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MYTH-MAKING IN EUROPEAN FAMILY HISTORY
(THE ZADRUGA REVISITED)

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1. BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

The language of history, more than any other systematic approach to knowledge, is subject to diverse and often contradictory interpretations. Lacking a rigorous scientific conceptual apparatus, it operates within the rather loose and changeable, albeit imaginative and often beautiful, conceptual pool of everyday speech. Although most historians are quite aware of this problem, hardly one in a hundred risks spoiling a nicely outlined presentation with a pedantic introduction on definitions. Taking the risk, I would like to begin with a definition of the key notion I am using throughout this analysis: What is a myth?

Apart from the first and main meaning of the word as a traditional story explaining practices, beliefs, institutions, and phenomena, one of its other usages in modern language concerns the relation to truth, where truth is understood as conformity to fact. Definitions of myth range from something "fictitious or imaginary," "whose actuality is not verifiable," to "a half-truth, especially one that forms part of the ideology of a society."¹ Ortega y Gasset wrote something in one of his later historical essays which I find pertinent to my argument: "Scientific truth is exact, but it is incomplete and penultimate and of necessity embedded in another ultimate, though inexact truth which I see no objection to calling a myth. Scientific truth floats in a medium of mythology."²

I find this to be an undisguised value judgement with an obvious preference for the metaphysics of mythology. Apart from this, in my view, it gives an adequate representation of the structural relations between scientific truth and myth. In a different conceptual lineage, that of Michel Foucault, the dichotomy of myth versus science can be treated as the relation between knowledge and science, where "the sciences...can appear in the element of a discursive formation and against the background of knowledge."³ For Foucault, "knowledge is not an epistemological site that disappears in the science that supersedes it. Science (or what is offered as such) is localized

in a field of knowledge and plays a role in it."⁴ This leads us to the major question of the correlation between ideology, science, and knowledge. Foucault argues:

If the question of ideology may be asked of science, it is in so far as science, without being identified with knowledge, but without either effacing or excluding it, is localized in it, structures certain of its objects, systematizes certain of its enunciations, formalizes certain of its concepts and strategies; it is in so far as this development articulates knowledge, modifies it, and redistributes it on the one hand, and confirms it and gives it validity on the other; it is in so far as science finds its place in a discursive regularity, in which, by that very fact, it is or is not deployed, functions or does not function, in a whole field of discursive practices. In short, the question of ideology that is asked of science is not the question of situations or practices that it reflects more or less consciously; nor is it the question of the possible use or misuse to which it could be put; it is the question of its existence as a discursive practice and of its functioning among other practices.⁵

The reason I am going into such detail in epistemological theory is to state my position clearly vis-à-vis my own research. In my overall project, Demographic Patterns and Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Bulgaria (which is outlined in detail in Appendix 1), I aim at empirical research whose ultimate and modest value would be to attempt to fill in some of the blank spots of the social history of this specific region. The "penultimate truth" simply appears to be less suspicious than the "ultimate."⁶ In other words, I have a predilection for apodictic, rather than didactic discourse.

At the same time, in the light of what has been said so far, I should like to stress that this is only a matter of individual choice and predisposition, not of moral judgement. I do not profess a "noli me tangere" approach to facts and side with Foucault's idea that "ideology is not exclusive of scientificity."⁷ In this paper I aim to demonstrate how and why myths are created and what political, ethical, or other ideological purposes they can be made to serve. In this case it is not the delicate space of the interplay between "science" and "knowledge" with which I am concerned, but rather the crude realm of "possible use or misuse" of science and/or knowledge.

2. REFUTED AND PERSISTING MYTHS IN THE EUROPEAN FAMILIAL PAST

a) From Sociology to History

The study of family history has developed rapidly during the last three decades, producing a few generalizations and many

refutations of accepted truths. The main factor which has brought about a radical change in the study of family history is the use of new sources: of a new type, with an emphasis on quantitative data and an enormous increase in their very number.⁸ Previous ideas on the European familial past rested primarily on speculative theories based on nineteenth-century evolutionary thinking. They include the idea of stages in family history, of progressive and irreversible evolution from complex to simple forms. They also contain a deterministic trait, the assumption that mankind would necessarily pass through all the phases of this evolution. It is by no means irrelevant that the existing ideas on the European family have been formed primarily by sociologists. Historians have done little, if any, research in this field.

With the advent of the new evidence, this comfortable picture exploded. The complexity and richness coming in its place were difficult to frame into a new grand theory. The historians who had had the greatest luck with a long tradition of systematically maintained records pertinent to a historical-demographic analysis were the English and the French. They were the first to refute many of the commonly held beliefs and, significantly enough, also the first to embark on a new effort to construct a theory.

b) A Regional Model of the European Family

This paper will address only the attempt to create a regional model of the historic European family. The first ground-breaking conclusion, based on northwest European evidence (primarily British, Dutch, and northern French), were the predominance and importance of the simple or nuclear family household already in the sixteenth century and probably (although this is not well documented) already earlier.

One very important effort was, and still is, the elaboration of a conceptual framework which would be general enough to embrace all kinds of possible variations and consequently permit a proper comparative approach. Among a number of very good general treatments of European family history, two collective works (both published by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure) stand out. The first, produced in 1972,⁹ offers a typology and attempts to make a global comparison based on data from five historic regions: England, western Europe, Serbia, Japan, and North America. Most comparative studies on household type and structure written in the last fifteen years have followed the classification proposed in this volume by Peter Laslett.¹⁰ (See Table 1.)

The second study of the Cambridge Group published in 1983 is less ambitious in scope (since it covered only Europe) but significantly more elaborate and sophisticated in method.¹¹ It postulates the existence of four basic regions in traditional

Europe and a fourfold tendency in household composition. This model elaborates the previously accepted model of two regions with the symbolic demarcation line running roughly from Leningrad to Trieste. The zone to the north and west of this boundary is depicted as the region of the unique European marriage pattern, defined by high marriage ages for both sexes and a high degree of celibacy and, *ergo*, the unique family, the unique household with unique consequences. The rest of Europe (as well as the rest of the world) is characterized by the non-European or traditional marriage pattern, for which low age at marriage of both partners and practically universal marriages are typical.

This hypothesis of household typology can be summarized briefly as follows. It subdivides the European region into four regions: "west and north-west," "west/central or middle," "southern or Mediterranean," and "eastern."¹² Geographically the zones have not been and cannot be meticulously defined. As some scholars point out, "the within-region variability might exceed the between-region variability in respect of a number of characteristics."¹³ The regions are defined on the basis of four sets of criteria: the occasion and method of domestic group formation, procreational and demographic characteristics, kin composition of groups, and organization of work and welfare. Applying a classification difficult to define in quantitative terms, the model argues that the long-term history of the family in each of these regions has followed a common evolution different from that of the other regions.¹⁴ (See Table 2.)

The argumentation of the second Cambridge model is masterful. It is logical, sophisticated, and very cautiously worded, and it proclaims a determination not to overgeneralize. It reasons impeccably and very persuasively. The only dubious side of the model is the evidence, or rather the small quantity of evidence, used for each region, since the sources typifying each case are separate villages in one country of each area: England, Germany, Italy, and Russia. The first two regions, and especially the north-western one, are very well documented and studied. A vast body of local studies has been produced, and some excellent generalizations have appeared.¹⁵ But studies in family history for the Mediterranean and the east European regions are much more limited. Several reasons account for this: a later interest in the field, the difficulty of discovering and interpreting (from the points of view of paleography and diplomacy) appropriate sources in traditionally multinational, multilingual, and politically turbulent regions, but mainly the incomparably scantier documentary basis. The southern model is based almost entirely on Italian material, and the eastern model exclusively on the few pioneering and good studies on several villages in Russia, Hungary, Poland, and the Baltic area.¹⁶

c) The Balkans -- Where Do They Belong?

The fourfold model does not explicitly position the Balkans in any one of the four or even in one of the two latter regions, since comparatively little research has been done along statistical lines.¹⁷ But whenever overall accounts or conclusions are presented, the approach to southeastern Europe vascillates between neglect (this part of Europe simply does not exist), ignorance (unchecked traditional stereotypes are attributed to the region), and a specific version of ignorance--the specter of politics (a picture following roughly the postwar arrangements and in fact artificially dividing a historical entity). The last approach is not worth addressing as its bias is too obvious and it appears only infrequently in the better scholarly works.

In the traditional stereotype of the Balkans, the area is described as having "a very persistent tendency towards household complexity," where "the joint patrilinear household still holds pride of place."¹⁸ In an important book on the European family which sums up recent scholarship in the field, the southeast European area is described as the region of large families par excellence along with Russia and the Baltic region: "The best-known and most intensively investigated example of the large family is the so-called zadruga in the Balkans. It occurs in Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, Macedonia, and Bulgaria and in historic times was the dominant type of family in large areas."¹⁹ This quotation pinpoints the phenomenon in its local attire, using the term zadruga. Many authors would employ the term zadruga interchangeably with the extended, multiple, complex, large, communal family, but practically no one has dared to ignore it, if only for the unique local flavor it conveys, as can be seen in the following illustration.

A commemorative volume on the zadruga published in 1976 comprised essays by Philip E. Mosely and by others in his honor.²⁰ The laudatory introduction on Mosely's contribution to the comparative study of the family was written by Margaret Mead. Mead praises Mosely on having demythologized the zadruga in many ways by stripping it of its almost "racial" connotations. She specifically gives him credit for having cleared "the vision of scholars who have been hypnotized by the use of a Balkan term for a Balkan institution."²¹ All the more unexpected are her concluding remarks:

The continuing use of the term zadruga thus permits a double reference, to a kind of household structure and to an area of the world where certain kinds of agriculture, herding, and religious practices prevailed. In 1953, when I reported on the tremendous changes which occurred among the Manus of the territory of New Guinea, Mosely could comment, "It sounds like a zadruga fastened to a railroad station." That comment

is not the same as if he had said, "It sounds like a joint family attached to a railroad station," or if he had said, "It sounds like something that is happening with modernization in the Balkans." So the term zadruga subsumes a kind of historical, geographical specificity which is lost in the cross-culturally more useful term, joint family.²²

Mead was also had a weakness for the esoteric spell of the word zadruga. This in itself makes it imperative to take a closer look at the term and the underlying phenomenon.

3. A CONCRETE EXAMPLE: THE ZADRUGA

Before embarking on a survey of definitions of the zadruga and the various criteria used for these definitions let us explain the term briefly. This Slavic word was not used to designate a family form of any kind in any of the South Slavic vernaculars. It existed only in its adjectival form (zadruzhen, zadrugarski, etc.) meaning communal, united, joint, corporative, and other synonyms and would be used to define "work," "relations," and so on.

The first time it appears as a noun used, as subsequently, to designate a certain family type is in Vuk Karadzic's Serbian dictionary, published in Vienna in 1818.²³ Practically all scholars agree that this is a neologism, most probably coined by Karadzic himself to denominate a large family household as contrasted to the small, simple, or nuclear family comprising only parents and children. Whereas the word spread very quickly in the historical, economic, and legal literature, it never entered the vernacular. Instead, a number of different terms continued to be used in everyday speech depending on regional differences. The most frequent term was "house" (kucha in Serbo-Croatian, kushta in Bulgarian), used for any kind of family household. In the case of a large family of the extended or multiple type, "house" would be accompanied by adjectives: "big" (velika or goljama), "united" (zadruzhna), or "undivided" (neodijeljena). Another term was "the children of the family, the lot" (cheljad), also characterized by attributes for its size. In different regions terms such as skupchina (Zagorje in Croatia), kupshtina (parts of Bulgaria), hizha, dom, dimachina (parts of Croatia), taifa (Macedonia), familija (parts of Macedonia), drushtvo (Vojvodina), domakinstvo (Bulgaria), or glota (Banat) were used. Still another way of expressing communal life was by description: "we live in a crowd" (literally, heap) (zhiveem u kup, kupno), "together" (naedno, zajedno), or "the people are united, they live united" (zadruzhni su ljudi, zadruzhno zhivejat).²⁴

a) Defining the "Zadruga"

Consequently, all definitions of the zadruga, whether

stemming from a legal, economic, or kinship approach, are definitions of a nineteenth-century term rather than of the phenomenon existing under this term.²⁵ This is important to keep in mind, especially when we come to the analysis of the historical evidence for the zadruga. Most definitions of the zadruga do not contradict, but rather complement each other, as can be seen from the list of definitions of the zadruga in Appendix 2. The approaches can be different -- legal, economic, or political -- but they usually agree in their main argument. Two major treatments of the zadruga can, however, be discerned: one treating it as an institution, the other as a stage in the family lifecycle.²⁶ Probably the best concise definition of the zadruga in the first line of reasoning is Philip Mosely's: "A household composed of two or more biological or small-families, closely related by blood or adoption, owning its means of livelihood jointly, and regulating the control of its property, labor, and livelihood communally."²⁷

Mosely's definition points out some of the major features of the zadruga: kinship, shelter, property relations, working process, and livelihood. At the same time, it certainly does not take into account the numerous exceptions or deviations from the above-mentioned characteristics. As one scholar has aptly put it, "this definition has to be understood as an approximation."²⁸ One interpretation of the zadruga, which further elaborates its legal aspects, deserves a closer look. Its author, S. Bobchev, distinguishes between individual families and two types of zadruga. From the point of view of size and composition, the simple zadruga corresponds to the individual family, but unlike the latter, where the father/head of household is the property owner, it has common property rights. The complex or collective zadruga, on the other hand, could be very numerous or less so. All zadrugas are defined as kin groups formed in response to challenges involving making a living, support, and defense.²⁹ This definition stresses the common performance of the group, irrespective of its size, which is an important criterion.

In an interesting and fruitful approach to the zadruga, Eugene Hammel treats it not as "a thing, but as a process."³⁰ Before him a number of scholars had already pointed out that the zadruga, or the extended and multiple family, as well as the individual, nuclear family should not be treated as extreme poles but rather as stages in the life cycle of a family. Each of these stages could potentially produce any other stage. (I will return to this approach below.) The treatment of the zadruga as a process is an important new approach, coming in reaction to the "separation of a process into snapshots of its behavior," which "leads only to misinterpretation and the computation of misleading indices, such as simple means of household size, frequency of division of households or the size of only the largest units."³¹ In addition, this approach avoids the trap of conforming to rigid and often pedantic institutional definitions

which miss or disregard exceptions.

Still, the question remains why the snapshots are different. Assuming, with Hammel, that the zadruga was a stage through which a family might or might not pass, depending on a variety of factors (mostly demographic and economic), the probability (in statistical terms) of this happening could be computed or simulated. The problem then is why there would be deviations from the probable (simulated) share of zadruga as a stage and what the differential geographic, demographic, and historical propensity would be for this stage to happen.

A somewhat different version of the treatment of zadruga as process was elaborated by J.M. Halpern and R.A. Wagner.³² Introducing the concepts of cyclical and linear time, they operate successfully in a two-dimensional framework, in which "cultural ideologies stressing the ideal patterns are based on cyclical time, but individual experience must always cope with linear change."³³ Central to their argument is the recognition of the zadruga as an ideal type, achieved only by a minority of the population but serving as an ideological prototype, providing "a pattern against which to assess the standards to measure change used by both participants in the society and earlier researchers."³⁴

Halpern and Wagner consider basic kin dyads as the most important structural element of the zadruga. In a patriarchal society with agnatic kin structure and patrilineal descent, such as Serbia, the authors emphasize mostly dyadic relations (especially of the father-son type) alongside collateral ones (brother-brother). "Thus the ideal zadruga structure was predicated on fertile marriages producing several sons who survived to marry and father sons." Different demographic conditions operating in different periods, produced "the discrepancy between ideology and achieved reality."³⁵

Pioneering and significant as these approaches are to the interpretation of an important phenomenon, they do not contribute to the clarification of the terminology. Rather, in their treatment of the zadruga mainly from the point of view of kin structure, they tend to identify it with the extended and multiple family, overlooking characteristics as central to its existence as the legal structure, labor organization, and consumption patterns.

The zadruga should be viewed as a complex structure and process alike, possessing a number of diverse valencies, such as kinship, property relations, residence, working arrangements, and so forth. Taken in isolation and elaborated as the sole basis of approach, each of these valencies would produce a one-sided definition and description, which would be valid for as many cases as there would be exceptions.

On the other hand, the "institution-process" dichotomy is not so self-evidently contradictory. The "zadruga as process" approach successfully invalidates the rigid, immobile, and structural institutional treatment, located in a linear time development (historical time included). But the "zadruga as process" approach in itself, and especially its version resting on the cyclical time concept and emphasizing its cultural-ideological dimension, tends to extract the phenomenon from its concrete historical environment, in fact reducing it to a vector of an eternal (or at least not historically specified) and thus ahistorical development.

b) Theorizing about the "Zadruga"

There have been many explanations for the existence of the zadruga. With a few exceptions, they have had implicit or explicit ideological connotations. It is not the task of this paper to present an exhaustive historiographical overview of theories on the zadruga.³⁶ A brief sketch of the main trends will, however, help to explain the roots of some contemporary evaluations.

As mentioned earlier, evolutionist thinking predominated until recently in the field of family history. Whereas evolutionist theories reducing family development to a movement from the complex to the individual have been abandoned, one of the manifestations of this thinking is still alive in Marxist family theory. Here, the zadruga is regarded as a deterministic stage in microsocial development evolving from the tribal commune, and it is considered the predominant form in the tribal and early feudal stages of macrosocial evolution. The dissolution and disappearance of the zadruga and the gradual numerical predominance of the small, individual family are attributed to the effects of private property and especially the capitalist market economy.³⁷

Outside the realm of Marxist jargon but in the same line of evolutionist reasoning are views of the complex family household as a survival of a primordial, primitive state common to all people in the past and encountered in societies with "retarded" development. Such theories treat the zadruga as a general transitional form between communal ownership and individual private property in land.

Another less elaborate, racial or psychological theory, treats the zadruga as an immanent Slavic institution. Some authors attribute its existence to the undifferentiated, common, and communal mentality of the Slavs as contrasted with the eternal Germanic and Anglo-Saxon individuality and sophistication. The same juxtaposition in the same line of reasoning but with an opposite evaluation contrasts the typically Slavic peaceful and democratic cooperation with Germanic

individualism, egotism, and aggressiveness. The only reason to mention this primitive, antiquated, and certainly abandoned theory is that it does from time to time crop up very unexpectedly amid more modern argumentation.

Several authors have pointed out the correlation between the existence of complex households and serfdom in areas such as Russia, Poland, the Baltic region, parts of Germany, Austria, and Hungary. Generalizing on this evidence for Russia, one author argues that "at least for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries...there existed certain long-standing norms of behavior to which all sections of society bowed as they accepted them implicitly.... Such norms would change very slowly, their origin lying well back in Russia's past, since in the nineteenth century a similar family system could be found operating in the area east of the Urals where serfdom was unknown."³⁸ This example is based on a description of the Bashkirs, semi-nomadic shepherds. It is doubtful that this Moslem people of Turkic origin, incorporated into the Russian Empire with varying success only beginning in the seventeenth century, can support a worthwhile argument on something indefinite "well back in Russia's past." This expression itself seems curious against the background of otherwise very careful and sophisticated wording. One may wonder what would be the scholarly reception of an unspecified argument framed simply as "something well back in England's past."

Looking for parallels to the Russian distributional land commune (mir), some authors take a semi-racial, semi-legal approach, viewing the zadruga as a necessary product of specific traits of Slavdom in a serf environment. Commenting that the household formation system among Russian serfs can be encountered also among populations outside Russia, one author compares it to Croatia. He points out that "the Croatian population comprised large numbers of serfs" and concludes that "a Slav tradition shared with the Russians may be relevant to the interpretation of this phenomenon."³⁹

The spread and acceptance of this argument by specialists on the Balkan region remains a mystery. The extended and multiple family of the zadruga type was not confined to the Slavic population of the region, but could be found also among Albanians and Hungarians (if one were to accept the broader geographical version of the Balkans as including Hungary).⁴⁰ In a recent publication, Francis Conte argues that the existence of extended families among Hungarians, Albanians, and Romanians was due solely to Slavic influences.⁴¹ Another one of his contentions, namely that the zadruga was encountered more often among Orthodox and Muslim rather than among Catholic populations, is even more difficult to accept, in view of the fact that the zadruga was particularly well represented among the Catholic Croats, entering even their legal code.⁴²

Serfdom, on the other hand, existed only in some peripheral regions of the Balkans, among the Croats and Hungarians and in the Romanian principalities.⁴³ Besides, Slavs lacking a serf tradition (Czechs, Slovenes, the majority of Bulgarians, and others) did not conform to this predominant household type. As it is, this reasoning is only a step away from the argument about the mysterious Russian or Slavic soul.

To return to theories about the zadruga, still other scholars, mostly those with legal training, hold that it was a product of the specific fiscal and legal systems of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, whose taxation was based on the hearth or household, rather than on the individual. They argue that the joint family was seen as a means to lessen the tax burden.⁴⁴

4. A HYPOTHESIS OF CONVERGING THEORIES

The zadruga is an ideal subject for the creation and perpetuation of a myth. Introduced as an object for ethnographic and legal research in the second half of the nineteenth century, it soon became a focus of theories. The outstanding scholar of the zadruga, Valtazar Bogišić, expressed it as early as 1884:

Thanks to certain constitutive elements of this family, which have given rise to reflections by historians of law as well as by sociologists in general, no other social institution of the Slavs, with the exception of the Russian mir, has provided the writers of Western Europe with a more frequent subject of studies.⁴⁵

Although the various theories which were created and propounded stemmed from different, often basically contrasting motives, their converging effect was identical -- the eternalization of the myth. Indigenous scholars had a polarized emotional attitude toward the zadruga. Most of its champions, the majority of local scholars, acclaimed its existence for one of two opposing reasons. Traditionalists or indigenists, autochtonists, protochtonists, or simply conservative nationalists saw in it a unique local institution which would save the peculiarity and cultural identity of the peoples from the disruptive modernizing influence of the West by promoting virtues such as solidarity and mutual aid. Others, accentuating what they saw as the eternal democratic and cooperative spirit of the zadruga, hoped that it would provide the natural road to a new social order. Thus, Svetozar Marković, one of the founders of socialism in Serbia, considered the zadruga "the purest form of collectivism," which would "elevate society from egoism to altruism, from exploitation to justice."⁴⁶

The attacks on the zadruga, though much fewer in number, came precisely from the opposite viewpoint, of those who regarded it as perpetuating a conservative traditional structure which

would not give way to the new modernizing social currents.⁴⁷ For example, arguing his case against the assertion that there was no basis for socialism in Bulgaria, the founder of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (later the Communist Party), Dimitar Blagoev, claimed in 1891 that capitalism was an unavoidable stage in the development of his country and that all hopes of avoiding this evolution by preserving or resurrecting the largely defunct zadruga were in vain.⁴⁸ In this respect and concerning historical developments in Russia, Blagoev was in agreement with Plekhanov rather than with Lenin, who firmly supported the village commune.⁴⁹

For all their diverse motives, the partisans of the different approaches invariably overstated their arguments and consequently helped to promote an exaggerated view of the place and role of the zadruga in the social life of the Balkans and specifically of the South Slavs. Foreign evaluations can be divided into two main approaches. Scholars of the region treated the Balkans as "the Volksmuseum of Europe." To borrow Hammel's apt verdict: "The social organization and culture of the Balkans [were] regarded as a still-living example of what life must have been like in the misty past of the Indo-European peoples."⁵⁰

Studying the zadruga through a magnifying glass as the chef d'oeuvre of this museum certainly left its imprint on the proportions of the general picture. As romantic and evolutionistic theories were substituted for empirical research mainly in the interwar period, serious and balanced assessments began to appear.

Another approach, however, stemming from non-specialists in the region, helped to perpetuate the myth of the zadruga. It began with the efforts to classify existing knowledge and create a model based on typological differences. One of the first taxonomical approaches to family history was that of Frederick Le Play, the nineteenth-century French sociologist. Many of his principal ideas can be followed in contemporary theories of family history, especially since the revival of interest in his literary legacy.⁵¹ According to Le Play, families can be divided into three types: the patriarchal, stem, and unstable families. The first, according to him, was common among eastern nomads, Russian peasants, and the Slavs of central Europe. Le Play viewed the patriarchal family as a necessity of life in the case of the nomads, who could not exist in isolation, and as a product of the feudal organization of property in the case of the sedentary farmers. The other extreme, the unstable family, prevailed "among the working-class populations subject to the new manufacturing system of Western Europe," and its spread was due chiefly to the forced division of property.⁵² The intermediate type, the stem family, was a kind of social organization in which only one married child remained with the parents, while the rest were given dowries.

In this classification, inheritance laws and the division of property are the chief criteria in defining the different types of families. When Le Play explained these differences, however, he referred to inherent psychological qualities manifested in French history. The equal division of property among heirs was for Le Play

an expression of ancient Gaul's individualism, which neither Romans nor Franks, Christianity nor monarchy could ever subdue. The Gallic spirit resisted the collective forces personified by the head of the family, just as it resisted such collective encroachments as communes and the state.⁵³

Le Play was a moralistic taxonomist and an undisguised champion of the stem family par excellence. For him,

as the peoples of Europe become freer and more prosperous, they modify the patriarchal family, which relies too heavily on the cult of tradition, while at the same time rejecting the unstable family, which is constantly undermined by the spirit of innovation. Firmly adhering to their religious beliefs and the principle of individual property, they tend more and more to organize in stem families, which satisfy both of these tendencies -- tradition and innovation -- and reconcile two equally imperious needs: a respect for good traditions and the search for useful changes.⁵⁴

Although Le Play's utopianism was rejected, many of his ideas were taken over and developed further. A curious version of the taxonomic approach which further consolidates this myth is today's attempt at postulating the uniqueness of the northwest European family, and particularly the English Sonderweg.⁵⁵ Certainly an extreme case in this respect, and a politicized one, are the recent works of Emmanuel Todd, widely acclaimed as challenging and innovative.⁵⁶

Todd's first book, The Explanation of Ideology, which is concerned specifically with the correlation between family structure and social system, postulates the existence of seven main types (three nuclear and four complex) of families, presumed to have been fairly stable for the last four centuries. It further seeks to establish and prove the validity of the relationship between family types and political attitudes, assuming that "the geographical stability of political attitudes is a stability which reflects on the ideological plane the stability of family types on the anthropological level."⁵⁷

The European experience, according to Todd, can be described by a model of four family types, comprising nuclear,

authoritarian, egalitarian-nuclear, and community families. Each type is geographically determined. The nuclear family is typical for England, the Netherlands, Denmark, and northwestern France; North America represents an extension of this model. The authoritarian family can be encountered in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, and Belgium, as well as in most of Scandinavia, parts of France and Spain, Ireland and Scotland; one version of it outside Europe is Japan. The egalitarian-nuclear family is characteristic of France, most of Italy, Spain, Portugal, Poland, Romania, and Greece. Finally, the community family prevails in Russia, Finland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, small patches of Italy, and southern France; to these, in a global perspective, are added China, Vietnam, Cuba, and northern India. (See map in Appendix 3.)⁵⁸

Also in Todd's model, each of the European family types is characterized by certain underlying values. The two opposing types -- the nuclear and the community families -- are defined by opposing values. The nuclear family goes with liberty and inequality, which in this case mean individualism, while the community family cherishes virtues such as authority and equality, which mean uniformity and conformity. (Figure 1.)⁵⁹

Sound and time-consuming scholarly research on eastern Europe, and the Balkans in particular, is still so meager that it is impossible to draw valid general conclusions, let alone broad comparisons. This fact obviously has not disturbed Todd, who dismisses this problem by asserting that countries such as "Russia, China, Vietnam, Yugoslavia, Albania and Hungary -- that is the six old-world countries which spontaneously produced communist revolutions -- are all of the exogamous community type. They are recognized as such by ethnologists and pose no further theoretical problems."⁶⁰ Figure 2 explains types of approaches to family history. It has no underlying geographical determinant, but certainly intellectual and ideological ones.

5. THE "PENULTIMATE" TRUTH

Practically all authors writing about the zadruga are confident that it is an institution characteristic of the South Slav region from times immemorial. While some maintain that it has existed since ancient times,⁶¹ others insist on its existence only since medieval times,⁶² and still others are quite aware of the difficulty of substantiating their theories with historic evidence, and state that "the zadruga...has long had a central place in peasant life."⁶³ Although it has been written that "the South-Slav zadruga is occasionally mentioned in written sources as early as the twelfth century,"⁶⁴ we must keep in mind that this is an interpretative assertion. The term zadruga was unknown until the nineteenth century, and what was accepted as zadruga was the post facto interpretation of certain evidence as proof for the existence of complex families.

a) The Evidence

Let us analyze one example, extensively used as early proof for the existence of the zadruga, the Law Code of the Serbian Tsar Stefan Dusan of 1349 and 1354, and specifically its much cited article 70.⁶⁵ This article stipulates that brothers, or a father and his sons, living in the same house (ou edinoi koukie), but separated in their food and property (hlebom i imaniem), should work like the other peasants (mali lyudye), even though they share the same hearth (ognishtye). Although neither zadruga nor any adjectival form from the same root was used in the text, it is widely assumed that house (kucha) was meant to describe a zadruga.⁶⁶ The only obvious textual interpretation, however, points to the fact that people from the same kin, divided in their means of livelihood and property, could share the same shelter. Novakovich rightly points out that this was used to avoid excessive taxes and work, since these were distributed by house.⁶⁷

Such fragmentary evidence specifies neither whether this zadruga-like arrangement was a widespread practice, nor whether it was lasting. This type of documentary material has served as a basis for the theory, which derives the zadruga from the taxation practices of the medieval Serbian, Byzantine, or Ottoman states. In fact, the only characteristic shared by the fourteenth-century joint family arrangement and the nineteenth-century family form, designated as zadruga, was common shelter. Such seemingly obligatory and self-evident features of the zadruga as common property and livelihood, however, were obviously absent from the earlier documentation. Significantly, this circumstance has not been given due attention by scholars.

One of the few scholars to pay close attention to medieval sources has been Eugene Hammel, who maintains, on the basis of Serbian sources, that only two kinds of medieval documents contain explicit data on household organization. These are the medieval chryssobulls of the Serbian Empire and the Ottoman defters used as fiscal records. Hammel comments curiously: "I ignore here the very rare references in codes and proclamations, rare perhaps because the zadruga was so common that no one needed to mention it."⁶⁸ This is certainly a logical alternative theory, although it seems likely that the rare reference reflected rare occurrence. Similarly, commenting on the inconclusive evidence from medieval sources, Hammel counters that his "faith lies more with peasant ability to dissemble."⁶⁹ (Table 3 shows possible interpretations of a single source.)

Let us take a brief look at the simplest possibility: A. Two-generational depth, case 1 describing an entry consisting of a man and his son. As can be seen, different interpretations and their subsequent representations would result in completely different types of families, covering the whole range of family

forms: simple, extended, and multiple. The picture is further complicated in the case of three persons comprised in a two-generational family, and even more so in a three-generational family, where possible representations do not necessarily correspond to probable occurrences. The conclusion to be drawn is that this type of scanty information permits a loose interpretation which could lead to the opposite conclusion. Hammel himself after analyzing the lists concedes that:

No one can prove that they were zadrugas, rather than a looser territorial aggregate, such as a set of agnates living close to one another, or simply an extended kin-network. But if we admit what careful ethnography seems to make clear, namely that the zadruga has a flexible spatial definition varying from the vayat (sleeping hut) to co-owned but differently located farms, it seems more reasonable to take these groups as zadrugas.⁷⁰

The crucial words here are "careful ethnography." The point, however, is that no matter how careful it is, Balkan ethnography rests exclusively on nineteenth- and twentieth-century data. To project ethnographic findings back in time would be at least precipitate, but usually most dangerous.

Let us return briefly here to the problem of the size of the zadruga. A minority of authors insist on the irrelevance of size to the explanation of the phenomenon. Let us reflect on what the people themselves called that which scholars define as zadruga. As already mentioned, the most commonly used terms were kuća (house) or čeljad (children, lot), which were almost invariably preceded by adjectives such as velika or goljama (big, great). Certainly, for the people the size of the zadruga was an important characteristic which should be preserved, although no strict quantitative criterion can be deduced from this. In any case, the zadruga cannot be reduced to a simple family, no matter how numerous it is. It can be safely assumed, however, that in a representation based on kin structure, the zadruga is depicted by the extended or multiple type of family. (Table 4.) Thus, although it is impossible to identify with one or more of the proposed family types in the Laslett classification, the zadruga can be made commensurable at least in qualitative terms.

b) Distribution of Complex Family Forms in the Balkans

A question of prime importance for the assessment of the relative share of the zadruga in the existing household and family structures in the Balkans is the geographic distribution of the different family forms. (The results of existing research in the field can be summed up and followed on the map of the Balkan Peninsula on p. 43.)⁷¹

The distribution of households according to type and

geographical location reveals the following picture: there was a predominance of simple family households in the narrow Adriatic littoral. Immediately to the east, in the adjacent Dinaric region between the valleys of the Sava and the Morava, big family households of the extended and multiple type prevailed. This was the mountainous stock-breeding zone, running throughout the mountain systems of Bosnia, Herzegovina, northern and central Macedonia, and central Albania. Another similar region of a probable (though not computed) high frequency of complex families was the northwestern part of the Balkan range and the western Rhodopes (i.e., the territories between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria).⁷² The tribal region of Montenegro and northern Albania could be added as a separate entity. There is a valley belt where zadrugas are present. The bulk of it was confined to the territories of Croatia, Slavonia, and Voivodina, that is, to regions with the specific statute of the military border and characterized by serfdom. In these areas the second half of the nineteenth century also produced specific codes regulating legal relations of the zadrugas and encouraging the formation of large households. Zadrugas were encountered also, though much less frequently, in some of the valleys of Serbia, western and central Bulgaria, southern Macedonia, and southern Albania.⁷³ To the east and south of these regions, i.e., Bulgaria proper and Greece, are again areas where the simple family was the predominant form.

Romania, as has been pointed out by many researchers, lies outside the southeast European zadrugal zone. With the exception of some border regions, highly influenced by the Serbian or Bulgarian pattern, this type of family organization was practically absent from Romania. In Romania, however, as Daniel Chirot points out, "the village as a whole was communal, not the extended family. Within the village, families were considerably smaller than in the zadrugal areas."⁷⁴ Chirot also observes that:

The communal village provides an alternative solution to the problems of land clearing, of a pastoral economy, and of insecurity in a sparsely populated area. There was no reason for zadrugal organizations.... The communal villages and the zadrugas served similar functions.⁷⁵

To sum up the evidence, one could say that pre-nineteenth-century written sources either provide equivocal information or, in cases where they are coherent, throw light on household structure and size, regardless of other aspects such as property, inheritance, labor organization, distribution, and consumption. These aspects are a conditio sine qua non for the description of a zadruga. On the other hand, nineteenth- and twentieth-century ethnographic data on the zadruga are descriptive and for the most part do not lend themselves to any kind of quantitative analysis.

The evidence testifies to the existence of the zadruga in some parts of the Balkans during the nineteenth century. The historical documentation is insufficient to substantiate the view that it existed earlier or constituted an obligatory stage in the development of the Balkan family. This is not proof in itself for the non-existence of the zadruga in previous centuries, but the contrary is equally unprovable.

As an alternative explanation, substantiated by the existing data, one could claim that the historically known and scholarly described zadruga could have been only a nineteenth- and early twentieth-century phenomenon. Its appearance could be explained by different factors typical only of this period, such as the rise in population and the expansion of the market economy. This produced a specific kind of organization of labor, property, and distribution, central to the cultivation of land and stock-breeding.⁷⁶ This is, let us repeat, merely a possibility, not yet ready to be a theory to replace the long-term existence of the zadruga, only a potential theory which has at least as many valid points as the generally accepted one.

c) A Tentative Conclusion

This brings us back to the question of how useful it is to employ the term zadruga, especially in comparative studies. One could agree with Hammel's idea that "continuing debate on whether it exists or not, or whether it is an institution peculiar to this or that people or not, is a waste of time."⁷⁷ One could, however, go one step further. Unlike Hammel, who dilutes the term into a temporal phase of familial development and implicitly assumes every family to be a potential zadruga, one could argue that the term should be dismissed altogether from quantitative historical-demographic analysis.

If the South Slavic zadruga were to remain an operational term, so should terms such as the French frèreche or the German Grossfamilie. The reasons for the preservation of the term zadruga are even less compelling in view of the fact that it has had only a literary life.

The foregoing analysis of different definitions is not an end in itself, but rather an attempt to demonstrate a variety of approaches or biases. The final goal is to find an adequate explanation and definition in order to make them compatible with the terminological framework already set up for other regions. Otherwise, all comparisons will be irrelevant and all attempts to create even a cautious model of the European family impossible.⁷⁸ It could be argued that the basic types of classification proposed by Laslett, and to which most scholars of the European family adhere, are perfectly applicable to the Balkan region. They can be identified from the sources and compared to the evidence from other European regions.

Therefore, this classification is not the only point of departure in comparative studies: there are many other kinds of culturally valid structures, such as age at marriage, age at birth of first and last child, frequency of remarriage, and many others. But Laslett's typology seems to be the most useful one to date for a comparison based on household size and structure as the main criteria, and also because it is widely used.

The result of the comparison along these lines shows southeastern Europe as belonging to the large European region with a predominance of nuclear- and extended-family households. The frequency of multiple families is higher than in northwestern Europe, but close to their respective occurrence in central and southern Europe and certainly much lower than in eastern Europe. The comparison with the sets of tendencies in the organization of domestic groups in the fourfold regional European model indicates Bulgaria (and it can be argued with a fair amount of certainty that it is representative for the whole Balkan region) as closest to the southern type. (See Table 5.)⁷⁹

The same conclusion can be drawn from following the distribution of households by categories for different European regions together with some data on North America and Japan (Table 6). On the whole, the data from the two Balkan areas which have been processed according to the Laslett classification (Belgrade, Serbia in 1733 and the Danube province, northeast Bulgaria in the 1860s) are mostly in agreement with the data for central and southern Europe (Germany and Italy). Although the percentage of extended and multiple households is higher than in western Europe, still there is a clear predominance of simple-family households. These particular data stand in sharp contrast to those from other parts of eastern Europe (Estonia and Russia), as well as from Japan, where the proportion of the complex forms is considerable.

Examining the detailed picture of the Bulgarian data so as to distinguish between rural and urban areas as well as between different ethnic groups, it becomes clear from Table 7 that on the whole the distribution of the households by category follows the same pattern. One curious detail is the greater proportion of multiple Muslim households in towns in comparison with Christian town dwellers and Muslim immigrants in the villages.

The distribution of the households by size, religious groups, and urban/rural areas in comparison with analogous data for England and Norway can be followed in Table 8. In all cases the emphasis is on the relatively small household of about five members. The practical absence of single households among the Bulgarian and Norwegian rural households is impressive. Unlike in Norway, however, in Bulgaria the proportion of large rural households (over ten members) was insignificant.

One should, however, beware of overdrawn conclusions, especially when taking into account the fair amount of interregional variation, well exemplified in the table by the cases of Italy and particularly of Hungary, represented here only by one settlement from southern Transdanubia.⁸⁰ Also, the questionable representativeness of some data on eastern Europe should be considered. Most important, at this stage of research it is not easy to prove that the figures on the Balkans, as reflected in Table 6, are derived from a representative sample. For example, the data from a typical zadruga settlement, such as Orasac in central Serbia, are more in agreement with the Estonian and Russian figures than with those from Belgrade and northeastern Bulgaria. They cannot, however, be used as a representative sample of the whole Balkan peninsula: the zadruga type was confined to certain regions, and even there was by no means the rule in household organization.

Although not elaborated in detail along the lines of the Laslett typology, the figures published by J.M. Halpern and B. Kerewski-Halpern for Orasac in 1863 give valid grounds for comparison. Thus, nuclear households in this Serbian village represented a total of 31 percent, while extended and multiple families, taken together, accounted for 64 percent. Among the latter, fraternal family units of the frèreche type constituted 13 percent.⁸¹ The corresponding figures for the Estonian settlement in 1782 are 48 percent nuclear and 52 percent complex (extended and multiple) households, while for the Russian village in 1849 they are 13.3 percent nuclear and 86.7 percent complex households.

In contrast, the figures from both the Danube province and Belgrade testify to a significant difference vis-a-vis Orasac (about 70 percent of their households were of the nuclear type, and fewer than 30 percent were complex). In stressing the contrasts between some of the data from the Balkans and other east European areas, as well as the interregional variations in the Balkan region itself, I do not intend to smooth out or overlook differences with western Europe, but rather to warn against overemphasizing these differences which might lead to oversimplification.

Quantitative differences are neither the sole nor the most reliable method for establishing diversity. Also, the lack of sharply contrasting quantitative data is not explicit proof for the absence of significant differences. John Hajnal is well aware of this when he writes that "the joint household systems did not normally produce a situation where the majority of households were joint at any one time, though there have been joint household systems which have operated in that way. However, under a joint household system, the majority of people were members of a joint household at some stage in their lives."⁸² Hammel apparently reasons along the same lines when

he observes that:

The zadruga as an organizational form must be a transitory phase in a process of development, for only by viewing it as such can one resolve the apparent paradox of such a high incidence of nuclear families in a traditional context where zadrugas should have been the norm.⁸³

This would be acceptable, if only the term zadruga were replaced by the concept of complex (extended and multiple) family forms. As has been suggested before, Hammel and other scholars use two separate sets of concepts interchangeably. It is clear that the major distinction between the ideal type of the west European family and the southeast European (or Balkan) family lies not so much in the quantitative differences as in the fact that in the Balkans the extended and multiple family type was much more often and for a longer period a developmental stage of the individual family life-cycle. To this should be added the important idea of the joint family structure as an ideological perception, as developed by Halpern and Wagner.

In fact, a similar observation about the Arab and Indian family systems was made years ago by William J. Goode, who later generalized it on the theoretical level: "Perhaps in many systems what we had come to think of as the idealized type of family structure, the one that is valued most highly by the society, may actually turn out to be only one stage in the development of particular families over their family cycle."⁸⁴

How to assess the position of the zadruga and its relative share and distribution, since it has been dismissed from quantitative historical-demographic analysis? Laslett's classification is based on the criterion of co-residence which is also the criterion used by and large in the sources. As has been stressed many times in this paper, the criteria defining the zadruga cannot be reduced to co-residence, although it can be an important component; the zadruga must be described in terms of many more aspects, legal, economic, or temporal.

Consequently, in the course of our comparison, the terms "extended" and "multiple" families are used not as substitutes for the zadruga but as existing forms comparable to respective forms in other European regions. As was stated before, however, the zadruga is qualitatively commensurable with these family types. Since the size of the family is an important element, all zadrugas can be safely said to have been extended or multiple families. At the same time, treating the zadruga as a complex phenomenon, defined from the point of view of a cluster of different criteria and set in a concrete historical context, it is apparent that not all extended and multiple families were zadrugas. If E and M represent all extended and multiple

families, then:

$$E = E_z + E_n \quad \text{and} \quad M = M_z + M_n,$$

where E_z and M_z stand for extended and multiple families of the zadruga type, and E_n and M_n for extended and multiple families not bearing the characteristics of a zadruga ($Z = E_z + M_z$).

$$\begin{aligned} E + M &= Z + E_n + M_n \\ Z &= E + M - (E_n + M_n) \end{aligned}$$

The figure for $E + M$ can be computed, but not the figure for $E_n + M_n$, given the state of the sources. Whatever the value for $E_n + M_n$ which would reflect regional differences, the value for Z would rise or decrease but would practically always be lower than $E + M$.

$$Z \leq E + M$$

This diminishes the relative share of the zadruga in the overall typology of the Balkan family, given the fact that the complex household forms (the extended and multiple families) were not statistically predominant. Consequently, all attempts at maintaining the predominance of the zadruga in southeastern Europe are, to say the least, presumptuous.

6. CONCLUSION

In refuting some myths, family history paves the way for the introduction of other myths. Thus, the myth of the extended family in western Europe being abandoned, two others set in and have since been dominant: the myth of the small, nuclear family and the myth of the individualistic European (also called English, northwest European or western) Sonderweg. As is to be expected, any myth can be used as the "scientific" argument for an ideology and family myths have been no exception.

In attempting to rectify a generalization concerning eastern Europe, and especially the Balkans, in the model of the European family, let us not go to the other extreme and postulate the victory of the nuclear-family theory. As this paper has attempted to show, in the Balkans there is a set of kinship, labor, and other structures which characterize the joint system but are invisible and not reflected in the sources. This must be elaborated at greater length and within an anthropological framework.

This method raises the important problem of what the sources reflect and whether their information should be interpreted as social fact or artefact. The answer is not simple and requires a concrete investigation in each particular case. In some instances, it can be fairly easily proven that the source gives

an adequate picture of existing social forms, while in others it is clearly an artificial structure.

For the purposes of the present argument, however, this problem is not a major hindrance. After all, family history itself lies on the intersection of social fact and meaning. More significant is the fact that we have at our disposal a set of data of the same type, covering all European areas. The biases and deviations would be common to the sources. No matter what the final verdict to the most important issue "social fact or artefact" turns out to be, in this particular case the central question is that these data are comparable.

The other aspect emphasized throughout this paper is the need for a compatible terminology. Thus, the symbolic ban on the term zadruga does not mean that it should be excluded from historical discourse. For a historian, this would mean committing the ultimate treason, the treason of ahistoricity. The ban concerns only the limited and concrete sphere of quantitative historical-demographic studies. This by no means reflects an overestimation of the quantitative and structural approach to the detriment of the narrative and historical. It is a simple plea for terminological rigidity, which would also bring about intellectual precision and rigidity in a particular field. The ensuing typology of the European family, based on similar sources and using a common terminology, would have, for all its drawbacks, at least one merit: it would provide a valid base for comparison between historic and geographic regions of the continent.

One last word on the ideological implications of this kind of research. To twist Foucault's "ideology is not exclusive of scientificity": science is not exclusive of ideologization. Throughout this paper, an attempt has been made to expose some of the ideological usages of a myth. Clearly, this exposure itself, and the refutation of this myth, can be easily and successfully ideologically contextualized.⁸⁵ But there does exist the important, albeit doubtfully reassuring, nuance between the skeptical consciousness of how one's own research can be contextualized and the conscious ideological contextualization.

ENDNOTES

1. See The Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: Oxford University Press); The American Heritage Dictionary (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company).
2. J. Ortega y Gasset, History as a System and Other Essays Toward a Philosophy of History (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), p. 15.
3. Michel Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972), p. 184. In a still broader treatment of the same conceptual lineage it can be seen also in terms of the relation between knowledge (connaissance) and knowledge (savoir), as treated by Foucault. Op. cit., p. 15, note 2: "By connaissance I mean the relation of the subject to the object and the formal rules that govern it. Savoir refers to the conditions that are necessary in a particular period for this or that type of object to be given to connaissance and for this or that enunciation to be formulated."
4. Ibid., p. 184.
5. Ibid., p. 185.
6. In this respect, I share Feyerabend's belief that "science is much closer to myth than a scientific philosophy is prepared to admit." Paul Feyerabend, Against Method. Outline of an Anarchistic Theory of Knowledge (London: Verso, 1982), p. 15. But although I agree that "it is one of the many forms of thought that have been developed by man, and not necessarily the best," I consciously choose this, rather than any other form to express my thoughts.
7. Foucault, op. cit., p. 186.
8. There is an immense literature dealing with the history, tasks, and achievements of the discipline. A specialized bibliography is: History of the Family and Kinship. A Select International Bibliography, ed. G. L. Soliday et al. (New York: 1980). A current bibliography is published annually by the Annales de démographie historique. For recent evaluations of the field, see Peter Laslett, "The Character of Familial History, its Limitations and the Conditions for its Proper Pursuit," Journal of Family History 1987, Vol. 12, No. 1-2, 263-84; Andrejs Plakans, The Emergence of a Field: Twenty Years of European Family History (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, West European Program, Occasional Paper No. 1, 1986) 8, cited with the courteous permission of the Wilson Center.

9. Household and Family in Past Time, ed. by Peter Laslett and Richard Wall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).
10. Peter Laslett, "Introduction," in: Household and Family in Past Time, ed. by Peter Laslett and Richard Wall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972) p. 31.
11. Family Forms in Historic Europe, ed. by Richard Wall, Jean Robin, and Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
12. Peter Laslett, "Family and Household as Work Group and Kin Group: Areas of Traditional Europe Compared," in: Family Forms in Historic Europe, ed. by Richard Wall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 513.
13. Ibid., p. 525.
14. Ibid., pp. 526-27.
15. A. Wrigley and Schofield, The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), is certainly the masterpiece in the field. M. Mitterauer and R. Sieder, The European Family: Patriarchy to Partnership from the Middle Ages to the Present (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982); and Andrejs Plakans, Kinship in the Past: An Anthropology of European Family Life 1500-1900 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984) are excellent and useful scholarly syntheses. Histoire de la famille, André Burguière, Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, Martine Segalin and, Françoise Zonabend, Vol. 1-2 (Paris: Armand Colin, 1986), is the most recent ambitious overview of family history in a worldwide perspective, written by a team of leading scholars in the field. See also Michael Anderson, Approaches to the History of the Western Family, 1500-1914 (London: 1980); Martine Segalen, Historical Anthropology of the Family (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). This is the English translation of her work published originally in French in 1981.
16. Peter Czap, "A Large Family: The Peasant's Greatest Wealth: Serf Households in Mishino, Russia, 1814-1858," in: Family Forms in Historic Europe; Jacek Kochanowicz, "The Peasant Family as an Economic Unit in the Polish Feudal Economy of the Eighteenth Century," in: Family Forms in Historic Europe; Andrejs Plakans, "The Familial Contexts of Early Childhood in Baltic Serf Society," in: Family Forms in Historic Europe; H. Palli, "Estonian Households in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in: Family Forms in Historic Europe; Rudolf Andorka and Tamas Farago, "Pre-Industrial Household Structure in Hungary," in: Family Forms in Historic Europe; as well as the literature cited in these works.

17. An important exception is the research done by several American anthropologists and demographers mainly on Yugoslavia. The works of Joel M. Halpern, Barbara Kerewski-Halpern, and Richard A. Wagner give a comprehensive picture of demographic change in a particular region (Shumadiya in central Serbia) over an extensive period. See J.M. Halpern, A Serbian Village (New York: Harper and Row, 1967); J. M. Halpern and B. Kerewski-Halpern, A Serbian Village in Historical Perspective (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 1972); J.M. Halpern, "Demographic and Social Change in the Village of Orasac: A Perspective over Two Centuries," Serbian Studies 1(3), 1981, pp. 51-70; J. M. Halpern, "Town and Countryside in Serbia in the Nineteenth Century, Social and Household Structure as Reflected in the Census of 1863," in: Household and Family in Past Time, ed. by Peter Laslett and Richard Wall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972); J.M. Halpern and R.A. Wagner, "Time and Social Structure: A Yugoslav Case Study," Journal of Family History, Vol. 9, No. 3, Fall 1984, pp. 229-44. For a detailed list of American research on Eastern Europe see J.M. Halpern and D.A. Kideckel, "Anthropology of Eastern Europe," Annual Review of Anthropology, 1983, 12, pp. 377-402. The important contributions of E.A. Hammel are cited and discussed further in the course of this paper. In the overall generalization which produced the classification of household types and made an attempt at a global comparison, the data used for the Balkans came from a Belgrade census of 1733-34: P. Laslett and M. Clarke, "Houseful and Household in an Eighteenth Century Balkan City," in: Household and Family in Past Time, ed. by Peter Laslett and Richard Wall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

18. A. Plakans, "The Emergence of a Field...", p. 9.

19. M. Mitterauer and R. Sieder, "The European Family...", p. 29.

20. Communal Families in the Balkans: The Zadruga. Essays by Philip E. Mosely and Essays in His Honor, edited by Robert F. Byrnes (Notre Dame-London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976).

21. Margaret Mead, "Introduction: Philip E. Mosely's Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Family," in: Communal Families in the Balkans: The Zadruga: Essays by Philip E. Mosely and Essays in His Honor, edited by Robert F. Byrnes (Notre Dame-London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), p. XXIII.

22. Ibid., p. XXV.

23. Lexicon serbico-germanico-latinum, ed. by Vuk Karadschitsch, (Belgrade: Editio tertia, 1898), p. 181.

24. Zdenko Vinski, Die südslavische Grossfamilie in ihrer Beziehung zum asiatischen Grossraum: Ein ethnologischer Beitrag zur Untersuchung des vaterrechtlich-grossfamilialen Kulturkreises (Zagreb: 1938), pp. 14-16; Milenko S. Filipović, "Zadruga (kućna zadruga)," in: Communal Families in the Balkans: The Zadruga. Essays by Philip E. Mosely and Essays in His Honor, ed. by Robert F. Byrnes (Notre Dame-London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), p. 269; S. Bobchev, Sbornik na bulgarski yuridicheski obichai. Chast I. Grazhdansko pravo. Otdel I. Semeino pravo (Pleven: 1888); I. E. Geshov, "Zadrugata v Zapadna Bulgaria," in: Periodichesko spisanie na Bulgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo v Sredets, Vols. XXI and XXII, 1887, p. 438 ff.

25. I purposely use the term phenomenon and not institution because it could be and has been successfully argued that the zadruga cannot be reduced only to an institution. For the detailed discussion, see further on in the text.

26. On the theory of the family life-cycle and a critique of the use of the concept for purposes of sociological, historical, and anthropological research, see The Family Life-Cycle in European Societies, ed. by Jean Cuisenier with the assistance of Martine Segalen (The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 1977). There appears to be a consensus on the use of life-cycle as a descriptive tool in a developmental approach to the family, although from an analytical standpoint the criteria for dividing the cycle into separate phases are controversial. See J. Cuisenier, "Conclusion. Type d'organisation familiale et cycle: changements ou mutations dans les sociétés européennes," in: The Family Life-Cycle in European Societies, p. 488. Roy H. Rodgers stresses differences in the interpretation of a life-cycle which stem from three different approaches to its examination: societal-institutional, group-interactional, and individual-psychological. See Roy H. Rodgers, "The Family Life-Cycle Concept: Past, Present, Future," in: The Family Life-Cycle in European Societies, p. 46. On the interaction of individual and family cycles, see J. M. Halpern, "Individual Life-Cycles and Family Cycles: A Comparison of Perspectives," in: The Family Life-Cycle in European Societies, pp. 353-80. A further useful distinction is proposed by R. Hill, "Social Theory and Family Development," in: The Family Life-Cycle in European Societies, p. 32; who uses life-cycle as a social time concept and life-course as an age stratification concept. With the exception of R. Sieder and M. Mitterauer, who in a later work use life-cycle and life-course as synonyms but prefer the latter term, life-cycle seems to be the concept used by the overwhelming majority of scholars. See R. Sieder and M. Mitterauer, "The Reconstruction of the Family Life-Course: Theoretical Problems and Empirical Results," in: Family Forms in Historic Europe, p. 310. In another, anthropological conceptual lineage, this same distinction would reflect the difference between cyclical and linear time, an argument elaborated in an important contribution by J. M. Halpern and R. A. Wagner, "Time

and Social Structure: A Yugoslav Case Study," Journal of Family History, Vol. 9, No. 3, Fall 1984, pp. 229-44. This article stresses that cultural ideologies are based in cyclical time, whereas individual experience must always cope with linear change (Ibid., p. 229). Based on this reasoning, the authors distinguish between family life-cycle and individual life-course. One further elaboration could be added, however. On the level of concrete individual life histories, no matter whether they are the histories of persons or of families, it is difficult to insist on the recurrent, sequential, and predictable, i. e. the cyclical character of life. Each life history of an individual person or individual family is unique, and in an historical descriptive approach, life-course seems to be a more appropriate concept. On a broader level of generalization, however, in a sociological approach (whether for contemporary or for historical studies), dealing with the abstract individual and the abstract family, life-cycle would seem to be the adequate term. Thus, according to the degree of generalization and the specific approach, one could distinguish between individual and/or family life-course and individual and/or family life-cycle.

27. Philip E. Mosely, "Adaptation for Survival: The Varzic Zadruga," in: Communal Family in the Balkans: The Zadruga (University of Notre Dame Press: 1976), p. 31.

28. Jozo Tomasevich, Peasants, Politics and Economic Change in Yugoslavia (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 180. For a discussion of the different attributes of the zadruga, see pp. 178-80. A 705-page thesis by the most prolific writer on the zadruga is Emile Sicard, La zadruga sud-slave dans l'évolution du groupe domestique (Paris: 1943). By the same author, Problèmes familiaux chez les slaves du sud (Paris: Editions familiales de France, 1947). For a recent overview see Milovan Gavazzi, "The Extended Family in Southeastern Europe," in: Journal of Family History, Vol. 7, Spring 1982, pp. 89-102.

29. S. Bobchev, "Bulgarskata chelyadna zadruga," in: Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniya, nauka i knizhnina, Vol. XXII (Sofia: 1907), pp. 190-93.

30. The latter development is relatively recent, exemplified most explicitly by Eugene A. Hammel, "The Zadruga as Process," in: Household and Family in Past Time, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 370; E. A. Hammel, "Reflections on the Zadruga," in: Ethnologia slavica, VII, 1975, pp. 146, 148, and 150. Other authors have had a similar approach, for example J. Halpern, "Town and Countryside in Serbia in the Nineteenth Century. Social and Household Structure as Reflected in the Census of 1863," in: Household and Family in Past Time (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 408; J. M. Halpern and R. A. Wagner, "Time and Social Structure: A

- Yugoslav Case Study," in: Journal of Family History, Vol. 9, No. 3, Fall 1984, pp. 229-44.
31. Eugene A. Hammel, "The Zadruga as Process," in: Household and Family in Past Time, p. 370.
32. J.M. Halpern and R.A. Wagner, "Time and Social Structure: A Yugoslav Case Study," Journal of Family History, Vol. 9, No. 3, Fall 1984, pp. 229-44.
33. Ibid., p. 229.
34. Ibid., p. 235.
35. Ibidem.
36. Useful, although somewhat outdated overviews are Zdenko Vinski, Die südslavische Grossfamilie in ihrer Beziehung zum asiatischen Grossraum, pp. 43-47; for a discussion on the historical occurrence of the extended family in different geographic and ethnic contexts, see the same author, pp. 48-98; Vasilij Popović, Zadruga: istorijska rasprava (Sarajevo: 1921); Oleg Mandić, "Klasni karakter buržoaskih teorija o postanku zadruga," in: Istorisko-pravni zbornik, 3-4, Sarajevo, 1949, pp. 131-55.
37. Etnografiya na Bulgariya, Vols. 1-3 (Sofia, 1980-85); Raina Pesheva, "Struktura na semeystvoto i roda v Bulgariya v kraya na XIX i nachaloto na XX vek," in: Izvestiya na etnografiskiya institut i muzei, VIII, 1965; Raina Pesheva, "Klasni rodstveni formi v Bulgariya," in: Pŕvi kongres na Bulgarskoto istorichesko druzhestvo, Vol. 2 (Sofiya, 1972); L. V. Markova, "Sel'skaya obshchina u bolgar v XIX veke," in: Slavyanskii etnograficheski sbornik, Trudy instituta etnografii im. N. N. Mikluho-Maklaya, Novaya seriya, Vol. LXII (Moscow: 1960).
38. Richard Wall, "Introduction," in: Family Forms in Historic Europe, op. cit., p. 63.
39. John Hajnal, "Two Kinds of Pre-Industrial Household Formation," in: Family Forms in Historic Europe, pp. 91-92.
40. On Hungary see Rudolf Andorka and Tamas Farago, "Pre-Industrial Household Structure in Hungary," in: Family Forms in Historic Europe; Rudolf Andorka, "The Peasant Family Structure in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in: Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Vol. 25 (3-4), 1076; Judit Morvay, "The Joint Family in Hungary," in: Europa et Hungaria (Budapest: 1965); Bela Gunda, "The Ethno-Sociological Structure of the Hungarian Extended Family," Journal of Family History, Vol. 7, Spring 1982. On Albania see C.J. Grossmith, "The Cultural Ecology of Albania: Extended Family Households in

Yugoslav Macedonia," in: Communal Families in the Balkans; I. Whitaker, "Family Roles in the Extended Patrilineal Kin Group in Northern Albania," in: Mediterranean Family Structures, ed. by J.G. Peristiany (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 196-203.

41. F. Conte, Les Slaves: Aux origines des civilisations d'Europe centrale et orientale (VIe - XIIIe siècles), (Paris: Albin Michel, 1986), p. 317.

42. Ibid., p. 318.

43. Probably the most sophisticated contemporary treatment of the regional model of the European family is André Burguière, "Une géographie des formes familiales," in: Histoire de la famille, Vol. 2, pp. 25-58. This is an excellent synthesis of existing scholarship. At the same time it is perfectly aware and warns against the pitfalls of specific research techniques, the character of historical sources, and airy generalizations. Significantly enough, Burguière does not attempt to place the Balkans in any of the big historical or geographic areas of the European family model. He adheres to the existing studies, which for southeastern Europe are practically absent. Only in one instance does he generalize, namely that: "De la Serbie au sud à la Courlande ou à l'Estonie au nord, en passant par la Pologne et la Russie, on retrouve certains traits communs: une taille des ménages (de 8 à 9 personnes en moyenne) beaucoup plus élevée qu'à l'Ouest; une forte propension aux ménages multiples: deux indices qui ne font que porter à l'extrême des tendances déjà sensibles en Europe centrale." At the same time, he immediately concludes with a cautionary remark: "La situation, d'autre part, varie tellement d'une région et d'une période à l'autre qu'il est difficile de concevoir un modèle homogène" (p.38). His analysis is very important in the discussion of the factors leading to a propensity for communal family life. Burguière refuses to attribute it solely to serfdom, but sees it in the broader context of the economic structures of specific societies.

44. For a discussion on the treatment of the hane, the taxable unit in the Ottoman fiscal registers, see Maria Todorova, "Recent Research on Household and Family in the Balkans (15-19 century)," in: Festschrift Emanuel Turczynski (Munich: 1989, forthcoming); M. Todorova and N. Todorov, "Problems and Tasks of the Historical Demography of the Ottoman Empire, in: Proceedings of the 4th International Congress on the Social and Economic History of the Ottoman Empire (Munich, forthcoming).

45. Valtazar Bogisic, "D'une forme particuliere de la famille rurale chez les Serbes et les Croates," in: Revue de Droit Internationale et de la Legislation Comparée, XVI (Brussels: 1884) p. 379. Cited after Stavro Skendi, "Mosely on the Zadruga," in: Communal Families in the Balkans, p. 17.

46. J.M. Halpern and B. Kerewski-Halpern, A Serbian Village in Historical Perspective, p. 18. On the ideology of Markovic see W.D. McClellan, Svetozar Markovich and the Origins of Balkan Socialism (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964).

47. For different evaluations of the zadruga see Milan Ivšić, Les problèmes agraires en Yougoslavie (Paris: 1926); Ibid., Temelji seljačkoga zakonika (Zagreb: 1933); ibid., Seljačka politika (Zagreb: 1937-38); Milovan Gavazzi, Seljačka zadružna obitelji kao činjenica i kao problem (Sarajevo: 1934); Rudolf Bičanić, Kako živi narod (Zagreb: 1936); Vera St. Erlich, Family in Transition. A Study of 300 Yugoslav Villages (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 33; Emile Sicard, Problèmes familiaux chez les Slaves du sud (Paris: Editions familiales de France, 1947), pp. 262-63; Milenko S. Filipović, "Zadruga (kućna zadruga)," in: Communal Families in the Balkans, p. 276 a. o.

48. Blagoev's views were developed in his brochure Shto e sotsializim i ima li toi pochva u nas? (Turnovo: 1891). See Joseph Rothschild, The Communist Party of Bulgaria. Origins and Development, 1883-1936 (New York: 1959), p. 15.

49. V.I. Lenin, Polnoe sobraniye sochinenii (Moscow: 1958-65), Vol. 6, p. 344. Here Lenin was obviously following Karl Marx, who in 1882 had considered the place and future role of the Russian commune: "Can the Russian obshchina, though greatly undermined, yet a form of the primeval common ownership of land, pass directly to the higher form of communist common ownership? Or on the contrary, must it first pass through the same process of dissolution as constitutes the historical evolution of the West?" (Karl Marx. Preface to the Russian edition of the Communist Manifesto).

50. E.A. Hammel, "Household Structure in Fourteenth-Century Macedonia," in: Journal of Family History, Vol. 5, No. 3, Fall 1980, p. 242.

51. Recueil d'études sociales publié à la mémoire de Frédéric Le Play (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1956). This is a collection of studies, published on the occasion of the centenary of the Société d'économie sociale; Michael Z. Brooke, Le Play, Engineer and Social Scientist: The Life and Work of Frédéric Le Play (Harlow: Longmans, 1970). Le Play, On Family, Work and Social Change, edited, translated, and introduced by Catherine Bodard Silver (Chicago, IL, and London: University of Chicago Press, 1982). See the extensive bibliography in the last mentioned work.

52. Frédéric Le Play, On Family, Work and Social Change, p. 260.

53. Ibid., p. 271.

54. Ibid., pp. 261-62.

55. Alan Macfarlane, The Origins of English Individualism (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978); Alan Macfarlane, The Culture of Capitalism (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987). For a review of the latter book, see John R. Gillis in The Wilson Quarterly, Autumn 1988, pp. 134-36.

56. Emmanuel Todd, The Explanation of Ideology. Family Structures and Social Systems (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985). First published as La troisième planète, structures familiales et systèmes idéologiques. (Paris: Editions du Seuil). Emmanuel Todd, The Causes of Progress. Culture, Authority and Change (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987). First published as L'enfance du monde (Paris: Editions du Seuil).

57. Emmanuel Todd, The Explanation of Ideology, p. VII.

58. Ibid., p. IX.

59. Ibid., p. 16.

60. Ibid., pp. 39-40. Significantly, the problem of the ideological legacy of the Slavic communal family, and especially the famous Russian obshchina, was recently raised in the heated contemporary discussions on the economic future of the Soviet Union. In what is considered one of the ground-breaking articles of reformist thinking, Istoki (Sources), published in Novii mir, 1988, No. 5, pp. 185-86, Vasilii Selyunin stressed the fundamental relationship between forms of property and civil rights. Predictably, in his view the village commune was a conservative institution, hostile to private property, and consequently, to any kind of capitalist development. Unlike Todd, however, who extrapolates family types out of their historical context and by postulating their stability on the anthropological level creates an absolute, Selyunin rightly emphasizes the crucial role of the state. He maintains that the village commune was introduced, or at least upheld, from above, after the profound changes under Ivan IV during the sixteenth century. The abolition of serfdom during the nineteenth century, and particularly the specific ways, in which the reform of 1861 was implemented, preserved, and even further consolidated the obshchina. The Stolypin reforms in the decade before the October Revolution were in fact the first major transformation aimed at enhancing individual property to the detriment of the commune. However, the introduction of "war communism" and the confiscation of land from the kulaks put an end to these reforms. The confiscated land was not redistributed among the peasants, but became communal land. Thus, Selyunin concludes, "the forms of land ownership, peculiar to old Russia, were de facto restored."

61. Milenko S. Filipović, "Zadruga (kućna zadruga)," in: Communal Families in the Balkans, p. 268.
62. Wayne Vucinich, "A zadruga in Bileca Rudine," in: Communal Families in the Balkans, p. 162.
63. Philip E. Mosely, "Adaptation for Survival: the Varzic Zadruga," in: Communal Family in the Balkans, p. 31.
64. Milenko S. Filipović, "Zadruga (kućna zadruga)," in: Communal Families in the Balkans, p. 269.
65. The Law Code of Tsar Stefan Dushan has been published according to different manuscripts. The first publication of 1870 by Stoyan Novakovich followed the Prizren MS from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Here the second edition of his work has been used: Zakonik Stefana Dushana czara Srpskog 1349 i 1354. Na novo izdao i obyasnio Stoyan Novakovich (Belgrade: 1898), where he compares it to other MS. For a phototypic edition of the Prizren MS, see Dushanov zakonik po prizrenskom rukopisu (Belgrade: 1953). Other manuscripts are published in Zakonik czara Stefana Dushana. Kniga I. Strushki i atonski rukopis (Belgrade: 1975); Kniga II. Studenichki, Hilendarski, Hodoshki i Bistrichki rukopis (Belgrade: 1981). There are no differences in the text of the analyzed article between the different MS.
66. See, for example, Milenko S. Filipović, "Zadruga (kućna zadruga)," in: Communal Families in the Balkans, p. 269, who writes: "In the General Law Code for Montenegro in 1888, Valtazar Bogisic used the term kuća to mean zadruga. The Law Code of Czar Dusan in 1349 used the word kuca with the same meaning."
67. Zakonik Stefana Dushana czara Srpskog 1349 i 1354. Na novo izdao i obyasnio Stoyan Novakovich (Belgrade: 1898), pp. 189-90. See his similar comments in Stoyan Novakovic, Selo (Belgrade: 1891), pp. 224-25.
68. Eugene A. Hammel, "Some Medieval Evidence on the Serbian Zadruga: A Preliminary Analysis of the Chrysobulls of Decani," in: Communal Families in the Balkans, p. 101.
69. Eugene A. Hammel, "The Zadruga as Process," in: Household and Family in Past Time, p. 365.
70. Eugene A. Hammel, "Some Medieval Evidence on the Serbian Zadruga: A Preliminary Analysis of the Chrysobulls of Decani," in: Communal Families in the Balkans, p. 107.

71. Philip E. Mosely, "The Distribution of the Zadruga Within Southeastern Europe," in: Communal Families in the Balkans, pp. 58-69; Traian Stoianovich, "Family and Household in the Western Balkans, 1500-1870," in: Mémorial Ōmer Lŭtfi Barkan (Paris: 1986), pp. 189-203; Vasilis Panayotopoulos, "Megethos kai synthesi tis oikogenias stin Peloponniso giro sta 1700," in: Ta istorika, Vol. I, No. 1, September 1983, pp. 5-18; Vasilis Panayotopoulos, Le peuplement du Pélouponnèse (XIIIe-XVIIIe siècles) (Thèse du 3e cycle à l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne-Paris IV, 1982); Maria Todorova, "Population Structure, Marriage Patterns, Family and Household (According to Ottoman Documentary Material from North-Eastern Bulgaria in the 1860's)," Etudes balkaniques, No. 1 (Sofia: 1983), pp. 59-72.

72. All these mountainous regions are rich in pastures and have a developed livestock breeding economy. This has led a Bulgarian ethnographer to attribute the zadruga in southwest and northwest Bulgaria as well as among the semi-nomadic Karakachans to the predominant or complete livestock breeding economy of those regions or groups. Nikola Kondov, "Za purvichnata obshtestvena edinitsa pri selskoto naseleniye v Srednovkovna Bulgariya," in: Istoricheski pregled, No. 1 (Sofia: 1965), p. 80.

73. Whereas the zadrugas in the big chifliks of Macedonia followed roughly the Croatian model, the Bulgarian and south Albanian case could be treated rather as an extension of the mountainous stock-breeding zone. An important remark made by Burguière in Histoire de la famille, Vol. 2, p. 30 is pertinent to the research of the complex family forms in the Balkans. Pointing out that complex forms exist also outside the serfdom belt, he notes: "La famille élargie ou complexe semble particulièrement adaptée à une économie de grands domaines ou le prélèvement, quelle qu'en soit la forme (part du produit pour le métayage ou corvée pour le domaine polonais ou russe), repose sur un apport de main-d'oeuvre non salariée. Plus la famille est nombreuse, plus la main-d'oeuvre disponible est importante."

74. Daniel Chirot, "The Romanian Communal Village: An Alternative to the Zadruga," in: Communal Families in the Balkans, p. 141.

75. Ibid., p. 153. For an extensive treatment of the communal village in Romania see Henri H. Stahl, Traditional Romanian Village Communities (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1980). See also Katherine Verdery, Transylvanian Villagers. Three Centuries of Political, Economic and Ethnic Change (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1983).

76. Even though he used the term zadruga for the fourteenth century, Stoyan Novakovich, Selo (Belgrade: 1891), p. 247, warned that the medieval Serbian zadruga should not be approached

from the point of view of the contemporary one.

77. Eugene A. Hammel, "Some Medieval Evidence on the Serbian Zadruga: A Preliminary Analysis of the Chrysobulls of Decani," in: Communal Families in the Balkans, pp. 114-15.

78. An important article in this line of reasoning is E.A. Hammel and Peter Laslett, "Comparing Household Structure Over Time and Between Cultures," in: Comparative Studies in Society and History 16, 1974, pp. 73-109.

79. For the Bulgarian data, see M. Todorova, "Population Structure, Marriage Patterns..."; M. Todorova, "Marriage and Nuptiality in Bulgaria during the Nineteenth Century" (forthcoming in a volume on marriage in historic Europe, published by Cambridge University Press).

80. On the regional diversity in Hungary, see the literature cited in note 40.

81. J.M. Halpern and B. Kerewski-Halpern, A Serbian Village in Historical Perspective, p. 28.

82. John Hajnal, "Two Kinds of Pre-Industrial Household Formation," in: Family Forms in Historic Europe, p. 69.

83. E. A. Hammel, "Reflections on the Zadruga," in: Ethnologia slavica, Vol. VII (Bratislava: 1975), p. 148. In the same work Hammel notes that "households of nuclear family organization are never less than 40 percent of the total and that nuclear family organization reaches a level of 82 percent" (p. 148). These conclusions were reached on the basis of a comparison of several medieval listings from the fourteenth century (the Sveti Stefan, the Dechani, the Hilandar), Ottoman data from the sixteenth century, and Serbian statistics from the nineteenth century (Ibid., table on p.150). Significantly enough, the incidence of complex family forms was highest in the data from the nineteenth century. For a detailed analysis of the medieval data see E. A. Hammel, "Household Structure in Fourteenth-Century Macedonia," in: Journal of Family History, Vol. 5, No. 3, Fall 1980.

84. W.J. Goode, "Family Cycle and Theory Construction," in: The Family Life Cycle in European Societies, p. 65.

85. To hint at a possible contextualization in this case: any overemphasis of similarities between the regions can be used as the "scientific" basis for a pan-European ideology.

DEMOGRAPHIC PATTERNS AND FAMILY STRUCTURE
IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BULGARIA

Preface

Acknowledgements

PART I

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- 1 The Myth of the Zadruga Revisited
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 Distribution and development of the zadruga in the Balkans
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- 2 Sources
- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| Liber Mortuorum | 1792; 1833-1838; 1840-1872 |
| Liber Matrimoniarum | 1834-1886 |
| Liber Confirmatorum | 1840-1896 |
| Liber Baptizatorum | 1877-18?? |
- Nufus defterleri

APPENDIX 2

SOME DEFINITIONS OF THE ZADRUGA

zadruga - Hausgenossenschaft (in Gegensatz der einzelnen Familie), plures familiae in eadem domo (more Serbico). (Vuk Karadžić, Lexicon serbico-germanico-latinum, 3rd ed., Belgrade, 1898, p.181).

Several families or members, living in the same house, under the management of one head and constituting one farm, working together on undivided property, using revenues communally, constituting a patriarchal community, called zadruga. (Hrvatsko Zadržno Pravo, art.1. (M. Vežić, Pomoćnik za javnu opravu, Zagreb, 1884).

Eine Personengemeinschaft gewöhnlich von Verwandten, die in einem Hause wohnend ungeteilten Grund und Boden gemeinsam bewirtschaften. Wir haben da eine Familie vor uns, die nicht bloss zwei Generationen, Eltern und Kinder, umfasst, sondern deren mehrere, drei, ja auch vier. (Alfons Dopsch, "Die südslavischen Hauskommunionen," Österreichische Rundschau, XIX, 2, 1909).

The zadruga is an institution of our peasantry, a national product of its spirit, its original creation developed without a foreign model and without the influence of legislation and legal experts. It was created by the legal conscience and by the needs of our peasantry. The peasantry regulated the zadruga by custom as its ownership collective and as a type of its peasant family order with special family law, incorporating in the zadruga not only its property and labor, but also family love and mutual assistance, much earlier than the statutory laws promulgated rules for the regulation of the zadruga. (Dragutin Tončić, in: Milan Ivšić, Temelji seljačkoga zakonika. Zagreb, 1933, p. 18).

Il y a zadruga, lorsque un certain nombre de mâles issus d'une même souche, vivent, seuls ou avec leurs descendants - et par conséquent leurs femmes -, en un habitat commun, sur un bien indivis, qu'ils mettent en valeur pour le compte du groupe, sous l'autorité d'un chef habituellement élu. (Emile Sicard, Problèmes familiaux chez les slaves du sud, Paris, 1947, p. 30).

The zadruga...a domestico-economic community.... There are four fundamental elements of this type of group: the community of

blood of the male members; the community of life and labor; the community of property; and the community of authority. (Emile Sicard, "The Zadruga Community: A Phase in the Evolution of Property and Family in an Agrarian Milieu," in: Communal Families in the Balkans: The Zadruga, University of Notre Dame Press, 1976, p. 256).

A household composed of two or more biological or small-families, closely related by blood or adoption, owning its means of production communally, producing and consuming its means of livelihood jointly, and regulating the control of its property, labor, and livelihood communally. (Philip E. Mosely, "Adaptation for Survival: The Varžic Zadruga," in: Communal family in the Balkans: The Zadruga, University of Notre Dame Press, 1976, p. 31).

The zadruga union consists of a number of families (at least two) whose members live and work communally according to the principle of division of labor, communally distribute the means of production which belong to the union, and communally consume the fruits of their own labor. The families which make up the zadruga usually are related; they have common ancestors, but kinship is not an obligatory condition for a zadruga. (Milenko S. Filipović, "Zadruga (Kućna zadruga)," in: Communal Family..., op. cit., p. 286).

The zadruga is not a thing but a process... The zadruga, as a process, is a set of rules operating within certain constraints that influence the rates at which persons are added to the residential groups and that control the maximum size of these groups by introducing pressures for continued accretion or for division. (Eugene A. Hammel, "The zadruga as process," in: Household and Family in Past Time, Cambridge University Press, 1972, p. 370).

The zadruga is by no means a simple institution with a static existence of its own but rather...an epiphenomenon of demographic and ecological conditions combined with an ideology that permits joint-family organization to be adopted, and that on the other hand the existence of joint-family organization can also have important effects on the underlying demographic and ecological variables...The zadruga as an organizational form must be a transitory phase in a process of development...a joint family organization similar in all its characteristics to those observed in many other parts of the world, particularly in its developmental aspects. (E. A. Hammel, "Reflections on the Zadruga," Ethnologia slavica, VII, 1975, pp.146, 148, and 150).

The usual point of departure for describing the zadruga household cycle is a structure of three generations headed by the married sons and their children. This has represented the maximum ideal. Such structures had the potential to grow even larger with the accretion of collateral and adopted kin and, more rarely, a fourth generation. At the same time, it was recognized that as male grandchildren came of age there would be a natural fissioning into constituent nuclear households which would again repeat the cycle and develop into zadruga-type extended family households. These ideal prototypes have provided a pattern against which to assess the standards to measure change used by both participants in the society and earlier researchers.... Ideological expectations based on a close-ended cyclical time perspective envisage structures based on optimal conditions that are only infrequently achieved. Thus the ideal zadruga structure was predicated on fertile marriages producing several sons who survived to marry and father sons. Historically, it was high mortality rather than low fertility which produced the discrepancy between ideology and achieved reality. Today, rather than the premature death of potential role participants, it is reduced birth rates and migration which have resulted in roles not being fulfilled because of the lack of individuals present in the village. (Joel M. Halpern and Richard A. Wagner, "Time and Social Change: A Yugoslav Case Study," Journal of Family History, Vol. 9, No. 3, Fall 1984, p. 235).

TABLES, MAPS, AND FIGURES

TABLE 1

Structure of households: categories and classes

Category	Class
1 Solitaries	(a) Widowed
2 No family	(b) Single, or of unknown marital status
	(c) Coreisident siblings
3 Simple family households	(b) Coreisident relatives of other kinds
	(c) Persons not evidently related
	(a) Married couples alone
	(b) Married couples with child(ren)
4 Extended family households	(c) Widowers with child(ren)
	(d) Widows with child(ren)
	(a) Extended upwards
	(b) Extended downwards
5 Multiple family households	(c) Extended laterally
	(d) Combinations of 4a - 4c
	(a) Secondary unit(s) up
	(b) Secondary unit(s) down
	(c) Units all on one level
6 Indeterminate	(d) Frèresches
	(e) Other multiple families
'Stem families'	{ 3b 3b + 3c 3b + 3c + 4a
Frèresches, alternative definitions	{ 3d 3d + 3c 3d + 3c + 4c 3d + 3c + 4c + 2a

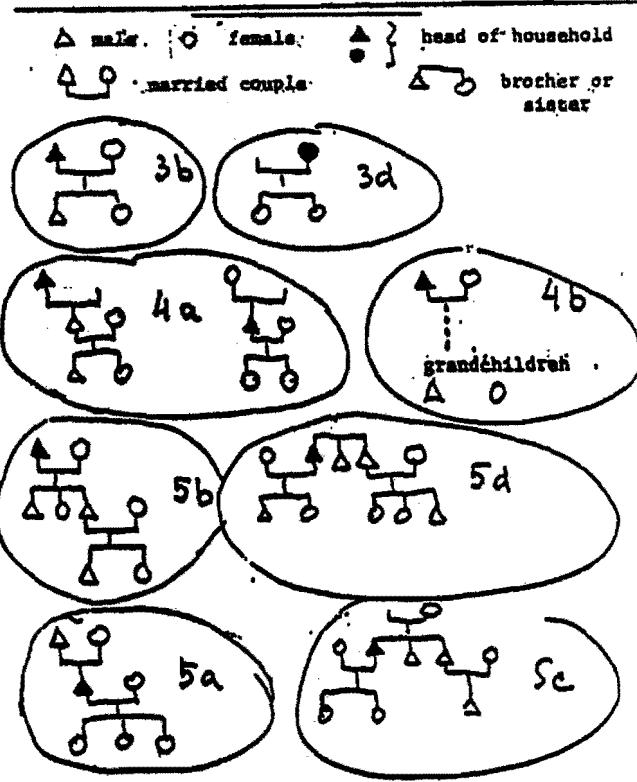


TABLE 2
Sets of tendencies in domestic group organization in
traditional Europe - 4 regions

Overall criterion	Sets 1 and 2 Northern and western		Sets 3 and 4 Southern and eastern	
	1 West	2 West/central or middle	3 Mediterranean	4 East
Occasion and method of domestic group formation				
a 1 Formed at marriage of household head	Always	Usually	Seldom	Never
a 2 Formed by fission or fusion of existent household(s)	Never	Sometimes	Frequently	Always
a 3 Marriage important to household formation	Always	Usually	(Seldom)*	Never
a 4 Takeover of existent household by new head	Occasional	Frequent	Frequent	Usual
Procreational and demographic criteria				
b 1 Age at marriage, female	High	High	Low	Low
b 2 Age at marriage, male	High	High	High	Low
b 3 Proportions marrying	Low	Low	High	High
b 4 Age gap between spouses at first marriage	Narrow	Narrow	Wide	Narrow
b 5 Proportion of wives older than husbands	High	Very high	Low	High
b 6 Proportion of widows remarrying	High	Very high	Very low	Very low
Criteria of kin composition of groups				
c 1 Proportion of resident kin	Very low	Low	High	High
c 2 Proportion of multigenerational households	Low	Low	High	Very high
c 3 Proportion of households headed by never-married women	High	High	(Low)*	High
c 4 Proportion of solitaries	Very high	High	Low	Absent
c 5 Proportion of no-family households	High	High	Low	Absent
c 6 Proportion of simple-family households	High	High	Low	Low
c 7 Proportion of extended-family households	Quite high	High	Low	Low
c 8 Proportion of multiple-family households	Very low	Low	High	Very high
c 9 Proportion of complex-family households (c7 + c8)	Very low	Low	High	Very high
c 10 Proportion of <i>frères</i>	Absent	Low	High	Very high
c 11 Proportion of stem-family households	Very low	High	Low	Low
c 12 Proportion of joint-family households	Absent	Low	Very high	Very high
Criteria of organization of work and welfare				
d 1 Addition to household of kin as workers	Rare	Common	Very common	Universal
d 2 Added working kin called servants	Rare	Common	?	Irrelevant
d 3 Addition to household of life-cycle servants	Very common	Very common	Not uncommon	Irrelevant
d 4 Married servants	Uncommon	Common	?	Irrelevant
d 5 Attachment to household of inmates as workers	Very rare	Common	?	Occasional
d 6 Mean number of adults per household	Low	High	Very high	Maximal
d 7 Mean number of households of <3 persons	Very high	High	Very low	Very low
d 8 Mean number of persons of working age (15-65) per household	Low	Medium	Very high	Very high
d 9 Household head described as labourer, journeyman, out-servant, cottager	Often	Sometimes	Never	Never
d 10 Household head described as pauper	Often	Sometimes	?	?
d 11 Attachment of secondary household to houseful	Absent	Common	Absent	Absent

* Exceptions to the suggested classification are known to exist.

Note: For meaning of entries in this table and the character of supposed regions, see text.

MAP 1






-  MOUNTAINOUS STOCK-BREEDING ZONE
-  TRIBAL REGION OF MONTENEGRO AND NORTHERN ALBANIA
-  VALLEY BELT

FIGURE 1

Regions of family types within Europe

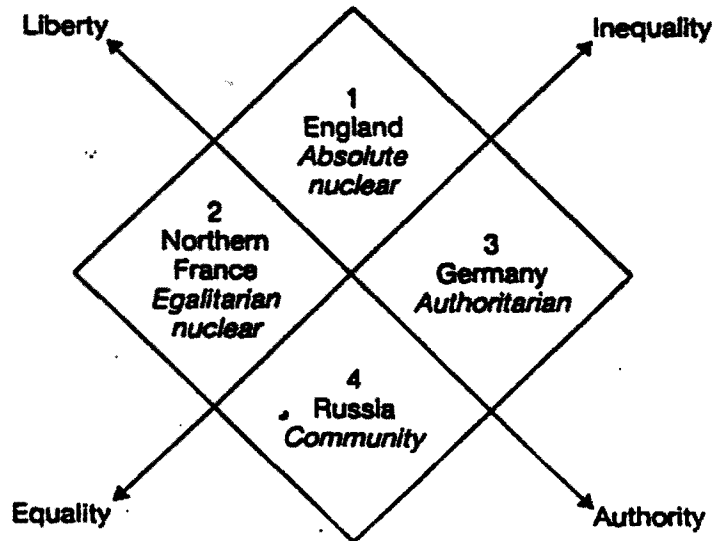
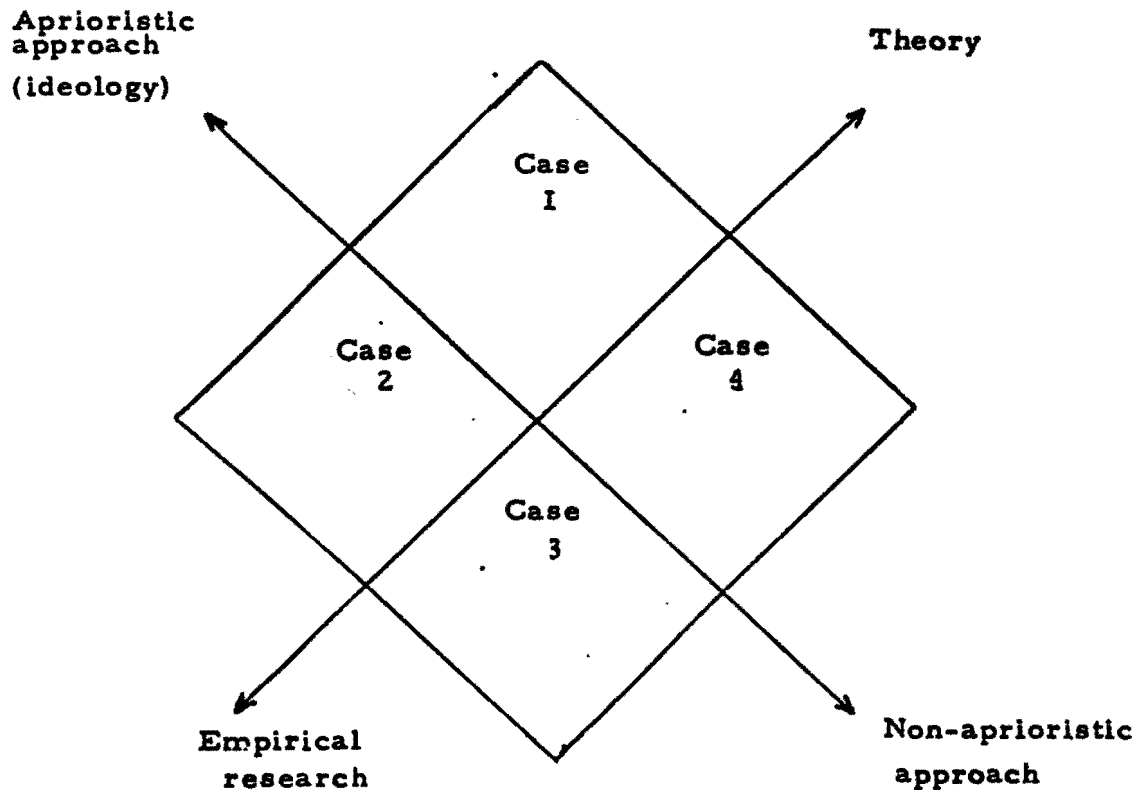


FIGURE 2



- Case 1: Emmanuel Todd
Case 2: The classical example is the research underlying the zadruga theory. The researchers look for empirical material to fill in an a priori idea.
Case 3: This is represented by the bulk of works in the field of family history and historical demography.
Case 4: A good example are the recently published volumes of Histoire de la famille, as well as most of the collective works produced by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure.

TABLE 3

Interpretation of original information from a fiscal source

A. Two-generational depth

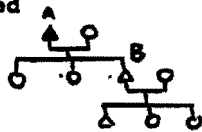
Case 1

Source: Georgi (A) Petko, son (B)

Assumption: A= head of household (the usual practice is listing the head first)

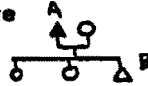
Possible representations:

a) both married



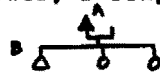
multiple family
type 5b

b) A-married, B-single, of age



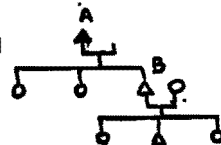
simple family
type 3b

c) A-widower, B-single, of age



simple family
type 3c

d) A-widower, B-married



extended family
type 4a

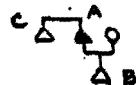
Case 2

Source: Dragan Stoian, son Ivan, brother
 A B, son C, brother

Assumption: B=son of A
 C=brother of A

Possible representations:

a) B and C=single



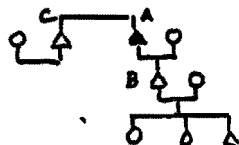
extended family
type 4c

b) B-single, C-married



multiple family
type 5d

c) B and C=married



multiple family
type 5e

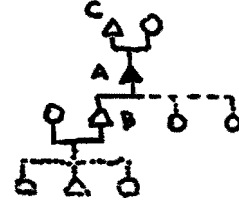
B. Three-generational depth

Source: Nikola (A) Dimitar, son (B) Radul, grandfather (C)

Assumption: B=son of A; C=grandfather of B

Possible representations:

a) all married = multiple family
improbable, because of high mortality



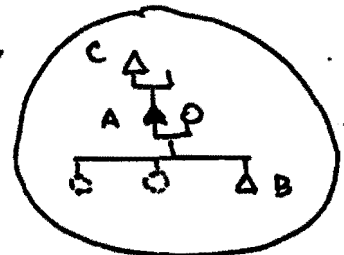
b) C widowed, A and B married = multiple family
rare, because of high mortality



c) all widowed or unmarried = extended family
rare, because of high degree of remarriage



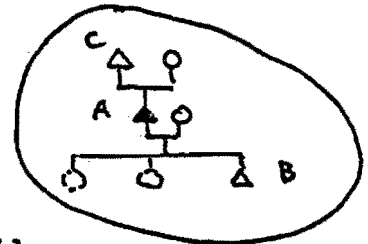
d) A married, B single, C widower = extended family
most probable



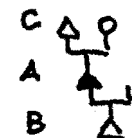
e) B married, A and C widowed = extended family
quite rare, because of high mortality



f) A and C married, B single = multiple family
very probable



g) C married, A widower, B single = extended family
rare, because of high degree of remarriage



h) B and C married, A widower = multiple family
highly improbable, because of high mortality
and high degree of remarriage

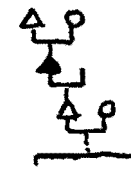
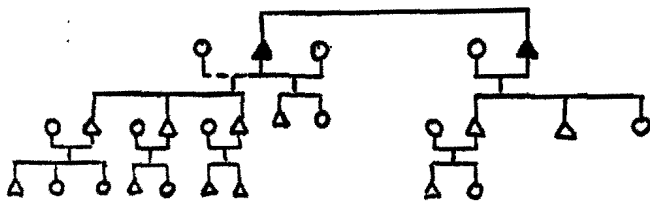
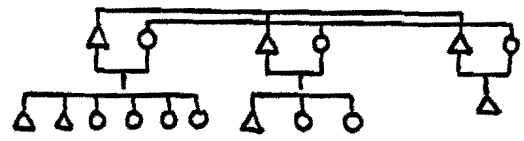


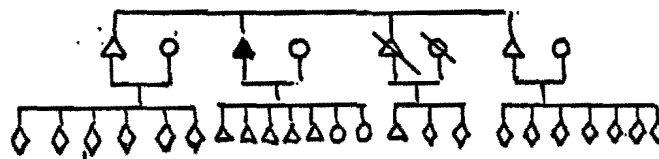
TABLE 4
Zadrugas



26 members [frèreche]
multiple (5d)



17 members [collateral]
multiple (5c)



The zadruga of
Wayne Vucinach

29 members [frereche]
multiple (5d)

MAP 2
 Family types in Europe: main anthropological regions only

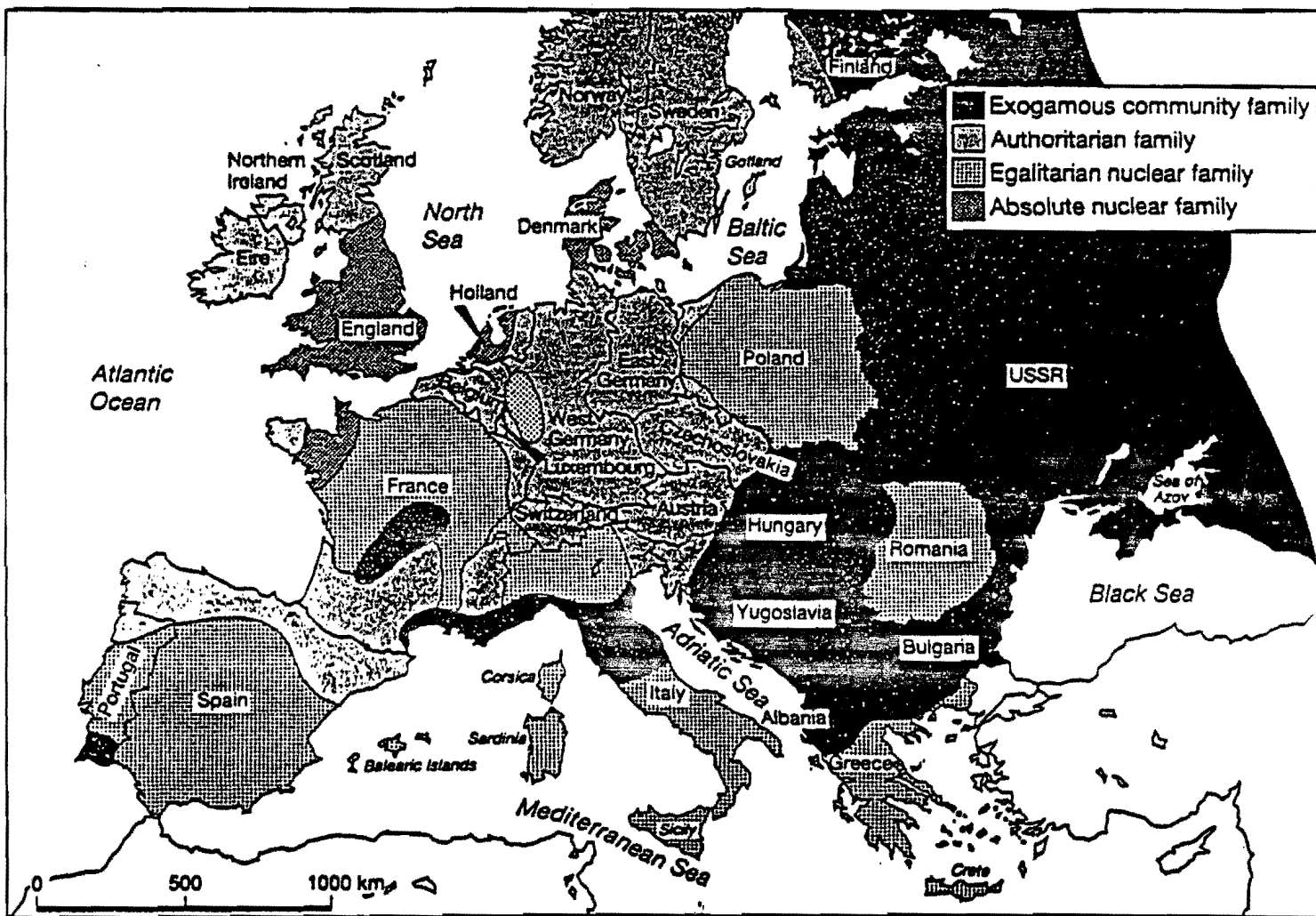


TABLE 5

Sets of tendencies in domestic group organizations
traditional Europe - 4 regions and Bulgaria

Overall criterion	Sets 1 and 2 Northern and western		Sets 3 and 4 Southern and eastern		Bulgaria
	1 West	2 West/central or middle	3 Mediterranean	4 East	
Occasion and method of domestic group formation					
a 1 Formed at marriage of household head	Always	Usually	Seldom	Never	seldom
a 2 Formed by fission or fusion of existent household(s)	Never	Sometimes	Frequently	Always	frequent
a 3 Marriage important to household formation	Always	Usually	(Seldom)*	Never	seldom
a 4 Takeover of existent household by new head	Occasional	Frequent	Frequent	Usual	frequent
Procreational and demographic criteria					
b 1 Age at marriage, female	High	High	Low	Low	low
b 2 Age at marriage, male	High	High	High	Low	low (rural); high (urban)
b 3 Proportions marrying	Low	Low	High	High	high
b 4 Age gap between spouses at first marriage	Narrow	Narrow	Wide	Narrow	narrow (rural); wide (urban)
b 5 Proportion of wives older than husbands	High	Very high	Low	High	low
b 6 Proportion of widows remarrying	High	Very high	Very low	Very low	high
Criteria of kin composition of groups					
c 1 Proportion of resident kin	Very low	Low	High	High	high
c 2 Proportion of multigenerational households	Low	Low	High	Very high	high
c 3 Proportion of households headed by never-married women	High	High	(Low)*	High	low
c 4 Proportion of solitaries	Very high	High	Low	Absent	low
c 5 Proportion of no-family households	High	High	Low	Absent	low
c 6 Proportion of simple-family households	High	High	Low	Low	high
c 7 Proportion of extended-family households	Quite high	High	low	Low	quite high
c 8 Proportion of multiple-family households	Very low	Low	High	Very high	quite high
c 9 Proportion of complex-family households (c7 + c8)	Very low	Low	High	Very high	quite high
c 10 Proportion of <i>fratres</i>	Absent	Low	High	Very high	low
c 11 Proportion of stem-family households	Very low	High	Low	Low	low
c 12 Proportion of joint-family households	Absent	Low	Very high	Very high	low
					high

TABLE 6

Distribution of household by category (percentages)

- Categories: 1. Solitaries
 2. No family
 3. Simple family households
 4. Extended family households
 5. Multiple family households
 6. Undetermined

Cat.	Elmdon Essex, 1861	Ealing 1861	Longuenesse France, 1778	Grossenmeer Germany, 1785	Colorno Italy, 1782
1	6.1	6	1	1.4	8
2	7.0	5	6	0.7	0
3	73.0	67	76	68.3	73
4	12.2	19	14	19.7	9
5	1.7	2	3	9.9	11
6	-	1	-	-	-

	100	100	100	100	100

Cat.	Bologna area 1853	Fagagna, Trieste region 1870	Kölked Hungary 1816	Belgrade Serbia 1733	Danube province, Bulgaria 1860s
1	} 2.6	5.9	-	2	4
2		2.6	-	2	1
3	61.0	48.4	47	67	67
4	12.7	15.0	13	15	16
5	22.1	28.1	36	14	12
6	1.6	-	4	-	-

	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 6 (continued)

Cat.	Karuse Estonia 1782	Krasnoe Sobakino Russia 1849	Nishinomiya Hama-issai-cho Japan 1713	American colonial Bristol 1689
1	-	-	7	7
2	-	-	2	-
3	48.0	13.3	43	90
4	13.2	6.7	27	3
5	38.8	80.0	21	-
6	-	-	-	-

	100	100	100	100

Sources: Data on Ealing, 1861; Longuenesse, 1778; Belgrade, 1733, Japan, 1713; Bristol, 1689 : Household and Family in Past Time. Cambridge, 1972, p.85;
on Elmdon, 1861; Krasnoe Sobakino, 1849; Grossenmeer, 1785; Bologna, 1853; Fagagna, 1870; Karuse, 1782; K0lked, 1816 : Family Forms in Historic Europe. Cambridge, 1983, p.213, 293, 518-524;
Bulgaria, 1860s: M.Todorova. Population Structure..., Etudes balkaniques, 1983, #1, p.70-71.

TABLE 7

Distribution of the households by category
(Bulgaria, Danube province, 1860s)

Category of household		Moslems — towns		Christians — towns		Moslems — villages	
		number	%	number	%	number	%
1. Single	a) widowers	0	3	1	6	0	1
	b) celibates or with undetermined conjugal states	5		12		1	
2. Households without familial structure	a) related co-residents (brothers and sisters)	2	1	1	1	1	1
	b) co-residents linked otherwise	0		0		0	
	c) individuals without apparent links	0		0		0	
3. Simple family households	a) married couples	14	60	14	73	9	69
	b) married couples with children	78		105		71	
	c) widowers with children	3		5		4	
	d) widows with children	16		26		7	
4. Extended family households	a) ascendant	19	16	15	12	9	21
	b) descendant	2		0		0	
	c) collateral	7		7		15	
	d) ascendant and collateral	2		3		4	
5. Multiple family households	a) secondary ascendant nucleus	9	20	6	8	3	8
	b) secondary descendant nucleus	19		6		6	
	c) collateral nuclei	4		3		0	
	d) frérèches	6		1		1	
	e) others	0		0		0	
6. Households with undetermined structure		0		0		0	
Total:		186	100	205	100	131	100

Source: Maria Todorova. Population Structure, Marriage Patterns, Family and Household...Op.cit. - Etudes balkaniques, 31, Sofia, 1983, p.70.

TABLE 8

Distribution of households by size (in percentage)

Number of members	Christians — towns	Moslems — towns	Moslems — villages	England 1881 — urban households	Norway 1801 — rural households
1	6.8	2.6	0.7	6.0	0.1
2	10.2	9.6	8.7	13.3	8.1
3	21.0	16.6	15.9	16.2	12.9
4	17.1	16.1	18.8	17.1	16.3
5	16.6	25.2	21.7	14.1	16.5
6	12.2	17.2	12.3	10.6	13.4
7	7.8	3.2	12.3	8.3	10.9
8	5.4	2.1	2.9	6.1	7.6
9	2.4	2.7	4.3	3.4	4.9
10	0.5	3.7	2.2	4.8	9.2

Source: Maria Todorova. Population Structure, Marriage Patterns,

Family and Household... Etudes balkaniques, #1. Sofia, 1983, p.71.

M. Drake. Perspectives in Historical Demography. - In: The Structure

of Human Populations. Eds. G.H. Harrison and A.J. Boyce. Oxford, 1972, 63-64.