49</sup> Béla Köpeczi-László Makkai-András Mócsy-Zoltán Szász (ed.), *History of Transylvania*, p. 519.

<sup>50</sup> Wahlner Aladár, "Magyarország bányá- és kohóipara az 1908. évben," *Bányászati és Kohászati Lapok*, 42/24 (1909), p. 719.



The company built houses and a drinking water network, it founded schools, a hospital and food storehouses.<sup>51</sup> In 1913, the four colonies of miners included 1,634 dwelling places, a common bath house, 6 churches, 2 food storehouses, elementary schools, a school for boys and one for girls, a club for the clerks and 2 hospitals.<sup>52</sup>

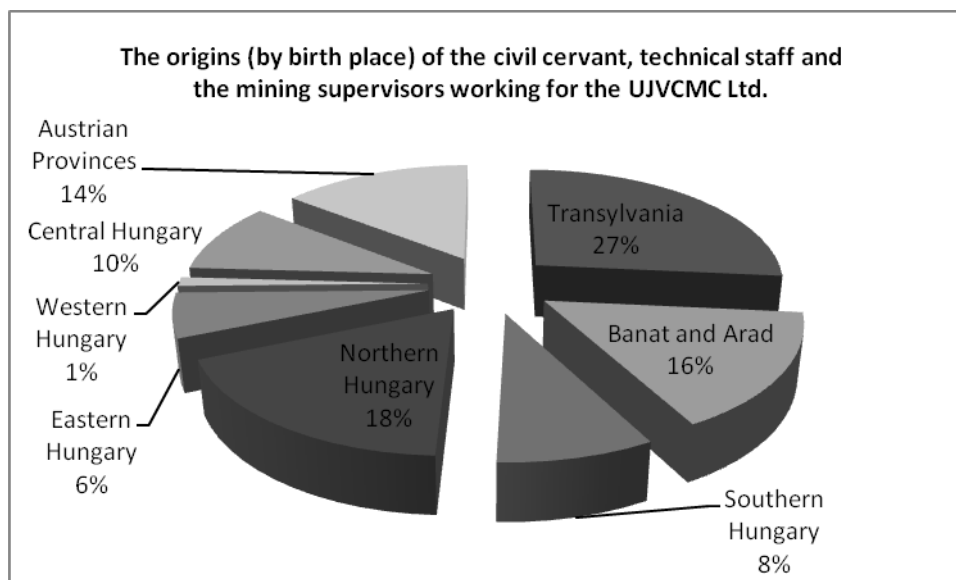
Sources about the socio-professional, ethnic and/or confessional structure, or about the origin by birthplace of the employees have been preserved at the National Archives of Romania, Hunedoara County Branch, and at the Central Directorate of the Hungarian National Archives (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár. Országos Levéltár) in Budapest. In the first case, we have lists from the years 1909, 1911 and the financial year 1916/1917, while in the second case we have access to personal records. There is a list from 1909, for instance, comprising the employees who paid contributions to the National Health Insurance Fund (Országos Beteg- és Balesetbiztosító Pénztár), more specifically the administrative staff and the mining supervisors. The personal files, from the same year, of the clerks and the mining supervisors/technical staff of the Uricani-Jiu Valley Coal Mining Company Ltd. are preserved at the Central Directorate of the Hungarian National Archives in Budapest. In these two documents, besides the employees' name, position and year of birth, the place of birth is also listed. Processing the data obtained from the two above-mentioned sources has led to some interesting findings.<sup>53</sup> Even though Transylvanians formed the largest group, their proportion did not reach 30% among the clerks and the mining supervisors. Among the Transylvanians the

<sup>51</sup> Krizkó Bohus, *Az Urikány-Zsilvölgyi Magyar Kőszénbánya Rt. lupényi bányatelepének rövid ismertetése*, Budapest, 1903, pp. 36-50.

<sup>52</sup> *Magyar Bánya-Kalauz – Ungarisches Montan-Handbuch*, ed. Déry Károly, 8 (1914), p. 189.

<sup>53</sup> Hereinafter the name of the company will be abbreviated in the charts as SMCUVJSA.

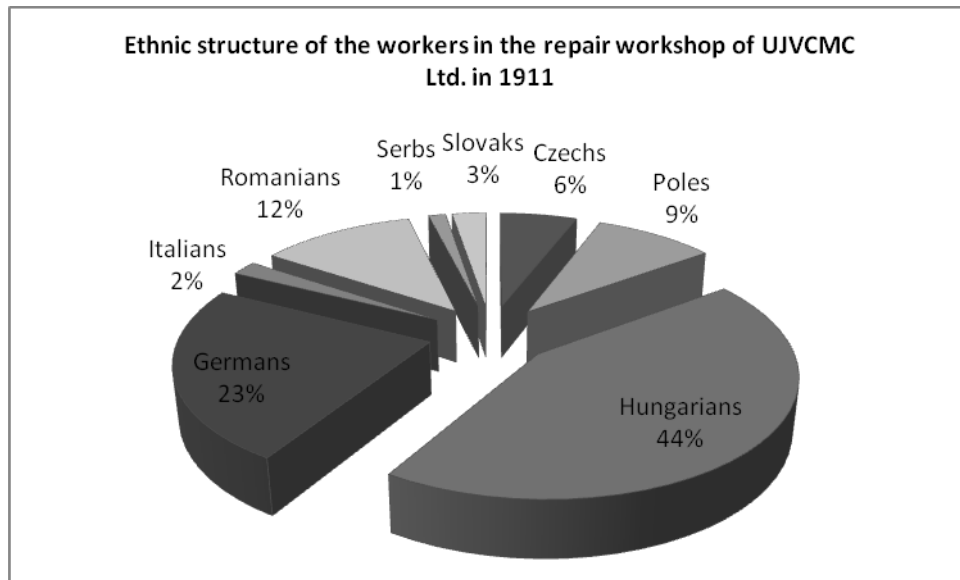
rate of those born in Hunedoara County was 35%. Those who had come from the mining regions of northern Hungary came second (18%), followed by Banatians and by employees who had arrived from provinces in the Austrian part of the Monarchy. Over 90% of the people arriving from the centre of Hungary had been born in Budapest.<sup>54</sup>



We have more detailed information about the workers. Two lists have survived from 1911, featuring the skilled workers from the central repair workshop in Lupeni and, respectively, the company's support staff. These lists contain information about the employees' nationality, religious confession, languages spoken and citizenship. As expected, more than 70% of the workshop's staff was made up of craftsmen; the proportion of apprentices was almost 20%, while the others were day labourers. The ethnic composition broadly reflects the situation in the coalfield outlined by the 1910 Census. The differences pertain to the nature of the data gathered, because compared to the official census, when the Hungarian administration collected data only about

<sup>54</sup> List of the employees of the Uricani-Jiu Valley Coal Mining Company Ltd. who paid their contribution to the National Health Insurance Fund in 1909, in the National Archives of Romania. Hunedoara County Branch, Deva, F 115 The Lupeni Mining Company, File no. 51/1909, and The employees' personal records found in the National Hungarian Archives. The Budapest Directorate (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár. Országos Levéltár), Z 294 Urikány-Zsilvölgyi Kőszénbánya Rt., vol. 4, lot 6, Személyzeti törzskönyv, and fasc. 1, lot 1, Személyzeti alkalmaztatás, felmodás, igazolás.

the mother tongue of the citizens, on the workers' lists there are separate sections concerning the nationality/ethnicity, the language(s) spoken and the language(s) written by the persons in question. The diagram below shows the ethnic composition, not the spoken language of the central repair workshop's staff. There is only one item that does not evince a complete overlap between nationality and spoken language, in the case of the Czechs. This was a normal phenomenon at the time. Of all the people who declared themselves to be Czechs, only 10% could speak Czech, while the others spoke only German and Hungarian.<sup>55</sup>



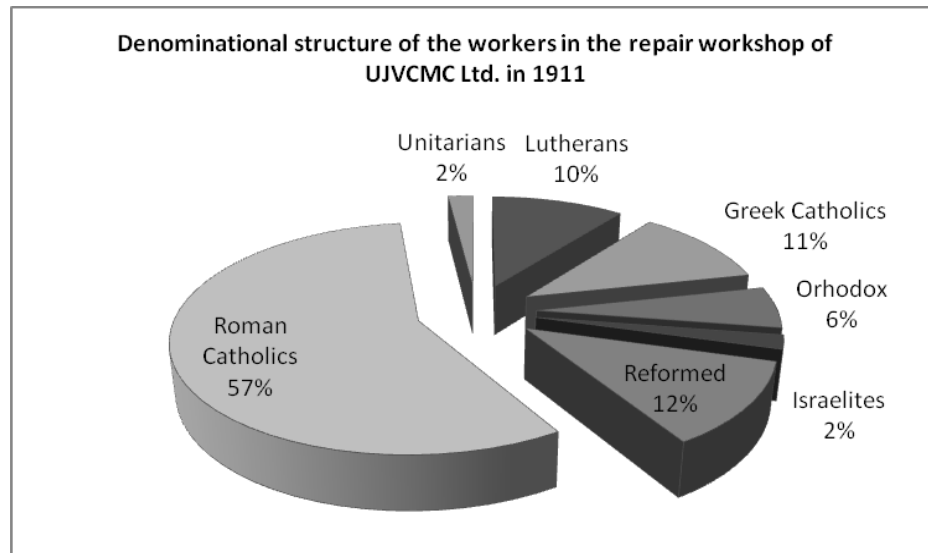
This phenomenon was due to the fact that the craftsmen and skilled workers who arrived in the Hungarian part of the Monarchy had come especially from the heavily industrialized areas of Bohemia and Moravia, inhabited mostly by Germans. These individuals, however, declared themselves not as Germans, but as Czechs. There was also an oddity: nobody declared themselves to be Ukrainian, but this does not mean that in reality there were no workers of this origin. This aspect emerges only by correlating the ethnic structure and the denominational structure.

If we compare the ethnic structure of the repair workshop's staff with the ethnic composition of the workers in the entire valley, the first thing that

<sup>55</sup> List of the employees of the Repair Workshop of the Uricani-Jiu Valley Coal Mining Company Ltd. from the year 1911, found in the National Archives of Romania. Hunedoara County Branch, Deva, F 115 The Lupeni Mining Company, File no. 75/1911.

emerges is that the Romanian ethnicity was represented by a mere 10%, well below its proportion among the workers in the coalfield. By contrast, other ethnic groups, like Germans, Czechs, Poles and Italians were overrepresented. No Polish or Czech man was listed among the day labourers.

In confessional terms, the absolute majority of the employees declared themselves to be Roman Catholic. In descending order, they were followed by Reformed individuals, by Greek Catholics and by Lutherans. The adherents of other faiths amounted to a percentage of less than 10%.<sup>56</sup>

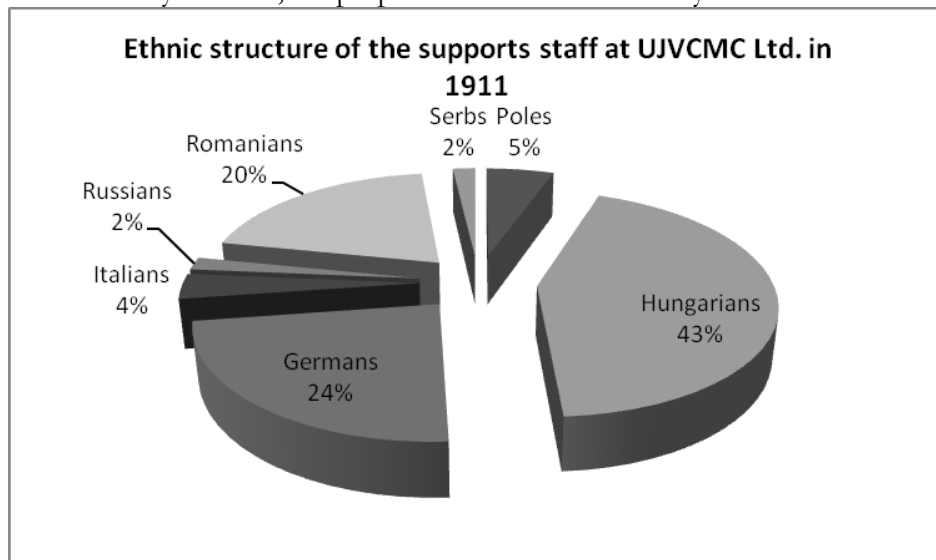


There existed close links between ethnicity and confession. Certain denominations were associated with certain ethnic groups. All the Reformed and the Unitarians declared themselves to be Hungarians. The devotees of the other denominations were members of several ethnic groups. The most complex group was that of the parishioners of the Roman Catholic Church: apart from Romanians and Serbs, it included people of all the ethnicities listed there. As was to be expected, the Romanians declared themselves Greek Catholic and Orthodox. All the Serbs were Orthodox, just like all the Czechs and the Italians were Roman Catholics. The majority of the Lutherans were Germans; the remaining others were Hungarians and Slovaks. 65% of the Greek-Catholics stated they were Romanians; the rest were Poles and Hungarians. This small group of Polish followers of the Greek-Catholic

<sup>56</sup> List of the employees of the Repair Workshop of the Uricani-Jiu Valley Coal Mining Company Ltd. from the year 1911, found in the National Archives of Romania. Hunedoara County Branch, Deva, F 115 The Lupeni Mining Company, File no. 75/1911.

denomination does not comply with the popular, traditional image of the Roman Catholic Poles. Because we do not know the birthplace of these people, we cannot identify whether they came from Galician towns and villages inhabited mostly by Poles or by Ukrainians. This question remains open. Finally, all the employees who were practitioners of the Mosaic cult declared themselves to be of Hungarian ethnicity.

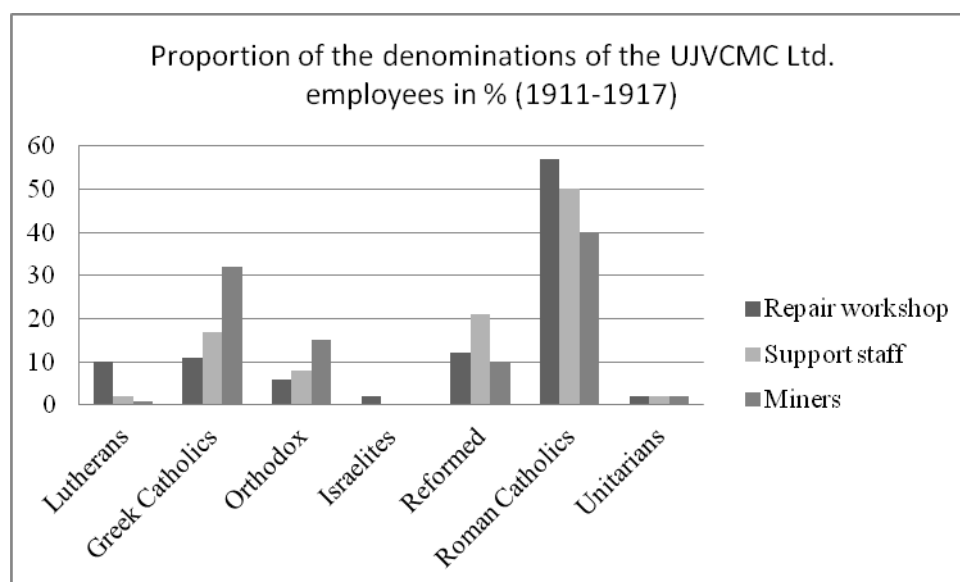
In addition to the list of the repair workshop's staff, there is also a list of the company's support staff. The socio-professional composition of this group was quite mixed. Apart from 2 masons and 8 day labourers, the others were members of the support staff, who worked at the surface, in the food storehouses, on the telephone lines and in offices. This group also included hackney coachmen, chimney sweepers, security guards, the support staff in the hospitals, stables and colonies. The ethnic composition of this group differed, in some respects, from that of the workshop's staff. Most of them declared themselves to be Hungarian, Germans came in second place, and Romanians also represented an important percentage (22%). It was in this group that Russians appeared as an ethnicity for the first time; however, they were followers of the Greek-Catholic denomination so we may assume that they were Ukrainians. The confessional structure of the support staff differed from that of the workshop's staff. Even though Roman Catholics featured here with the highest proportion, there was a visible increase in the numbers of Reformed employees nearly (21% versus 12%), of Greek Catholics and of the Orthodox. By contrast, the proportion of Lutherans barely reached 2%.



With regard to the citizenship of this group, the proportion of those who originated from the Hungarian region of the Monarchy was even higher

than in the first case. We encountered here the same scarcity of information regarding regional origin that we came across in the case of the workshop's staff. All the Czechs spoke the Czech language, so we may assume they had arrived from areas inhabited by the Czechs in the Czech provinces. The exact origin of the other ethnic groups is impossible to identify.

The conscription of the miners from the Ștefan (*István*) Mine in the financial year 1916/1917 is even poorer in information. This list contains only the workers' name, date of birth, occupation, year of entry into service and religious confession.<sup>57</sup> There are over 340 people listed here. Most of the miners were Roman Catholics (40%). In second place came the Greek Catholics, with 31%, followed by the Orthodox and the Reformed, with a share of over 10%. The Unitarians and the Lutherans were the fewest. Using the chart below, we have attempted to compare the confessional structure of the employees from the repair workshop with those of the miners from the Ștefan Mine and of the support staff.



The occupational areas the various confessions revolved around are quite visible. The proportion of Roman Catholics gradually decreased from the repair shop towards the mine, from 57% to 50% and, finally, to 40%. An even more drastic decline can be noticed in the case of the Lutherans (from 10% to

<sup>57</sup> List of the employees from the "István" Mine of the Uricani-Jiu Valley Coal Mining Company Ltd. in 1916/1917, the National Archives of Romania, Hunedoara County Branch, Deva, and the Hungarian State Archives, F 115 The Lupeni Mining Company, File no. 34/1916.



2-1%). Over 50% of the individuals in all the units who declared themselves of Lutheran confession were German skilled workers. The proportion of the Reformed was considerable (12%) also in the repair workshop, but it was double among the support staff (21%). It is true that this confessional group was exclusively of Hungarian ethnicity, but we cannot explain this extraordinary proportion except by reference to the fact that Hungarian was the language of the administration. The proportion of the Greek Catholics and the Orthodox followed an opposite trend to that of the Roman Catholics and the Lutherans. Their share increased gradually from the repair workshop to the mine, from 11% to 32% and, respectively, from 6% to 15%. Together, the people belonging to the two confessions formed 47% of the staff at the Ștefan Mine. Even if we do not know their ethnicity, we may assume that the majority were Romanians. Israelites amounted to a measurable number only among the employees of the repair workshop. We found no one of this ethnicity among the support staff, and just one person among the 347 miners. Forming a small confessional group, the Unitarians featured with modest numbers in the statistics.

To identify the regional origins of the workers, we have two points of reference that are far from satisfactory: citizenship and religious affiliation. Compared to these, the matriculation records of the various confessions in the area provide much more accurate data.

98% of the workers were citizens of the Dual Monarchy, 18% of them coming from the Austrian region. 1% were German citizens and another 1% were Italian citizens. It is relatively easy to delineate the territory from where the Czechs and the Poles came. The Poles came from Galicia and the surroundings of Krakow, while the Czechs came from the provinces of the Crown of Saint Wenceslas.<sup>58</sup> The Slovaks came from the northern counties of the Hungarian Kingdom, inhabited mostly by Slovaks. The Serbs came from Banat, a province neighbouring Transylvania. We may assume that a good many Italians arrived from the Austrian part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, primarily from the area of the city Trieste, the others having emigrated from the Kingdom of Italy.

The case of the Germans was not that simple. Of those who declared themselves Germans, 17% were citizens of the Austrian region of the Dual Monarchy and 3% were citizens of the German Empire. Those who came from Cisleithania<sup>59</sup> could have originated anywhere in this region. As mentioned before, we can identify the areas of origin of those who immigrated to the Jiu Valley by confession, but not by the language(s) they could speak. Most of the Germans were citizens of Hungarian part of the dual state. We

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<sup>58</sup> Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia.

<sup>59</sup> The Austrian part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

could estimate, in broad lines, the regional origin of these people, but it would be hazardous to do so in the absence of concrete data referring specifically to their mother tongue and their place of birth. In the era of Austro-Hungarian dualism, important communities of Germans lived in several regions of the Kingdom of Hungary. Starting with the mining towns in the north of the country, going all the way through the Swabian villages in Banat, Bacica, Baranya, the Carei area, up to the Transylvanian Saxons, there were thriving communities of Germans here at the beginning of the 20th century. At the same time, ever since the mid-19th century, with the appearance of the first industrial establishments on the territory of Hungary, there had arrived increasing numbers of skilled workers from the German Confederation (from the German Empire after 1870). A good many of them did not remain on these platforms but moved on to others that were opened in other areas of the kingdom. Thus, they also reached the country's eastern border regions, in Transylvania. However, in the statistics these individuals were already featured as citizens of the Hungarian part of the Monarchy. It is impossible to identify the birthplace of these individuals even in terms of their confession, because both the Germans who had come from outside the Hungarian Kingdom and those coming from traditional communities were followers of the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran Churches.

The precise regional origin of the Hungarian workers can be identified only partially. Hungarians arrived from all the regions of Hungary. The majority Hungarian confessions (Reformed and Unitarian) can give us more precise clues. We have attempted to reconstitute this aspect using data collected from the parish records (marriage registers) in the localities along the Jiu Valley. We have taken into account the birthplace of the young spouses.

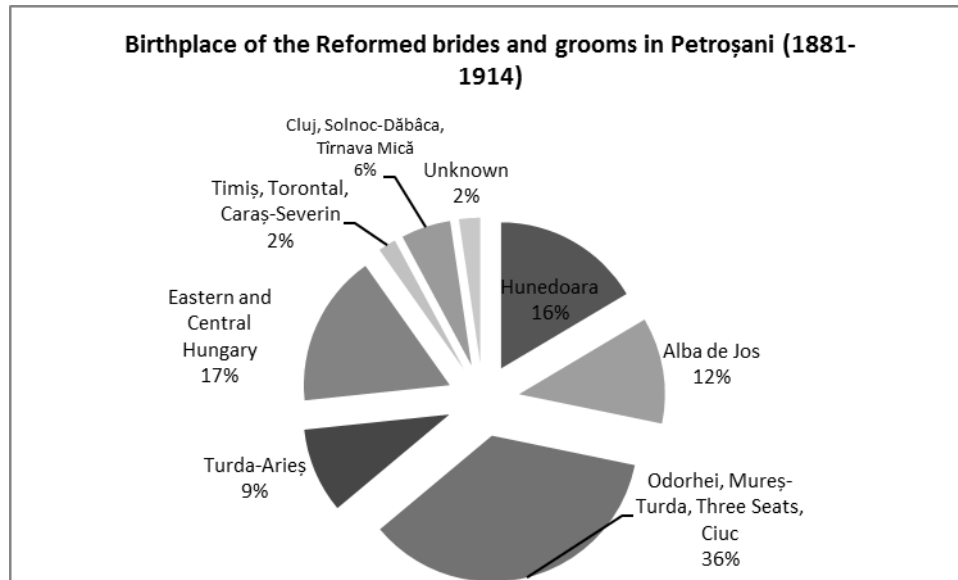
We can safely state that the vast majority of the Unitarians came from Transylvania because this denomination was closely related to this province.<sup>60</sup> Of these, 42% came from the Szekler villages in the counties of Odorhei, Mureş-Turda and Three Seats, almost 20% from the Unitarian villages and mining settlements in Turda-Arieş County, and 10% from Alba de Jos County, more precisely from the mining localities of Roşia Montană and Abrud.<sup>61</sup> The recruitment area for the Reformed (the other Protestant community that consisted of a majority Hungarian population) was more widespread. As can be noticed in the diagram below, more than one third came from the Szekler villages in the counties of Mureş-Turda, Odorhei, Three Seats and from the locality Bălan in Ciuc; 12% from Alba de Jos (the majority from the mining

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<sup>60</sup> Unitarianism is the only Protestant denomination born in Transylvania; even today, the majority of its followers live in this region.

<sup>61</sup> See the Marriage Registers of the Unitarian Parish in Petroşani, 1909-1914.

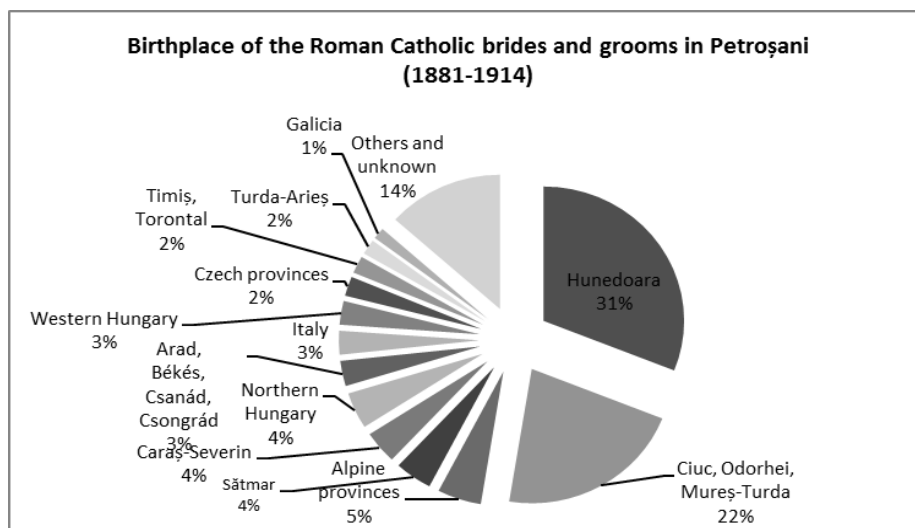
localities Abrud and Ocna Mureș), 16% from Hunedoara County, 9% from the villages in Turda-Arieș, 17% from the central and eastern parts of Hungary, while others came from the valleys of the Tîrnava Rivers, from the Someș Valley, as well as from villages that had appeared in Banat in the wake of the re-colonizations of the 18th century.<sup>62</sup>



The composition of the various Roman Catholic communities by area of origin was, in many respects, more diverse. First of all, the recruitment area was huge, as it also comprised Italy and Germany, in addition to the territory of the Dual Monarchy. Secondly, the workers who had arrived from different parts of Central Europe were not settled evenly, in equal proportions, in the mining towns of the Jiu Valley. In Petroșani, during the period under study, almost a third of those married had been born in Hunedoara County. The proportion of those who came from the Szekler villages in the counties of Mureș-Tudra, Ciuc and Odorhei reached 22%, while the number of those originating in the Alpine provinces was fairly high. By contrast, most of those in Lupeni (27%) came from Galicia; the counties in the south-eastern area of Transylvania featured with 18%, Hunedoara with 16%, but the percentage of those from South-Eastern Hungary was also significant (11%).<sup>63</sup>

<sup>62</sup> See the Marriage Registers of the Reformed Parish in Petroșani, 1881-1914, in the National Archives of Romania, Hunedoara County Branch, Deva, Register No. 6/1874.

<sup>63</sup> See the Marriage Registers of the Roman-Catholic Parish in Petroșani, 1881-1914, in the National Archives of Romania, Hunedoara County Branch, Deva, Register no. 18/1881.



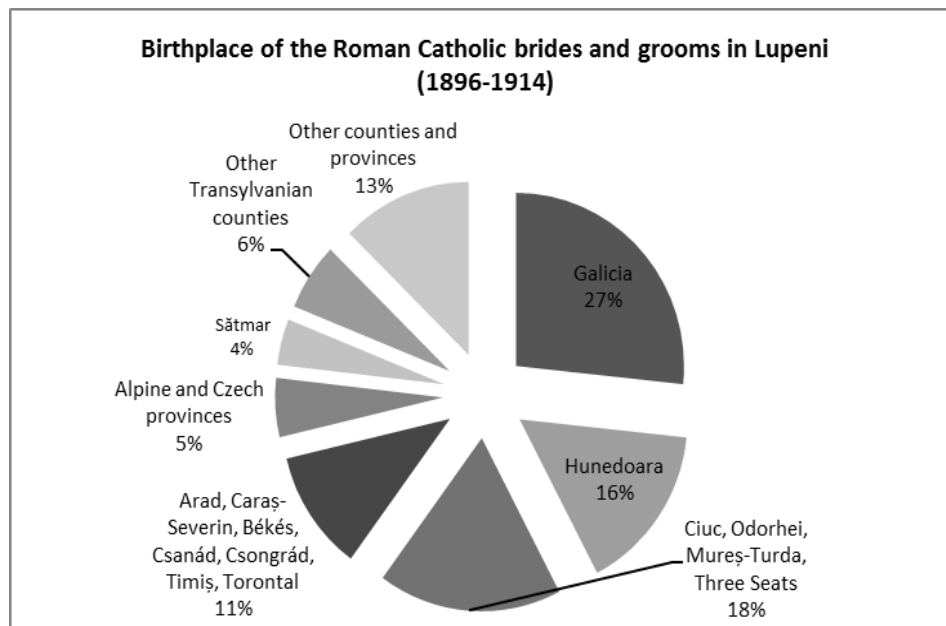
The situation in Petroșani was primarily due to the fact that the first mining operations had been launched in its surroundings and that the village became an administrative centre fairly quickly. During the 1870s, when the Mining and Metallurgical Company in Brașov (Kronstädter Bergbau- und Hütten-Aktien Verein) began its investments, it brought most of its technical staff, but also miners and skilled workers primarily from the Alpine provinces or from Bohemia, Moravia and Austrian Silesia. The relatively early colonization of foreign workers explains why the percentage of young spouses who were born at Petroșani or in the nearby areas increased from the 1890s onward.

In the Roman Catholic community from Petroșani, 90% of those who came from the counties of Caraș-Severin, Sătmár, Ciuc, Turda-Arieș and from the counties in the northern and western areas of Hungary had been born in the mining localities of those regions. In the marriage registers their parents are recorded as miners, workers or members of the technical and administrative staff. Those born in the Kingdom of Italy were the sons and daughters of masons or the technical staff in mines. Most of those originating in Timiș and Torontal Counties came from the Swabian villages there.

A high proportion of the young spouses in Lupeni had been born in Galicja. It is safe to assume that they were of Polish ethnicity. This is supported by the fact that at the 1910 Census, 10% of the population in town declared Polish as their mother tongue.<sup>64</sup> If we add to them those originating in the Alpine and the Czech provinces, we may arrive at the conclusion that

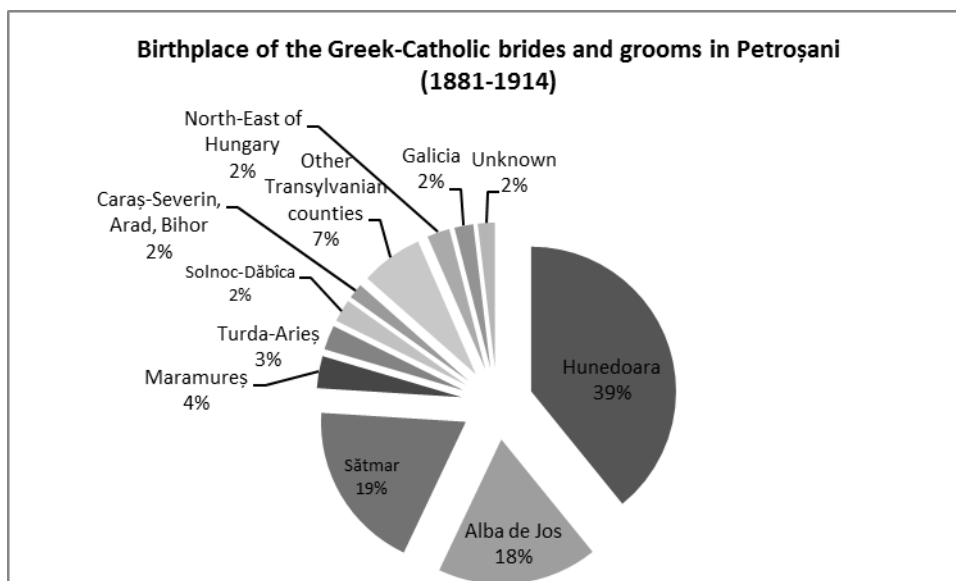
<sup>64</sup> See the Hungarian statistical publication: *A magyar szent korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása. Első rész: A népesség főbb adatai községek és népesebb puszták, telepek szerint.* Budapest, 1912, p. 405.

one third of the young Roman Catholics who were married in Lupeni came from the Austrian part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Most of those who came from Sătmar had been born in Baia Mare or in the mining settlements around this city.



The situation was different in the case of the Greek-Catholic communities in the area. In the Petroșani district (*plasa*), the proportion of the Greek-Catholic vs. the Orthodox population was 46% to 54%.<sup>65</sup> We have so far managed to obtain usable data only from the Greek-Catholic parish registers. That is why we shall present only the migration of the adherents to this confession. As can be seen in the chart below, nearly 40% of the young spouses in Petroșani were natives of Hunedoara County.

<sup>65</sup> Idem, p. 405.



Only half of them had been born in localities along the Jiu Valley. Almost 20% came from the mining settlements of Satu Mare and Alba Counties. Most of those born in Maramureș, Turda-Arieș and Solnoc-Dăbâca were descendants of miners' families.<sup>66</sup> The data we have identified in the registers of the Greek-Catholic parish of Jiu-Coroiești, which also included the town of Vulcan, suggest that the situation was similar to the one in Petroșani. A quarter of the young spouses indicated various localities in the counties of Alba de Jos, Turda-Arieș, Sătmăr and Maramureș as their birthplaces.<sup>67</sup>

### School and society

One of the most important achievements of the mining companies in the Jiu Valley was the foundation and maintenance of elementary and secondary schools and their overall contribution to supporting denominational and state schools in the area.<sup>68</sup> At the beginning of the 20th century, more precisely in September 1903, there were 27 educational institutions with 57

<sup>66</sup> See the Marriage Registers of the Greek-Catholic Parish in Petroșani, 1881-1914, in the National Archives of Romania, Hunedoara County Branch, Deva, Register no. 5/1874.

<sup>67</sup> See the Marriage Registers of the Greek-Catholic Parish Coroiești-Vulcan, 1907-1914, in the National Archives of Romania, Hunedoara County Branch, Deva, Register no. 5/1907.

<sup>68</sup> On the Greek-Catholic confessional education in the area, Camelia Vulea has published: *Școala românească în Vicariatul greco-catolic al Hațegului: a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea – începutul secolului XX*. Cluj-Napoca, 2009.

teachers that operated in the 14 localities of the Jiu Valley.<sup>69</sup> Of these, 13 were denominational schools (8 Greek-Catholic, 4 Orthodox, 1 Roman Catholic) and 6 were state institutions. The industrial companies in the area founded and supported 5 schools, while the municipalities maintained 3 educational institutions. Aside from the Roman Catholic school, all the denominational educational institutions were elementary schools.

The Greek-Catholic schools appeared at the initiative of the local communities in 1868-1892. The Orthodox schools in Petrila and Livezeni were founded in 1867 at the initiative of Ioan Raț, Orthodox Archpriest of Hațeg. The school in Petroșani was built at the initiative of Avram Stanca in 1877, while the one in Bănița was established in 1886.<sup>70</sup> The Roman Catholic elementary school and the pedagogical school for girls in Petroșani were founded by the Franciscan nuns in 1888.<sup>71</sup> The first elementary state school began its activity at Petroșani in 1872, the next one in Petrila, the Deák Colony (1874), while the others were founded at Petrila, the Lonea Colony and Lupeni in 1894. In 1870 the Brașov Mining and Metallurgical Company founded an elementary school in Petroșani. With the takeover of all the company's assets and liabilities in the Jiu Valley by the Coal Mining Company in Salgótarján, this school also went into the administration of the latter company. The Salgótarján-based company also founded two schools, one in Aninoasa and the other in Vulcan. In Vulcan there also operated an elementary school founded by the Upper Jiu Valley Coal Mining Company, while at Bărbănteni de Jos-Isroni the Maderspach family built a school for the employees of their timber factory.

Romanian was the language of instruction in the Greek-Catholic and the Orthodox schools, while Hungarian was used in the other educational institutions. Thus, Romanian was the mother tongue of most of the students who attended the Romanian denominational schools. The other institutions were attended primarily by children from families of other ethnicities. However, children from the families of the Romanians in the area also learned in these schools. In the state elementary school from Petroșani (the biggest in the valley) in 1880-1903, the speakers of Hungarian represented the majority in the researched period but around 30% of the students were always of a different mother tongue. The highest numbers were those of the Germans and the Romanians.<sup>72</sup>

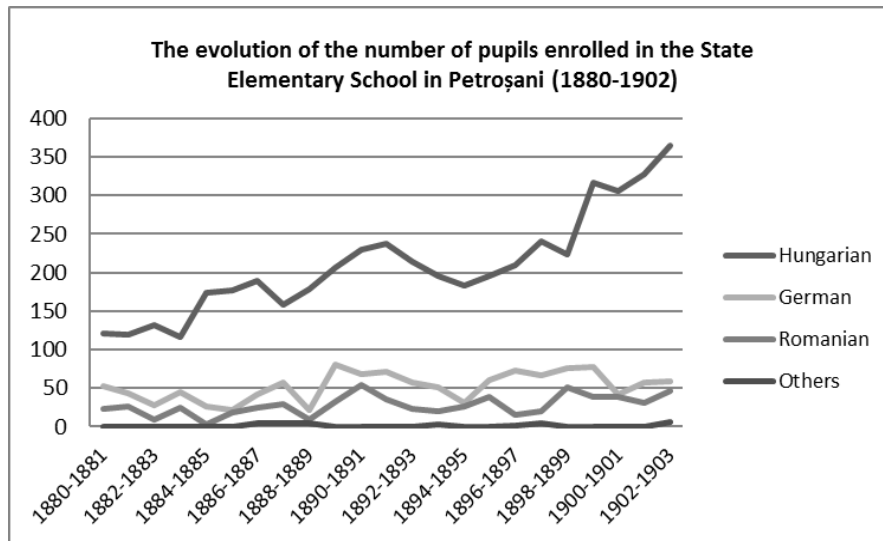
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<sup>69</sup> Vass Imre (ed.), *A Salgó-Tarjáni Köszénbánya Részvény-Társulat Petroszény, Aninósza és Vulkán bányatelepi iskoláinak értesítője az 1902-1903. iskolai évről*. Petroszény, 1903, p. 53.

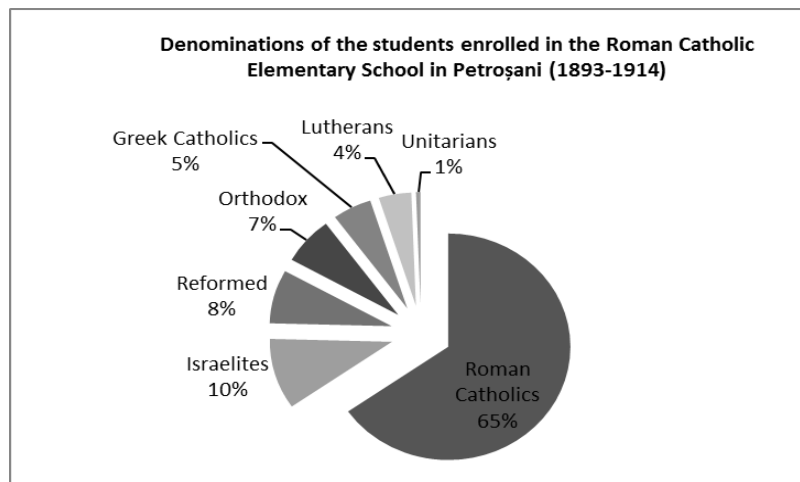
<sup>70</sup> Vass Imre, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-100.

<sup>71</sup> See the yearbook of the elementary and pedagogical school run by the Franciscan nuns in Petroșani: *A petrozsényi Szt. Ferencz-rendi nővérek elemi és polgári leányiskolájának értesítője az 1905-1906. iskolai évről*. 1906, p. 6.

<sup>72</sup> Vass Imre, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.



At the state elementary school in Lupeni, the number of students with Polish as a mother tongue was the second highest (20%) after the native speakers of Hungarian. The confession of the students from the various schools broadly reflected the structure of the population. This rule was abided by even in the case of the Franciscan nuns' elementary school, which was also attended by children belonging to other confessions. In the period 1893-1914, 10% of the students were of the Mosaic religion, 7% were Orthodox and 5% were Greek-Catholic.<sup>73</sup>



<sup>73</sup> See the transcripts of the Roman Catholic Elementary School for Girls in Petroșani, in the National Archives of Romania, Hunedoara County Branch, Deva, Fund: The Roman Catholic Elementary School for Girls in Petroșani, transcripts 79/1893, 80/1897, 81/1893.



In the schools founded and supported by the industrial companies in the area, the students' denominational affiliation and mother tongue reflected the ethnic and confessional structure of these company's employees. Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century, in the elementary school from Vulcan, run by the Upper Jiu Valley Coal Mining Company, beside the 43% speakers of Hungarian and the 29% speakers of German, 18% of the students had Slovak as their mother tongue while 10% were native Romanians.<sup>74</sup> **We must emphasize the fact that where there was a Romanian denominational school, the Romanian population enrolled their children, in the majority of cases, in these educational institutions. That explains why the proportion of Romanian students attending public and private schools was so low.**

At the end of the 19th century, the curriculum in the schools from the Jiu Valley was correlated with the national one. The differences in the quality of education were caused primarily by the teachers' training and the learning conditions. The state schools and those run by the mining companies had the best buildings, with the best facilities, but at the beginning of the 20th century the Greek-Catholic and the Orthodox communities also managed to raise buildings that adequately served the purposes of the educational process and hired well-trained teaching staff.

The data provided by the censuses reveal the role played by the elementary educational institutions in disseminating literacy among the population in the area. In general, the level of literacy in Hunedoara County, or in the counties of Solnoc-Dăbâca, Turda-Arieş and Alba de Jos, was one of the lowest in Transylvania. In 1900, only 24% of the population over the age of 6 years old could read and write, and in 1910 it still did not exceed 34%. The average in Transylvania was 50%, while the national one was 66%.<sup>75</sup> In the same year, in the 14 communes of the Jiu Valley, almost 49% of the population over the age of 6 could read and write.<sup>76</sup> Of course, the proportion was not unvarying at the level of the communes. Most of the people in Petroşani, the administrative centre of the area, could read and write (over 65%). The members of the administrative staff of the Mining and Metallurgical Company in Braşov/ the Coal Mining Company in Salgótarján were focused here. The commune Jiu-Coroieşti came next on the list, followed by Lupeni, where the percentage of literate individuals surpassed the average of the county and of Transylvania. Vulcan was the last to reach 50%. 5 more

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<sup>74</sup> Vass Imre, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

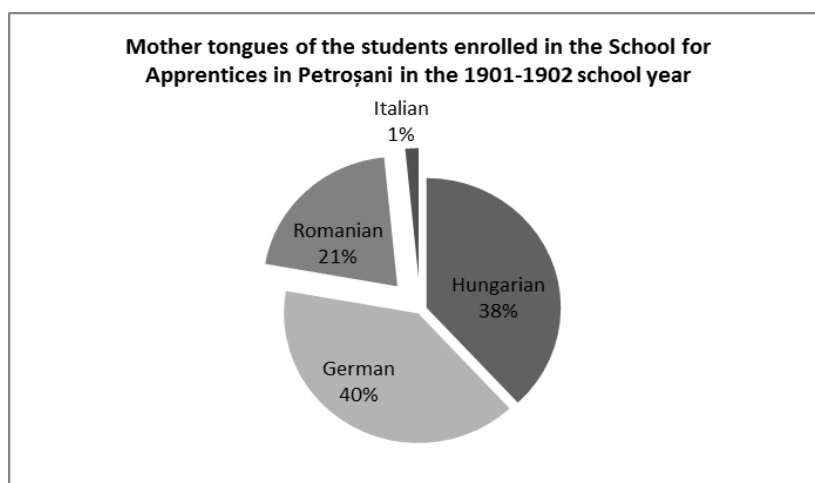
<sup>75</sup> See the Hungarian statistical publication: *A magyar szent korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása. Első rész: A népesség főbb adatai községek és népesebb puszták, telepek szerint*. Budapest, 1912, p. 34.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 404-405.

communes were above and 5 were below the average percentage of Hunedoara County. The differences stemmed from the structure of the population in the villages where foreign workers had settled in greater numbers and the proportion of literate individuals was higher. In addition to this, the conditions of education played a decisive role. This idea is supported, for instance, by the fact that in Bănița, the Orthodox school ran classes only twice a week at the beginning of the 20th century where because the village did not have its own elementary teacher, the percentage of those who could read and write was a mere 10%.<sup>77</sup>

Secondary and vocational education was represented by the High School for Boys in Petroșani, the Roman Catholic Secondary School for Girls in Petroșani, the Secondary School for Boys and Girls in Lupeni, the Mining School in Petroșani and the School for Apprentices in Petroșani.

The School for Apprentices was founded by the Communal Council in Petroșani in 1892. It operated with three classes and a preparatory class and was attended by apprentices in the area. This institution received permanent financial help from the state. The confessional and ethnic composition here was different from those of the elementary schools. At the beginning of the 20th century, the majority of the students were native speakers of German and Hungarian, in nearly equal proportion, the percentage of Romanians going a little over 20%.<sup>78</sup>



<sup>77</sup> Vass Imre, *op. cit.*, p. 100 and *A magyar szent korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása. Első rész: A népesség főbb adatai községek és népesebb puszták, telepek szerint*. Budapest, 1912, pp. 404-405.

<sup>78</sup> Vass Imre, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.

At the Secondary School for Boys and Girls in Lupeni classes began in September 1913. The school was founded as a result of the efforts made by the leadership of the Uricani-Jiu Valley Company and by the school inspector of Hunedoara County. In addition to general cultural education, the school also offered training in a profession chosen by the male students and handicraft classes to the female students. Practical courses for boys were held in the workshops of the Uricani-Jiu Valley Company. The school, which was originally designed to teach grades one through seven, offered students the chance to further their education in high schools, pedagogical schools, higher schools of industry, mining schools and military schools, to find post office jobs and positions in the administration after completing training courses or to find employment as lower civil servants.<sup>79</sup> The majority of the students (over 60%) were children of labourers or miners.<sup>80</sup>

In 1905, the Roman Catholic Secondary School for Girls was founded in Petroșani. It functioned in a building erected by the Franciscan nuns in 1893. The four-grade school quickly earned a high reputation for the quality of teaching there. Up until the outbreak of World War I, most of the female students came from families of civil servants and merchants, but daughters of craftsmen and peasants were always enrolled too.<sup>81</sup>

The beginnings of upper secondary education in Petroșani are tied to a private high school with German as the language of instruction. Functioning from 1886 to 1889, the high school was not licensed by the Ministry to operate permanently and was eventually closed down. In 1894, at the initiative of the Roman Catholic Archpriest of Hunedoara, a private high school (with the rank of lower gymnasium) began its activity in Petroșani. In 1897 the educational institution was taken over by the commune of Petroșani and from 1899 on it received financial help from the state. At first, the high school operated in a building placed at its disposal by the Company from Salgótarján and, later on, in a barracks of the gendarmerie converted to this end. In 1904 a building was erected specifically for this high school. During the first seven years, it was not

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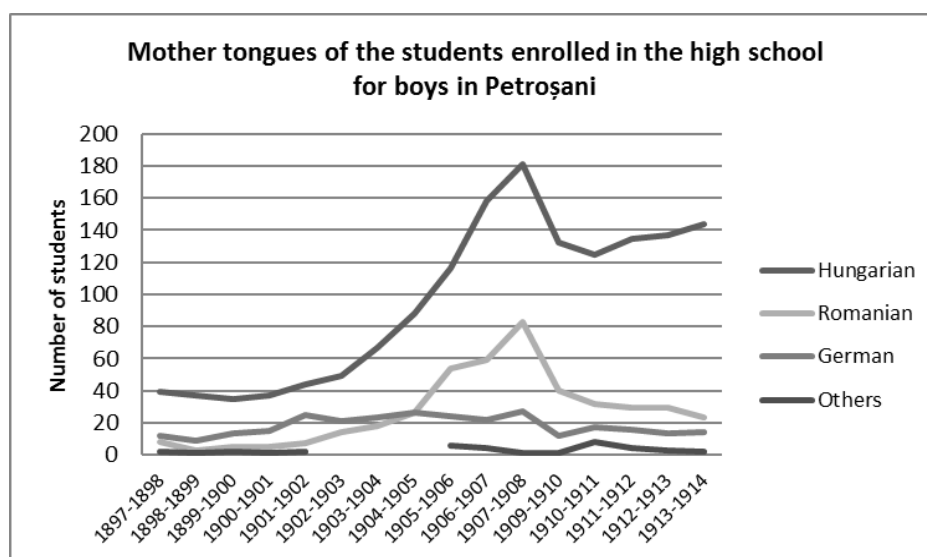
<sup>79</sup> See the yearbook of the Secondary School for Boys and Girls in Lupeni for the school year 1914-1915: *Lupényi államsegélyes községi polgári fiú- és leányiskola értesítője az 1914-1915. iskolai évről*. Petrozsény, 1915, pp. 43-44.

<sup>80</sup> See the yearbook of the Secondary School for Boys and Girls in Lupeni for the school year 1913-1914: *Reform-iskola. Lupényi államsegélyes községi polgári fiú- és leányiskola értesítője az 1913-1914. iskolai évről*. Petrozsény, no year, p. 32.

<sup>81</sup> See the yearbooks of the Roman-Catholic Secondary School for Girls in Petroșani (*A petrozsényi Szt. Ferencz-rendi nővérek elemi és polgári iskolájának értesítője*) for the period 1906-1914.

entitled to hold baccalaureate exams, which were organized at the State High School of Sector I in Budapest and, respectively, at the State High School in Sibiu. Only in 1905 was it granted a permanent operating licence.<sup>82</sup> In 1908 it was taken over by the state and elevated to the rank of a high school (upper gymnasium).

In terms of the students' mother tongue, the majority of those enrolled in the high school for boys were Hungarians; however, as shown in the chart below, this majority oscillated around 50-60% at the turn of the 20th century. Only in 1914 did it reach nearly 80%.<sup>83</sup>

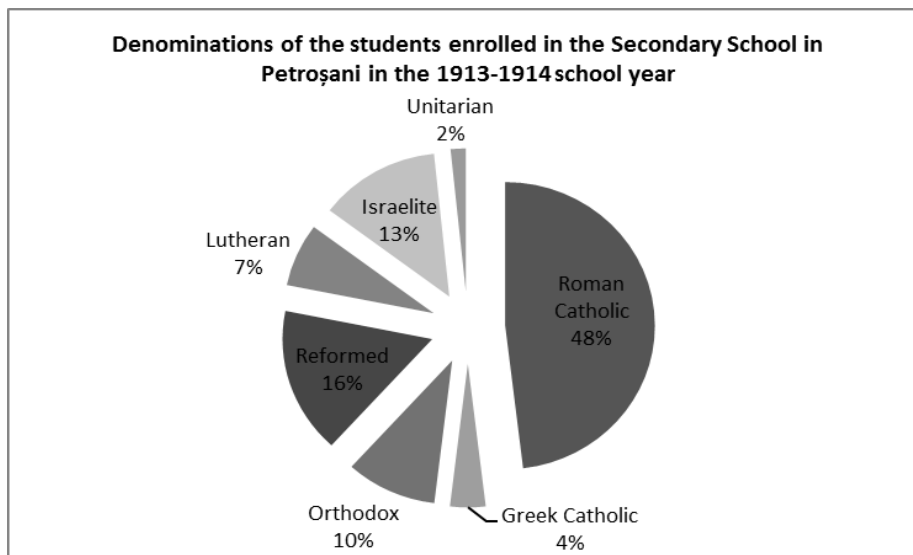


As regards the religious denominations, the percentages were much more balanced. Although the Roman Catholic denomination had the largest representation, with almost 50%, the members of the other religious communities also featured in large numbers. During the last year of peace, 13% of the students were followers of the Mosaic religion, 16% belonged to the Reformed Church, 10% were Orthodox and 4% were Greek Catholics.<sup>84</sup>

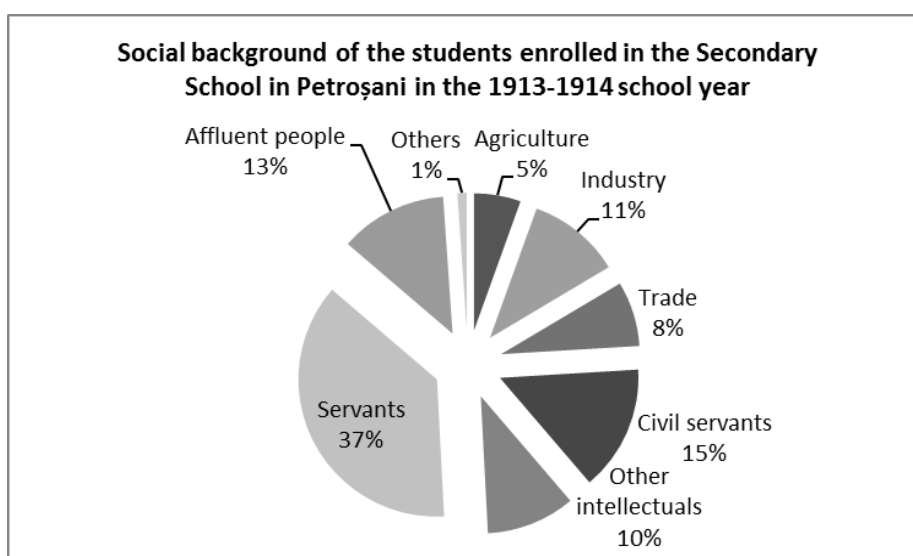
<sup>82</sup> See the yearbook of the High School for Boys in Petroșani: A Petrozsényi államilag segélyezett községi főgimnázium tizenkettedik évi értesítője az 1905-1906. iskolai évről. Petrozsény, 1906, pp. 6-9.

<sup>83</sup> See the yearbook of the High School for Boys in Petroșani for the period 1897-1914.

<sup>84</sup> See the yearbook of the High School for Boys in Petroșani for the school year 1913-1914: A Petrozsényi M. Kir. Állami Főgimnázium Huszadik Évi Értesítője az 1913/194. Iskolai Évről. Petrozsény, no year, p. 81.



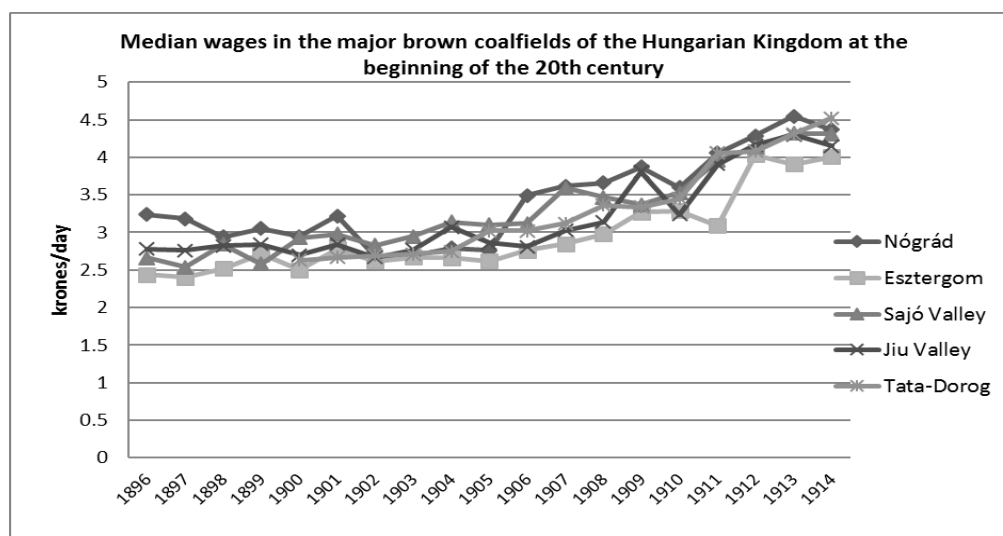
In terms of the social status, the composition was equally mixed. The parents of 37% the students enrolled in 1913-1914 school year at the High School for Boys in Petroșani belonged to the category of “support staff in the mining, industry and transport sectors,” 15% were civil servants and 11% were industrial entrepreneurs.<sup>85</sup>



<sup>85</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 82.

## Prices and wages

The ratio between median wages and prices always influenced the success of mining businesses, especially in the mountains of Transylvania. On the issue of wages and prices in Transylvania during the period 1850-1914, a recently published study lists data referring to the wages of workers in the mining sector.<sup>86</sup> The need for workforce led the entrepreneurs who wanted to invest in the Jiu Valley to pay salaries that reached the median level of wages in the sector of brown coal and bituminous coal mining in the country. Thus, the Jiu Valley attracted many workers, even though the salaries offered here were not necessarily the highest (as shown in the diagram below).<sup>87</sup>



If we compare the average wage of a worker in the Jiu Valley (2.78 kronas) with the wage of a day labourer in Deva (1.41 kronas) or Arad (2.40 kronas) in 1896, we can see that the income of the former was higher.<sup>88</sup> Over

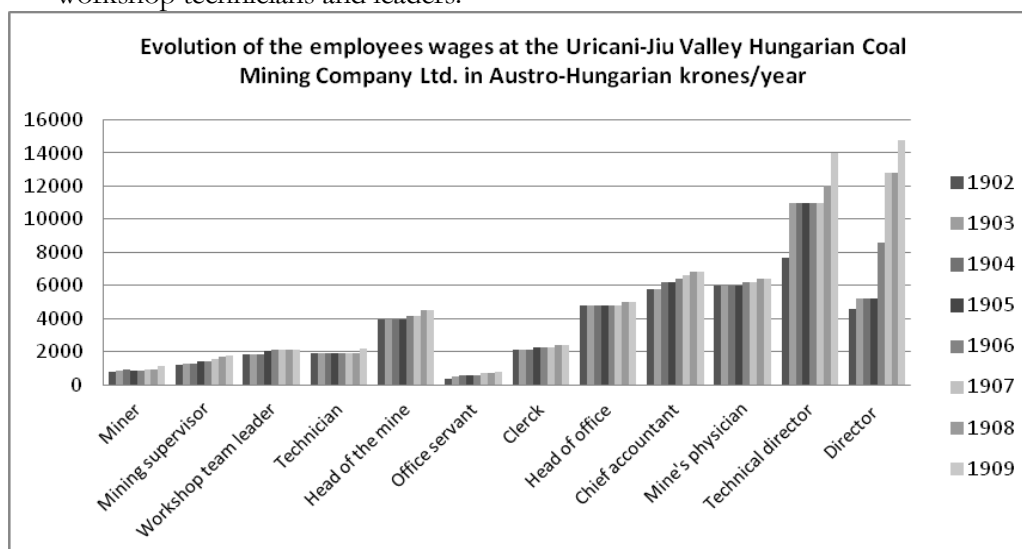
<sup>86</sup> See Iosif Marin "Balog, Prices, Wages and Consumption in Transylvania between 1850-1914. Tendencies and Development in Rural and Urban Areas," in *Romanian Journal of Population Studies*, vol. V, 2011. Supplement, pp. 49-85.

<sup>87</sup> See the data in the annual report on the mining industry of the Kingdom of Hungary drafted by Aladár Wahlner in the issues for the years 1897-1901, 1905 and 1911-1916 of the journal of mining and metallurgy *Bányászati és kohászati lapok*.

<sup>88</sup> See the Report of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Arad for the year 1897 on the economic, commercial and transport conditions in the counties of Arad, Békés, Csanád and Hunedoara: *Az Aradi Kereskedelmi- és Iparkamara Jelentése a kerületét képező Arad-, Csanád-, Békés- és Hunyadmegyék továbbá Arad Szab. KIR. Városnak gazdasági, kereskedelmi, ipari és forgalmi viszonyairól 1897-ben*. Arad, 1898, p. 14 and the data in the annual report on the mining industry of the Kingdom of Hungary drafted by Aladár

the next few years, these differences increased in favour of the wages paid in the Jiu Valley coalfield. In 1904 daily wages in the mining sector of the Jiu Valley remained at the same level, but overall the amount of daily wages went down to 1.15 kronas.<sup>89</sup>

If we compare the annual income of various categories of employees, we may come to the conclusion that aside from the directors, the best-paid were the chief accountant, the head of office, the head of the mine and, of course, the mine's physician. The least well-paid were the servants at the companies' offices. Civil servants earned about the same amounts as the workshop technicians and leaders.<sup>90</sup>



However, the value of these wages can be assessed only by reference to the prices of that period. If we trace the evolution of the average wage of a worker in the Jiu Valley related to the prices of the basic foods, we can detect an increase, but we should also take into account a less common factor. Namely, the companies' intervention in the evolution of prices. In the table

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Wahlner in the issue for the year 1897 of the journal of mining and metallurgy *Bányászati és kohászati lapok*, p. 319.

<sup>89</sup> See the Hungarian statistical yearbook *Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv. Új Folyam. XII*, 1904, p. 97 and the data in the annual report on the mining industry of the Kingdom of Hungary drafted by Aladár Wahlner in the issue for the year 1905 of the journal of mining and metallurgy *Bányászati és kohászati lapok*, p. 561.

<sup>90</sup> See the matriculation records for the personnel of the Uricani-Jiu Valley Company Ltd. in the Hungarian National Archives. The Budapest Directorate (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár. Országos Levéltár), Fund Z 294 Urikány-Zsilvölgyi Kőszénbánya Rt., vol. 4, lot 6, Személyzeti törzskönyv.

below we may notice that the average monthly salary related to all other basic foods except wheat increased.<sup>91</sup>

Year	1896	1914
Average monthly wage	69. 5).	114. 35).
Pork	59.91 kg	65.71 kg
Beef	56.96 kg	67.66 kg
Wheat	547.24 kg	408.08 kg
Potatoes	86.875 kg	1039.54 kg
Wine	96.52 litres	142.93 litres

The companies intervened in the evolution of prices by creating food storehouses, where the workers could purchase basic goods. The establishment of these storehouses was necessary due to the fact that the agricultural population of the area could not meet the workers' need for food and consumer goods. The price of the products brought in by merchants was so high that an average salary was not enough for a worker's survival. In such conditions there appeared the danger that colonized workers might leave as easily as they had come. The directorates of the mining companies started building these storehouses for consumer products, which were loaded with goods brought by rail and were sold at the cost price. Stores like these were opened at Petroșani, Petrila, Vulcan and Lupeni by the three major companies in the area.<sup>92</sup>

In addition to the problem of consumer goods prices, the mining companies also had to cater for an acute need for housing. Thus, they were forced to invest in setting up colonies of workers consisting of houses with layouts that had already been used in Central and Western Europe. In 1903 the company in Salgótarján owned 1,515 residential units in 565 buildings, the Upper Jiu Valley Company had 235 residential units and the Uricani- Jiu Valley

<sup>91</sup> See the Report of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Arad for the year 1897 on the economic, commercial and transport conditions in the counties of Arad, Békés, Csanád and Hunedoara: Az Aradi Kereskedelmi- és Iparkamara Jelentése a kerületét képező Arad-, Csanád-, Békés- és Hunyadmegyék továbbá Arad Szab. KIR. Városnak gazdasági, kereskedelmi, ipari és forgalmi viszonyairól 1897-ben. Arad, 1898, and the newspaper *Zsilvölgye*, year VI, the issue of 16 August 1914.

<sup>92</sup> See A Felső Zsilvölgyi Kőszénbánya Társulat vulkáni bányaműveinek rövid ismertetése – Kurze Schilderung der vulkaner Gruben der Ober-Zsilthaler Steinkohlen-Bergbau-Gewerkschaft. *Ibidem*, p. 1903, p. 19, cat. Az Urikány-Zsilvölgyi Magyar Kőszénbánya Részvénytársaság lupényi bányatelepének rövid ismertetése. *Ibidem*, p. 1903, p. 39, cat. A salgótarjáni kőszénbánya részv. -társulat zsilvölgyi bányái. In *Bányászati és kohászati lapok*, year XXXVI (1904), vol. *Ibidem*, p. 15, p. 180, cat.



Company had 700 residential units. The three large mining companies built a total of 2,450 residential units.<sup>93</sup> The inhabitants of these colonies were provided with drinking water, fuel, and electric power was also introduced.

In general, it can be stated that from 1880 to 1914, as a result of large companies' investments in the coal exploitations of the Jiu Valley, the economy and the society of this region underwent sudden, unprecedented transformations. Over the course of three decades, the landscape had completely changed. Major mining exploitations were set up, with the related infrastructure. The place of the small villages with wooden, shingle-roofed houses was taken by mining towns with buildings of brick and stone, modern schools, hospitals and administrative buildings. The school and the health systems supported this transforming world. The demographic structure changed, given the influx of people from all over the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Almost all the peoples of this multi-ethnic and multi-confessional empire were represented here. A society based on industrial production came into being.

### **-Abstract-**

This paper undertakes an analysis of a mining region that embarked on sustained growth when coal mining began in the area, answering the ever growing needs of the industry for this raw material. Essentially, this region became a well-defined socio-economic space of this type after 1870. The rich bituminous coal resources in the Jiu Valley had been discovered before the 1848 Revolution, but industrial-type exploitation spread only after the construction of the first railway track that connected the region to the Monarchy's market. By the turn of the 20th century, in terms of production, the Jiu Valley had become the second largest coalfield in the Hungarian part of the Dual Monarchy. Following the colonization of the region with miners and workers, population increased in the area from 12,671 in 1869 to 50,015 in 1910. The author analyzes the major demographic processes that took place in the region, the sources of population growth being, above all, the settlements of workers and their migration in search of employment. The study examines how a series of mining settlements and the necessary infrastructure (access

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<sup>93</sup> See A Felső Zsilvölgyi Kőszénbánya Társulat vulkáni bányaműveinek rövid ismertetése – Kurze Schilderung der vulkaner Gruben der Ober-Zsilthaler Steinkohlen-Bergbau-Gewerkschaft. Budapest, 1903, p. 19; Magyar Bánya-Kalauz, 1905, pp. 118-119; Andreics János-Blaschek Aladár: A salgótarjáni kőszénbánya részv. -társulat zsilvölgyi bányái. In *Bányászati és kohászati lapok*, year XXXVI (1904), vol. Ibidem, p. 15, p. 180, cat.

roads, hospitals, schools, etc.) were established and built from scratch. It also analyzes the socio-economic effects of mining, the socio-professional and ethnic structure of the region, the territorial provenance of the miners who settled in the Jiu Valley during this period and the way in which this phenomenon contributed to the formation of a specific, industrialized “social region” in a largely agrarian province, as Transylvania was at that time.

**Keywords:** Jiu Valley, regional economy, coal minning, regional modernization, Transylvania.

# **Innere Peripherie. Die sozioökonomische Entwicklung zweier Siedlungen in der Bukowina im 19. Jahrhundert: Fontinaalba und Klimoutz<sup>1</sup>**

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Während urbane Zentren aufgrund ihrer vor allem in den beiden vergangenen Jahrhunderten stetig angewachsenen sozioökonomischen Bedeutung stets ein Mehr an Beachtung seitens wissenschaftlicher Fragestellungen fanden, werden ländliche Gebiete bislang oftmals kaum in ähnlicher Weise wahrgenommen und das, obwohl sie den Großteil unseres gesamten Lebensraumes prägen bzw. einnehmen.<sup>2</sup> Erst in jüngster Zeit widmet sich etwa innerhalb der Geschichtswissenschaften eine eigene Forschungsrichtung vermehrt diesen Fragestellungen.<sup>3</sup> Am Beispiel zweier

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<sup>1</sup> Die Schreibweise der Toponyme orientiert sich am Franziszeischen Kataster. Heute gebräuchlichen Bezeichnungen werden in Klammern oder den Anmerkungen wieder gegeben. Der Beitrag versteht sich als Teil zweier vom österreichischen Fonds zur Förderung der Wissenschaft (FWF) unterstützten Forschungsprojekte (P 24661 und P 2019) und vom rumänischen Wissenschaftsfonds (CNCS – UEFISCDI, Projektnummer PN-II-ID-PCE-2011-3-0305; *Economie regională și dezvoltare comunitară în Transilvania, banatul Montan și Bucovina în secolul 19 (1800-1914) - Regional Economy and Community Development in Transylvania, Highland Banat and Bucovina in the 19th Century (1800-1914)*) finanziell unterstützt. Abschnitte daraus sind in abgeänderter wie ergänzter Form Gegenstand nachstehender Studie: Helmut Rumpler, Kurt Scharr & Constantin Ungureanu (Hrsg.), *Der Franziszeische Kataster im Kronland Bukowina* (Reihe der Kommission für Österreichische Geschichte), Böhlau Verlag Wien, 2015.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. bspw. Cay Lienay (Hrsg.), *Die Siedlungen des ländlichen Raumes*, Braunschweig, 2002, hier S. 9-26.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. zuletzt für Ostmitteleuropa Eduard Kubu, Torsten Lorenz, Uwe MÜLLER & Jiří ŠOUŠA (Hrsg.) (2013): *Agrarismus und Agrareliten in Ostmitteleuropa*, Berlin-Praha; Dietmar MÜLLER & Angelika HARRE (Hrsg.) (2011): *Transforming Rural Societies. Agrarian Property and Agrarianism in East Central Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (=Jahrbuch für Geschichte des ländlichen Raumes 2010), Innsbruck; Angela HARRE (2009): *Wege in die Moderne. Entwicklungsstrategien rumänischer*

spezifischer spätneuzeitlicher Ansiedlerorte bzw. Neugründungen zur Zeit der österreichischen Herrschaft in der Bukowina, die bis in die unmittelbare Gegenwart weitgehend agrarisch geprägt geblieben sind – Fontinaalba<sup>4</sup> und Klimoutz<sup>5</sup> – soll daher, ausgehend vom Franziszeischen Kataster zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts als zentraler Quelle, deren Genese im Kontext der sozioökonomischen Gesamtentwicklung des ehemaligen österreichischen Kronlandes Bukowina exemplarisch skizziert werden. Ein Ausblick auf die mit dem Ende der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie einsetzenden Veränderungen bis zur Gegenwart rundet den Beitrag ab.

### **Politische Genese und naturgeographisches Potential**

Als eine der Folgen des 1774 geschlossenen Friedens von Küçük Kaynarca war es Wien gelungen, die Obere Moldau, d.i. die spätere Bukowina, unter seine Herrschaft zu bringen. Aus Sicht der zu dieser Zeit dominierenden Wirtschaftstheorie des Physiokratismus verfolgte der sich modernisierende Staat das Ziel, die neue Provinz möglichst schnell sowie auf rationale Weise einzurichten, um damit den zügigen Anschluss vor allem an die westlichen Teile des Habsburgerreiches zu garantieren. Zunächst legte Kaiser Joseph II. diese Aufgabe in die Hände einer militärischen Direktverwaltung der Provinz durch den Wiener Hofkriegsrat, dem in erster Linie die Sicherung der Grenzen nach außen als auch die sukzessive sozioökonomische Einrichtung nach innen oblag. Nach etwas mehr als einem Jahrzehnt fasste 1786 der Kaiser den Beschluss, die Provinz als 19. Kreis dem Königreich Galizien-Lodomereien einzugliedern. Der Verlust der direkten Beziehung mit Wien und die nunmehr von Lemberg aus gesteuerte Zivilverwaltung bedeuteten für die Bukowina, besonders aus dem Blickwinkel ihrer Eliten, einen erheblichen Rückschritt. Sowohl in politischer als auch wirtschaftlicher Hinsicht driftete die Region innerhalb Galiziens in eine ausgesprochene Randlage ab. Erst die im Zuge der Revolution von 1848 möglich gewordenen staatspolitischen Reformen setzten neuerlich eine Bewegung in Gang, der es letztlich im darauf folgenden Jahrzehnt gelang, die Erhebung der Bukowina zu einem eigenständigen Kronland durchzusetzen. Die unter Joseph II. initiierten Reformen bzw. die zu

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*Ökonomen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (=Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Ostmitteleuropas 18), Wiesbaden; Helga SCHULTZ & Angela HARRE (Hrsg.) (2010): *Bauerngesellschaften auf dem Weg in die Moderne. Agrarismus in Ostmitteleuropa 1880 bis 1960* (=Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Ostmitteleuropas 19), Wiesbaden.

<sup>4</sup> Heute ukrainisch Біла Криниця [Bila Krinicja], Глибочький район [Gliboc'kij rajon], Ukraine; historisch auch Fontina Alba, Warnica, Biala Kiernica oder Weissenbrunn, rum. Fântâna Albă.

<sup>5</sup> Heute rumänisch Climăuți, Județ Suceava, Rumänien.

seiner Zeit gelegte Basis (etwa die Gründung des griechisch-orientalischen Religionsfonds aus aufgelöstem Klosterbesitz; der Aufbau der inneren Verwaltung, das Schulwesen, die Ansiedlung von Kolonisten etc.) begannen indes allmählich zu greifen und ihre Wirkung zu entfalten. Die Bevölkerung wuchs ständig an und die Hauptstadt Czernowitz erreichte um die Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert eine Einwohnerzahl von über 80.000 Personen, im Vergleich zu knapp 34.000 im Jahre 1869.<sup>6</sup>

Wenngleich diese beachtliche Konsolidierung innerhalb von 125 Jahren von außen betrachtet insgesamt durchaus einen gewissen Erfolg beschreibt, so darf dabei doch nicht vergessen werden, dass die strukturellen Probleme des Kronlandes keineswegs gelöst waren. Abseits wachsender nationaler Spannungen zwischen den Ethnien des Kronlandes (besonders zwischen Rumänen und Ruthenen als den beiden größten Gruppen), die zu einem nicht unwesentlichen Anteil über deren soziale Lage gesteuert waren, verstärkten sich stetig die Diskrepanzen zwischen den wachsenden Städten einerseits und einem zunehmend in Bedrängnis geratenen ländlichen Raum andererseits. Der hohen natürlichen Zuwachsrates sowie einer kontinuierlichen Zuwanderung aus Galizien (besonders von Ruthenen) stand bis Kriegsausbruch 1914 eine konstant hohe Emigration gegenüber.<sup>7</sup> Obwohl die Auswanderung ein allgemeines europäisches Phänomen dieser Zeit war, das Agrarstaaten wie die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in besonderem Maße betraf, fällt die Bukowina nicht nur durch die schiere Masse an Emigranten, sondern auch durch ihre ethnische Verteilung auf. Aus dem östlichsten Kronland wanderten vorwiegend Deutsche, Ruthenen und Juden aus, vergleichsweise weniger Rumänen. Ein zentraler Grund für diese fragmentierte Entwicklung zwischen urbanem und rurealem Raum lag in der Bodenverteilung, die sich auch in der Bukowina weitgehend zu Ungunsten kleiner Landbesitzer gestaltete.<sup>8</sup>

Obwohl der Staat etwa durch die Einführung des Grundsteuerkatasters und etwas später des Grundbuches über die gerechte Besteuerung von Grund und Boden anstrebte, hier eine merkliche Änderung herbeizuführen, änderte sich an dieser Situation bis zum Ende der Monarchie nur wenig. Einerseits – und das hatten die Sistierungsversuche durch den Landtag der Bukowina am Kataster deutlich gezeigt<sup>9</sup> – stemmten sich die Großgrundbesitzer massiv

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<sup>6</sup> Vgl. Kurt Scharr, (2010): *Die Landschaft Bukowina. Das Werden einer Region an der Peripherie 1774-1918*, Wien, hier 143-178.

<sup>7</sup> Dazu im Überblick zur gesamten Monarchie Helmut RUMPLER & Peter URBANITSCH (Hrsg.) (2010): *Die Habsburgermonarchie 9, Soziale Strukturen*, Wien.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. Constantin UNGUREANU (2003): *Bucovina în perioada stăpânirii austriece 1774-1918*, Chişinău, hier 141-174.

<sup>9</sup> Stenographische Protokolle des Bukowinaer Landtages für die 3. Session, Sitzung vom 9. Mai 1864, 170.

dagegen. Zum anderen besaß der Staat indirekt über den Religionsfonds, der immerhin über ein Viertel der Gesamtlandesfläche verfügte (mehr als 268.000 ha; weitere knapp 145.000 ha entfielen auf private Großgrundbesitzer), selbst den Status eines Großgrundbesitzers. Er hatte in diesem Falle zumindest eine janusköpfige Zwitterstellung inne, die diesbezügliche Entscheidungen nicht leichter gestaltete. Der Kataster erfasste 1909 in der Bukowina über 1.147.000 Parzellen. Zur Gesamtsituation der Bauernschaft im Kronland meinte bezeichnenderweise der Landtagsabgeordnete Dr. Benno Straucher: „So ist der Grundbesitz in der Bukowina unglaublich zersplittert – kein bäuerlicher Grundbesitz, so furchtbar arm und elend ist die Bauernschaft und auch ein großer Teil der Bevölkerung überhaupt.“<sup>10</sup> Ein Ausweichen in den nur schwach ausgeprägten Industriesektor der Bukowina<sup>11</sup> war zudem kaum möglich, sodass diese Problematik auch über die Zwischenkriegszeit weiter bestand und de facto ungelöst blieb.

Sehr viel deutlicher wird die Situation des ländlichen Raumes der Bukowina wenn man einen Blick auf die damalige Kommunikationsinfrastruktur der Provinz wirft, die zugleich als relativer Indikator der Modernisierungsreichweite innerhalb der fragmentierten Gesellschaft des Kronlandes angesehen werden kann. Die Karte der Telegraphenleitungen deutet nicht nur die wichtigsten Kommunikationswege des Kronlandes entlang der zentralen Verbindungsstraßen und Eisenbahnlinien an (vgl. Abb. 1 u. 3). Sie verweist indirekt durch die Darstellung wie damit sichtbar gemachte lokale Bündelung der Netzanschlüsse auch auf die Innere Peripherie der Bukowina und damit die angesprochene Strukturschwäche des ländlichen Raumes, der nahezu den ganzen gebirgigen Südwesten des Kronlandes – die Städte und Hauptverkehrswege ausgenommen – umfasst. Orte wie Fontinaalbaund Klimoutz liegen zwar bereits am Übergang von den Ausläufern der Karpaten zu den fruchtbaren Hochflächen zwischen den Flüssen Suczawa (Suceava) und Sereth (Siret), gehören aber als typischer ruraler Raum, weitgehend agrarisch geprägt und ohne diesen direkten Anschluss, noch zur Peripherie innerhalb der Provinz.

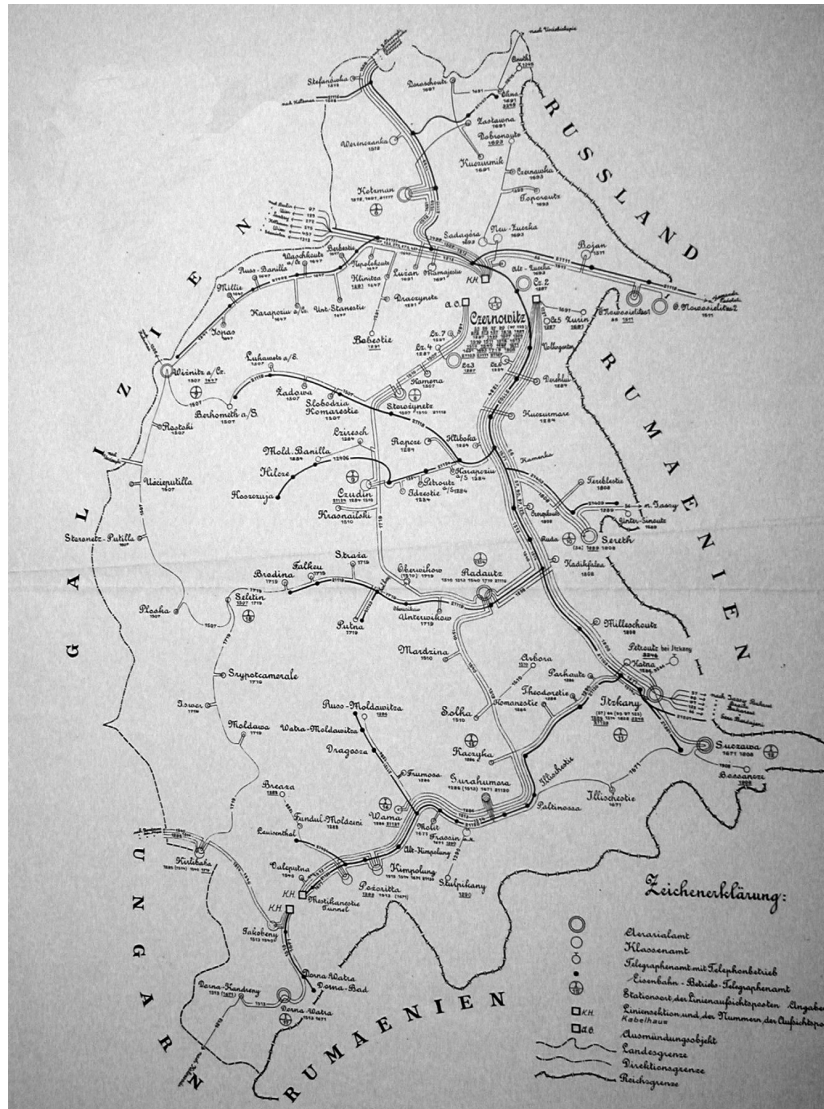
Selbst eine Ausdehnung der agrarisch genutzten Wirtschaftsfläche über die bestehende Flur der beiden Ortschaften hinaus war aufgrund der wenig flexiblen Besitzverhältnisse von Gutsherrschaften und Großgrundbesitzern kaum in dem nötigen Maße des Bevölkerungszuwachses

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<sup>10</sup> *Budgetrede des Landtagsabgeordneten Dr. Straucher*, Czernowitz. In: *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* Nr. 1913, VII. Jg., 4.VII.1909, 3.

<sup>11</sup> Von 1909 128.000 gezählten Betrieben waren lediglich 18.830 gewerbliche (bei 43.000 Beschäftigten), 109.200 gehörten in den landwirtschaftlichen Sektor mit 296.000 Beschäftigten; *Das Industrieland Bukowina*. In: *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* Nr. 2058, VII. Jg., 25.XII.1909, 1.

möglich. Lediglich eine Flächenintensivierung durch Gartenbau bot hier einen bescheidenen Ausweg. Die mancherorts drohende Entleerung ländlicher Gebiete der Bukowina veranlasste noch im Jahr 1914 die österreichischen Behörden zu allerdings nicht mehr realisierten jedoch ernsthaften Überlegungen, auf landtäflichen Gütern (etwa in Radautz/Rădăuți) systematisch eine innere Besiedlung zu fördern.<sup>12</sup>



<sup>12</sup> Vgl. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Wien (=ÖSTA), Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Ackerbauministerium, Spezialkonvolut Bukowina, Faszikel 30.

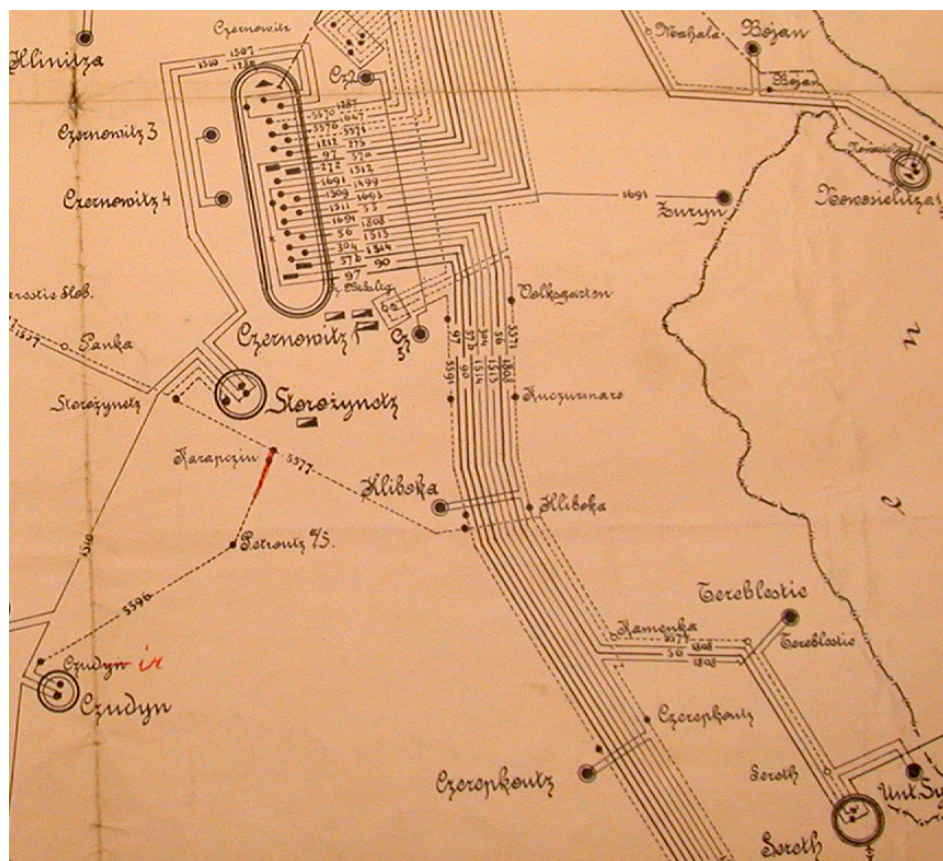


Abb. 1a/b – Telegraphenkarte k.k. Post und Telegraphen-Direktion in Czernowitz 1912; Überblick sowie Detailausschnitt zwischen Czernowitz und Sereth.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> ÖSTA-Kriegsarchiv (=KA) Kartensammlung B IXC504-11.



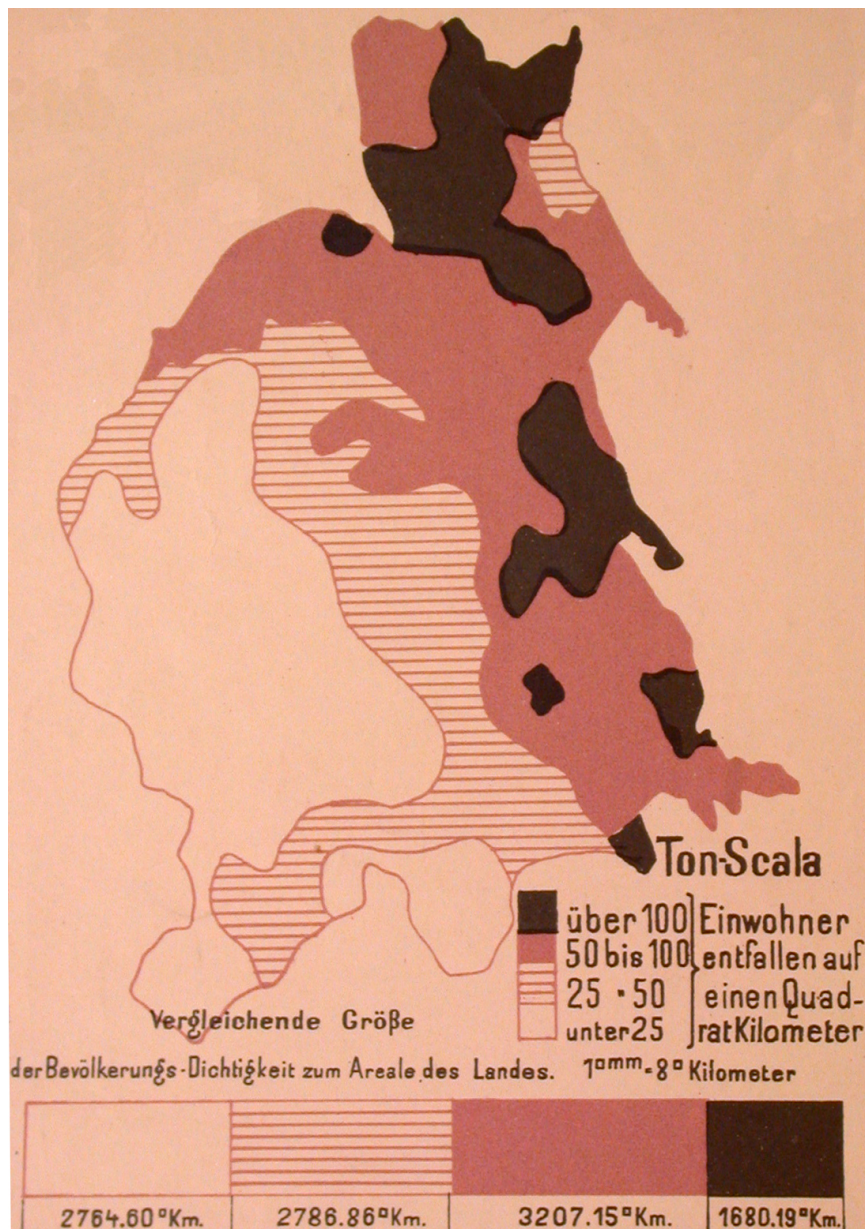


Abb. 2 – Bevölkerungsverteilung im Kronland Bukowina 1904.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> ÖSTA-KA KPS LB K VII h, 78-271 Alpha; Militärisch-statistische Feldelaborate Ostgalizien und Bukowina, Bevölkerungsdichte.

Mit einer Fläche von etwa 10.500 Quadratkilometern gehörte die Bukowina, als östlichste Provinz Cisleithaniens, zu den ärmeren Kronländern, gefolgt von Dalmatien an letzter Stelle.<sup>15</sup> Den größten Anteil des Landes nehmen im Südwesten die Karpaten sowie ihre gegen Nordosten vorgelagerten, stufenartig gegliederten Ausläufer ein. Nur ein verhältnismäßig kleines Gebiet der Bukowina wird von Hochflächen (entlang des Sereth sowie der Suczawa) wie überaus fruchtbaren Ebenen (vorwiegend zwischen den Flüssen Pruth/ Prut und von Dniester/Dnister) geprägt. Die ungeschützte Lage begünstigt im



<sup>15</sup> Vgl. Konrad CLEWING (2001): *Staatlichkeit und nationale Identitätsbildung. Dalmatien in Vormärz und Revolution* (=Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 109), München.



Winterhalbjahr von Nordosten einfallende Winde, die nicht selten tiefe Temperaturen von unter 20 Grad Celsius und sommerliche Hitzeperioden verursachen. Das Klima insgesamt ist kontinental geprägt, was sich auch in der Niederschlagsverteilung (mit Ausnahme des Karpatenhauptkammes, wo diese u.U. markant höher ausfallen) äußert. Czernowitz weist hier durchschnittlich 600 mm pro Quadratmeter im Jahr aus. Um die Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert war nahezu die Hälfte der Landesfläche mit Wald bedeckt (vorwiegend Nadelholz). Auf Äcker entfiel weniger als ein Drittel, Wiesen und Hutweiden zusammen bestimmten knapp 20 Prozent der produktiven Fläche.<sup>16</sup> Die Verteilung des Feldfruchtanbaues und die weithindominierende Waldbedeckung im gebirgsreichen Südwesten (Abb. 3/4) geben die topographischen, klimatischen und bodengeographischen Verhältnisse der Bukowina deutlich wider.<sup>17</sup>

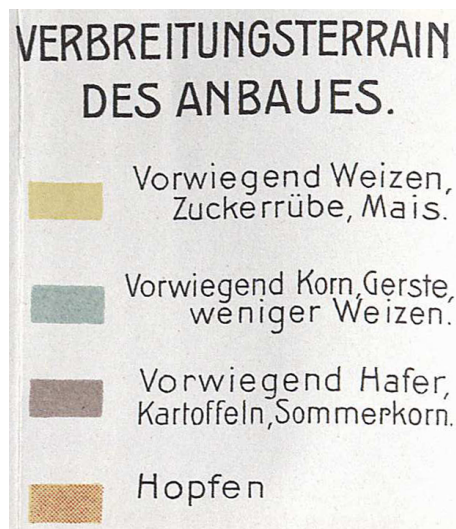


Abb. 3a/b—Feldfruchtanbau in der Bukowina, zugleich Darstellung der wichtigsten Straßen (rot) und Bahnlinien (schwarz) 1913<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Carl ROMSTORFER & Hubert WIGLITZKY (1886): *Vergleichende graphische Statistik in ihrer Anwendung auf das Herzogthum Bukowina und das österreichische Staatsgebiet*, Wien, 10.

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. ÖSTA-KA KPS LB K VII h, 78-271 Alpha; Militärisch-statistische Felde laborate Ostgalizien und Bukowina.

<sup>18</sup> *Agronomische und Eisenbahnkarte des landtäflichen Großgrundbesitzes in Galizien und Bukowina M 1:1000.000* (Abbildung nicht maßstabsgetreu!); Ignac TITTL (1913): *Schematismus und Statistik des Großgrundbesitzes im Königreiche Galizien mit Lodomerien und dem Herzogtume Bukowina*, Prag.



Abb. 4 – Waldverteilung in der Bukowina 1903<sup>19</sup>

Tab. 1 – Anteil der Bezirkshauptmannschaften an der Waldfläche der Bukowina um 1900<sup>20</sup>

Bezirkshauptmannschaft	Fläche in qkm (gerundet)	Waldanteil in % (gerundet)
Czernowitz Land	917	51
Czernowitz Stadt	15	-
Kimpolung	2337	67
Kotzman	837	1,7
Radautz	2137	73
Sereth	519	40
Storozynetz	1151	11
Suczawa	1037	72
Wiznitz	1501	-

### Ansiedlung

Während des ersten Jahrzehnts österreichischer Herrschaft sah sich die Militärverwaltung der Provinz mit gravierenden Problemen konfrontiert, das Neoakquisitum auf einen wirtschaftlich tragfähigen Fuß zu stellen und

<sup>19</sup> ÖSTA-KA KPS LB K VII h, 78-271 Alpha; Militärisch-statistische Feldelaborate Ostgalizien und Bukowina, Wald (Nr. 9).

<sup>20</sup> ROMSTORFER & WIGLITZKY, Statistik, 10.

dementsprechend einzurichten. Wienerkannte in der besonders durch Joseph II. von seiner Verwaltung eingeforderten ‚Peuplierung‘ einen der zentralen Ansatzpunkte, dieses Vorhaben auch zu meistern. Allerdings zeichnete sich die lokale Bevölkerung durch eine hohe Mobilität aus und galt gegenüber der neuen Obrigkeit als überaus skeptisch. Die bis dahin weitgehend auf Transhumanz beruhende Wirtschaftsweise sowie eine noch dazu durch die außenpolitische Instabilität im Umfeld der russisch-türkischen Kriege begünstigten und verstärkten diese Tendenz zudem. Ertragreichere Bewirtschaftungsformen wie etwa der Ackerbau hatten zu diesem Zeitpunkt wenig Bedeutung für die Provinz. Kaum über einen erweiterten Gartenbau hinausgehend diente dieser hauptsächlich dem Eigenbedarfeiner weitgehend subsistent wirtschaftenden Bevölkerung vor Ort.

Auf seiner Reise durch die Bukowina begegnete Kaiser Joseph II. 1783 Vertretern einer orthodoxen Sekte, den russischen Altgläubigen (russ. *starovery*). Die Lippowaner – wie man sie einer Version zufolge auf Grund einer Verballhornung des Apostelnamenss Philipp bezeichnete<sup>21</sup> – hatten sich mit der Bitte um Zuweisung von Ansiedlungsgründen direkt an den Landesfürsten gewandt und ihn wohl beeindruckt. Wenige Tage später genehmigte Joseph II. ausdrücklich ihre Einwanderung aus dem Gebiet des Schwarzen Meeres, unter Gewährung zahlreicher Privilegien (freie Religionsausübung, 20 Jahre Steuerfreiheit und danach Besteuerung nach Maßgabe ihres Einkommens, Befreiung vom Militärdienst), und forderte von seinen Behörden umgehend Maßnahmen zu deren Beteiligung mit Gründen ein.<sup>22</sup> Erste Ansiedlungen in der Bukowina von Lippowanern aus der benachbarten Chotyner Raya<sup>23</sup> lassen sich allerdings schon wenige Jahre davor bei Mitoka-Dragomirna (1774, Mitoka-Dragomirnei) und in Klimoutz (1780) ausmachen.<sup>24</sup> Insgesamt existierten in der Bukowina sieben Orte mit einem größeren Bevölkerungsanteil an russisch Altgläubigen (Fontinaalba, Hliboka, Klimoutz, Lipoweny/Kossowanka, Mihodra, Mitoka-Dragomirna und Stupka)<sup>25</sup>. Die hier fokussierten

<sup>21</sup> Dan erwähnt dazu mehrere Versionen der Namensgebung. Vgl. Demeter DAN (1890): *Die Lippowaner der Bukowina*. In: *Czernowitzer Zeitung* Nr. 3 v. 4.I. XXII Jg., 1f, sowie Nr. 4 v. 9.I., 1f.

<sup>22</sup> Die Audienz fand am 5. Oktober 1783 in Wien statt, der Kaiser sprach seine Bewilligung am 9. Oktober aus. DAN, *Lippowaner*. In: *Czernowitzer Zeitung* XXIII Jg., Nr. 11, 15.I., 1.

<sup>23</sup> Die Raya (mit dem Sitz eines Paschas in Chotyń) befand sich zu diesem Zeitpunkt unter direkter Kontrolle des Sultans. 1788-1793 fiel sie unter österreichische Herrschaft, ging danach neuerlich an die Türken, um mit dem Frieden von Bukarest 1812 bis 1918 als Teil Bessarabiens zum Russischen Reich geschlagen zu werden. Vgl. SCHARR, *Landschaft*, 131.

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. Johann Polek (1896): *Die Lippowaner in der Bukowina. I. Geschichte ihrer Ansiedlung*. In: *Jahrbuch des Bukowiner Landes-Museums* 4. Jg., Czernowitz, 46-130.

<sup>25</sup> Hliboka (ukr. Глибока), Lipoweny (ukr. Липовани), Mihodra (bei ukr. Багна), Stupka (rum. Ciprian Porumbescu).

Ortschaften Fontinaalba und Klimoutz wiesen jedoch eine mehrheitliche bzw. ethnisch nahezu homogene Lippowanersiedlung auf.<sup>26</sup>

Joseph II. erschienen die russischen Altgläubigen in ihrem Fleiß geradezu als ideale Kolonisten.<sup>27</sup> Eine systematische Ansiedlung weiterer Lippowaner in einer eigenen Gemeinde durch den Staat wurde jedoch erst mit der Gründung des griechisch-orientalischen Religionsfonds und den dadurch zur Verfügung stehenden Gründen möglich.<sup>28</sup> Im Falle der älteren Kolonie von Klimoutz gestaltete sich der Ansiedlungsvorgang noch über eine direkte Einigung mit dem ursprünglichen Grundherren, dem Kloster Putna.<sup>29</sup> Zwischen 1783 und 1785 hingegen erfolgte die Einrichtung einer – nach Mitoka und Klimoutz – dritten Kolonie von Altgläubigen in Fontinaalba bereits durch staatliche Behörden auf ehemaligen Klostergründen.<sup>30</sup> Alle drei Ortschaften unterstanden mittlerweile den Religionsfondsherrschaften Kuczurmare und St. Illie. Die annähernd 16 Zuwandererfamilien stammten aus den Küstengebieten des Schwarzen Meeres im südlichen Bessarabien.<sup>31</sup> Ein erster vergleichsweise ausführlicher wie überaus positiv gestimmter Bericht über diesen Ansiedlungsgang in den beiden Ortschaften Fontinaalba und Klimoutz liegt in der Provinzbeschreibung des Hofrates Hochkirchen aus dem Jahre 1804 vor. Der von der Regierung mit der Bereisung der Bukowina beauftragte Beamte lobte die Lippowaner – nicht zuletzt auf Grund ihrer

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<sup>26</sup> Volkszählungsergebnisse 1910; vgl. SCHARR, *Landschaft*, 209ff.

<sup>27</sup> „Ausserdem sind solche fleissige und arbeitsame leute (sic!), welche man durch jene, so sich in der Moldau von dieser nation (sic!) noch befinden, zu vermehren trachten muß.“ Joseph II. an Hofkriegsratspräsidenten Hadik. Czernowitz, 19. Juni 1783, zit. nach POLEK, *Lippowaner* (1896), Dokument Nr. 6, 68f.

<sup>28</sup> Raimund Friedrich KAINDL (1896): *Das Entstehen und die Entwicklung der Lippowaner-Colonien in der Bukowina. Zumeist nach urkundlichen Materialien aus dem Nachlasse des Finanzrates a. D. F.A. Wickenhauser* (=Archiv für österreichische Geschichte LXXXIII, II. Hälfte) Wien, 236-384 (als Separatdruck 3-152), hier 6; Kurt SCHARR (2011): *Der Griechisch-orientalische Religionsfonds in der Bukowina: Kulturkampf und Nationsbildung im Spiegel einer Institution*. In: Andreas KAPPELER (Hrsg.), *Die Ukraine. Prozesse der Nationsbildung*, Wien u.a., 255-267.

<sup>29</sup> Vertrag des Klosters Putna mit den Lippowanern von Klimoutz ddo. 27. April 1780; zit. nach POLEK, *Lippowaner* (1896), 65f.

<sup>30</sup> Vgl. KAINDL, *Lippowaner*, 36f.; J. Vinc. GOEHLERT (1863): *Die Lipowaner in der Bukowina*. In: Sitzungsbericht XLI der Akademie in Wien, phil.-hist. Classe (41), Februarheft, 478-488, hier 479.

<sup>31</sup> Director Storr an die Bukowiner Landesadministration. Suczawa, 13. Mai 1784; zit. nach POLEK, *Lippowaner* (1896), Dokument Nr. 62, 105. Darin sind „16 ganze familien, 3 ledige pursche, 1 igumen und 6 kalugiers“ (i.e. 1 Klostervorsteher und 6 Mönche) inbegriffen. Kaindl zählt für 1786 nach Angaben der Josephinischen Grundsteuervermessung in Fontinaalba bereits 30 Lippowaner-Familien. Bericht der Fratautzer Wirthschaftsdirection v. 19. Nov. 1789, Zahl 1065; zit. nach KAINDL, *Lippowaner*, 56 (Dokument Nr. 32, 101).

religiösen, den Alltag bestimmenden Grundsätze – als geradezu vorbildliche Siedler für die ganze Provinz, wohingegen Hochkirchen an anderer Stelle über denvergleichsweise schlechten Zustand der Bauernschaft in der Bukowina im Allgemeinen klagte:

*Die einleuchtendsten Belege zu dieser Behauptung finden sich auch wirklich in dem Wohlstande der Lippowaner – einer kleinen Kolonie, die aus zwey zu den Religionsfonds-Herrschaften Kuczermare und St. Illie gehörigen Gemeinden besteht, und mit einem eigenen Privilegium Sr. Majestät Wailand Kaiser Joseph des II. [...] vom schwarzen Meere in die Bukowina eingewandert sind. Es hat in der That unter die angenehmsten Genüsse meines ganzen Dienstlebens gehört, mich in dem Kreise dieser arbeitsamen, sittlichen, ihrem neu erworbenen Vaterland mit ganzer Seele anhänglichen, nach patria[r]chischer Weise lebenden wohlhabenden und glücklichen Menschen zu befinden. Sie sind unermüdlich thätig, von aller Ausschweifung, und sogar von jeder Vermischung mit den übrigen Bukowinern ganz rein, in Erfüllung ihrer Pflichten streng und pünktlich, in Begehung ihres ganz eigenen Gottesdienstes höchst religiös und gewissenhaft, von einer so allgemein anerkannten Wahrheitsliebe, daß sogar vor Gericht ihr Wort die gesetzliche Kraft eines Eides hat [...] das sittliche Vorbild dieser Insulaner in der Mitte des festen Landes zu meinem Zwecke unumgänglich nöthig hatte; denn ihr Wohlstand [...] den sie einzig ihrer Arbeitsamkeit, Enthaltamkeit, und der strengsten Familien- und Gemeinde-Zucht danken, liefert den Beweis, daß die klimatischen und politischen Verhältnisse der Bukowina vielmehr geeignet seyen, den Reichthum der Unterthanen zu begründen.*<sup>32</sup>

#### *Religion der Lippowaner*

Nachdem die 1654 in Moskau abgehaltene Synode der russisch-orthodoxen Kirche beschloss unter der Leitung ihres Metropoliten Nikon eine umfassende Reform durchzuführen, verwehrte sich ein Teil der Gläubigen auf das Heftigste dagegen. Diese Ablehnung resultierte in einer Abspaltung (russ. *razkol*) und mündete 1667 seitens des russischen Staates wie der orthodoxen Kirche in ihre Verfolgung (Anathema) bzw. systematische Benachteiligung.<sup>33</sup> Die Lippowaner zogen sich daraufhin vorwiegend in die weitläufige Peripherie des Reiches zurück oder ließen sich – wie im Falle der Bukowina (und auch der Donaumündung) – bevorzugt dort nieder, „wo ihnen ein eigener Herd in Aussicht“<sup>34</sup> stand. Mithin einer der Gründe für die seitens der Behörden und

<sup>32</sup> Zentrales historisches Staatsarchiv der Ukraine L'viv 146/4/911, *Relation des Hofrates Hochkirchen über Zustände in Bukowina 1804*, fol. 19v-20v.

<sup>33</sup> Vgl. DAN, *Lippowaner*. In: *Czernowitzer Zeitung*, XXIII Jg. (1890) Nr. 20, 25.I., 1.

<sup>34</sup> STAUFFE, *Lippowaner*, 652.

des Kaisers<sup>35</sup> ausgesprochene Privilegierung der russischen Altgläubigen als Kolonisten in der Bukowina lag in ihrer Glaubensausübung, die sie zu Fleiß wie unbedingter Loyalität gegenüber dem Landesfürsten anhielt, ihnen u.a. ein strenges Alkoholverbot auferlegte. Nicht zuletzt auch deswegen erschienen ihr Leben sowie ihre Siedlungen Außenstehenden als oftmals abgeschlossen und fremd.<sup>36</sup> Über Sitten, Gebräuche und Religion der Lippowaner waren sich selbst die österreichischen Behörden aber auch die Bewohner benachbarter Dörfer um 1810 noch weitgehend im Unklaren, wie ein weiterer Bericht bestätigt. Daran sollte erst das wachsende Interesse an den einzelnen Volksgruppen der Monarchie im Rahmen der entstehenden wissenschaftlichen Volkskunde etwas bewegen.

*Was die Lippowaner für ein Lebrsystem, Kirchengebräuche und Gottesdienst haben, bleibt uns noch ein Geheimniß, weil sie ihre Sachen ganz verborgen halten. Sie haben hier keinen Geistlichen, sondern nur einen geistlichen Kirchenvorsteher, der ihre Kinder tauft. Die Brautpaare lassen sich zu Jassy in der Moldau, alleso sie einen Priester haben, trauen. Von Begräbnissen findet man bei ihnen keine Spur. Diese Nazion, die kein Wirthshaus in ihren Gemeinen (Dörfern) duldet, theilt sich in zwei Sekten. Eine, die das Dorf Fontina-Alba bewohnt, ißt kein Wildpret, weder gefedertes noch vierfüßiges; trinkt weder Wein, noch Bier, noch Brantwein, sondern bloß Wasser und Milch, die sie sich selbst zubereitet; raucht keinen Tabak, kan denselben auch von Andern nicht vertragen; und so ein Tabakraucher aus irgend einem ihrer Brunnen oder Quellen trinkt, so verstopfen sie denselben, und wird von ihnen nicht mehr genossen. Die andere, die in Klimouz und Mittoka-Dracomirna wohnt, macht sich hingegen kein Gewissen, jedes Getränk der Christen zu genießen; jedoch findet sich kein Wirthshaus in ihrer Gemeinde.*<sup>37</sup>

Seit dem Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts existierte in Fontinaalba, dem Sitz der *Popovci* (Priesterlichen) – also jener Gruppe der Altgläubigen, die eine geistliche Hierarchie anerkannte<sup>38</sup> – neben einer bescheidenen Kirche auch ein

<sup>35</sup> Vgl. dazu die Äußerungen von Kaiser Franz I.; WAGNER, *Reisetagebücher*, 34, 43, 51 u. 89.

<sup>36</sup> Zu den Lippowanern im Allgemeinen vgl. Peter HAUPTMANN (1963): *Altrussischer Glaube* (=Kirche im Osten, Monographiereihe 4), Göttingen sowie M. D. ASKJONOWA (Red.) (2000): *Encyclopedija dlja detej*, T. 5. *Istorija Rossii i ejo bližajših sosedej*. Č. 2. *Ot dvorcovyh perevorotov do epohi Velikih reform* [Enzyklopädie für Kinder, Band 5. Geschichte Russlands und seiner nächsten Nachbarn. Teil 2. Von den Umstürzen am Hof zur Epoche der großen Reformen], Moskau, *Staroobryadčestvo v XVIII-XIX vekah* [Die Altgläubigen vom 18.-21. Jh.], 25-33.

<sup>37</sup> *Auszug aus dem Pfarrbuch des Millescheutzer Pastorats Bukowiner Kreises. Kurze Beschreibung von der Buccowina*; Universitätsarchiv Graz, Nachlass R.F. Kaindl, Karton 5.

<sup>38</sup> In Klimoutz hatten sich priesterlose Altgläubige (*bespopovci*) angesiedelt. Detaillierter zum Alltag der Lippowaner in der Bukowina vgl. Johann POLEK (1898): *Die Lippowaner*



Kloster. Letzteres besaß jedoch 1842 immer noch keinen offiziellen, vom Staat anerkannten Status (Abb. 5).<sup>39</sup> Eine konsequente Ausbildung und die Weihe von Geistlichen der Altgläubigen konnte unter diesen Umständen in der Bukowina nicht durchgeführt werden. Das in Österreich seit Joseph II. praktizierte Staatskirchensystem erlaubte jedoch keine nicht ‚beseelsorgte‘ Gruppe. Zudem hatte der österreichische Staat umso mehr Sorge in dieser Frage, da die Lippowaner mangels Alternativen ihren priesterlichen Zuzug vorwiegend aus dem Russischen Reich organisierte, wo ihre Existenz mittlerweile weitgehend toleriert wurde.<sup>40</sup> Mehrfache Bitten um Bewilligung eines Weihbischofs waren durch das galizische Gubernium abschlägig beschieden worden.<sup>41</sup> Nachdem das Kloster noch 1843 aufgehoben worden war, gelang es einer Abordnung von Mönchen aus Fontinaalba schließlich 1844, beim Kaiser in Wien den Entschluss auf „Einführung eines ausländischen Geistlichen als Oberhirten oder Weihbischof“ für die knapp 300 Seelen der Gemeinde zu erwirken. Für den Unterhalt von Kloster und Bischof musste die Gemeinde aufkommen.<sup>42</sup>

*Das Kloster zu Bialokrynica, an welches sich eine mit einem Thurme versehene Kirche und ein grosser Obst- und Gemüsegarten [...] anschliesst, ist der Sitz des Bischofs und er erhält zu seinem standesmässigen Unterhalt nicht unbedeutende Geldzuflüsse von Glaubensverwandten aus Russland, aus der Türkei und aus den Donaufürstenthümern, bei welchen das Kloster in grossem Ansehen steht.*<sup>43</sup>

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*in der Bukowina (II. Religion und Kirchenwesen).* In: Jahrbuch des Bukowiner Landes-Museums 6. Jg., Czernowitz, 22-103 sowie dslb. (1900): *(III. Sitten und Gebräuche).* In: Jahrbuch des Bukowiner Landes-Museums 7. Jg., Czernowitz, 32-78. Dslb. (1897), *Die Lippowaner in der Bukowina.* In: Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde, II. Jg., 53-66.

<sup>39</sup> KAINDL, *Lippowaner*, 63 ff; POLEK, *Lippowaner* (1898), 40.

<sup>40</sup> Michael KRAMMER (1999): *Die Errichtung des russisch-orthodoxen altgläubigen Bistums von Bielokrinica in der Bukowina und die Auswirkungen auf das politische Verhältnis Österreichs mit Rußland.* In: Alfred Stirnemann und Gerhard Wilflinger (Hrsg.), *Russland und Österreich* (=Pro Oriente XXIII), Innsbruck-Wien, 87-94, hier 90.

<sup>41</sup> Majestätsgesuch der Lippowanermönche Olympi Miloradow und Paul Wasiliew. Wien, 12. Juli 1843; zit. nach POLEK, *Lippowaner* (1898), 42 (Dokument Nr. 15, 83ff).

<sup>42</sup> POLEK, *Lippowaner* (1898), 47; ÖSTA-AVA Kultus AK akath. gr.-or. Karton 2, Nr. 1443/MI 1848 Beilage 3 u. 4.

<sup>43</sup> GOEHLERT, *Lipowaner*, 483.

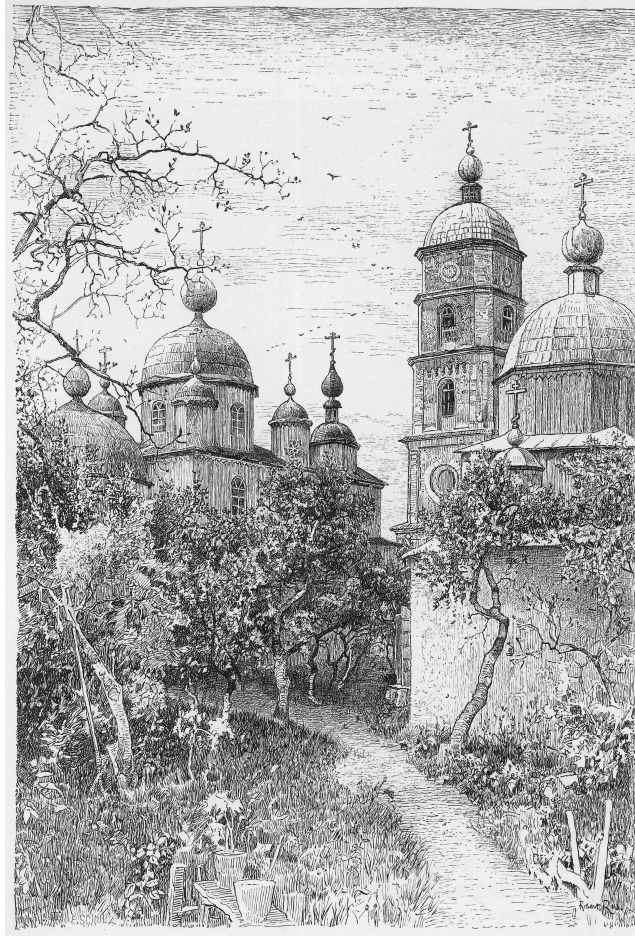


Abb. 5 – *Lippowaner-Kloster Fontinaalba*; umgeben von Obsthainen, mit dem während der Sowjetzeit abgerissenen Glockenturm.<sup>44</sup>

Als Bischof gelang es den Mönchen aus Fontinaalba, diesmal mit Genehmigung der österreichischen Behörden, den früheren orthodoxen Metropoliten Ambrosius (1791-1863) zu gewinnen. Ambrosius hatte nach Spannungen mit dem bosnischen Pascha sein Amt verloren und lebte zu diesem Zeitpunkt bereits in Konstantinopel.<sup>45</sup> Nach seiner Bestellung trat er zum alten Glauben über und die *Popovi* konnten eine Hierarchie errichten, die

<sup>44</sup> DAN, LIPPOWANER, 283.

<sup>45</sup> Nikolaj I. SUBBOTIN (1886 u. 1899): *Istorija tak nasyvaemogo Avstrijskogo ili Belokrinickogo svjaščenstva* [Geschichte der sogenannten österreichischen oder Belokrinicer Geistlichkeit], Moskau, 225f.

kirchenrechtlich weit über die Bukowina hinaus Bedeutung erlangen sollte (Abb. 6).<sup>46</sup> Im Jahr 1847 erhielt Ambrosius zudem die österreichische Staatsbürgerschaft verliehen.<sup>47</sup> Die Tätigkeit bzw. allein schon die Ernennung eines russisch altgläubigen Bischofs führte indes zu einer unterwartet heftigen diplomatischen Verstimmung am Zarenhof in St. Petersburg.<sup>48</sup> Das Kloster musste daher aus außenpolitischer Rücksichtnahme bis zum Inkrafttreten einer die Religionsfreiheit garantierenden Verfassung 1848 vorübergehend geschlossen und Bischof Ambrosius in Cilli konfiniert werden.<sup>49</sup> Er verstarb 1863 in der Steiermark. Die Nachfolge auf dem Metropolitensstuhl war allerdings geregelt<sup>50</sup> wie sich auch die Haltung Russlands gegenüber den Altgläubigen allmählich entspannte. St. Petersburg legalisierte 1906 ihre Gemeinden im Russischen Reich. Das seitens der russisch-orthodoxen Kirche im 17. Jahrhundert gegen die *Starovery* verhängte Anathema wurde hingegen offiziell erst 1988 aufgehoben, was die neuerliche Einrichtung einer altgläubigen Kirchenhierarchie in der Sowjetunion bzw. der Russländischen Föderation und der Ukraine ermöglichte. Mit der 1940 als Folge des Hitler-Stalin-Paktes erzwungenen Teilung der Bukowina und der Besetzung des nördlichen Teils durch die Rote Armee, musste der Metropolit ins Rumänische Brăila übersiedeln. Der Name der Metropole (*Pravoslavnaja staroobryjadčeskaja Belokrinickaja Cerkov*) sowie deren kirchenrechtlicher Sitz in Bila Krinicia blieben jedoch bestehen. Seit 2002 ist die Metropole in Rumänien auch wieder offiziell anerkannt.<sup>51</sup> In dieser Situation gründet allerdings ein staatsrechtliches Problem zwischen Rumänien, der Ukraine bzw. den Ansprüchen des

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<sup>46</sup> HAUPTMANN, *Glaube*, 125.

<sup>47</sup> POLEK, *Lippowaner* (1898), 48 und 50.

<sup>48</sup> „Sollte diese Maßregeln zurückgenommen werden, so erwächst daraus unvermeidlich eine sehr unangenehme Verflechtung mit dem russ. Hofe, welche wegen der großen Anzahl dieser Sektierer in Rußland und den Einfluß, den die Existenz des Klosters von Bielokrinicze und des Erzbischofs Ambrosius, so nahe an der russ. Grenze, auf selbe hatten, mit unablässigen, selbst bedrohlichen Nachdruck auf deren Entfernung drang“; ÖSTA-AVA Kultus AK akath. gr.-or. Karton 2, Nr. 1443/MI 1848 an k.k. Minister des Inneren Pillersdorf, 2. Mai 1848.

<sup>49</sup> POLEK, *Lippowaner* (1898), 53. Ambrosius musste sich in der Folge jeden Einflusses auf die Lippowaner sowohl im In- als auch im Ausland enthalten, er erhielt für seine persönliche Versorgung eine jährliche Apanage vom österreichischen Staat. POLEK, *Lippowaner* (1897), 59.

<sup>50</sup> Svetlana MOLDOVAN (2004): *Obščina russskih-lipovan*. Spravočnik [Die Gemeinde der russischen Lippowaner. Handbuch], Bukarest, 13. Mehrmals hatte 1848 der Deputierte der Bukowinaer Altgläubigen Alimpi (Olympi) Miloradow in Wien vorgesprochen und eine Wiedereröffnung erbeten; ÖSTA-AVA Kultus AK akath. gr.-or. Karton 2, 26. März und 1. Mai 1848.

<sup>51</sup> MOLDOVAN, *Gemeinde*, 13.

mittlerweile in Moskauer residierenden altgläubigen Erzbischofs sowie dem in Brăila residierenden (Exil-)Metropoliten.



Abb. 6 – *Kathedrale Maria Himmelfahrt in Fontinaalba*. Als sichtbares Zeichen der russisch altgläubigen Metropole ließ die Moskauer Kaufmannsfamilie Ovsjannikov diese auf eigene Kosten erbauen und 1908 einweihen. Seit 1978 zählt die Kathedrale zu den Kulturdenkmälern der Ukraine. Aufnahme K. Scharr 2006.

#### *Sozioökonomische Situation*

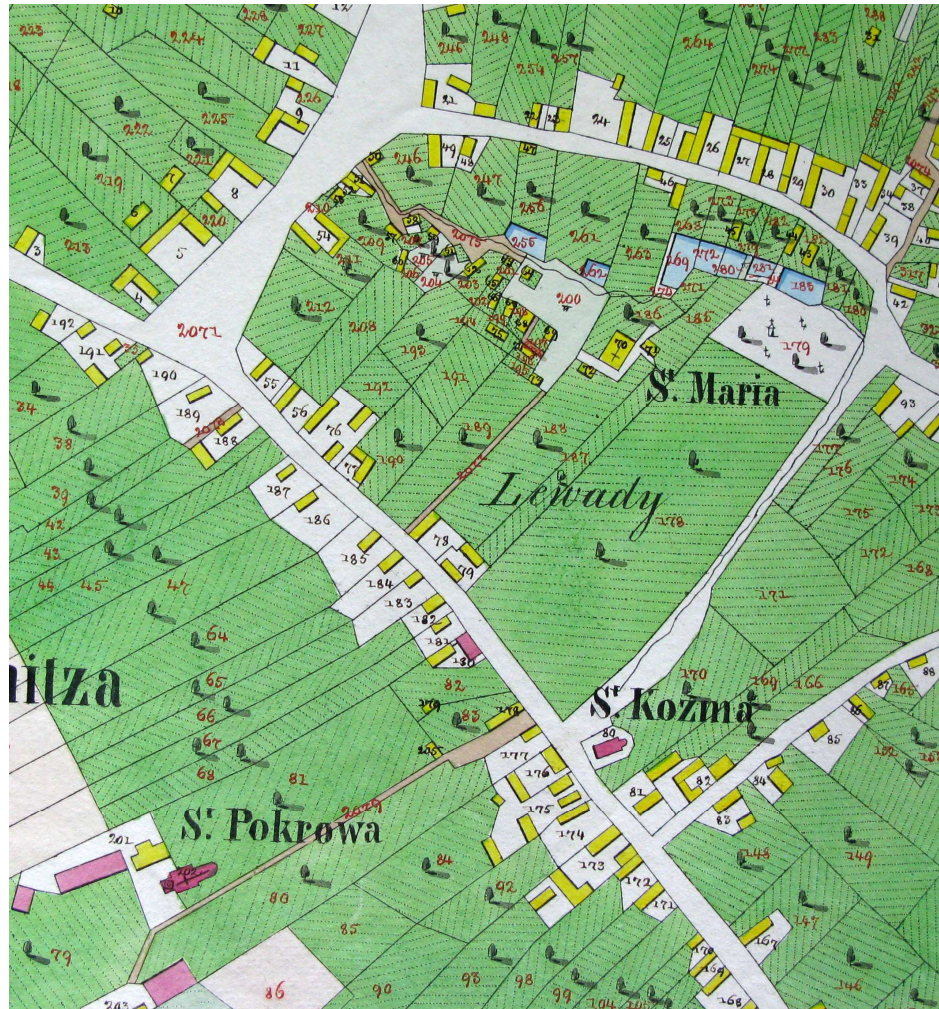
Die Siedlungskerne von Fontinaalba (450m)<sup>52</sup> und Klimoutz (416m) erstrecken sich annähernd auf einem nordwest-südost streichenden Höhenrücken und werden von einer zu ihnen gehörigen Acker- bzw.

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<sup>52</sup> Die Höhen beziehen sich auf den Ausgangsmesspunkt des Meeresspiegels in Triest. Sie sind der österreichisch-ungarischen Spezialkarte M 1:75.000 (Blatt 4876, Radautz) entnommen.



Gartenflur eingesäumt. Eine erste Gemeinde- und Flurabgrenzung liegt für 1819 im Zuge der einsetzenden Katastralmappierung vor.<sup>53</sup> Auf die ausgedehnten Obstgärten lässt auch das rumänische Toponym ‚Lewady‘ schließen (vgl. Abb. 7/8). Bei Klimoutz äußert sich die topographische Situation in einer stärker ausgeprägten linearen Anordnung des Straßendorfes, wohingegen die oval artig verlaufenden Wege von Fontinaalba dessen Siedlungskern platzartig hervortreten lassen.



<sup>53</sup> Vgl. *Grenzbeschreibung der Katastralgemeinde Klimoutz 1855*, Franziszeischer Kataster, ANS.





Abb. 7/8 – Siedlungskerne von Fontinaalba und Klimoutz 1855.<sup>54</sup>

Dabei ist die kleinteilige Flurgliederung bis hin zu den ausgeprägten Längsstreifen außerhalb der Bauparzellen und den daran unmittelbar anschließenden Obstgärten auffallend (Abb. 9). Auch ist in Fontinaalba im Vergleich zu Klimoutz und anderen Ortschaften der Bukowina verhältnismäßig große Flächenanteil an Gärten zu vermerken (vgl. Tab. 2), der auch optisch im Bild der Katastralmappen ins Auge sticht.

<sup>54</sup> Mappenausschnitt der Katastralgemeinden 68/5 sowie 131/7; Arhivele Naționale Suceava (=ANS).

Tab. 2 – *Verteilung der Wirtschaftsflächen nach den Ergebnissen der Katastralerhebung, ca. 1846*<sup>55</sup>

	Äcker		Gärten		Wiesen		Weiden		Wald	
	Joch	Klafter	J	Kl.	J	Kl.	J	Kl.	J	Kl.
Fontinaalba	291	872	63	257	733	769	119	810	126	717
Klimoutz	798	750	17	284	797	1152	154	1143	37	894

In ökonomischer Hinsicht spezialisierten sich die Altgläubigen beider Ortschaften auf Obstkulturen, die im Allgemeinen in der Bukowina in zeitgenössischen Berichten noch zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts als „zurückgeblieben“ charakterisiert wurden.<sup>56</sup> Die Lippowanerdörfer der Provinz galten alsbald als Innovationszentren für den Obstanbau, der sich allmählich auch auf die umliegenden Gemeinden ausdehnten.<sup>57</sup> Ihre Handelstätigkeit mit Obst sowie Obsterzeugnissen (etwa Powidl) – die Lippowaner kauften für den Vertrieb Früchte aus anderen Ortschaften zu – erstreckte sich über die Grenzen des Kronlandes bis nach Galizien und in die Moldau.<sup>58</sup> Zeitgenossen meinten gar, daß „fast der ganze Obstmarkt der Bukowina in ihren Händen“ sei.<sup>59</sup> Zudemkultivierte man in diesen Dörfern hauptsächlich Flachs sowie Hanf, produzierte Honig und Bienenwachs. Letzteres zumeist für den Eigenbedarf vor allem in den Kirchen.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>55</sup> HANDELS-MINISTERIUM (Hrsg.) (1854): Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete der Statistik. Dritter Jahrgang, I. Heft. *Darstellung der Landwirthschaft und Montan-Industrie des Herzogthums Bukowina mit vorzüglicher Rücksichtnahme auf die Jahre 1851 und 1852*, Wien, 21.

<sup>56</sup> HANDELS-MINISTERIUM, *Mittheilungen*, 39.

<sup>57</sup> HANDELS- u. GEWERBEKAMMER f. d. HERZOGTHUM BUKOVINA (Hrsg.) (1862): *Hauptbericht nebst der topographisch-statistischen Darstellung des Kammerbezirkes mit Schluß des Jahres 1861*, Czernowitz, 125.

<sup>58</sup> Ludwig A. (SIMIGINOWITZ-) STAUFÉ (1866): *Die Lippowaner in der Bukowina*. In: Westermanns Monatshefte (Illustrierte Deutsche Monatshefte) 9, 652-656, hier 653; HANDELS-MINISTERIUM, *Mittheilungen*, 39.

<sup>59</sup> DAN, *Lippowaner*; In: *Czernowitzer Zeitung* XXIII. Jg. (1890) Nr. 35, 12.II., 1.

<sup>60</sup> GOEHLERT, *Lipowaner*, 486; vgl. Protokollauszug Fontina alba 16. Februar 1844; zit. nach POLEK, *Lippowaner* (1896), Dokument Nr. 19, 95.

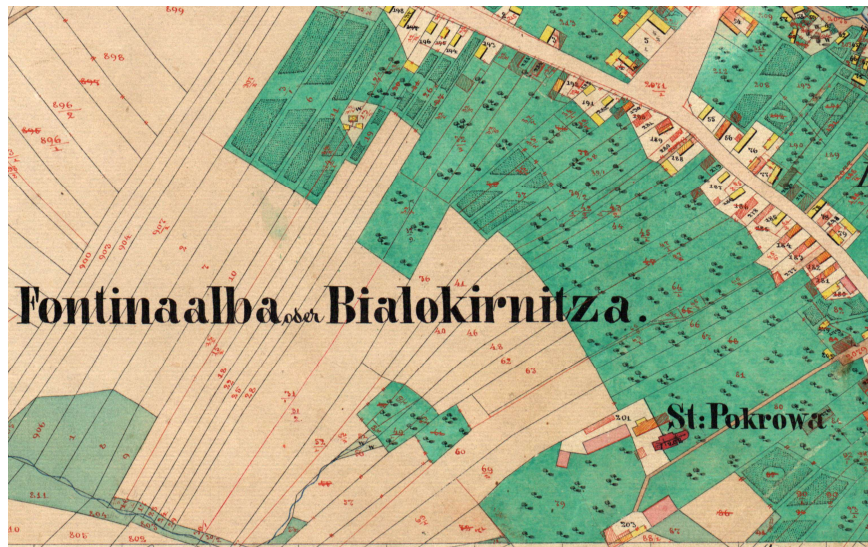


Abb.9 – Ausschnitt aus der Katastralmappe von Fontinaalba mit Längsstreifenfluren 1866.<sup>61</sup>

Mit Hilfe dieser ökonomischen Nische begründeten die Lippowaner, einen gewissen Wohlstand, der ihnen eine gewisse gesellschaftliche Anerkennung in der Bukowina eintrug.<sup>62</sup> In Form einer fast schon stereotyp wiederholten Hervorhebung ihres Fleißes und ihrer Loyalität gegenüber dem österreichischen Staat geriet diese Gruppe zu einem als Teil einer spezifisch österreichischen, Identität stiftenden Volkskunde. Zusammen mit anderen Nationalitäten des Kronlandes leitete sich daraus ein gerne zitiertes Abbild der Monarchie „en miniature“ ab:

*[...] die Lippowanen wohnen in einem Lande, das auf jeder Karte von Europa sein Plätzchen findet. Dieses Land heißt Bukowina, ist ein österreichisches Kronland, oder besser eine österreichische Monarchie en miniature, deren Länder im Kleinen durch die Bezirke versinnlicht werden könnten, ohne weiter die verschiedenartigsten Nationen dieses großen Kaiserreiches dort erst ansiedeln zu lassen, da selbe schon lange in diesem gesegneten Berglande und freundschaftlich beisammen wohnen.*<sup>63</sup>

In rechtlicher Hinsicht zählten die in Fontinaalba und Klimoutz ausgewiesenen Gründe geschlossen als Rustikale.<sup>64</sup> Zuzug und natürliches

<sup>61</sup> Mappenausschnitt der Katastralgemeinde 68 (Reambulierung); ANS.

<sup>62</sup> „Arme Lippowaner gibt es nicht, von Bettlern ist nirgends eine Spur“; STAUFÉ, *Lippowaner*, 655.

<sup>63</sup> STAUFÉ, *Lippowaner*, 652.

<sup>64</sup> Staatsarchiv Czernowitz (Ukraine) 1/1/102, *Feldfruchterträge der Bukowina ex 1789*. Die Angaben basieren wahrscheinlich auf den Ergebnissen der Josephinischen Grundsteuervermessung.



Bevölkerungswachstum führten zu einem kontinuierlich steigenden Bedarf an Grund und Boden (vgl. Tab. 3), sodass sich die Siedler während der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts mehrfach gezwungen sahen, sich mit Petitionen direkt an den Kaiser zu wenden.<sup>65</sup> Aus der unklaren Eigentumsverteilung bzw. den damit verbundenen Urbarpflichtenergaben sich in Konsequenz bis zum Abschluss der Katasteraufnahme und der Grundentlastung oftmals langwierige Rechtsstreitigkeiten mit dem Grundbesitzer – dem Religionsfonds.<sup>66</sup> Auch mussten mit dem Auslaufen der anfänglichen Ansiedlungsbegünstigungen die Abgaben neu ausgehandelt werden. Naturgemäß weigerten sich die Lippowaner, einer z.T. merklichen Erhöhung der in Geld abgelösten Zinsleistungen zuzustimmen. Die Diskussion zwischen Vertretern der Dörfer sowie den österreichischen Behörden über Höhe und Art der zu leistenden Zahlungen verschleppte sich über Jahrzehnte.<sup>67</sup>

Tab. 3– *Bevölkerungsentwicklung von Fontinaalba und Klimoutz*  
(Häuseranzahl ggf. in Klammer)

	1820 <sup>68</sup>	1830 <sup>69</sup>	1844 <sup>70</sup>	1869 <sup>71</sup>	1880 <sup>72</sup>	1910 <sup>73</sup>
Fontinaalba	281 (43)	515	604	1017 (211)	978	872 (230)
Klimoutz	260 (52)	465	840	1288 (255)	1187	1410 (322)

<sup>65</sup> Vgl. Rudolf WAGNER (1979): *Die Reisetagebücher des österreichischen Kaisers Franz I. in die Bukowina (1817 und 1823)*, München, 34. *Gesuch von 20 Lippowanerfamilien an Seine Majestät Kaiser Franz I. um Ansiedlungsplätze in der Bukowina*. Klimoutz, 9. Sep. 1834; zit. nach POLEK, *Lippowaner* (1896), Dokument 96, 128.

<sup>66</sup> Zuczkaer Cameralwirthschaftsamt, 7. Sep. 1832; zit. nach KAINDL, *Lippowaner*, 58ff. (Dokument Nr. 79, 124f).

<sup>67</sup> Vgl. *Protocoll Klimoutz* 22. März 1821 u. 3. Okt. 1862; Universitätsarchiv Graz, Nachlass R.F. Kaindl, Karton 4.

<sup>68</sup> Staatsarchiv Czernowitz (Ukraine) 1/4/720, *Bevölkerungsausweis 1820*.

<sup>69</sup> Zentrales historisches Staatsarchiv der Ukraine L'viv 146/7/1934, *Bevölkerungsausweis 1830*.

<sup>70</sup> Protokoll des Kreisamtes (?), 16.-22. Feb. 1844; zit. nach KAINDL, *Lippowaner*, 45 (Dokument Nr. 92, 138).

<sup>71</sup> Orts-Repertorium des Herzogthums Bukowina 1872. Auf Grundlage der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1869 bearbeitet, Czernowitz.

<sup>72</sup> STATISTISCHE CENTRAL-COMMISSION (Hrsg.) (1882<sup>2</sup>): *Vollständiges Ortschaften-Verzeichniss der im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder. Nach den Ergebnissen der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1880*, Wien.

<sup>73</sup> STATISTISCHES LANDESAMT DES HERZOGTUMS BUKOWINA (Hrsg.) (1913): *Die Ergebnisse der Volks- und Viehzählung vom 31. Dezember 1910 im Herzogtume Bukowina* (=Mitteilungen des statistischen Landesamtes des Herzogtums Bukowina XVII), Czernowitz.

Diese beträchtlichen Wachstumsraten innerhalb weniger Jahre zogen für die Siedlungen erhebliche Veränderungen auch in ihrem physischen Erscheinungsbild (Gebäudeanzahl, Flurteilungen) nach sich, die über die Katastralmappen dokumentiert werden (vgl. Abb.8).

Obwohl die Lippowaner Mitte des Jahrhunderts mit ihrer Wirtschaftsweise achtbare Erfolge erzielen konnten, ihre Siedlungen entsprechend wuchsen und sie im Kronland ein hohes soziales Ansehen unter der Landbevölkerung genossen, hinkte die Schulbildung – wie in den meisten ländlichen Gemeinden der Bukowina – zunächst noch erheblich den Erwartungen der Behörden nach, wenn auch die Familienvorstände offensichtlich des Lesens und Schreibens durchaus kundig waren. Erst um die Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert trat hier eine Verbesserung ein und einzelne Lippowaner nahmen sogar ein Studium an der Universität auf.<sup>74</sup>

*Von einer Schulbildung wollen die Lippowaner nichts wissen, obwohl der Staat in Klimouț und Fontina-albă Volksschulen errichten ließ, denn sie sind sich bewußt, daß jede höhere Bildung ihrer Secte den Todesstoß versetzen wird, auch haben sie einen Widerwillen gegen neue Bücher.*<sup>75</sup>

#### *Ausblick*

Mit Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges stuften die österreichischen Behörden und das Militär einen Großteil der in der Bukowina lebenden russischen (zumeist altgläubigen) Bevölkerung als ‚russophil‘ ein. Die Folge war ihre als österreichische Bürger rechtswidrige wie zwangsweise Deportation und Internierung in einem Lager bei Graz. Von dort konnten viele erst 1917, nach dem Rückzug der russischen Truppen, wieder in die Bukowina zurückkehren.<sup>76</sup> Nach dem Zerfall der Habsburgermonarchie und der Eingliederung der Bukowina in das Königreich Rumänien ergaben sich für Fontinaalba und Klimoutz sowie ihre russischsprachigen Bewohner zunächst kaum Veränderungen, auch wenn die offizielle Amtssprache nicht mehr Deutsch sondern mittlerweile Rumänisch geworden war. Als entscheidende

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<sup>74</sup> Reambulierungsprotokoll Klimoutz 1864. Die betroffenen Bewohner bestätigen die Erhebung eigenhändig mit ihrer Unterschrift.; Franziszeischer Kataster, ANS.

<sup>75</sup> DAN, *Lippowaner*. In: *Czernowitzer Zeitung* XXIII Jg. (1890) Nr. 35, 12.II., 2; auch STAUFÉ, *Lippowaner*, 656.

<sup>76</sup> Georg HOFFMANN et al. (2010): *Thalerhof 1914-1936. Die Geschichte eines vergessenen Lagers und seiner Opfer* (=Mittleuropäische Studien 4), Herne; Nicole-Melanie GOLL (2012): „Russophile“ Zivilinternierte aus Galizien im Lager Thalerhof bei Graz im Ersten Weltkrieg. In: Linda ERKER (Hrsg.) (2012): *Update! Perspektiven der Zeitgeschichte*, Innsbruck, Wien u.a., 29-33.

Zäsur gilt indes die 1940 bzw. nach 1945 definitive Grenzziehung zwischen der Sowjetunion (der ukrainischen SSR) und dem sozialistischen Rumänien, die seither beide Siedlungen voneinander trennt (vgl. Abb. 10). Abgesehen von den Differenzen in der Glaubenspraxis beschritten Fontinaalba und Klimoutz in der Folge auch strukturell völlig andere Wege.<sup>77</sup> Das gegenwärtig ukrainische Bila Kronicja ist, seit dem Zerfall der Sowjetunion von Arbeitslosigkeit, Abwanderung, einem teilweisen Rückfall in die Selbstversorgungswirtschaft und der Überalterung seiner Bevölkerung (2002: 169 Einwohner)<sup>78</sup> geprägt. Zudem verstärkt die schlechte Erreichbarkeit der Siedlung mit öffentlichen Verkehrsmitteln, der Zustand der Straßen und die Lage unmittelbar an der Staats- bzw. EU Außengrenze deren Peripherisierung innerhalb der Oblast. Daran ändert auch die Tatsache nichts, dass das religiöse Leben mit der Restituierung der zwischenzeitlich durch den nahen Kolchosbetrieb zweckentfremdet genutzten Kirchen Ende der 1980er Jahre einen merklichen Auftrieb erhielt. So fanden etwa 1996 und 2006 zwei Kirchensynoden in der Kathedrale des Ortes statt.

Die durch die Grenzziehung mithin bedingte Differenzierung äußert sich am auffälligsten in der Kulturlandschaft. So lassen sich etwa abweichende Flurstrukturen beider Gemeinden, die sich aus dem Vergleich von Franziszeischen Kataster und aktuellen Luftbildern ergeben, deutlicherkennen. In Climăuți (2004: 1228 Einwohner)<sup>79</sup> zeigt sich die typische Flur zahlreicher Kleinparzellen, wie sie für die peripheren (Grenz-)Räume Rumäniens nach 1989 üblich ist. Die Einteilung der Parzellen weist hier auch außerhalb der siedlungsnahen Flur im Vergleich zum österreichischen Kataster kaum Veränderungen auf, sie erscheint nahezu unverändert. Hier wäre zu prüfen, in wie fern die Grundzusammenlegungen der frühen sozialistischen Periode diese abgelegene Siedlung überhaupt betroffen, bzw. ob die nach 1989 durchgeführten (Re-)Privatisierungen den ursprünglichen Flurcharakter wieder hergestellt haben. In Bila Kronicja konnten sich hingegen in scharfem Kontrast dazu nur die Bauparzellen der Häuser und der Gärten in ihrer historischen Form halten. Der Obstbaumbestand des ukrainischen Dorfes ist überaltert, wenig gepflegt und spielt im Einkommen der Bevölkerung abseits des Eigenbedarfs kaum mehr eine entscheidende Rolle. Die Feldfluren wurden durch die in der ukrainischen SSR nach 1945 durchgeführten weitreichenden Kollektivierungsmaßnahmen zu Großeinheiten eines nahegelegenen Kolchosbetriebes melioriert und völlig umgestaltet.

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<sup>77</sup> Vgl. dazu im Überblick Filip IPATIOV (2002): *Rușii-Lipoveni din România [Die Lippowaner in Rumänien]*, Cluj-Napoca.

<sup>78</sup> Volkszählungsdaten Ukraine.

<sup>79</sup> Volkszählungsdaten Rumänien.

Beiden Dörfern gelang es – wohl auch aus den Ereignissen des 20. Jahrhunderts heraus – nicht, die spezifischen Strukturprobleme ihrer inneren Peripherie zu überwinden. Im Gegenteil. Die Grenzziehungen in Folge des Zweiten Weltkrieges sowie die Einbindung in völlig verschiedene Wirtschaftsräume, verstärkt durch den Beitritt Rumäniens zur Europäischen Union, scheinen – nach einer kurzen Periode der Öffnung zwischen 1991 und 2007 – die perspektivlose Lage dieser ländlichen Siedlungen zu beiden Seiten des Grenzzaunes auf lange Zeit festgeschrieben zu haben.

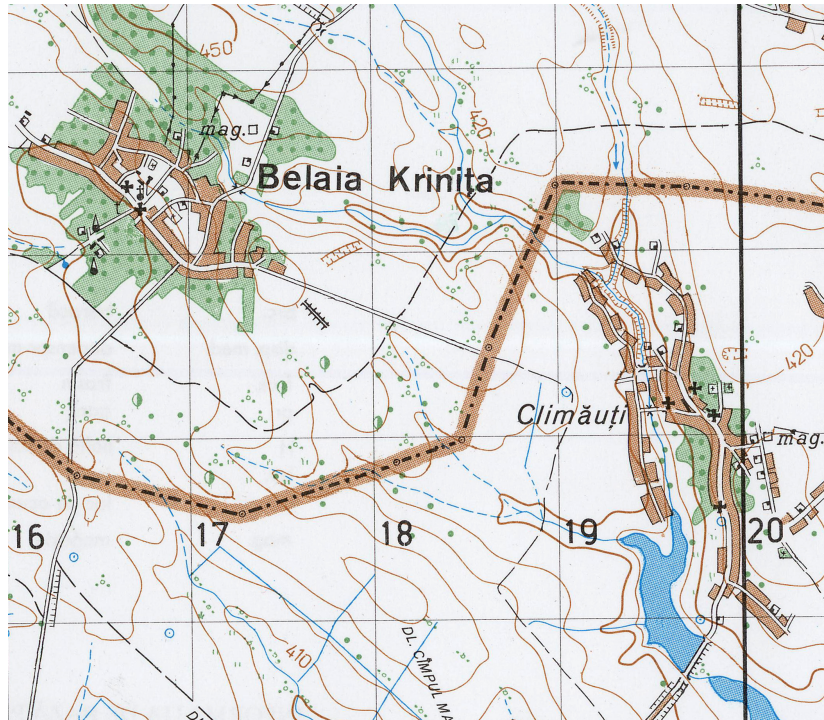


Abb. 10 – Aktuelle politische Lage der Siedlungen Bila Kriniča und Climăuți.  
Topographische Karte Rumänien 2002, M 1:50.000 (nicht maßstabsgetreue  
Abbildung!), Blatt L-35-4-B (Rădăuți).

### -Abstract-

*While urban space has attracted increasing attention in academia thanks to its growing status within the last 200 years, rural spaces often fail to be perceived in this way even though they take up the largest part of human settlement. It is only in recent years that the historical sciences have taken a greater interest in this area and developed their own research questions. Not only do we need to differentiate the centre of power, Vienna, from the*

*peripheral provincial capital of Chernivtsi (Czernowitz). Even within the periphery of the empire, some areas differ greatly in their access to impulses emerging from the regional and/or imperial centres. This affects the options for and speed of development in each area.*

*Taking two specific settlements in the Bukovina, i.e. Bila Krynytsya (Fontinaalba) and Climăuți (Klimoutz), as examples, I want to sketch their progress within the context of the overall socio-economic development of this former Austrian crown land. The settlements were created in the late 18th century by an ethnic and religious minority and have remained predominantly agrarian in character up to recent times. The temporal starting point is provided by the central source of the land register of Francis I from the mid-19th century. The paper ends with an outlook on the marked political changes in the wake of the demise of the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy and their consequences for the two settlements up to the present day.*

**Keywords:** Habsburg Monarchy, Bucovina, internal periphery, cadaster, regional development.

