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the Balkans (16th – 20th Centuries)

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## **Definitions and Documents in Family History: Towards an Agenda for Comparative Research**

Silvia SOVIČ

It is not always remembered that Laslett's and Hajnal's profoundly influential views of the geography of households and families – the East/West division, the 'Hajnal line' etc. – were based on a rigorous and formal set of definitions.<sup>1</sup> A problem with which we are faced is that in our discussions of household and family in 'Eastern Europe' we all too rarely go back to these roots, and consequently do not debate the question of how these definitions – or, for that matter, any definitions that we would prefer in their place – should be applied. By leaving out what should be a central preliminary stage in our work, we give the impression that we have no problems with this. But clearly we do. Are we sure we are comparing like with like? Are we looking at a range of documents that is sufficiently wide to allow us to understand the complexity of household structure in the Balkans? Are we applying the same definitions as laid down by Laslett in 1972, or we are using these terms casually, only because scholars have used them before us? The answer usually given is that we do not have enough research, or enough comparative data with which to conduct the research; or that the data are too different from that of the 'West';<sup>2</sup> or even that a qualitative approach will yield a more 'human' account than the adoption of the

dry and complex theoretical methodology that has dominated the historiography of household and family structure in the western part of Europe. These are poor excuses, and the latter at least smacks of the 'othering' from which Balkan studies have suffered for far too long.<sup>3</sup> Was not the whole purpose of Laslett's set of definitions precisely to enable the cross-cultural comparison of household structure? Methodological rigor is an indispensable prerequisite of our research. Hammel warned historians already in 1972 that 'the often acrimonious debate' on household structures in the Balkans 'is characterized by an abundance of hypotheses in the absence of fact, or by an abundance of fact in the absence of coherent theory', and stressed that it is 'incumbent on any author to make explicit what his analysis is and what it is not about'<sup>4</sup> – a plea forgotten by most current family historians.

The examples that follow will focus on some of these issues, and illustrate how important it is to understand the nature of the documents we are using when we engage in comparative work. In view of the different levels of co-residence that were possible, the main question of definition that will be addressed here is the fundamental question of which units to use for comparison. This dilemma prompted Laslett to coin the term *houseful*. He defined the distinction he was making as follows:

A *household* consists of all those who appear in the list grouped together, or in any way clearly separated from groups of others before or after. Occasionally the compiler has made what appear to be subdivisions, to indicate more than one household sharing the same set of premises. In such cases the term *houseful* designates the larger group. A household is also to be described as the inhabitants of a *dwelling* and the houseful as the inhabitants of a set of *premises*.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the difficulties raised by this distinction (which will be discussed shortly), the need to make it is critical. In cross-cultural comparisons, talking about 'large households' and even 'multi-generational households' is not satisfactory as long as it avoids this question.

The nineteenth-century Slovenian research on which the following observations are based focused on two communities, 80km apart, with different socio-economic characteristics and structures (Fig. 1). One, Šenčur, is an essentially agricultural community in Upper Carniola, on the plains close to the Alpine range. The other, the parish of Šentilj, in the foothills of the Pohorje range in Styria, is more complex: while it also had important agrarian functions, a key feature of a subordinate community, Mislinja, was iron production, centered on a community where migrant workers, living together, interacted with residents and in turn with the agrarian surroundings. In other words, Šentilj had a mixed market and subsistence economy. The research consisted of a combination of cross-sectional and longitudinal analysis, based on a range of different types of document and making extensive use of record linkage to reconstruct family histories.

How did people live in these two centers? Defining the household in them proved problematic, because the census-type documents through which they are known to us vary significantly in structure. For both communities there exists the classic *status animarum*, a register compiled by the Catholic Church, originally at a specific moment in time but then amended and supplemented over a number of years, giving us a document that is at the same time cross-sectional and longitudinal. One of the features that these *status animarum* documents have in common with census documents elsewhere is that they are conventionally compiled from a topographical

point of view in terms of sequence of house number. Fig. 2 shows part of a page from this well-known type of document from Šenčur, the compilation of which began in 1878. At the top of the page is the house number (136), and the blocks of inhabitants are listed underneath. The first block begins with the husband's name (Jakop Verbič, a half-farmer, born in 1840, who is also the head of a household), followed by those of his wife (Marija Ostanek) and their children (Marija, Johana, Angela, Jera, Mariana, France). The second block relates to the next household to reside at that address. The first to be listed is again France Verbič, who took over the headship from his father on the occasion of his marriage in 1919; his wife and children are listed below. At the bottom of the page, as was the practice, the compiler recorded all those related or non-related individuals who were part of this household at various stages. In our case this includes the first head's mother, who was born in 1816. The document includes additional information such as dates and places of birth, marriage and death, ages, occupation and status of individuals, the state of their religious knowledge (which was checked annually) and various comments including, most usefully, information about emigration. The most detail is usually found for the head of the household, with details being more haphazard for the other individuals. The extent of the information provided depended largely on the meticulousness of the local priest who compiled the document, and thus varies not only from parish to parish but also from one priest to the next.

For the agricultural Šenčur there is also a second type of *status animarum* register, one specifically covering those who did not own the property in which they resided (*gostači*). The information in this register is not recorded in a topographical sequence, as with the conventional ones (and like census lists),

but rather in alphabetical order of the head of the household. This can be seen in Fig. 3. The first head is Mihael Ajdovec, whose entry is followed by those for his wife, Marjeta Trojan, her illegitimate daughter, Ana, and the legitimate son, Janez. The second block shows a new, unrelated family; Janez Ahačič and his wife, Marija Kuhar. The difference between the two types of register is thus more than merely organizational. The conventional *status animarum* includes information about the occupation of heads, the succession to the headship, and inheritance practice. The second register, dealing as it does with a landless and mobile population, is less informative on these matters. The connection of inheritance that often links sequential groups in the conventional register is missing, as is to be expected among the poor; the houses whose occupants are registered in this document were after all the properties designated for those who had nothing to bequeath to the next generation. On the other hand, the document is more informative on residential arrangements. The occupants of these addresses might be living together with others in the same condition without necessarily being related to them (e.g., retired or single people), but their family history is far harder to trace. Taken over time, one can see that many of these *gostaèi* families moved frequently between these houses. Although there is little continuity of residence by the same family in a specific lodging, some of the houses, particularly the smaller huts, continued to be used for the same purpose; for example, for accommodating a succession of unmarried mothers and their offspring over time.<sup>6</sup>

These two registers relate to the same parish and the same period. Using just one register without the other would thus distort the interpretation of household forms in Šenčur. If the analysis had been conducted only on the basis of the

conventional *status animarum*, the household size and structure would have been large and complex, while if the *status animarum* for the poor had been scrutinized in isolation from the other register, the households would be perceived as very small and indeed nuclear. But the appearance of this second type of register, the necessary 'corrective' to the first, in the historiography cannot be assumed. Indeed, this volume was discovered by chance, through a conversation with the parish priest. Subsequent research showed that it was by no means unique; by the end of the nineteenth century such registers appear in many parts of Slovenia. They may well be connected with the agrarian crises that hit Slovenia in the second half of the nineteenth century; new technology and communications, the emancipation of the peasantry in 1848, the passing of a new inheritance law in 1868 and the abolition of common land in 1883 all helped precipitate the fragmentation of family holdings and an increase in the landless, in country and town alike.<sup>7</sup> As a type of source, with its own peculiarities and problems, *gostači* registers are certainly under-researched, and it is arguable that the neglect of these sources has given us a distorted view of society and of family and household structure. The poor are always the least visible, but they need not be as invisible as we make them.

Turning to Mislinja, we find a third type of *status animarum*. Again alongside the conventional register which covers the main part of the rural community, there is a register of those living in the iron community complex. The organization of mining and iron production lent a special character to the settlement arrangements and architecture of houses.<sup>8</sup> The settlement was the creation of a succession of owners, who between them established the features which made this into a genuine community; a school, a doctor in residence, and a



small hospital. It was also the owner who provided the accommodation for his employees. Long buildings with many entrances (see Figs. 4a and 4b) were home to many migrant and other workers from the agricultural surrounding area. These rather unusual living and working arrangements of the iron community account for the peculiar characteristics of the document, which reflects its socio-economic hierarchy in more ways than one. The first organizing principle is both topographical and hierarchical; the population is described building by building, in a sequence which reflects the social/functional hierarchy, starting on the first page with the owner's household (*Herrschafts-Schloss*, illustrated in Fig. 5), followed by the occupants of the administration building (*Verwes-Haus*), the school, and then the various buildings associated with specific aspects of the industry such as forges, smithies, the blast furnace, the wood processing sector etc. This sense of hierarchy is perpetuated within the entry for an individual building, determining the sequence in which domestic units are listed. In Fig. 6, the page describing the blast furnace *Hoch-Ofen*, six families are given.<sup>9</sup> It is very likely that the separate units correspond to separate entrances to the building, but the order in which they are listed reflects the relative importance of the occupation of the head of the unit. Where the occupation is the same, the sequence reflects seniority within it (e.g., masters before apprentices). This pervasive sense of hierarchy is also reflected in the layout of the document. Heads of domestic units tend to be emphasized visually, with their names in larger or thicker lettering, sometimes decorated: the greater the status of the head, the more his name was embellished. The emphasis on occupation is further indicated by the fact that it was added before the name of the head of the domestic unit, even though there was no provision for this in the printed headings of the register.

As with the *gostači* of Šenčur, the decision as to how to treat these units has important consequences. An illustration of this is the entry for the smithy *Hammer Maximilian Mara* – one of seven such buildings in Mislinja – at number 94 (transcribed in Fig. 7). The document shows three family units living at this address: that of the smelting-master and those of two helpers. The entry for the first unit starts with Georg Hermann, followed by his wife and child, and ends with the *gostačka* (lodger) Helena Washtner. The number 2 indicates the beginning of a new unit, headed by Georg Schwab, the assistant of Georg Hermann; underneath his name his dependents are listed in the usual way. Finally there is the third unit, the family of Stefan Schwab, another assistant. The fact that the two assistants share the same surname creates the possibility that they were brothers, and indeed this can be confirmed from other documents. Taken on its own, this ‘cross-sectional’ entry could suggest at least an element of a *zadruga*-type unit, with two brothers and their families co-residing. This is disproved, however, by the numbering: the two units were separate, with different entrances, neighbors but not strictly speaking co-residents. The reality – which can be established only by recourse to other sources – is more complex. The residence of both brothers in house no. 94 is only temporary; both subsequently moved out and on to separate careers. What in fact emerges about them from other documents is interesting from a different perspective. Georg and Stefan Schwab had acquired their skills from their father, whom they assisted while they were living in the parental home. Both moved out on the occasion of marriage, becoming assistants to a non-related master. Thereafter, kinship ties were effectively replaced in importance by professional ones, as in other such cases. This can be demonstrated by an analysis of patterns, such as the choice of marriage witnesses, godparents and midwives. This

predominance of professional over kinship ties among skilled workers is a feature of the Mislinja iron community not found in Šenčur.

This example, like many others in the register, also raises the question of definitions in a fundamental way. In Laslett's formulation the place of work in the *Status Animarum* of Mislinja would correspond to the houseful and the subgroups to households; but the problem is that many of these workers' families were also kin-related. Laslett defined the household from the census lists using three criteria: they sleep under the same roof, share activities and are related by blood or by marriage.<sup>10</sup> The case described above shows that the families shared activities (male members worked in the smithy, female members looked after the children, helped with production, and were in charge of growing vegetables and crops near their homes), slept under the same roof (but had separate entrances to the same house), and were related in some cases but not others. These living arrangements would correspond to something in between what Laslett defined as household and houseful.<sup>11</sup> On the basis of the evidence about these families, not only internal to the *status animarum* but complemented by record linkage to other documents, the decision was taken to treat these separate units within the buildings as independent households and not as housefuls.<sup>12</sup>

This conflicts with another of Laslett's prescriptions, namely that what he called visitors, lodgers or boarders should not be treated as separate households:

*Inmates* are persons so described, or so called sojourners, boarders, lodgers, etc. They can be individual inmates, or members of groups of inmates, and such groups can consist of unrelated persons, or of simple, extended or multiple family groups, all with or without servants. These units are parallel

in definition to types of household, but since they do not occupy dwellings should not in strictness be called households.<sup>13</sup>

Most of the workers of the iron community were undoubtedly inmates or lodgers according to Laslett's definition, but equally there is no doubt that they form households, living in accommodation that was provided by the owner of the iron works, in substantial buildings with separate entrances. Laslett was aware of this problem, as is demonstrated by his work on Belgrade, where he encountered the presence of large numbers of strangers and lodgers. He states: "The first task of the analyst would seem to be to decide how many dwellings and so how many household each Dom comprised, and which individuals belonged to which."<sup>14</sup> Although Laslett did not reach a conclusion on this, he did produce a set of rules and 'presumptions' for the Belgrade data.<sup>15</sup> However, this research has not been followed up in all these years, and indeed is not even discussed in the comparative international literature.

Laslett's work continues to be fundamental to our research. The purpose of this discussion has been neither to insist on the validity of all his definitions nor to overturn them, but to reassert the need to use them as, at the very least, our starting-point. The complex interaction of different organizational principles in the documents discussed here – topographical, alphabetical, occupational and social – is of much more than antiquarian or local interest. They reveal the preoccupations and prejudices of their compilers, of course, but also yield much information, both intentionally and inadvertently, about households and families and their structures. Laslett's scheme needs to be adapted in a way that caters for these subtleties. But these issues of definition cannot be sidestepped. Whether our sources are parish registers, cadastral, fiscal, oral or a combination of such

– indeed, especially if we are using a combination – we need to be sure that we are speaking the same language before we attempt to make comparisons. And historians studying their own communities need to be particularly aware of these issues: if we use terms casually or inaccurately, we are actually cementing the lack of clarity that still surrounds the picture about families and households in the Balkans.

As we engage in this exercise, the wider and more comparatively we cast our nets, the more robust the resulting system will be. However, it is imperative that we conduct such research by making comparisons that go beyond the mere geographical. One of the lessons to emerge during this investigation is that the obsession with boundaries is obscuring, not illuminating, the picture. The problems outlined here are emphatically not confined to any particular region. Historians who work on these issues encounter the same problems wherever they are. The Centre for Metropolitan History in London, which is studying the structural change of households over time in the British capital, asks similar questions as to how to define the household.<sup>16</sup> It is thus to be hoped that any collaborative project that emerges from this symposium, while focusing on the Balkans, will not be confined to them. The social and economic factors that families had to deal with are much more fundamental determinants of behavior than the so-called ‘cultural’ ones. We should work on our region, but we should not lock ourselves into a study of the ‘Eastern European pattern’ when we do not even know whether this was ever anything more than an ideological construct.

## Acknowledgements:

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Fig. 1. Location of the communities of Šenčur and Šentilj/Mislinja.

Kraj: .....					Hiš. štov. 136		Hišno ime: <i>Kusar</i>													
Ime in priimek	Stan	Rojstva			L e t o				Znanje keršansk											
		Kraj	dan	mesec	leto	sv. birne	I. spovedi	I. obhajila	poroke	smerti	Léto Osemn.									
† Jakob Verbič <i>Koj</i>	<i>1/2 zmlji</i>	<i>Šenčur</i>	23	mal.	1840				<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>
† Marija Estanek <i>Zena.</i>		<i>Šenčur</i>	31	gru.	1846				<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>	<i>18/1874</i>
† Marija Križ			24	vel.	1876				<i>24/1876</i>	<i>24/1876</i>	<i>24/1876</i>	<i>24/1876</i>	<i>24/1876</i>	<i>24/1876</i>	<i>24/1876</i>	<i>24/1876</i>	<i>24/1876</i>	<i>24/1876</i>	<i>24/1876</i>	<i>24/1876</i>
† Johana <i>Angela</i>			30	avg.	1879				<i>30/1879</i>	<i>30/1879</i>	<i>30/1879</i>	<i>30/1879</i>	<i>30/1879</i>	<i>30/1879</i>	<i>30/1879</i>	<i>30/1879</i>	<i>30/1879</i>	<i>30/1879</i>	<i>30/1879</i>	<i>30/1879</i>
† Jeru			27	mar.	1887				<i>27/1887</i>	<i>27/1887</i>	<i>27/1887</i>	<i>27/1887</i>	<i>27/1887</i>	<i>27/1887</i>	<i>27/1887</i>	<i>27/1887</i>	<i>27/1887</i>	<i>27/1887</i>	<i>27/1887</i>	<i>27/1887</i>
† Marijanna			17	mar.	1884				<i>17/1884</i>	<i>17/1884</i>	<i>17/1884</i>	<i>17/1884</i>	<i>17/1884</i>	<i>17/1884</i>	<i>17/1884</i>	<i>17/1884</i>	<i>17/1884</i>	<i>17/1884</i>	<i>17/1884</i>	<i>17/1884</i>
† France			10	gru.	1887				<i>10/1887</i>	<i>10/1887</i>	<i>10/1887</i>	<i>10/1887</i>	<i>10/1887</i>	<i>10/1887</i>	<i>10/1887</i>	<i>10/1887</i>	<i>10/1887</i>	<i>10/1887</i>	<i>10/1887</i>	<i>10/1887</i>
			28	mar.	1891	<i>glej 2. stolj</i>				<i>28/1891</i>	<i>28/1891</i>	<i>28/1891</i>	<i>28/1891</i>	<i>28/1891</i>	<i>28/1891</i>	<i>28/1891</i>	<i>28/1891</i>	<i>28/1891</i>	<i>28/1891</i>	<i>28/1891</i>
† France Verbič, mož	<i>1/2 zeng</i>	<i>Šenčur</i>	28	febr.	1891				<i>30/1891</i>	<i>30/1891</i>	<i>30/1891</i>	<i>30/1891</i>	<i>30/1891</i>	<i>30/1891</i>	<i>30/1891</i>	<i>30/1891</i>	<i>30/1891</i>	<i>30/1891</i>	<i>30/1891</i>	<i>30/1891</i>
† Antonija Šenčur, žena		<i>Vojko</i>	26	22	jan	95			<i>16/1895</i>	<i>16/1895</i>	<i>16/1895</i>	<i>16/1895</i>	<i>16/1895</i>	<i>16/1895</i>	<i>16/1895</i>	<i>16/1895</i>	<i>16/1895</i>	<i>16/1895</i>	<i>16/1895</i>	<i>16/1895</i>
† Pavla		<i>Šenčur</i>	29	mar.	1920				<i>18/1920</i>	<i>18/1920</i>	<i>18/1920</i>	<i>18/1920</i>	<i>18/1920</i>	<i>18/1920</i>	<i>18/1920</i>	<i>18/1920</i>	<i>18/1920</i>	<i>18/1920</i>	<i>18/1920</i>	<i>18/1920</i>
† Vojko			18	mar.	1922				<i>18/1922</i>	<i>18/1922</i>	<i>18/1922</i>	<i>18/1922</i>	<i>18/1922</i>	<i>18/1922</i>	<i>18/1922</i>	<i>18/1922</i>	<i>18/1922</i>	<i>18/1922</i>	<i>18/1922</i>	<i>18/1922</i>
† Franc			15	sep.	1923				<i>16/1923</i>	<i>16/1923</i>	<i>16/1923</i>	<i>16/1923</i>	<i>16/1923</i>	<i>16/1923</i>	<i>16/1923</i>	<i>16/1923</i>	<i>16/1923</i>	<i>16/1923</i>	<i>16/1923</i>	<i>16/1923</i>
† Anton			16	mar.	1925				<i>16/1925</i>	<i>16/1925</i>	<i>16/1925</i>	<i>16/1925</i>	<i>16/1925</i>	<i>16/1925</i>	<i>16/1925</i>	<i>16/1925</i>	<i>16/1925</i>	<i>16/1925</i>	<i>16/1925</i>	<i>16/1925</i>
† Alojz			16	jul.	1926				<i>24/1926</i>	<i>24/1926</i>	<i>24/1926</i>	<i>24/1926</i>	<i>24/1926</i>	<i>24/1926</i>	<i>24/1926</i>	<i>24/1926</i>	<i>24/1926</i>	<i>24/1926</i>	<i>24/1926</i>	<i>24/1926</i>
† Rozalija			31	avg.	1928				<i>5/1928</i>	<i>5/1928</i>	<i>5/1928</i>	<i>5/1928</i>	<i>5/1928</i>	<i>5/1928</i>	<i>5/1928</i>	<i>5/1928</i>	<i>5/1928</i>	<i>5/1928</i>	<i>5/1928</i>	<i>5/1928</i>
† Marija			8	mar.	1930				<i>6/1930</i>	<i>6/1930</i>	<i>6/1930</i>	<i>6/1930</i>	<i>6/1930</i>	<i>6/1930</i>	<i>6/1930</i>	<i>6/1930</i>	<i>6/1930</i>	<i>6/1930</i>	<i>6/1930</i>	<i>6/1930</i>
† Marija			9	mar.	1932				<i>10/1932</i>	<i>10/1932</i>	<i>10/1932</i>	<i>10/1932</i>	<i>10/1932</i>	<i>10/1932</i>	<i>10/1932</i>	<i>10/1932</i>	<i>10/1932</i>	<i>10/1932</i>	<i>10/1932</i>	<i>10/1932</i>
† Milena			16	avg.	1936				<i>10/1936</i>	<i>10/1936</i>	<i>10/1936</i>	<i>10/1936</i>	<i>10/1936</i>	<i>10/1936</i>	<i>10/1936</i>	<i>10/1936</i>	<i>10/1936</i>	<i>10/1936</i>	<i>10/1936</i>	<i>10/1936</i>
† Marija Verbič <i>roj. Kusar</i>	<i>Kali gospod.</i>	<i>Šenčur</i>	23	vel.	1846				<i>11/1846</i>	<i>11/1846</i>	<i>11/1846</i>	<i>11/1846</i>	<i>11/1846</i>	<i>11/1846</i>	<i>11/1846</i>	<i>11/1846</i>	<i>11/1846</i>	<i>11/1846</i>	<i>11/1846</i>	<i>11/1846</i>
			21	avg.	1849				<i>11/1849</i>	<i>11/1849</i>	<i>11/1849</i>	<i>11/1849</i>	<i>11/1849</i>	<i>11/1849</i>	<i>11/1849</i>	<i>11/1849</i>	<i>11/1849</i>	<i>11/1849</i>	<i>11/1849</i>	<i>11/1849</i>

Fig. 2. Excerpt of *status animarum* record for Šenčur, house no. 136.  
Šenčur Chaplaincy: *Status Animarum*, 1820-1958, p. 124.



Kraj: Šenčur št. 13				Hig. štov.		Hišno ime: 981708 2						
Ime in priimek	Stan	Rojstva			L e t o				Znanje krščanskega nauka	OPOMBE		
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Fig. 3. Excerpt of status animarum for gostači.  
Šenčur Chaplaincy: Status Animarum for gostači,  
1830-1950, p. 3.

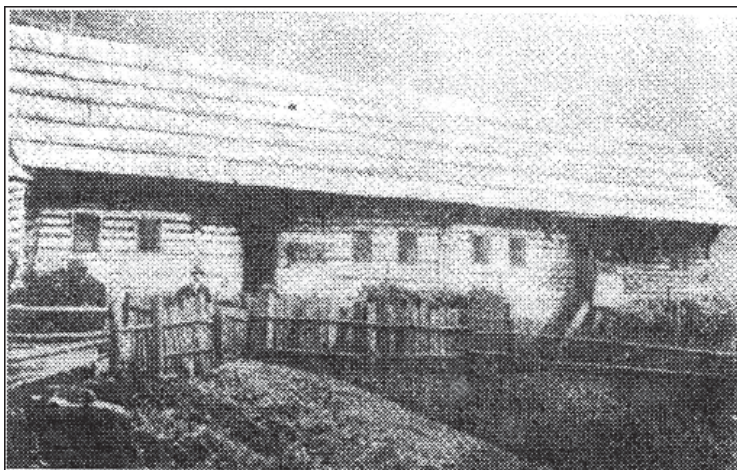


Fig. 4a. House with multiple entrances in the iron community of  
Mislinja.  
From 'Mislinjska Gozdna Železnica', Viharnik: Glasilo  
delovne organizacije Lesna Slovenj Gradec, 21:2 (1988),  
pp. 16-19 (p. 18).





Fig. 4b. A former smithy in Mislinja. The left-hand side was originally the production area of the smithy; the residential part of the building is on the right. The building has been modified.

Photograph by Rado Jeromel, 2006.



Haus - Nro.	Kirche	Gemeinschaft	Namen des Familienhauptes und der Angehörigen	Geburtsjahr	Communicanten	Nicht Communicanten	Geführt	Gemeint	Schulpflichtig	Fähigkeiten in der Christenlehre										
										In den Jahren										
										18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	
1.			<b>Hoch-Ofen</b> Stich Martin 29. Okt. 1812																	
2.			St. Catharina geb. Proll 17. 11. 1817																	
3.			Märker Johann b. Oct. 1812																	
4.			Maria geb. Stich 13. Okt. 1818																	
5.			Franz 2. Nov. 1845																	
6.			Antonia 14. April 1850																	
7.			Maria 1. 1851																	
8.			Josephine 10. 7. 1859																	
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Fig. 6. Excerpt of status animarum for Mislinja iron community; Hoch-Ofen.

Maribor Episcopal Archive: Mislinja, Protokol stanja duš fužinarjev fužine Mislinja 1851-1859 ('Montanicum').

No.94

HAMMER Maximilian Maria

1. Streckmeister, Hermann Georg, 21.Apr. 1790, gest.15. März 1860  
Ehew. Agnes geb. Wilhelm, 1787, gest. 28. März 1859  
Georg, 19.Jänuer 1826, gest. 22.10. 1855

Inw. Helena Washtner

2. Helfer, Schwab Georg 22.3.1813...  
Ehew. Antonia Grasser, 22.3.1813  
Ignaz, 26.7.1840  
Theresia, 18.9.1843  
Vinzenz, 27.3.1849  
Michael, 8.9.1856

3. Helfer, Schwab Stefan, 25.12. 1808  
Ehew. Maria Sepp, 19.3.1815  
Joseph ...  
Theresia ...

Fig. 7. Transcription from *status animarum* for Mislinja iron community; no. 94 (*Hammer Maximilian Mara*).

Maribor Episcopal Archive: Mislinja, *Protokol stanja duš fužinarjev fužine Mislinja 1851-1859* ('*Montanisticum*').

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> HAJNAL, J., "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective", in *Population in History*, eds. D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley, Edward Arnold, London, 1965, pp. 101-143; LASLETT, P., "Family and Household as Work and Kin Groups: Areas of Traditional Europe Compared", in *Family Forms in Historic Europe*, eds. R. Wall, J. Robin and P. Laslett, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 513-563.
- <sup>2</sup> See for example several of the contributions to KERTZER, D. I. and BARBAGLI, M. (eds.), *Family Life in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1789-1913*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Ct., 2002.
- <sup>3</sup> For a fuller discussion of this see SOVIČ, S., "Family History and Cultural Stereotypes", forthcoming in *Cultural and Social History*.
- <sup>4</sup> HAMMEL, E. A., "The Zadruga as Process", in *Household and Family in Past Time*, eds. P. Laslett and R. Wall, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1972, pp. 335-373 (p. 336).
- <sup>5</sup> LASLETT, P., "Introduction: the History of the Family", in *Household and Family in Past Time*, cit., pp. 1-89 (p. 86).
- <sup>6</sup> For a fuller treatment of this problem see SOVIČ, S., "Families and Households of the Poor: The 19th-century Slovenian *gostač*", in *History of the Family*, 10, 2005, pp. 161-182.
- <sup>7</sup> A recent survey is FISCHER, J., "Zagate v kmetijstvu", in *Slovenska novejša zgodovina*, ed. J. Fischer, I, Mladinska knjiga, Ljubljana, 2005, pp. 72-4.
- <sup>8</sup> See SOVIČ, S., "Communities, Local Economies and Household Composition in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenia". Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Essex, 2001, pp. 58-63, and now POTOČNIK, J., "Zgodovinske in kulturne sledi nekdanje Mislinjske železarne", in *Viharnik: Glasilo delovne organizacije Lesna Slovenj Gradec*, 37:11, 2004, pp. 18-20, 33.
- <sup>9</sup> There can be considerable variation here. The higher the demand for unskilled work in a particular sector – wood production is a case in point – the larger the number of blocks within an address. This opens up another, largely unexplored, aspect of the relationship between household structure and economic function, which can only be understood by means of record linkage with other sources.
- <sup>10</sup> LASLETT, 'Introduction', cit., p. 25.

- <sup>11</sup> The problems with Laslett's classification system may be particularly evident in mining communities. VILFAN, S., *Pravna zgodovina Slovencev od naselitve do zloma stare Jugoslavije*, Slovenska Matica, Ljubljana, 1961, p. 390, remarked on the special features of workers' accommodation in Slovenian iron communities. He speculated that this originated from the time of guilds, and described buildings accommodating several families, partitioned into several rooms, one for each family, but with a common room where the stove was situated.
- <sup>12</sup> Further discussion in SOVIČ, "Families and Households", *op. cit.*
- <sup>13</sup> LASLETT, "Introduction", *op. cit.*, p. 87.
- <sup>14</sup> LASLETT, P. and CLARKE, M., "Houseful and Household in an Eighteenth-century Balkan City. A Tabular Analysis of the Listing of the Serbian Sector of Belgrade in 1733-4", in *Household and Family in Past Time*, *op. cit.*, pp. 375-400 (p. 376).
- <sup>15</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 381.
- <sup>16</sup> "People in Place: Families, Households and Housing in Early Modern London", AHRC funded project at the Centre for Metropolitan History.

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