ETHNICAL STRUCTURE DYNAMICS OF MARAMUREŞ REGION (ROMANIA)

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Abstract. The ethnical structure of Maramureş is the outcome of an ongoing process that has passed through some important stages connected with the rise and fall of the empires that used to dispute neighbouring territories. Worth recalling is the way in which these empires referred to the religion of conquered populations, or of their allied peoples. Christianity with the Proto-Romanians goes back to the time of Apostle Andrew, it gradually developing until the 8th century, a period in which it became the official religion of the Byzantine Empire (AD 313 – the Edict of Milan), spreading out in the territories inhabited by Romanians. The political pressures of the neighbouring empires of Maramureş ceased after the Second World War and the ethnical groups inside the province would evolved "normally". A significant increase registered the Rroma population, while the other ethnical minorities and the Romanian population are declining through population aging.

1. HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Christian population of Moldavia and Wallachia was under the protection of the Patriarchate of Constantinople (10th – 19th cc) except for the years 1235–1393, when it was under the guardianship of the Tyno Metropolitian See. Throughout that time, the Transylvanian Christians (inclusive of those in Maramureş) had a distinctively different situation.

In AD 732, the iconoclast Byzantine Emperor Leon the Sirian, dissolved the Prima Justiniana Bishopric. Basil the Second (the Bulgaroctone) would Christian the Russians (roundabout the year AD 890) when Vladimir, the Great Knez of Kiev, married Anne, the Emperor’s sister after having helped the Byzantines fight the Bulgarians (Brezeanu, 2005). It was again Basil the Second who submitted the Romanian churches to the Archbishops of Ohrid (Bulgarian) demoted from the rank of Patriarchate between AD 927 – 1018), and through it to the Patriarchate of Byzantium (as from AD 1019). In this way, the Romanians came to share their political and religious life with the Bulgarians and Transdanubian Slavs who, becoming dominant elements in the state and church, dissolved the Latin Bishoprics of Dacia, replacing them with Slavic ones and introducing the Slavic rite and language in place of Latin (Filipaşcu, 1997). After 1019, the Patriarchate of Constantinople took over control of the Orthodox Church in Transylvania until 1918, except for a short time (1389 – 1459), when control was discharged by the Patriarchate of Ipek (Peci) (Serbia). Both the Peci and the Ohrid Patriarchates were dissolved in 1766 and 1767, respectively (http://ziarullumina.ro).

With the foundation of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, the Church experienced a new organisation, i.e. the establishment of the Metropolitan See of Ungro-Wallachia (1359), of Suceava and Moldavia (1401). The Romanian Ortodox Church became autocephalus only in 1872. So, as early as the 10th century, the Romanian Principalities practicing Orthodoxism, became part of the groups of Slav peoples. After the Great Schism (AD 1054), attemps were being made for the Romanians of Wallachia and Moldavia to adopt the Catholic religion as seen in the letters sent by Pope Clement the 7th to Voivode Michael the Brave, conditioning a possible material support (defence expences) on his passing to Catholicism (http://www.art-emis.ro).

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In the Middle Ages, Romania’s neighbour states were Poland, Russia and the Hungarian Kingdom. Christianity in Poland began in AD 966, when Ruling Prince Mieszko I took the baptism (Lukowski, 2006).

Adopting Christianity was a lasting process in Poland, giving up Paganism could be avowed only in the 13th century, when Roman-Catholicism became the dominant religion (Wandycz, 1980). The first state of the Eastern Slavs, Kiev Russia, adopted Christianity in AD 988, under the influence of the Byzantine Empire. This was the beginning of a synthesis between the Slav and the Byzantine cultures which stamped Russian culture for the next seven centuries (http://www.historyworld.net). Converting to Christianity was made in a public act of baptism of the Kiev inhabitants under the reign of Prince Vladimir the First. A few years later, they introduced the first Russian Code of Laws (Russkaya Pravda). From the very beginning, and following the Byzantine example, the Kiev Princes placed the Church under their strict control, even its revenues, which made the Russian state and its national Church remain closely connected throughout. Eventually, Kiev Russia disappeared as a state, being broken into several states competing for the right of naming themselves inheritors of culture and dominant position. Kiev domination would wane in favour of Novgorod in the North, the Grand Duchy of Vladimir in the North-East and the Principality of Galicia–Volhynia in the South-East. What remained of Kiev Russia was conquered by the Golden Horde in the 13th century. The Principality of Galicia–Volhynia, conquered by the Mongolians in mid-13th century, was finally included into Poland (1349) and afterwards into the Poland-Lithuanian State Union. The Grand Duchy of Vladimir (under Mongolian suzerainty) and independent Novgorod would become the groundwork for the formation of the modern Russian nation. After the 13th century, the former Kiev cultural and political centre fell under the rule of the Grand Duchy of Moscow (Moscovy) (Smith, 1996).

The Hungarian Kingdom emerged in AD 1,000 under the rule of Stephen I of Hungary, the first Magyar king who took the Christian baptism. Initially, Hungary’s political birth had evolved alongside that of Poland and Bohemia in close connection with the Popes of Rome and the Holy Roman Empire, both being interested in expanding Catholicism in Eastern Europe, competing with the Byzantine Empire in supporting Orthodox Christianity in South-East Europe (Kristó G. et al., 2002).

State formation was intimately related with the Christianisation of the peoples, since adopting one single cult meant actually the unification of the people. In Poland, the Church did contribute to strengthening the King’s authority, also offering experience to the administration of the state. In this way, the Church sustained the state, the bishops receiving important government positions (members of the Polish Senate by the end of the monarchic period) (Bardach et al., 1987). Thus, Maramureş neighbour states (Kiev Russia, Poland and the Hungarian Kingdom) would come into being in the 10th century, that is 300 years earlier than Wallachia (1330), Moldavia (1359) and Maramureş (1299), beginning a vast process of territorial expansion.

Speaking of Maramureş, one may say that the above-mentioned states had exerted a strong influence on the internal organization of this province, or on its ethnical structure, in which the Romanians were the only autochthons, living on both banks of the Tisza River since Daco-Roman times. Until the 13th century, Maramureş was inhabited only by Romanians. In the 13th century, the towns from the North-Western part of Maramureş: Bereg, Ugocea and Ung, became Hungarian Royal estates turned into feudal counties (comitats), the Agria Bishopric being given the right of tithes on the Romanians. Thus, the old relation between land and the people who works it is broken, which made the Romanian population migrate from the above towns to Galicia and Maramureş. However, compact masses of Romanians continued to stay on for a long time in the Bârjava Valley and its tributaries (the new western border of Maramureş). Maramureş, not invaded by the Hungarians, preserved its political independence until mid-14th century. In 1326, the Hungarian king Carol-Robert d’Anjou entered Maramureş, where, supposedly, he quite easily obtained the right to place military garrisons alongside the Tartar-Lithuanian border and extend the Saxon colonists as far as Câmpulung Town, where three years later they would settle down (Filipaşcu, 1997). On April 26, 1328, the king would grant
privileges to Saxons in the towns of Vişc, Khust, Teceu and Câmpulung, taking them from under the
authority of the local administrative bodies and ordering that no one should touch their deforested area
and plantation. King Louis I of Hungary abolished the Eastern Catholic Church services held in the
Church of Sighet Town, ceding them to his Roman-Catholic colonists, thereby extending the colonists’
expansion to Sighet, which in 1346 became the centre of Catholicism in Maramureş (Filipaşcu, 1997).

In the early 14th century, Maramureş lay between the Forested Carpathians and the Rodna,
Lăpuş, Oaş and Bârjava Mountains, extending up to Teceu in the Tisza Plain, wherefrom the land
inhabited by the Saxon colonists brought in by King Andrew III of Hungary, began. In 1329, the Tisza
Plain up to Craia settlement was annexed to Maramureş, and in 1385 turned into Hungary’s feudal
county (Filipaşcu, 1997). In 1454, on request of the nephews of the former Seneslau Voivode of Ung
and at the intervention of John Hunyadi Voivode, Maramureş received the upper part of the Bârjava
Valley, with five settlements and their territories, the property of the Romanian Voivode of Ung
(Mihalyi, 1900). From that time on, no changes in Maramureş territory occurred until 1920.

2. STUDY AREA

The study-area refers to the Historical Region of Maramureş in Romania, which is the southern
part of Maramureş, the other part belongs to Ukraine (Zakarpattia Oblast) (Fig. 1). The Tisza River divides
the region into two, being the natural border between Romania and Ukraine. From the beginning, we
must state that the Historical Region is different from Maramureş County. Maramureş Region is the
eastern part of the county by the same name, consisting of the Maramureş Depression, located on the
upper course of the Tisza Valley, and the slopes of the surrounding mountains: Oaş, Gutăi, Ţibleş, the
Rodnei Mountains in the West and South and the Maramureş Mountains and the Tisza River in the
East and North.

3. ALLOCHTHONOUS POPULATIONS. RUSYNS, RUTHENIANS AND UKRAINIANS

The three terms (Rusyns, Ruthenians and Ukrainians) could be considered synonymous but refer
to distinct periods: Rusyns refers to Kiev Russia until the Habsburg Monarchy extinction in Galicia
(17th century) (Orthodox Church members), Ruthenians goes from the 17th century until the 20th century
(Soviet-era) (Greek-Catholic Church members) and Ukrainians from the 20th century on.

In the 14th century, a group of Rusyns slipped into Maramureş, in the land ruled by John of Cuhea
and Rozavlea (1345–1355), who colonised them along the Valley that bears their name, Apa Rusului
(the Russian’s Water), where they set up villages of Rusyns and bondsmen: Poienile de Sub Munte,
Repedea and Ruscova, wherefrom the noblemen of Petrova settlement would subsequently take a few families and colonise them in the hamlets of Frumușa, Bistra and Valea Vișeului (Iacob, 1994–1995). In 1356, Bogdan Voivode took advantage of the expedition headed by Louis I of Hungary against Tsar Stefan Uroš V of Serbia, and the county-head Oliver, spent his time at the Queen’s Court (Elizabeth of Bosnia, Queen of Hungary at that time), and since Sas Voivode had just died, Bogdan left for Moldavia together with most of the population of 300 village from Bereg and Ung counties, and a lot of valiant men from Maramureș (considered an exaggeration by Iacob, 1994–1995). Apparently, he did not meet much resistance, occupied it, driving the sons of Sas Voivode away to Hungary (Filipașcu, 1997).

After Bogdan founded the state (Moldavia) (1359), the depopulated territories in Bereg and Ung were colonised by the former Podolian Knez Fedir Koriatovych (Filipașcu, 1997). Fedir Koriatovych (died in 1414 at Mukacheve) was a Rusyn prince of Lithuanian origin, son of Karijotas, Duke of Navahrudak, and grandson of Gediminas, Grand Duke of Lithuania. Fedir inherited Navahrudak Castle from his father and after his other brothers died (ca. 1389), he became ruler of all Podolia. Podolia had been given to Karijotas for the help granted to the Great Duke of Lithuania in a decisive victory against the Tartars at Sinie Vody (Blue Water) (1362/1363), the Lithuanians gaining Kiev and its surroundings (Ivinskis, 1978). As a result of the Krewo Union (1385), which led to a dynastic union between Lithuania and Poland, Fedir’s political position became more complicated as the new Grand Duke of Lithuania, Vytautas the Great/Vytovt (1392–1430), a rival of his deceased cousin Algirdas, tried to secure Lithuania’s independence and introduced a more centralised governing system throughout his Dukedome. Vytautas held control over the Algirdas and Koriatovych families, inclusively over Prince Koriatovych of Podolia. Defeated by the forces loyal to Vytautas and jailed in Vilnius, the capital-city of the Great Dukedom, Fedir succeeded to escape in 1392, taking refuge in Hungary under the protection of King Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437) (Prochaska, 1908).

Fedir Koriatovych gave the Hungarian King the nominal right of ruling over Podolia in exchange for a vassalage over the Mukacheve and Makovytsia properties (in Presov Region, N–E Slovakia). Fedir set his residence at Mukacheve (Palanok Castle) (Fig. 2). According to tradition, he brought with him 40,000 Podolian peasants whom he settled in 300 new villages of Subcarpathian Russia (Filipașcu, 1997).

Fig. 2 – Palanok Castle, Mukacheve (Source: Paul Şerban).

In the second half of the 15th century, the Romanian noblemen from the villages located on the right side of the Tisza River began bringing in Rusyns from Bereg on their estates (Iacob, 1994–1995). In 1489, those newcomers already had a Rusyn priest in the bondsmen’s village of Horneti in the Neagului Valley. A document of 1461 recalled a roadway from Coșna, in the Barjava Valley, to the Rusyn-inhabited lands. The Rusyns were strongly supported by the Church in the Slavic language – influenced and effectively led for a long time by the Ruthenian bishops of Mukacheve (Filipașcu, 1997).
4. THE ROMANIAN AND THE RUSYN ORTHODOX CHURCH
(THE ROLE OF RELIGION ON THE ETHNICAL STRUCTURE)

The Romanian Church of Maramureș continued to have canonical relationships with Halych (capital-city of Galicia) also after 1372, when apparently priests (Nicholas and Stephen) did exist in Moldavia with the blessing of the Patriarchate of Ohrid, because Balcu Voivode was one of the founders of the Metropolitan Seat of Halych. In 1387, after Halych and Pocutia were incorporated into Poland (in 1349), the Metropolitan See of Halych lost jurisdiction over its territories in Hungary (the Polish King Cazimir requested Philothei, the ecumenical Patriarch, to raise Halych to the rank of Metropolitan See (1370) ) in order to maintain the unity of the Orthodox believers from his Kingdom (Păcurariu, 1980). Taking advantage of this situation, Balcu and Drag (two of Dragoș Voivode’s nephews), returned to Maramureș after Bogdan I came to rule Moldavia, travelled to Constantinople, and obtained (on August 13, 1391) a canonisation decree of the Exarchate of Peri from Patriarch Anthony, endowed by the founders with 182 arable jugers, 3,573 forest jugers and a two-wheel mill (Păcurariu, 1980); for more information, see also Iacob, 1995 and Iacob, 1994–1995.

In view of the above, the Orthodox Romanians from Maramureș and Moldavia were deprived of their own episcopal authority, while those in Maramureș did not wish to solve their church problems subordinated to a Catholic bishop from Hungary. Moldavia’s Voivode Petru I Mușat took the necessary steps to set up an Orthodox Metropolitan See for Moldavia alone, finalised in 1401 (when Joseph was recognized as canonical bishop over all of Moldavia). Simultaneously, the voivodes of Maramureș approached the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople to set up their own episcopal church. The stake was high because the passage of Halych to Poland meant an ecclesiastical and symbolic void of power, which had also an economic dimension, namely, the right to collect money for the church, and this void had to be quickly filled by establishing new centres of symbolic power and church organization for the Romanians from Maramureș and Moldavia. By an act of donation, Peri Monastery became the property of the Patriarchate of Constantinople (http://www.revistasingur.ro).

Father Superior Pahomie was nominated to head the Exarchate, with a quasi-episcopal jurisdiction over Maramureș, Salaj, Mediaș, Ugocea, Bârjava, Ciceu, Bolovâneșt and Almaș in Bihor. Father Superior was not dependent on any bishopric, but not being in the rank of a bishop, he had to appeal to a bishop to ordain his priests. The Peri Monastery could not defend its independence (as Balcu’s administration did). On June 19, 1427 Sigismund (in exchange for the city-fortresses of Serbia) gave Durad Brancovic a lot of estates stretching out, almost continuously, from the Serbian border to Maramureș. It was on those estates that Brancovic built churches and ordained Serbian priests, nominated a Serbian bishop with the seat in Belgrade who succeeded in obtaining jurisdiction over the Maramureș Church and raise a number of taxes, imposed on the believers, collected by County Officers (Filipașcu, 1997).

On the other hand, the Rusyn priests in Bereg and Ung, long accustomed to having a bishop of their own nation, chose one with the residence at St. Nicholas Monastery in Mukaceve. The holders of the new Rusyn bishoprics, based on the identity of faith, rite and liturgical language, as well as on preceeding cases of the Serbian bishops, would permanently strive to extend their jurisdiction over Maramureș and acquire the wealth of Peri Monastery. In 1453, Constantinople, being conquered by the Ottomans, could no longer offer protection to its own stauropegic monasteries. The Peri Monastery would be repeatedly attacked by the soldiers sent by the Bishop of Mukaceve, who plundered it and set it on fire, and thus many highly valuable documents, religious books and manuscripts, were lost. In 1491, after a lapse of nearly one hundred years, the two churches would come to the judgement of King Vladislaus II Jagiello on the matter of the right of tax collection for the church; the royal sentence was in favour of the Bishopric of Mukaceve (Filipașcu, 1997).

It was for the first time that the “Psalter”, “Gospel”, “the Sunday Legend”, “the Voronet Monastery Codex” and “the Acts of the Apostles” were translated in Romanian. The Monastery decayed and was no longer in existence in 1783 (http://ziarullumina.ro).
After the Ottoman victory on the Hungarian Kingdom at Mohács (1526), Ferdinand's army (Archduke Ferdinand I claimed the title of King of Hungary) was defeated by John Zapolya (King of Hungary) at Sárospatak on September 25, 1528, who became the owner of Mukaceve city-fortress and of the territories towards the Tisza River. In 1538, hostilities ceased (the Peace of Oradea), and Maramureș, together with the other counties (known by the name of “Partes Regni Hungari”), were annexed to Transylvania (Filipașcu, 1997).

The greatest misfortune was the dissolution of the Exarchate of Peri, which inevitably led to the Maramureș Church officials adopting Calvinism. The Diet of 1579 forced the Romanian bishops to take an oath of allegiance to the Ruling Prince and assume a number of commitments contrary to the old Christian spirit, promising also to propagate Calvinism, preaching the word of God as written in the Calvinistic catechism; to send the candidates to priesthood to be examined by the Calvinist Superintendent; the Superintendent shall be recognised as their Superior; they shall not take any action without asking him and having his approval, etc. (Filipașcu, 1997).

At the Uzhhorod Synod of April 24, 1646, the Rusyns, both clergymen and laymen, reaffirmed their support for Unification with the Church of Rome, Peter Partenie Rotosinsyky (1592–1665), reconfirmed as bishop after the Brest Synod (1593), started the process (Filipașcu, 1997).

5. POPULATION COMPOSITION

After 1688, Maramureș together with Transylvania, became part of the Austrian Empire. The Leopoldine Diploma (February 16, 1699), which provides a legal basis for the Unification with the Church of Rome, includes the Romanians, the Greeks and the Rusyns of Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia and Transylvania. The unification was grounded on political considerations, basically to strengthen Austrian rule, and, like in the case of the Romanians, it was an opportunity for the Rusyns to affirm their national identity (http://rutenii.ro).

Unlike Transylvania, Maramureș had not experienced religious unification with the Church of Rome. Greek-Catholicism taking the form of the Romanians’ religious appurtenance to the Rusyn bishopric of Mukaceve, which joined the Church of Rome simultaneously with the other bishoprics in Galicia. The Orthodox Church lasted until the end of the 19th century in a few hermitages affiliated to the Moldavian abbey of Putna, in particular (Filipașcu, 1997).

5.1. The Hungarians and the Saxons

Beginning with the 13th century, the lowland cnezdoms with fertile soil in the Tisza Valley started being colonised with Hungarians and Saxons who would set up urban settlements and defence fortresses at Visc (1299) and Hust (1329). These settlements were rather isolated, and had little influence on the Romanians in the area.

In the 16th century, out of 100 villages in Maramureș, 84 were Romanian, 7 with German or Hungarian colonists, 5 were Rusyns, and for another four villages no data are available (Filipașcu, 1997).

5.2. The Jews, Poles, and Slovaks

A numerically important Jewish population from Galicia came to Maramureș, settled down mostly in towns, but also in villages, being engaged largely in trade. For instance, in Cuhea Village, from a number of 15 persons in 1771, records show 320 in 1900 (Filipașcu, 1997).

In order to boost mining works, the Imperial authorities used to encourage the arrival of experienced workers from areas with a mining tradition. Then Poles, Slovaks and Germans arrived in mining areas, first in the salt mines.
According to the Austro-Hungarian mother-tongue-based census data of 1910, out of a total population of 357,535 inhabitants in Maramureș (living on both banks of the Tisza River) 159,489 were Ruthenians, 84,510 Romanians, 59,552 Germans, and 52,964 Hungarians. Many German and Hungarian speakers were actually Jews (Filipaşcu, 1997).

Between 1992 and 2011 Northern Maramureș had about 40–50,000 Romanians, the connections with the rest of the country’s citizens being facilitated by the Sighet-Ocna Slatina (Solotvino) road bridge and the railway bridges at Valea Vişeului and Campulung over the Tisza (Filipaşcu, 1997).

Once the process of Christianisation of the population on the present territory of Romania (inclusive of those who lived in Maramureș) (under the influence of the Byzantine Empire) had been concluded, the Patriarchate of Constantinople took the Christians from the Romanian provinces (Moldavia, Wallachia and the Orthodox population of Transylvania) under its guardianship. After the death of Basil II the Porphyrogenitus, the power of the Byzantine Empire weakened and the territories it had controlled fell a prey to neighbouring peoples. It is the case of Transylvania (except for Maramureș) conquered by the Hungarian Kingdom at the beginning of the 11th century. Beginning with the 13th century, Maramureș was controlled by the Hungarian Kingdom who sent Saxon and Szekler colonists to defend and administer the newly-conquered territory, raising here the first towns and fortresses. After Fedir Koriatovych, the Rusyn Prince of Lithuanian origin, moved his residence to Mukacheve, under the protection of the Hungarian King Sigismund of Luxembourg, the first Ruthenians started being colonised in Maramureș. Other allochthonous populations in the province are Jews, Poles and Slovaks, the last ones in pretty low numbers, brought in by the Austrian Empire for mining. In the early 20th century there were quite many Jews in Maramureș, but speaking German or Hungarian, distinguishing them was rather difficult. Jews appeared in Maramureș (late 18th century) under the influence of the Austrian Empire. Beside these populations, we would mention the Rroma, on the increase over the last few decades. Shortly after arriving on Romanian soil (14th century), they became the boyars’ bondsmen, a social status held until the end of the 18th century, when Emperor Joseph II freed them from bondage.

6. THE PRESENT-DAY EVOLUTION OF THE ETHNICAL STRUCTURE IN MARAMUREȘ

In 1992, the total population of this province (only on the left bank of the Tisza River) numbered 225,200 people, concentrated in the towns of Sighetu Marmației (44,200), Borșa (27,300), Vișeu de Sus (19,200), and the Poienile de Sub Munte Commune (10,500) (Fig. 3a).

Romanians represented 77% (172,350 inh.) out of the population total (Fig. 3b).

Other ethnical groups:
– Hungarians 6% (13,500) – Sighetu Marmației (8,250), and Câmpulung upon the Tisza (2,050) (Fig. 4a);
– Germans 1% (2,050), mostly in Vișeu de Sus (1,750) (Fig. 4b);
– Ukrainians 16.2% (36,400), found mostly in Poienile de Sub Munte (10,200), Ruscova (4,900), Repedea (4,800), Bistra (4,400), Rona de Sus (4,300), Bocicoiu Mare (3,000), Remeţi (2,600), and Sighetu Marmăției (1,500) (Fig. 5a);
– Rroma 0.5% (800) – Sighetu Marmăției (300) (Fig. 5b).

In 2002, the total population registered a numerical decrease by almost 7% (211,600) compared to 1992. Decreases close to the province average had Sighetu Marmăției (7%): 41,200, down to under 1% in Borşa (27,000) and Poienile de Sub Munte (10,000) with a significant fall of 12% in Vișeu de Sus (16,900) (Fig. 6a).

Romanians represented 78% (164,200) out of the total population, recording a slight share increase (Fig. 6b).
The share of other ethnicities decreased:
- Ukrainians 15.8% (33,500), spread out in Poienile de Sub Munte (9,700), Ruscova (4,600), Repedea (4,700), Bistra (4,000), Rona de Sus (4,100), Bocicoiu Mare (2,600), Remeti (2,300), and Sighetu Marmației (1,200) (Fig. 8a);
- Hungarians a fall to 5% (11,200), their number decreasing by nearly one quarter in Sighetu Marmației (6,500) almost no change in Câmpulung upon Tisza (2,000) (Fig. 7a);
- Germans 0.6% (1,300), most of them living in Vişeu de Sus (1,100) (Fig. 7b);
- Ruma (1,100), an increase by nearly 50%, most of them living especially in Sighetu Marmației (500) (Fig. 8b).

In 2011, the total population numbered 200,300 inhabitants, steadily decreasing by 6% compared to 2002. In Sighetu Marmației (37,600) and Vișeu de Sus (15,000), the fall was of 9% and 11%, respectively; a slight increase (under 2%) was recorded in Borșa (27,600) and Poienile de Sub Munte (10,100) (Fig. 9a).

Romanians represented 80% (160,000), their share in the total population increasing, albeit numerically declining (Fig. 9b).
Between 2002 and 2011 the share of ethnical minorities/total population decreased, with one exception: the Rroma.

- Ukrainians 15.3% (30,600), living in Poienile de Sub Munte (9,300), Ruscova (5,000), Repedea (4,500), Bistra (3,500), Rona de Sus (3,200), Bocicoiu Mare (2,000), Remeți (2,200), and Sighetu Marmătiei (800) (Fig. 11a);
- Hungarians 4% (8,000), more numerous in Sighetu Marmătiei (4,400), and Câmpulung upon the Tisza (1,700) (Fig. 10a);
- Germans only 0.35% (700), mostly in Vișeu de Sus (600) (Fig. 10b);
- Rroma, slightly increasing (1,200), found especially in Sighetu Marmătiei (500) (Fig. 11b).

7. CONCLUSIONS

The ethnical structure of Maramureș is changing. Between 1992 and 2011 the total population was on the decrease (from 225,000 to 200,000), mostly among the Germans/total population, who emigrated to their home country. Ukrainians and Hungarians had a similar behaviour, with a slightly decreasing share/total population, while the Rroma increased in number and share/total population. Romanians have maintained their ethnical majority, even recording a slight share increase/total population, their decrease being lower than that of other ethnical groups.

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