

JUDAIC RELIGIOUS REFORM AND POLITICAL
EMANCIPATION OF THE JEWS IN BANAT REGION

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The theme refers to a long and intense rabbinical debate concerning the mosaic religious reform and its relationship with the process of Jewish emancipation in Banat and in Central Europe. I have taken into account the movement to which Aron Chorin, the well-known rabbi of Arad, would integrate through its works and actions. His contributions would stimulate the opening of the Central European Jewish communities to civism, integration and/or assimilation. On the other hand, I have considered the vanguard ideas content in the brochure entitled "The Emancipation of the Jews in Hungary" written by count József Eötvös and published in both Hungarian and Italian in 1842. Although seldom encountered at the time, the well-informed and intelligent evaluation of Eötvös, concerns Jewishness and the complex historical relationship of the Christians with the Jews. It represented a first fundamental change in the history of political thinking in Central and Eastern Europe, accepting and emphasizing the importance of Jewish emancipation. Both the religious and the laic movements generated by distinct intellectual milieus had become complementary through their outcomes within the intellectual history and the history of political thinking during the 19th century. Often, they highlighted the role of the trans-

border regions where the Banat used to be one of the most fruitful experimental spaces of Europe during the 19th and 20th centuries as far as the elaboration and processing of the modernizing European ideas were concerned.

Reformatory character of Mendelssohn's books

The metamorphosis of the Jewish society of Banat – by that I mean the voluntary cultivation of connections outside the community, that is the assimilation of the new educational program by the religious reform, the assertion of Jews in cultural and scientific fields, their intense participation in economic life, and also the ample involvement in the sphere of political interests – cannot be fully understood without describing and analysing the phenomenon known as emancipation. In fact, it is a permanent struggle which lasted for nearly a century, in the history of the Habsburg Empire, later on of the dual Austrian-Hungarian one, with the aim of getting civil rights. It did not take place in one province only, therefore we considered useful the permanent referring to the problem on the whole concerning emancipation in Central Europe. An emancipation which would have a supposed change in the style of living, ample mental mutations, giving up or adding something to the traditional forms of practising their creed; giving up the Hebrew and Yiddish languages respectively, as main channel of communication and their gradual replacement by German and Hungarian. This topic was abundantly debated in the mass-media and in political circles, in Jewish and non-Jewish ones. Was it the echo of the Enlightenment debates caused by the ideas contained in the works with a reformatory character written by Moses Mendelssohn?

What we know is that Mendelssohn's books were forbidden in the libraries of the Jewish communities; on the other hand, his books were purchased by the Protestant and Catholic circles, and mainly by the public libraries set up in Transylvania at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century: *Jerusalem oder über Religiöse Macht und Judentum*¹; *Morgenstunden oder Vorlesungen über Das Dasein Gottes*²; *Philosophische Schriften*³; *Philosophische Gespräche*⁴; *An die Freunde Lessings ... ein Anhang zu Herrn Jacobi. Briefwechsel über die Lehre des Spinoza*⁵; *Phaedon oder über Unsterblichkeit der Seele in drei Gesprächen*⁶; *Lettres juives de celebre Mendels-*

*sohn*⁷. It must be specified that the ideas of the Enlightenment scholar of Berlin had an impact on the Hungarian German scholars in Hungary, Transylvania and Banat and they would contribute to a certain extent to the contents and amplification of the debates concerning the emancipation of the Jews. For instance, when István Székely and József Eötvös wrote about, or took part in debates on this topic, they had already been well trained by the school of the French Enlightenment and the German *Aufklärung*, where emancipation was in a way solved. What is important to find out is when and to what extent the Jews were implied, their religious and administrative authorities; in what respect the rabbis and the scholars of the communities of the East-Central European areas – in this particular case, those in Banat – took part in the dialogue, having reform as its main objective, mainly because they had not been preoccupied by Mendelssohn's work, on the contrary they rejected *ab initio* the reading of his books, consequently the appropriation of his concepts. Therefore it is my task to describe and explain the double hypostasis of the Jewish life at the beginning of the modern era: the religious reform and closely connected to it, the form and substance of its emancipation in its cultural, social and political senses.

The historical analysis will reveal for us the straightforward aspects of the past of the Jews of Banat, mainly the spectacular differences (almost incredible) between the positions of the rabbis and those of the communities, sometimes in spite of their proximity. It will disclose therefore another side (owing to a long and deep rabbinical controversy) of the religious reform which started from Hamburg and was continued in Prague, Buda, Szeged, Arad and Timișoara. It is the movement in which Aron Chorin, rabbi of Arad perfectly integrated himself. I mentioned another reformist variant, considering its level of propositions, but also the nuances, it should be considered in connection with the rebirth proposed by Mendelssohn.

The rabbi Aron Chorin and his role in religious reform

More experts think that Hebrew literature of the 18th century is concluded by Chorin's work. In a short history of the Jewish community of Arad, Aron Chorin's activity is appreciated as being the most important from the

religious point of view for the history of the communities in this region. It is recognized for its impact on the congregation; it stands among those daring reformist attempts which caused serious arguments in the heart of Judaism. Chorin is regarded as the most prominent figure of the Arad⁸ community and they are most proud of him, a justified pride, I reckon, at least because he made the community famous. By his work, the Jews of Arad drew the attention of the Jewry all over the Central and Northern Europe. Who exactly inspired Aron Chorin in his wording of the reforms? Probably Lipot Low, the rabbi of Szeged. It is one possibility, but not the only one. Among his preoccupation was – at least at the beginning of his career – the reconsideration of the personality of the famous *Torah* scholar and expert. Part of Löw's ideas were challenging by Chorin's way of thinking.

In a recent monograph dedicated to the past of the Jewry in Transylvania, the rabbi of Arad is called the initiator of the reformist movement in religion on the territory of Banat and Transylvania; he is also appreciated as the innovator in the fields of modern Hebrew Language and studies, a disciple of the famous rabbi of Prague, Ezekiel Landau⁹. Deeply involved in the disputes with the rabbinical authorities of the century who were against the dissipation of the reform¹⁰, Chorin was to propose and introduce sensational novelties in the practice of the rite for those times: organ music, praying with uncovered head, the reduction of the mourning week, journeys on Saturdays; combining religious and philosophical meditation (for him, the most important laws are those which establish the rules of behaviour with one another); changing the order of the ceremonies; the permission to eat “stierl” (sterlet), because it is in agreement with the biblical indications since it has scales and swimming wings¹¹.

The documentary sources¹² show that in 1818, during one of the meetings of the community of Arad, the problem of building the first reformed synagogue arose. A decision in this respect was made only in 1828, and it was put into practice beginning with 1831, and the building was concluded in 1834¹³, which means that an important number of faithful had relatively quickly joined the reformist movement. The echo of Chorin's pleadings was heard in Budapest. His correspondence with Gábor Ullman, president of the community, had laid the basis of a lasting relationship, as mutual influences have demonstrated. The Israeli community of Pest was the first to take over the new religious practice proposed by the chief rabbi of Arad.

Some others were to follow. What does Chorin's role as a mediator consist of? According to some remarks included in the above-mentioned manuscript concerning the history of the Jews in Arad, the rabbi may have had connections at the Imperial Court too; Metternich, it seems, was interested in him and helped him during his activity. And I cannot see why I should contest such an item of information, since his fondness for the emperor and homeland are known.

Chorin is the first rabbi who, in 1827, dedicated a prayer to the emperor (in a synagogue). Later on, it is he who initiated the encyclopaedic education (in the same sense of integrating the imperial structures) but being careful about the attention paid to erudition in terms of rites. This approaches for a *schola universalis* date back to the 3rd decade. It seems that the rather large Israeli congregation already had trained people for such an educational institution. Some sources mention Henrik Chorin, the rabbi's son, and also Jacob Steinitzer, Joseph Leopold, Franz Steinbach, as teachers

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Many of Chorin's initiatives are complementary to the imperial political trends. Our opinion is that the High-school for Sciences (Real-Haupt-Schule¹⁵) opened in 1829 is almost in perfect agreement with the governing principles of the Vienna Court. It is only one of the cases in which we can compare the imperial decrees with the measures taken by the chief-rabbi of Arad to persuade us of the assimilative tendency of the community in discussion, and at the same time a kind of subordination for what the governing office proposed or enforced. It is also true that the types of communities that set up there, and their activities prove the complexity of Jewish life. Things evolve in a similar manner in Lugoj, Timișoara, Reșița, Jimbolia, Vârșeț and Buziaș. This is explained by the very close area bonds. The communities of Banat and those in the Arad area were connected. Their status were quasi-identical and so were the subordinations¹⁶. The rites performed were conducted by very influential rabbis. It happened that those Neologues were the main landmarks both for religious life and in the dialogue with the authorities.

Consequently, when I say that six types of societies organized by the Jewish community are primordial to the trend influenced by Chorin's ideas, I am thinking of their real involvement in the city's life, in the problems humanity in general is confronted with. On such a background, temp-

tation was mutual: the building of the *Bürgerliche Gesellschaft*, the primordial objective of the Habsburg policy which had to ensure a decent administrative body: multiple forms of social communication and to lead to the convergences necessary to the co-habitation of the ethnic and religious diversity of the Empire. How else could we interpret the lesser institutions of the Jews of Arad: “Heilige Bruderschaft”, “Humanitäts Verein”, “Frauen Verein”?¹⁷ Meanwhile they became important landmarks for a social urban structure, where mutual assistance had to be paramount.

The fact that a free evolution of the Jewish communities in Banat was possible, means first of all the absence of the classical ghetto. There are, in that statement, a network of possibilities. Chorin exemplifies in a remarkable way the complex idea he authored. But all of them, also implied the unavoidable compromises. One of them – he had to subscribe to – was that concerning the introduction of Hungarian as a service language in the synagogue. The use of Hungarian in the cultural life was imperatively demanded by the county authorities. In a document dated 1833, conceived by the Magistrate of the Arad county, it was recommended that besides Hebrew, Hungarian had to be also introduced in the religious service. The reason involved: “most of the Jewish population is not very familiar with this language”¹⁸.

Chorin was in charge with the correspondence on such a delicate matter. In one of the letters to the county authorities, that rabbi would reply formally (more in the sense of justifying the situation), demonstrating not only his poor knowledge of Hungarian, but also his poor Hebrew. But it was a fact that the Jews in Arad would have rather quickly start using Hungarian. Aron Chorin had an important contribution, and so did his successor, Jakab Steinhardt. In 1844, the rabbi of Şimand¹⁹, Abraham Friedman, published a notebook in Hungarian entitled *Az Israelita Nemzetnek Védelmzése* [In the defence of the Israeli nation]. It was also him who would preach in Hungarian in 1845 and his speech was published in Arad, under the title *Egyházi beszéd* [Confessional speech]²⁰. If we consider that Abraham Friedman becomes chief rabbi of Transylvania till 1879, we would understand why assimilation and service in Hungarian were essential. We shall better understand the geographic and historic limits of the “identity” policy in the century of nationalities. We shall also understand that there has always been a co-operation between Jews and authorities, outside which

the very religious existence of the communities (and not only the religious one) was jeopardized.

There was also a kind of goodwill which I could exemplify through the reformism introduced by Aron Chorin and his successors. In conclusion, if during the rule of Joseph II, German was imposed in all administrative matters with Habsburg authorities, as well as the compulsory education, secondary and superior, in the same language, by the middle of the 19th century, a second fundamental change for the Jews in Banat takes place: Hungarian had to be learnt as the language of communication, and also as the language of culture. Does it mean that the Jews gave up Hebrew and Yiddish for good?

Does it imply that German language learnt during the previous historical periods was abandoned? I must point out that in some regions of the Empire a new phenomenon arose, that is, the multilingualism and interculturality which would leave its mark on the Jewry. From this point of view the East-Central European representative was mainly the Banat County. The phenomenon is characteristic for the German-Swabian, Hungarian, Romanian, Serbian, Slovak and Bulgarian milieus. The cultural environment, the multiethnic cohabiting favoured a kind of evolution in which the Jewish families, the communities on the whole used to speak two-three languages fluently. The rite language was still Hebrew, but often the speeches of the rabbis of Arad, Timișoara, Lugoj were in local languages. From 1870 to 1918 for example, Hungarian became predominant. After the union of Banat and Transylvania with the Old Kingdom of Romania, Romanian was used besides Hungarian.

In spite of reformism and the contradictions brought about by it, the rabbis of Banat (and whole East-Central Europe) did not ignore (not then, nor later) their study in Hebrew. Moreover, all of them (up to the present) could speak and write in Hebrew. Aron Chorin himself, when he presented this thesis, used both orally and in writing, more languages, besides Hebrew. He was a prominent expert of the *Torah*, which meant a thorough mastery of the language of the fundamental religious texts. It means that neither he, nor his proselytes, ever denied the traditions. In the brochure entitled *The Letter of an African Rabbi to His European Colleagues (Igeret Ellassaf oder Sendschreiben eines Africanischen Rabbi an seinem Collegen in Europa mit einem Vorworte)* (Prague, 1826), Chorin clearly explained his in-

tentions: as a champion of the reforms, he wanted to set up not only schools with a religious character, but also vocational schools, to train pupils for various cultural and scientific fields.

The reason was integration of his congregation in the daily life, in the trades practiced in the light industry at the time, and to re-teach them how to cultivate the land. He never went as far as to deny or transfer the *Shabbat* on Sunday²¹. The main criticism of Chorin's ideas, and which called in many of the arguments he brought, belong to the leader of the Orthodox Judaism of that time, Rabbi Moshe Sofer²². According to the latter, any reformist movement is dangerous as long as the Jews are in exile. Sofer did not agree with the elimination of Hebrew from the holy books, nor with the moral education of the Jewish children based on the books translated and commented by Moses Mendelssohn. But history could not be stopped, and then arguments exemplify a state of the case which the historian is bound to record.

Liberal modernization and the process of emancipation

What we should bear in mind is that the beginning of modernization in community life takes place at the same time with the emergence of the reformist ideas. On the other hand the use of Hungarian is recorded more and more in the intellectual Jewish milieu. During the Enlightenment, the books of prayer had been translated in German. During the dualist Austro-Hungarian period, they would be changed by the Hungarian ones. Consequently there would be a mutation on the linguistic and cultural level. The famous rabbi and historian, Moshe Carmilly-Weinberger upheld the idea that many graduates of the Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest have consolidated the religious life of the communities in Banat and Transylvania, and it was also these graduates who have contributed – by their speeches in Hungarian – to the enrichment of this culture²³. Their activity, in the sense of emancipation, would often be accompanied by that of the men of letters, artists, scientists and also the liberal bourgeoisie. I insisted on the elements concerning the language and culture precisely because emancipation as well as preservation of one's identity were connected by the double situation the modern Jew had to cope with: the civic and religious one.

As for the former it means equal rights like the others, the latter, it means the reform had to ensure the integration in the new ideological paradigms of Europe and the re-birth of their own spirituality. In Banat, the history of this topic overlaps with that of Hungary. But there are also many particular aspects, which should be considered. One can notice that the debates, as well as the solutions are sometimes alike, but never identical. Hungarian aristocracy (with a few exceptions) as well as some other aristocracies in Central and Eastern-Central Europe, were hostile to the emancipation of the Jews. Things were not very different in South-Eastern Europe, where the intelligentsia coming from well-off families, by the middle of the 19th century, was just formulating their theory of national identity. However, the category in question did not have similar ideological opinions. On one hand, their social origin, on the other, liberal western influences made possible obvious differences in setting forth their point of view on emancipation. By taking over the ideas of the Great French Revolution, scholars such as: István Széchenyi and József Eötvös in Hungary, Gábor Döbrentei, Stephan Ludwig Roth, Anton Kurz and Gheorghe Barițiu in Transylvania, Nicolae Bălcescu and Constantin D. Rosenthal in Muntenia, Eftimie Murgu in Banat, were attracted to the ideal of a general emancipation of the peoples in this area. Hence, their plea for the equality of ethnic and religious groups.

The period in which the national consciousness was made up, did not coincide with a period of rejection of any contact with other people, and this explains the presence of several Jews in the culture and politics of the time; even the participation of some of them in the 1848 revolutions in Poland, Hungary, Transylvania, Banat, Muntenia. Distortions concerning the relationship between the majority and Jews only occurred when major difficulties arose regarding national and state emancipation. Therefore the programs of the 1848 Revolution could not be put into practice, and shortly after they were worded, would conflict with nationalism. In a peculiar context, some intellectuals (mainly the aristocrat-nostalgic ones) became the main characters in exalting nationalism²⁴. In general, the intellectual milieu was a fertile ground, where besides the national idea, they were also germinating and developing the nationalistic distortions, either those of Hungarianism, or those of Romanianism and which often gave birth to xenophobia and anti-Semitism²⁵. The emancipation of Jews in Banat was closely related

to full Magyarisation. This was the opinion in the radical circles of intellectuals and revolutionaries of 1848. As stated above, rabbis such as Chorin and Steinhardt had accepted this compromise without any opposition. The community of Arad is almost an exception, in the sense that in its case we did not come across repeated manifestations of insubordination. In the case of Timișoara — although there was no explicit opposition — the rabbis would delay the introduction of Hungarian in synagogues.

In an article published in 1844 in “Pesti Hírlap”, Lajos Kossuth was the spokesman of the radical revolutionaries. He asked for a total reform of Orthodox Jews by appreciating it as a premise for emancipation.²⁶ Hungarian leaders asked for the reformation of Jewish Orthodox socio-administrative institutions, that is those communitarian bodies which had so far settled the inner matters, and also the religious and civic status of each Jew²⁷. In fact they wanted the Jews to give up their names (the Habsburg had asked them a similar thing some decades ago), and this time adopt Hungarian names instead of German ones; to replace Yiddish with Hungarian. What was the explanation of these attitudes? Did they conceal momentary ideological interests, or were they points of view standing for the opinion of the scholars of the time, their judgment and consequently the mental reflexes of the population? A valuable judgment requires thorough examinations and not a hasty answer. There were hard times and I have pointed out that the inner pressures (not only the exterior ones) had doubled.

Pressure, xenophobia and anti-Semitism which were then obvious for the first time in their modern variant in the small East-Central European regions, could be explained by the intellectual impotence of building a national ideology without denying existing diversities. It is one of the great tragedies, which would be nourished for over a century (even nowadays) exclusivist theories, doctrines of extremist parties, the radical option of some significant (sometimes) social segments. Let us return to the facts. During its session of 1839-1840 and 1847-1848, the Hungarian *Dieta* rejected the emancipation requests. However, the enthusiastic support for the revolutionary causes resulted from a manifesto issued by the Jewish Committee of Hungary and Transylvania dated March 17, 1848. Among its signatories there is also a Jew of Banat (Torontal County) – i.e. S.D.Adler²⁸. The issue of Jewish emancipation in Hungary, Banat, Transylvania was presented to

the Hungarian Parliament by Deputy Lajos Schnell; Kossuth would reject it on grounds that such a thing is not possible under those political circumstances²⁹. To support the position of some of the Jews, mainly of those socially, culturally and linguistically integrated in city life, a review “Der ungarischer Israelit” was issued under the supervision of I. Einhorn. It militated for Jewish emancipation.

Beginning with its very first issue, dated April 15, 1848, we learn that among the young people who set Eftimie Murgu free (the main leader of the Romanian revolutionaries in Banat) from Neugebäude Prison in Pest, were some Jews, too.³⁰ This moment points out the existence of close ideals in the 1848 revolution, i.e. they contested the social and political structures of the Empire and the Pest administration. Murgu’s release also indicates a pinnacle in the revolutionary struggle: the release of political convicts. It was not by accident that it caused enthusiasm among the young revolutionaries, either Hungarian, Romanian, Jews and Italian. Journals with a progressive character would increase in number; some of them will resume the Jewish cause in Hungary and Banat supporting it with more arguments than before. Among them, relevant were “Der Südungar” issued at Timișoara, its editor in chief was the Jewish doctor David Wachtel and “Der Patriot” a review issued and printed in Arad, under the supervision of Leopold Jeiteles, pedagogue. The articles and petitions concerning emancipation have considerably increased. There was a lot of pressure in the Jewish circles of Arad, Timișoara, Lugoj. The authorities adopted a conservative attitude; they did not view these things from the collective Jewish outlook, in spite of the fact that the intellectual debates of the issue had had some impact. One can suppose that they were related to *forma mentis* (mental attitude) of Bertalan Szemere, Minister of Interior, which was relevant. He defended himself against pressures, by stating that the Parliament and Government do not have the time necessary to adopt and draw up such a law; it was also him who said that the Hungarian politicians had already indicated that a premise for the Jewish emancipation would be the change of their religious faith³¹.

Considerations on the situation of the Jews in general³², and also on the Jews in Hungary and Banat in particular³³, had not provided (at least in 1848) acceptable solutions for both parties. If for some Jewish intellectuals to resume and accept the Enlightenment ideas conceived and formulated by

Mendelssohn, was the maximum possible in bridging the gap, these represented the great peril of assimilation and the loss of religious identity for the Orthodox Jews.

Hungarian perspectives concerning the nationalities problems.

New political thinking

In Arad, as a consequence of Chorin's activity, a rather significant number of Jews were willing to give up some of the religious indications. They made their option public on April 24, 1848³⁴. On July 8, the same year, The Central Reformist Organisation of Hungarian Israelites (*Ungarischer Israelitische Central Reformverein*) was founded, and it would guide the activity of religious reform in Banat too. During the last meeting of the Diet in Szeged, on July 28, 1849 (when the revolution reached its dramatic stage and when the conflicts increased and it turned into a real war), a law for the emancipation of the Jews was adopted, but the same categorical condition imposed by Kossuth's wing was included: "the religious Mosaic reform according to the demands of the times"³⁵. The more moderate ideas and István Széchenyi's diplomacy were closer to the state of mind of the Jewish intellectuals and the reformist rabbis. Gathering around him some of the most educated people, Széchenyi aspired to Hungary's independence by enforcing a modern European culture and civilization. The ideals of the French Revolution can be found in his political activities and writings. He foresaw a fortunate future for his country, provided that the scholars and politicians cultivate the language, traditions and religious specific features of each people; they would understand to develop flexible relations, mutual points of view with all their neighbours. "Knowing how to conquer hearts – remarked István Széchenyi – is a real art... If you want to be respected, you should first respect the others"³⁶.

According to the Hungarian scholar, the new age was to overcome all limits, to accept the image of the ideal national family. "Let us imagine a national family made up of only one million members, in which so much intellectual power is accumulated, civic virtue, beautiful traditions, so much good taste, advanced science, knowledge of the world, practice, diplomacy, and many more such primordial qualities that it could give anyone a helping hand, good advice, each of its products would be made to perfection in

his/her own environment would feel good and would be liked by anyone, because his bonds, both the family and the social ones, would be charming, and it would be like a cradle and a treasure house of all inventions and progress, and the benefits of institutions and its beneficial character would enjoy all alike... in short, starting from its intellectual superiority, one could say: it is the people of reason. And we must admit, if we do not want to question the very desire for progress and perfection of human kind, that all those they have closer contacts with, should join such a people³⁷.

This longer passage was quoted from the famous speech Széchenyi delivered at the Hungarian Academy in 1842, to see in what consisted the intellectual thought which attracted the progressive people of those times. A socio-political outlook based on justice and equality was identified, a conciliatory spirit and a reformist attitude that inspired the scientific and cultural circles of the revolutionary vanguard; sometimes even the aristocratic ones. The ideal Széchenyi struggled for was only understood by a smaller group among his fellows. His pleas in favour of a general emancipation of the nation and the countries of the Empire, were not accepted by those who had a say in the political matters at the time. Széchenyi was ignored by the radical wing of the revolutionaries of the '40s, the wing that distinguished itself by the firm attitude in the problem of reforming the Mosaic religion.

While Széchenyi had been the promoter of modern ideas, the scholar who drew everybody's the attention because of his overall forecast on the East-Central and Southern-European problems, József Eötvös, is connected to the explicit opposed position shared by the intellectuals of the lesser peoples (under Habsburgic rule) against the Austrian centralism; and the rejection of the conservatory legal system which prolonged the backward mental attitudes of Middle Ages and the public support of the great liberal ideas. In his book *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918*, historian Robert Kann would evaluate some of the several points of view expressed by Eötvös, and considered them worth remembering as they were against the ideology shared by the aristocrats, the class to which the journalist and revolutionary politician proceeded from. Without over-evaluating his merits, we must admit that Eötvös also singled himself out because of his completely different outlook regarding the Jewish emancipation. The brochure entitled *A zsidók emancipációja* [Emancipation of the Jews] also in Italian under the

title *Dissertazione sulla emancipazione degli Ebrei* (Pest, 1842)³⁸, points out a real preoccupation regarding the Jewish problem in the East-Central Europe. “What are the contents of the brochure and how does it bring about the cultural and political debate in the intellectual milieus by the middle of the 19th century? What were the main arguments of the author when he first had to face the public opinion in that area of our continent regarding the problem of equal rights for the Jews similar to the ones in the civilised countries of the world?”

Here is the sentence preceding the analysis, trying to motivate the approach: “The people who, instead of surrounding, survive the extermination war; the people who, deprived of its own country or a centre whose ruins were all sequestered by others and who has come to be considered an enemy for ever, and alien in the place where he lives ...; the people who do not find but adversity and every thing that is more terrible ever since the human history can be related, such a people is the people of Israel”³⁹. Eötvös intended to reveal the prejudices that persisted in the majority of the population for the reason because in the name of Jews, people continued to identify “the foreigner who had a hard heart and does not regularly become attached on the community he lives with, but depending on his needs”. False theories about this subject, often containing misinterpretations of the religious texts make him wonder: “Can any religion be holy since it demeans itself to degeneration and cruelty?” God was never in favour of destruction, the writer said and he also adds that the empathy for the unhappy people of Israel depends on the access of the majority to the modern thinking of the century. “We have our reasons to hope that the true religious belief means accepting all the differences, and this is because God who is adored in church is the God of goodwill; we have the belief that a day will come when people consider some other doctrines better than those of our holy books, doctrines which will come closer to God’s wish to put an end to misunderstandings by love and compassion”⁴⁰. The scholar did not accuse Christian religion, but the way of practising it, which made possible the unjust offences regarding the Jews, formulated and dissipated during the Middle Ages.

Religion cannot be the cause of why the lesser nations in Central-Eastern Europe persist in denying the human rights for Jews. Eötvös believed that the matter would be solved only in a rational way, and the politicians

who turn their backs to invectives will be able to issue the law for the emancipation of Jews. The author of this dissertation explains his orientation by his intimate desire to see his Jewish fellows as citizens with equal rights. It is the right behaviour to recognise the other, in fact, to accept the existence of some pluralist social structures which can, and must interact. In fact the idea of competition which is suggested by this piece of writing points out to the liberal militantism, the acquisition of a new political language, an echo of the Great French Revolution.

Why shouldn't we allot land to the Jews? Eötvös asked. Why shouldn't we reward them for their work? Why shouldn't they be accepted in the corporations of tradesmen or artists, so as to stimulate competition?⁴¹ We must admit that the challenge to a debate in these terms will generate numerous confrontations in the political field, and they will lead to a delay in promulgating the law and also the possibility of using less passionate arguments. Even if the Jews had only been preoccupied by trade – Eötvös said – this is not an argument to be the enemy of the Jews and the human rights. And if this trade had really been a danger to good traditions and morals, then they should have been offered some other means of living. We should need not to see danger everywhere and victimise a whole nation because of some individuals who live on trade – the author rightfully concludes.

The fact that the Jews were following trade because their access to any other profession to earn their living was forbidden for a long time, cannot be denied. Their vocation for commerce, the supposed source of so-called corruption, did not characterise them only. This vocation is not described in the religious books. And still if the trade practised by Jews would be against morality why do not the authorities try to remedy the situation by elaborating and voting the law of emancipation?⁴² Eötvös asked this question because he was sure reason would prevail and the history of medieval conventions and mental reflexes must be overcome. In his opinion, the improvement of all the problems concerning the civic existence of the Jews was to bring about an improvement in the social relations. The example of Holland, France, United States, England are continuously mentioned, in view to correctly evaluate the role of the Law of Emancipation.

If the moral qualities of these people were more and deeper investigated – the author concludes – only elements worth considering by the mankind

would be discovered. A nation that resisted hardships, copes with the cruellest persecutions with the aim of preserving their faith belief, is an elaborated historical-theoretical and political point of view in agreement with that of the Western democratic intellectual, is a remarkable fact. His approach is so much more valuable as – and this is in spite of the numerous disputes, the aggressive anti-Semitism of the years to come – he has contributed for the first time to the promotion of understanding the Jewish matter in the East-Central Europe. Eötvös's analysis reveals a deep research and knowledge of the fundamental books of Judaism, his study of a special bibliography on the subject, an exigency meant to control the truthfulness of the statements of some other authors. The bond between Judaism and Christianity which he suggested does not only rely on a mere speculation or the criteria of common sense⁴³. It starts from the comments of the mediaeval experts or from the examples offered by the books of famous philosopher Moshe Maimonides.

What were the reasons for publishing this extremely challenging book? It was an extremely difficult work to be assimilated by the East-Central European world under the circumstances of the 19th century. Why did Eötvös consider as useful to mention the causes and all the arguments against the Jews in all the Parliamentary speeches, in books and brochures published in Hungary and other countries? Need we admit that this spokesman of the intellectuals was militating for a non-discriminatory treatment? Eötvös strongly believed in the proclaiming of all the great ideas, which could contribute to the elevation of mankind⁴⁴. In his soul he hoped that his country would not be the last in Europe to grant equal rights to the Jews. It is true that his dissertation on emancipation is not very often met with in the cultural-political environment of Europe.

I have mentioned that Széchenyi's ideas concerning modernization were partly accepted by the politicians of the 19th century. I cannot say the same about Eötvös's arguments connected to granting of civil rights to the Jews. Nationalist Romanticism in this part of the continent would be situated on positions opposite to recognition of plural affiliation, rejecting the desire of a significant segment of the Jews. In spite of the fact that Emancipation Law was to be voted by the Hungarian Parliament two decades after Eötvös' work was published, an objective analysis and theoretic interpretation would be delayed for one more century. Only after the Holocaust would

the subject be resumed with consciousness of some of the most refined arguments in István Bibó's study entitled *A zsidókérdés Magyarországon 1944 után* [The Jewish question in Hungary after 1944]. As we can see, the survival of the idea of ethnic state was an impediment against the maturity of political life in the regions east of Vienna. Under the circumstances, the Banat of the 18th century was to find the inner resources necessary to a balanced social behaviour. Its pluriethnic and multiconfessional structures (very emphasized at that moment) have stimulated, if not the ideal suggested by Eötvös at least more freedom of expression and a more flexible structure of the site.

The 1867 Law of emancipation: The reorganization of the Jewish communities of Banat

Following the defeat of the revolution of 1848, the Jews in Banat were accused by the authorities for their active participation in supporting their own demands. Consequently, they were obliged to pay collective fines up to 500,000 Guldens. In 1859, Emperor Franz Joseph II summoned his parliament for the date of April 2, 1861. The early cancellation of this legal institution put off the issue again. In 1866, the representatives of the Jews of Transylvania met in Cluj with a view to analyze the legal condition of the communities in the province. Misunderstandings with the authorities regarding religious practice were obvious. One year later, the Union for Defence of Religion – an association of those Jews who considered unacceptable an emancipation at the cost of giving up the Judaic rules – would issue a newspaper, “Magyar Zsidó” [Hungarian Jew] with the objective of defending the Jewish interests⁴⁵. On November 1867, Prime Minister Gyula Andrassy, put forward to the Parliament a project of a law concerning the Jewish emancipation. On December 22 and 23, 1867, the two chambers of the legislative forum of Pest adopted the project, which was to become Law no. XVII. With 64 votes for and 4 against, the law was put into practice as soon as the emperor signed it. This action started other arguments, this time mainly inside the communities. Some Jews agreed with the provisions of emancipation, those belonging to the group of religious reformers, also

called Neologues; others, faithful to traditions, called Orthodox, had some objections. The ways in which the law was put into practice were settled on the occasion of a Congress of the representatives of the Jews of Transylvania and Hungary⁴⁶. The leader of the Neologue community of Pest, Ignác Hirschler was one of the main supporters of Magyarization. He accepted at the Government's suggestion to limit the debates to as to avoid misunderstandings on religious criteria, uninteresting and with no purpose, according to the Neologue point of view.

By a royal decree, dated June 14, 1869, the new statute was officially approved. According to it, only one community could exist in one town, the Neologue-reformist one. As expected, this decision dissatisfied the Orthodox Jews; they did not obey the law, and in 1871, after two years of struggles, they got the right to organize their own communities. Beginning with the same year, 1871, four types religious communities came into being:

- 1) on the basis of the statute adopted by the Congress, known under the name of *neologues*;
- 2) Orthodox communities;
- 3) communities based on the structure prior the Congress, called *status-quo ante*,
- 4) independent communities, not affiliated to any of the three types.

The mixed condition of the Jewish population in Banat is easily perceived in Timișoara and Arad, where the documentary sources indicate the existence of all the above-mentioned community structures⁴⁷. The same aspect of scattering in the Jewish communities came out due to the fact that a branch of Alliance Israelite Universelle, led by Dr. Rabbi Moritz Hirschfeld, was set up in Timișoara⁴⁸. On the other hand, this rapid connection of the Jews of Timișoara to the international bodies meant to uphold their rights, to promote their material and cultural interests, to defend them against the anti-Semitic denigration, that was popular in the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of the 19th century, is quite remarkable. There was no cause to worry, because recognition of their emancipation on a large scale will not be effective shortly after the promulgation of the law. On one hand because of the attitude of the population would not change every other year, the backward behaviours (of mediaeval origin)

were still present. On the other hand, the authorities themselves (after the splitting of power between Austria and Hungary) have promoted a nationalistic policy in which myth, irrationality, traditional wisdom and modern discourse would meet. During the period in question, the anti-Semitic movements had intensified across the Empire. A real anti-Semitic ideology was coming into being, with a press built on this doctrine, with representatives periodically meeting in international congresses self-proclaimed anti-Semitic, causing scandals, proposing the rebirth of the image of the ritual man, with the aim of dissemination of a mass policy.

During 1882 and 1902 more trials took place on the subject of the so-called ritual murder. One of them, which had a strong impact in Transylvania and Banat, took place in Tiszaeszlár during 1882-1883. It was an event that offered a peculiar perspective over the relationship between Jews and Christians in Central Europe after the official recognition of emancipation⁴⁹. The investigation in Tiszaeszlár on the disappearance and the presumed death of the young girl named Eszter Solymosi, aged 14, lasted for 14 months, from April 1882 till June 1883, and was followed by a criminal trial in which 15 Jews of the neighboring town Nyiregyháza were accused. During his plead, the Public Ministry represented by Ede Szezyffert adopted an unusual attitude by recommending the acquittal of the suspects charged with ritual murder. On August 3, 1883, the Judges pronounced the verdict: "They were innocent". According to historian Hilel J. Kieval, "the confrontations provoked between Jews and their accusers, collided in an unpredictable manner with the cultural and political configuration destroying the balance of the social and communitarian Jewish life: these disputes single out a significant set of misunderstandings and suspicions questioning the very prerequisites from which the Jewish emancipation has started: their belonging to mankind, their status of Europeans and their fundamental resemblance with the non-Jews⁵⁰.

The Jews of Banat inside of the multiconfessional and multicultural world

Considered over a period of over a century, the reform and emancipation of the Jews are two crucial events of the Jewish Diaspora. They brought about many debates, both inside and outside the Judaic civilization. Complemen-

tary points of view were seldom obvious, emotional stress being a dominant feature in the historical studies or religious debates. The latter is also the reason why I have tried to reveal things in a credible manner. I placed the two phenomena, i.e. reform and emancipation face to face; I hoped that by doing so, I shall not omit the temptation of religious novelties, of those adaptations to the modern times of *Homo Religiosus*; adaptations proposed in a personal manner by the rabbi of Arad, Aron Chorin; on the other hand I have tried to understand the aspiration of identifying the Jew with the social and political aspirations of Central and East-Central Europe. In the former case, one could see that the efforts that were started from the local rabbinate and extended across the region, even the area, have caused a diversification of the religious trends, the adoption of a new statute of the communities.

But this division did not deeply affect the Jewry. During the latter case, one could notice that assimilation was not the factor that becomes predominant in the options of the communities of Banat. The Jewish families do not split up; religion is not abandoned or replaced by another one. It is true that there is a percentage within the Jewish population which have opted for mixed families, and I have traced back this aspect in the cases of Arad and Timișoara, where I made a novel research of historical sociology⁵¹. It is the case of a minority among the Jews (at least 1895-1940) a period for which I have analyzed the information contained in the marriage registers in the municipal archives) which could not deny its own identity. On the contrary, it bridged the gap with “alterity”. This finding is not valid for certain regions, but can be hardly contradicted when I speak in *stricto sensu* about the area between the Mureș and the Danube. Then, to what conclusion does the entire emancipation in Banat lead to? The Jew of this area very well illustrates a concept like that of multiple identities. Pluriethnic cohabitation, multi-professionalism and the languages spoken there have generated a civic society in which pluralism was at home. The Banat region was probably one of the few successful cultural and political experiences of the Habsburgs, if we consider the experiment started in 1716 and carried on up to 1850; it was pre-eminently the space of convergence and not that of divergence, of interculturality and not only that of a single ethnic or religious culture. Therefore, I think that here we should understand reform and emancipation in a different light. I can rather – in certain more privi-

leged regions, due to historical circumstances, geographical locations and mental reflexes made up in time – single out the positive aspect of the two phenomena; less or not at all the tragic consequences of such options.

Likewise, in the case of the history of the Jews in Maramureş, Bohemia, Galitia, Croatia, Slovakia, the Banat regional identity get more complicated because of the cultural and religious configuration; moreover, because the multiple identity, as much as it can be identified there, is rather an acquired one, and less a natural born one. (There are some exceptions, too). Last, but not least, because one of the national groups has always been trying to impose itself, by making use of the theory of historical right, some other times the theory of cultural and civilization superiority, or the demographic statistics which indicated their superiority in number. As a rule, in the latter disputes, the Jew was inside the interval reserved to the minority under all aspects. Hence the necessity of options according to the political, linguistic, social circumstances. Other times, according to his own reflections and feelings. It is an essential aspect that stands for the background for the understanding of the differences between the emancipation phenomenon in Banat and the neighboring regions.

Mutual tolerance went without saying in Banat, the multiethnic and multi-religious “melting pot” here explains why reform has first rank representatives in the communities of Arad and Timișoara. It explains why assimilation – in spite of the hasty reform and emancipation – did not penetrate the masses. It shows how it was possible that later on, during World War II, Timișoara was the main refuge of the Jews in the whole area, and also why one of the strongest Zionistic movements in East-Central Europe developed here. Without exaggerating I can state that the past of the Jews in Banat in the 19th century is an unusual picture, where the Jewish condition perfectly overlaps with the historical process of the peoples in this part of the continent. Viewed in depth, but also horizontally, the reform and emancipation in Banat offers a good topic for meditation and evaluation of a fragment, also part of Judaic Diaspora in the sequence of controversies.

Notes

1. *Bruckental Library of Sibiu*, Pressmark 11,603 and 12,684.

2. Library of the Unique Protestant Theological Institute of Cluj, Pressmark 4721, Teleky-Bolyai Library of Tîrgu Mures (Teleki Funds), Pressmark VI, 9719.
3. *Bruckental Library*, Pressmark VI, 9719.
4. *Central University Library* of Cluj, Pressmark 28249.
5. *Ibidem*, Pressmark 30440, *Bruckental Library of Sibiu*, Pressmark VI, 13579.
6. *Ibidem*, Pressmark VI, 12844.
7. *Ibidem*, Pressmark VI, 12467. I have only mentioned some of the titles of Mendelssohn's work (all first editions), which are to be found in the old funds of the Transylvanian libraries. These show a steady interest in Mendelssohn in the intellectual circles, mainly the Protestants, but also the Catholic ones in East-Central Europe. My thanks go to my late colleague Eugen Glück for his kindness of having indicated to me these pressmarks. Let us also mention that during the past century, Mendelssohn's writings will also penetrate the Christian Orthodox circles: it is the case of the famous book: *Jerusalem oder über religiöse Macht und Judentum*, which can be found in the funds of Nifon, metropolitan bishop of Ungro-Wallachia, today in the funds of the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest.
8. *Az aradi izr. hitközség a XIX-ik évszázadban* [The Israeli Community of Arad during the 19th century] manuscript elaborated for office use of the community. See *Archive of the Jewish Community in Arad*, (AJCA), File no. 67, 1902/1911 sheets 1-10.
9. Moshe Carmilly-Weinberger, *Istoria evreilor din Transilvania* [The History of the Jews in Transylvania], Bucharest, Editura Enciclopedică, 1994, p. 110.
10. See the explanation of this argument at *Idem*, *Censorship and Freedom of Expression in Jewish History*, (New York: Sepher Hermon Press, 1977).
11. Among the works authored by Aron Chorin on reform, I mention: *Shirjon Kaskasim*, (Prague, 1799); *Emek Hashaveh* (Prague, 1803);

Igeret Ellassaf oder Senderschreiben eines Afrikanisher Rabbi an seinen Collegen in Europa mit einem Vorworte, (Prague, 1826); *Davar Beito*, (Vienna, 1820), *Jeled Zekunin*, (Vienna, 1939). *Jeled Zekunin* is the title of the work in which Chorin narrates his life and what the religious reforms are (in his opinion). To approve the use of organ music in the synagogue of Arad (which Chorin served) see the application signed by Moricz Klein, the organ player, addressed to the community to hire him; according to *AJCA*, File no.5, year 1845, sheet 74.

12. According to *AJCA*, File no. 67, 1902/1911, sheets 1-10. In *AJCA* one can find of requests addressed to the royal Committals Council, for the building of a synagogue; the approach is in accordance with the official regulations and accompanied by a commitment to respect the conditions of the country. According to the *AJCA*, File no. 2 (1800-1829), sheets 28-31 (the copy of the document). In 1822, the Royal County of Arad approves the request of building a reformed synagogue; according to *AJCA*, File no.2, sheets 38-39. Elaborated in German and Latin, the document is dated Arad, January 22, 1822 and is signed by Emericus Gombos on behalf of the County Administration Board. Another document proves that during 1820-1821, 9512 Guldens (the contribution of 104 people) had been collected for the building of the new Synagogue. According to *AJCA* File no.2/ 1802-1829 sheets 44-51.

13. *Ibidem*, File no. 67, sheet 7.

14. *AJCA*, File no. 2/1802, 1829, sheets 43-45 (the copy of the document elaborated in Latin).

15. *Ibidem*, File no. 2 sheets 125-128, is a register in alphabetical order of the Jewish community of Arad, in which the Jewish institutions and societies are mentioned.

16. See the Documentary Annex. Many of the existing sources in the Archives of the Arad and Timișoara Jewish Communities point out to the aspect of subordination to local authorities, mainly the one of intercommunity connections all over Banat and the Arad county. For instance the statues of the lesser communities in the archives of Timișoara and Arad are elaborated in agreement with the *Landesrab-*

binate of the capital of Banat. The documents also mention the elements of administration, which speak about the mutual dependencies of the communitarian institution; the rabbis got together sometimes; other times they wrote to each other and take religious or simply administrative decisions together. This is proven by the fact that representative of Jews in Arad, Timiș-Torontal and Caraș-Severin counties also belonged to the “wide” Community Council. Beginning with 1888, this council had annual meetings. See for example *Jegyzőkönyve hitközségeire kiterjedő* (Written report of the Jewish Communitarian Council of the Arad, Timiș-Torontal and Caraș-Severin Counties) Temesvár, 1901 (the council was directed by Salomon Sternthall at that time, on behalf of the whole region). Commemorations of some pre-eminent figures were not only conventional meetings, but also mutual recognition. See in this respect, document on sheet 250, dated 1859 (in fact very important), File no. 3, *AJCT*. It is an illustrating synthesis of the speeches delivered on the occasion of the burial of chief rabbi David M. Oppenheimer by the rabbis of Szeged, Arad, Lugoj, Theresiopol (Vinga). The document was quoted for the first time by dr. Moriz Löwy, *Skizzen zur Geschichte der Juden in Temesvar bis zum Jahre 1865*, (Szeged, 1890), pp. 82-53.

17. *AJCA*, File no. 2, 1802-1829, sheets 125-128, year 1829. The document also indicates details concerning their organization. For schools and for the societies that were founded, there were financial statutes, independent from each other. For instance, for schools: they were located in the nearest proximity of synagogues and their activities interfered. Therefore the money intended for synagogues was also used for schools. A representative of the community, Moshe Hirschl managed the capital, and it was in the beginning 2400 Florins. In the case of societies, their statutes specified the persons who could become members, their duties and rights; what was the sum of money each member had to contribute with to the funds of a society. For its administration there was a board made up from President, vice-president, cashier, secretary.

18. *AJCA*, File no. 3, 1830-1839, sheets 125-126.

19. Şimand – a locality situated 25 km north of Arad — the first Jewish community during the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century existed here. After the World War II it was dissolved. Today, no Jews live in this locality, but a Jewish graveyard was preserved in rather good conditions. It is (like many others) an evidence of the active presence of the Jews in the smaller localities of the region.
20. Moshe Carmilly-Weinberger, *The History of the Jews in Transylvania (Istoria evreilor din Transilvania)*, Bucharest, Editura Enciclopedică, 1994, p. 126.
21. See in this respect, also the explanation in *Zsidó Lexikon* [Jewish Lexicon], sheets 170-171. In recent German lexicons, Chorin is considered an advocate of the radical reform: according to *Neues Lexikon des Judentums*, Herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Julius H. Schoeps, Bertelsmann, (Lexicon Verlag Gutersloh / München, 1992), p.95.
22. See the well-documented study signed by Moshe Carmilly-Weinberger, entitled: “Jewish writers confronted by censorship in the Habsburg Empire and Romania in the 18th-19th century”, in *Studia Judaica* (Cluj: “Babes-Bolyai” University Press, 1993), vol. II, pp. 30-31.
23. Moshe Carmilly-Weinberger, *op.cit.*, p. 127. The author shows that many of them had suffered the martyrdom together with their communities in the deportation of 1944. See Idem, *The Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest* concerning their activity, (New York, 1986). As for the rabbis of Banat – unlike those in Transylvania – they continue to serve in more languages like in the years of dualism, during the 20th century too. Among the remarkable examples I mention Ludovic Vágvölgyi (1906-1941) rabbi of Arad and Dr. Miksa Drechsler (1910 – 1966) rabbi of Timișoara.
24. István Bibó, *Misere des petits Etats d'Europe de l'est*, translated from Hungarian by György Kassai, (Paris: Editions l'Harmattan, 1986).
25. In a theoretical study I have analyzed the causes of Anti-Semitism in Romanian culture and policy, during the second half of the 19th century. See Victor Neumann, “*Repere culturale ale antisemitismului din*

- România secolului al 19-lea* [Cultural reference points of the anti-Semitism in the 19th century Romania], in “Societate și Cultură” (journal of the Institute of Social Theory of Romanian Academy), no. 3 and 4 of 1994. The study was also published in *Ideea care ucide. Dimensiunile ideologiei legionare*, [The Idea which kills. Dimensions of the Iron-Guard Ideology], (Bucharest: Noua Alternativa Publishing House, 1994), pp. 35-54; also see the chapter of this book entitled: “Problema evreilor reflectată în cultura modernă” [The Jews’ problems reflected in the Romanian culture], pp. 161-211.
26. Apud Friedrich Gottas, *Ungarn im Zeitalter des Hochliberalismus. Studien zur Tisza-Ära (1875-1890)*, (Vienna, 1976), p.164. Also see for the same issue of emancipation Venetianer Lajos, *A magyar zsidóság története* [History of the Hungarian Jewry], (Budapest 1922), p. 139. In 1986, Ray Tamás, rabbi of Budapest re-edited this fundamental work for the study of the history of Hungarian Jews.
27. I also studied the manuscript of the article written by the historian William Marin (former professor at the University of Timișoara at present residing in the town of Hagen, Germany), entitled: “Emanciparea civică a evreilor bănățeni și transilvăneni în secolele XVII-XIX” [Civic emancipation of the Banatian and Transylvanian Jews in the 17th-19th centuries], submitted at the annual academic session of scientific papers of Timișoara, May 27-29, 1983. My thanks go to the same professor for the documentary and bibliographic advice, that he kindly offered to me. In a few articles which I consider worth mentioning for their well documentation, as well as in the book *Unirea Banatului cu România*, (Timișoara, 1978), W. Marin revealed unknown events from the past of the Jews in this county. I owe him my gratitude for his recommendation to “Fredrich Ebert” Foundation in Bonn, whose fellow I was for a period of three months, a time when I could also read on the subject, by studying in the libraries of Bonn, Heidelberg, Wolfenbüttel and Berlin.
28. Apud Bernstein Béla, *Az 1848/49-iki magyar szabadságharc és a zsidók*, Budapest, 1939, p. 41.
29. “Pesti Hírlap” of April 7, 1848.

30. “Der ungarischer Israelit” of April 15, 1848. The news is quoted by “*Temesvarer Wochenblatt*” of April 22, 1848, p. 136, without mentioning the Jewish participation and in a mistaken transcription of Eftimie Murgu’s name (written Emanuel instead of Eftimie) which can indicate that in some German journalistic circles in Timișoara, neither the Jewish, nor the Romanian cultural and political personalities were known. Or, maybe, the events, which were not in favor of authorities, were simply ignored. Still it was a crucial historical moment sensed by the entire Empire. This is the explanation of the fact that a great number of journals were issued, facilitating thus a better information. “*Der Südungar*” issued in Timișoara and “*Der Patriot*” in Arad became important to the Jews in Banat. See the introductory study to Eftimie Murgu’s *Scrieri* [Writings], signed by I.D. Suci, on the activity of the Romanian revolutionaries in the Caraș county (in the south of Banat with the capital in Lugoj), (Bucharest: Editura pentru literatură, 1969), pp.12-89. Murgu was investigated in 1845 and at the beginning of the following year was sent to Buda under escort, and then imprisoned in Neugebäude. The reasons given by the authorities were his actions of disturbing law and order, his struggle for equality of rights for the Romanian population, dissipation of some ideas adverse to the aristocracy of the Diet from Pest (the same Diet which also rejected the emancipation of Jews). Mention must be made that the interference of problems that occurred during 1848, as well as during the century of nationalities, make us more reserved regarding an exclusive nationalistic approach, which is still practised by many authors of Central and South-Eastern Europe. Because some of them prefer to promote the national stereotypes, they often neglect for instance the ideas of equality and fraternity, which are for sure as significant as the national ones. Similarly, the right for the civic representativeness in the ruling organizations. Social and economic emancipation although an important issue not to be ignored was often minimized in favour of the national one. We tend to believe that the historical writings of that part of the continent could play an important role in changing the attitudes, provided that they change the nationalistic regimes of the 20th century.

31. Bernstein, *op. cit.*, pp.114-115 and 152-153. Information also quoted by W. Marin in *op. cit.*
32. See Daniel Ehrmann, *Betrachtungen über jüdische Verhältnisse*, (Pest, 1841).
33. Elias Oesterreicher, *Der Jude in Ungarn*, (Pest, 1842).
34. "Pesti Hírlap" of May 3, 1848.
35. Bernstein, *op.cit.* pp. 259-260.
36. See István Széchenyi, *Közjóra való törekedések* [Aspirations to public welfare], Edited by Benkő Samu, (Bucharest: *Kriterion* Publishing House, 1981), pp.213-231. According also to István Széchenyi, "Discurs ținut la ședința solemnă a Academiei Ungare de Științe din 27 noiembrie 1842" [Speech delivered at the solemn meeting of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on November 27, 1842], in collection *1848 with the Romanians. A History in Dates and Testimonies* edited by Cornelia Bodea, (Bucharest: Științifică și Enciclopedică Publishing House, 1982), pp. 199-211.
37. István Széchenyi, *op.cit.*, to evaluate his political judgement and interference of Central and South-eastern European problems, see V. Neumann, *Convergențe spirituale* [Spiritual convergences. Studies concerning the cultural and political relations in Central and South-eastern Europe from 1750 to 1850], (Bucharest: Eminescu Publishing House, 1984), pp. 84-101.
38. See the new edition in Hungarian, published under the supervision of Gábor Szigeti, (Budapest: Magvető Publishing House, 1981).
39. According to Giuseppe di Eötvös, *Dissertazione sulla emancipazione degli Ebrei*, (Pest, 1842), p. 3. I used the Italian edition, as this was the only available. Mention must be made that the Italian version points out to my interest to make known his ideas concerning Jewish emancipation outside the intellectual Hungarian environment, too.
40. *Ibidem*, p. 6.
41. *Ibidem*, p. 9.

42. *Ibidem*, pp. 19-20.
43. *Ibidem*, p. 47-59.
44. *Ibidem*, p. 70-73.
45. Martin Philippon, *Neueste Geschichte des jüdisches Volkes*, vol. I, (Leipzig, 1907), apud W. Marin *op. cit.*, p. 5. Also see Groszmann Zsigmond, “Emancipáció a magyar zsidók polgári egyenjogusítása” [Emancipation of Hungarian Jews as citizens with similar rights] in *Zsidó Lexicon* [Jewish Lexicon], p. 224.
46. The Banat county was known at the time under the name of *Dél-magyarország* [Southern Hungary].
47. *AJCT*, Files no. 5-8, where the statutes of the communities are to be found: Orthodox, *status quo* (Neologue), and *status quo ante*. The Neolog community of Timișoara was the most numerous one at the end of the 19th century. A similar situation was in Arad and Lugoj, a community of the same rite that was the co-ordinator of the religious and administrative life.
48. “*Temesvarer Zeitung*” of January 25, 1868 and February 4, 1868.
49. For an overall objective view of Hungary from 1879 to 1918, see Robert Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918*, chapter “Decline and Discord”, (Berkeley / Los Angeles / London: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 452-461. About the trials for the so-called ritual murder, see the latest study containing a thorough analysis, and that of Tiszaeszlár, in Hilel J. Kieval, “Antisemitism ou savoir social? Sur la genèse du proces moderne du meurtre ritual” in *Annals no. 5*, Sept.-October 1994, pp. 1091-1105.
50. Kieval, *op.cit.*, pp. 1092-1093.
51. Our research was carried on in The Registry Offices of Arad and Timișoara. Registers of Marriages during 1895-1940. The data I gathered indicate the existence of a percentage within the Jewish population which accepted mixed marriages, for example those to Roman-Catholics, Protestants, Greek-Catholics and Orthodox. Most Jews continued (in the same period) the tradition of marriage

inside the community. It is interesting and worth remembering that such an investigation could help us to learn the social structure of the Jewish population in the two cities of Banat. I shall resume this very important aspect. See also the Documentary Annex – the statistical tables concerning the marriages of the population of Arad.

Documentary Annex***Statistical Data Concerning the Marriages of the Jewish Population of Arad in 1895-1940***

The Registry Office, The Magistrate of Arad, Register of Marriages¹
Arad – Monogamous Jews marriages

No. of registration	1895		His profession
	His age	Her age	
19	32	29	19
42	30	31	05
56	31	26	17
70	38	23	13
77	23	17	05
84	27	35	05
89	49	43	14

1. Significance of the codes indicating the profession:

- 03 – worker;
- 04 – handicraftsman;
- 05 – merchant;
- 06 – technician;
- 07 – engineer, professor;
- 08 – *physician, lawyer*;
- 09 – teacher;
- 10 – civil servant (accountant, economist)
- 11 – landlord;
- 12 – trader;
- 18 – manufacturer (factory owner)
- 19 – director of an enterprise.

1896

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
13	44	27	05
14	34	25	18
19	29	23	05
67	24	23	05
68	27	26	05
80	22	19	05
81	25	25	04
97	32	20	05
109	55	35	05
118	27	26	05
120	27	26	05

1897

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
2	28	28	05
4	27	25	05
35	32	20	10
58	40	26	19
73	40	26	19
73	26	32	04
75	28	20	05
98	34	38	05
107	29	24	05
108	32	28	14
114	26	23	05
114	26	23	18
134	32	22	10
135	52	34	10
136	50	34	05
143	32	24	05
145	27	24	05
148	23	18	10

1898

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
4	37	24	18
11	24	23	04
20	26	24	05
20	26	24	05
22	29	23	05
23	24	22	05
27	25	17	04
28	25	22	03
29	23	22	05
36	30	26	05

1899

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
1	24	29	04
8	35	25	05
10	25	20	09
21	30	28	03
29	33	20	06
44	41	27	05
66	43	26	05
67	25	22	04
69	27	20	06
70	26	24	10
80	27	24	04

1900

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
186	26	19	05
187	48	45	16
201	30	23	17
207	27	21	05
211	27	24	04
232	29	25	04
236	30	25	08
240	25	23	04
242	59	32	05
243	70	57	04
245	37	23	09

1901

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
89	30	27	05
99	25	22	10
119	26	30	04
125	28	21	05
127	28	21	10
131	30	27	10
131	26	24	05
155	32	27	12
156	43	32	05
160	37	24	14

1902

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
8	25	24	04
9	55	44	09
22	55	41	10
23	28	22	04
49	48	48	07
71	58	44	03
73	34	28	05
74	24	24	03
84	36	38	17
87	33	25	06
88	25	21	04
90	27	26	07

1903

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
2	59	33	09
9	23	39	19
10	31	26	19
10	31	26	10
12	24	24	05
18	56	39	14
23	35	26	04
27	26	22	04
50	35	30	05
58	33	23	10

1904

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
9	47	33	17
10	29	20	10
19	25	25	12
22	29	28	05
35	28	28	04
36	27	20	13
37	34	26	10
55	24	21	10
57	32	27	05
60	36	34	06
63	46	31	04

1905

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
12	25	19	10
14	43	32	12
20	26	23	05
24	38	25	09
26	26	23	10
41	31	36	05

1906

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
12	27	24	09
16	29	33	07
32	34	22	03
70	41	27	04
82	35	26	04
109	37	25	10
120	45	33	05
135	31	20	10
144	24	22	05
149	30	23	05

1907

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
6	57	49	04
21	29	26	05
29	40	32	05
37	25	20	05
56	32	33	12
61	46	30	00
69	31	24	04
74	34	21	10
77	30	23	04
80	26	25	17
85	32	20	05
94	30	20	05
119	39	32	05

1908

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
16	26	22	05
23	27	23	05
28	32	21	09
95	31	23	95
98	28	23	17
104	25	22	04
115	32	28	04
121	58	38	05
128	29	28	04
151	35	21	05
168	26	19	09
177	31	20	10
184	43	33	05
185	27	21	05
186	23	21	09

1909

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
4	33	23	04
12	38	21	10
13	34	22	14
23	26	22	05
60	28	21	05
66	27	20	17
84	32	21	12
93	39	21	05
107	31	29	09
115	33	23	07

128	37	23	09
132	29	23	05
186	27	18	07
187	25	23	10
190	54	33	05
192	54	33	05
192	54	33	05
192	33	24	05
194	34	20	05
203	24	20	05
203	24	20	00
217	29	20	03
219	30	25	07

1910

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
11	44	42	05
13	32	31	05
22	25	27	04
25	58	39	04
32	30	20	12
56	52	Nec.	04
62	35	23	05
77	42	34	10
88	27	18	04
95	26	22	08
218	22	20	04
123	31	37	05
124	46	27	05
132	29	26	03
140	26	26	05
142	26	26	05
142	44	27	09

1911

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
19	33	21	06
22	28	21	05
32	23	20	09
33	24	21	04
59	26	19	00
67	25	24	05

1912

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
77	27	19	05
98	35	45	04
118	35	20	10
134	53	20	00
136	53	55	00
136	34	26	10
139	30	27	05
140	28	33	04
154	32	25	05
159	26	19	00
167	25	29	05
185	29	20	05
187	45	44	14
190	27	22	05

1913

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
9	30	26	10
11	31	35	05
66	35	23	06
75	26	19	05
76	57	43	10
78	29	20	10
80	26	24	06
84	35	32	10
87	33	27	00
110	64	60	10
112	24	22	17
120	35	22	05
123	30	26	05
142	24	22	05
146	30	22	14
177	28	20	06
178	30	24	05
200	25	23	07
201	26	23	05
211	25	21	05

1914

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
6	27	20	08
23	24	20	09
23	35	24	03
24	59	36	05

36	54	38	19
23	28	24	05
82	28	24	09
93	23	18	04
94	23	23	05
113	26	26	05
123	60	48	09
126	32	21	06
129	21	22	04

1915

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
9	28	23	04
99	25	22	09
106	52	39	05
116	24	25	10
123	35	30	05
126	27	45	04
148	30	24	07
161	39	27	16
162	22	20	10
163	21	24	07
175	23	23	10
188	23	20	06
201	26	20	07
217	35	20	07
241	43	38	14
247	26	19	04
251	58	43	05

1916

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
9	26	26	05
34	27	19	10
79	32	39	05
80	26	18	10
88	25	22	10
126	31	23	04
131	28	26	09
168	28	25	05
172	38	35	05
210	24	22	05
228	24	24	09
263	24	21	04
288	34	18	06

1917

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
1	25	27	05
6	26	20	13
25	36	22	06
41	41	30	17
75	48	32	10
101	34	23	05
124	26	24	09
183	41	35	05
184	23	22	05

1918

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
2	29	23	04
11	60	19	19
37	33	33	10
51	39	3	05
66	29	26	09
72	45	33	05
73	29	25	09
94	27	26	09
95	27	26	08
106	66	58	04
107	39	28	05
110	31	29	09
120	26	25	05
128	37	35	05
129	33	28	08
137	37	27	02
138	47	29	05
139	33	2	06
140	28	18	10
143	25	29	07
154	44	33	05
164	55	30	05
166	33	21	10

1919			
No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
11	27	25	04
13	24	29	04
16	35	21	06
33	25	24	09
42	27	27	05
100	27	26	03
105	34	27	04
110	29	25	05
122	29	25	09
138	25	20	05
146	57	43	04
166	27	21	05
207	54	37	00
216	22	21	04
227	25	28	04
233	23	24	05
235	29	26	05
244	25	22	05
247	27	27	03
255	25	19	09
258	29	24	05
262	56	33	03
264	22	19	05
265	65	52	05
272	23	19	04
273	28	22	05
274	53	39	10
275	24	22	05
285	24	22	06

289	27	24	09
331	27	22	05
333	31	23	05
341	27	33	05
342	53	55	04
365	24	20	19
369	29	31	08
370	35	23	07
375	31	24	05
391	30	26	04
398	30	24	05
406	68	48	16
408	31	21	10
415	29	23	10
425	31	45	05

1920

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
11	26	23	09
14	33	23	05
21	47	30	05
25	32	21	04
26	24	21	05
29	25	26	10
35	33	27	10
40	27	25	05
55	26	23	05
116	28	25	05
124	38	33	05
126	21	18	04

127	26	25	09
140	24	21	05
151	59	43	05
154	22	20	17
164	31	21	09
165	31	21	09
166	25	23	14
178	24	18	05
190	32	28	04
215	48	38	05
217	33	26	04
221	31	26	07
238	29	27	03
245	25	28	10
283	27	34	10
284	26	23	05
285	38	28	05
286	24	19	04
335	27	23	05
336	45	35	09
339	26	21	09
343	28	22	05
347	28	24	05
348	40	33	05
353	29	27	05
356	25	21	09
359	25	21	05

1921			
No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
2	38	30	08
16	36	28	05
19	24	23	08
23	33	23	05
26	29	20	05
28	28	23	08
29	23	23	05
41	60	45	10
56	30	25	14
59	27	32	04
63	21	18	10
82	35	23	05
83	36	24	05
84	34	19	05
96	28	21	08
132	30	21	05
150	30	23	05
154	24	22	04
158	47	40	05
160	29	21	09
174	29	21	05
182	24	31	09
215	19	23	08
230	33	33	05
231	21	18	05
232	31	23	05
241	37	30	05

1922			
No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
24	38	27	09
27	34	39	05
34	28	22	05
42	36	37	05
45	26	29	05
45	27	19	05
53	34	30	17
57	31	24	19
69	36	36	03
81	30	32	05
85	32	23	05
86	33	12	05
101	0	34	05
106	32	27	12
113	43	37	09
115	48	35	05
120	28	24	05
121	26	17	05
124	43	33	05
130	39	32	04
134	31	26	03
138	26	26	05
145	36	31	05
151	24	24	03
180	21	25	05
185	68	50	05
187	28	25	03
214	58	30	09

1923			
No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
1	28	27	10
6	27	24	09
7	34	32	10
16	27	28	05
24	31	28	09
27	27	22	09
28	39	28	07
29	35	27	05
34	40	31	07
36	30	26	05
37	36	27	05
45	21	21	05
55	27	28	03
58	40	25	05
72	51	47	09
82	32	26	09
83	25	24	05
103	46	45	05
116	25	21	05
117	27	19	09
118	26	19	05
139	60	20	19
141	34	27	19
142	27	25	05
146	31	28	04

1924			
No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
5	40	35	09
6	30	21	05
9	28	22	12
10	28	29	05
30	30	22	09
37	38	23	06
60	41	35	08
61	29	25	08
65	37	31	17
76	31	22	05
86	42	22	07
91	26	25	05
93	25	24	05
101	24	22	04
103	49	52	05
116	27	19	19
134	29	20	09
145	30	21	05
156	29	23	09
158	51	48	05
171	41	30	05
172	45	36	06
187	34	28	05
208	35	38	05
209	31	23	06

1925

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
3	33	29	08
8	24	23	04
14	30	20	05
17	58	48	09
19	36	27	05
41	36	28	07
48	30	30	05
52	33	24	06
65	28	26	05
78	28	24	05
82	39	33	06
83	40	30	05
86	29	24	09
94	50	40	10
123	25	21	05
134	35	26	04
137	30	24	10
142	52	35	05
147	25	20	05
149	25	27	05
151	26	25	08
152	46	57	05
158	25	20	09
184	40	35	09
192	34	32	05
193	28	19	09
194	44	41	04
196	26	28	06
215	37	26	09
253	24	20	07
257	31	20	07
258	25	16	04
264	26	26	05

265	41	33	09
279	21	22	09
283	26	27	05

1926

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
17	48	23	04
17	22	23	10
19	29	22	05
20	26	25	09
24	30	34	05
31	27	27	05
33	24	21	05
42	38	28	04
43	27	27	05
49	59	46	09
57	25	20	05
67	24	21	09
73	33	27	19
80	25	21	05
85	25	21	10
92	24	20	04
96	34	25	07
100	31	30	05
107	58	43	05
124	31	23	10
142	42	26	04
143	24	24	05
149	29	24	05
160	30	23	18
166	26	30	06

1927

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
2	30	21	07
8	35	21	04
11	30	19	05
21	32	30	19
30	27	26	04
39	38	25	06
57	33	26	09
65	36	27	06
78	23	29	04
81	43	42	05
88	24	30	05
93	50	36	05
96	29	17	05
97	39	26	17
98	32	24	12
104	46	37	05
111	31	23	05
116	35	31	10
120	28	23	05
122	24	30	04
124	47	32	05
128	30	21	05
135	27	19	10

1928			
No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
5	66	66	05
6	27	29	07
22	30	21	07
33	28	23	06
41	33	31	06
43	25	20	04
60	29	26	05
61	26	20	09
63	32	32	09
72	26	21	03
88	37	26	05
98	25	25	03
101	59	30	12
121	29	19	09
139	25	32	04
145	26	25	05
147	60	48	09
149	34	22	07
164	36	40	05
169	35	22	05
178	35	27	06
181	25	23	05
182	30	20	09
193	25	21	17
196	27	23	09

1929			
No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
5	35	30	04
7	49	38	05
14	28	23	05
21	32	22	05
33	25	23	05
34	32	40	04
44	24	25	09
48	35	41	04
49	49	42	04
54	28	25	19
59	37	28	07
66	38	35	04
73	30	22	09
89	31	32	04
88	29	23	05
101	24	20	09
126	32	28	05
139	32	22	04
152	28	24	18
159	26	25	09
190	31	19	05
193	34	24	05
211	44	30	05
217	22	21	04
229	25	23	03
230	33	31	09

1930			
No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
4	22	22	05
19	38	30	05
40	27	28	06
49	34	32	03
50	38	27	05
51	26	21	05
70	45	41	07
81	28	19	09
82	26	26	09
88	36	24	06
91	29	24	09
92	39	29	04
96	75	69	19
108	23	22	05
110	25	19	05

1931

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
7	27	22	04
15	36	25	05
16	33	28	04
44	44	34	05
55	26	25	09
59	48	43	09
69	41	39	05
71	58	55	09
104	28	22	05
106	30	27	10
109	28	29	10
111	30	25	05
118	27	20	12
127	26	26	05
128	49	49	12
181	43	28	05
182	26	21	09
192	26	20	05
198	26	19	05
208	26	26	05
231	60	48	05
232	25	38	03

1932			
No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
11	45	26	05
38	37	37	05
51	28	23	09
59	24	23	05
63	23	22	04
64	24	27	09
76	24	19	05
77	26	18	05
78	28	22	05
98	26	19	05
99	23	21	09
102	28	23	10
112	25	17	09
116	30	20	09
128	32	22	09
134	27	24	05
137	31	24	08
140	35	21	05
169	37	28	05
178	30	21	05
246	25	28	04
255	31	25	09
287	28	23	09
294	31	26	09
309	24	20	09

1933			
No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
1	23	24	04
28	27	25	04
30	33	33	05
36	28	23	05
67	29	22	04
78	34	34	04
83	29	19	04
99	45	45	05
129	79	30	09
130	30	27	05
141	28	27	05
146	22	17	03
148	55	43	06
149	55	43	09
159	26	25	04
161	40	43	05
167	46	46	05
179	32	24	03
206	24	25	04
246	44	40	05
250	25	28	04
263	39	30	05
264	29	20	05
265	50	45	04
266	37	30	03

1934			
No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
48	29	22	03
77	29	26	05
86	22	26	05
88	28	23	14
107	23	19	09
109	28	19	09
115	19	23	04
116	33	18	04
126	28	21	05
135	35	24	09
167	29	27	04
172	41	33	05
178	32	29	06
181	31	25	05
188	30	24	10
192	48	27	09
196	29	33	05
198	32	19	05
215	57	51	04
227	28	28	05
240	33	22	05
241	33	30	09
242	55	45	05

1935

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
28	58	38	09
30	29	22	09
70	32	25	05
76	28	35	05
80	72	38	09
101	36	31	05
106	45	34	07
115	23	24	05
117	21	21	09
133	29	20	09
160	24	19	04
162	48	40	05
172	31	29	04
180	27	24	04
191	49	44	09
248	29	21	04
249	25	22	08
280	37	23	05
296	28	24	04
298	50	40	05
331	38	19	10
335	33	28	09
368	49	21	05
386	24	21	05
393	24	26	06
396	25	21	04
404	22	23	08
439	30	31	09
460	30	31	05
475	24	25	05
477	28	28	09
481	30	21	03
486	25	23	05
501	25	26	05
516	48	29	05

1936

No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
3	48	46	05
17	43	39	05
107	46	41	05
131	24	22	04
135	44	35	04
145	29	28	04
147	57	45	05
167	28	20	04
169	28	22	03
216	27	27	03
219	23	27	03
223	33	23	04
226	27	34	05
235	23	17	05
237	27	29	09
243	27	29	05
244	22	23	05
263	43	47	05
272	41	34	05
273	26	20	04
373	34	41	05

1937			
No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
22	27	24	09
24	25	25	04
26	31	26	05
27	32	25	09
54	29	23	05
66	24	19	05
76	29	23	09
78	26	17	05
89	59	45	05
92	27	21	03
118	43	28	18
121	32	23	05
139	27	22	05
162	31	21	09
173	25	27	03
182	42	38	09
183	38	36	05
185	38	29	12
186	31	28	06
192	29	27	04
198	28	31	05
207	27	25	09
226	30	22	05
227	30	27	04

1938			
No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
15	29	20	09
43	47	33	05
53	30	29	03
80	36	28	09
98	23	18	04
108	31	33	04
114	41	43	04
125	40	42	05
136	23	17	05
151	28	18	05
154	24	24	09
157	28	23	04
167	34	28	09
188	33	24	09
194	25	16	05
215	38	31	10
226	27	18	05
229	34	30	05
230	37	27	05
265	32	27	04
291	28	26	03

1939			
No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
6	25	21	08
65	21	17	03
70	39	27	03
93	23	18	12
96	33	26	09
104	18	17	05
106	59	59	05
122	30	20	05
129	25	19	03
131	31	25	09
152	28	33	05
158	40	27	06
173	24	20	04
183	24	30	04
225	27	21	09
261	31	23	10
277	57	50	04
300	35	32	03
303	23	19	05
362	38	42	05
366	28	25	05
384	26	19	05

1940			
No. of registration	His age	Her age	His profession
9	28	23	09
25	29	39	00
45	66	49	05
59	33	28	04
103	27	29	05
105	27	29	03
118	29	22	09
123	34	28	06
132	31	30	05
134	31	32	05
138	30	27	05
150	29	24	03