The cost of Roma slavery

Abstract: This article is about the voluntary or involuntary contribution of the Roma through the history to the economical and social development in the Romanian space. Over the centuries, Roma have suffered social exclusion, discrimination, slavery and deportations to Nazi and Romanian concentration camps. What is less documented is that they have managed to survive over the centuries as an ethnic group, even becoming privileged in certain fields. The Roma attained a high level of privilege as handicraftsmen in an agrarian cultural space, as army tools providers, as famous musicians and appreciated entertainers; they gained recognition as of being from a different culture and speaking another language. Therefore, this article is part of a series of analyses of Roma contribution to economic and social development of the societies that they live in, focusing on Romania—home of the largest population of Roma in Europe. I have decided to start with Roma slavery for two reasons: first of all, Roma were first mentioned in Romanian history as slaves and second, the role and economic contribution of the slaves in the Romanian Principalities are highly relevant for the current situation of the Romanian Roma. This article makes use of the available literature on slavery of Roma ethnic groups in the Romanian Principalities as well as other materials related to Roma history, including anthropological and sociological research.

Keywords: cost, Roma, Romanian principalities, slavery

"The slave has an unfavorable eye for the virtues of the powerful; he has a skepticism and distrust, a refinement of distrust of everything 'good' that is there honored—he would fain persuade himself that the very happiness there is not genuine. On the other hand, those qualities which serve to alleviate the existence of sufferers are brought into prominence and toasted; it is here that sympathy, the kind, helping hand, the warm heart, patience, diligence, humility, and friendliness attain to honor; for here these are the most useful qualities, and almost the only means of supporting the burden of existence. Slave-morality is essentially the morality of utility." (Friedrich Nietzsche)

Slaves in the Romanian Principalities

Romania is composed of three historical principalities, namely Walachia, Moldova and Transylvania. According to the historians, Roma were slaves only in Walachia and Moldova for five centuries. The first record of the Roma in Walachia dates from a fourteenth-century donation document:

"[T]he earliest written information about the presence of the Gypsies on the territory of Romania dates from 1385. In a deed issued in that year, Dan I, the prince of Wallachia, amongst other things awarded to the Tismana monastery, the possessions previously belonging to the Vodita monastery, which had been given to the latter by the Prince Wladislav I: among the possessions in question are forty families of Gypsies (atigani)"
The origins of slavery in Romania are still under debate. Some historians believe that Roma were introduced as slaves into the Romanian Principalities by the Ottoman army. This hypothesis was for the first time proposed by the most well-known Romanian historian, Nicolae Iorga, and acknowledged for a long period of time by other historians (until now, this hypothesis has not been proved). On the other hand, P. N. Panaitescu, Romanian historian of economy, believed that the economical changes produced by the Ottoman invasion, specifically the need for skilled handicraft works and resources to pay the mounting debts, turned the Roma into slaves. This theory was also supported by sociologist Nicolae Gheorghe in his article, "Origin of Roma's Slavery in the Romanian Principalities":

"In my opinion the cause of bringing Roma into slavery in the Romanian Principalities is not his origin in the hazard of their migration into the Romanian Principalities and certainly not their inferior ethnical characteristic, as is mentioned and argued in prejudice-based theories. On the contrary, the dependent status of the Roma and later the status of slavery in this country is connected to the power structure and nobility and the establishment of the social structure in Romanian medieval society. To present this whole process is beyond the intention of this paper. I can only mention that according to social historians who studied Romanian historical issues regarding landless peasants and slaves, the Roma initially lived as free people in villages but were then fiscally exploited by the groups of nobles, represented by the local prince.

At the end of the slavery period in 1859, a census took place and showed that more than 250,000 slaves were emancipated, more than 7% of the Wallachian and Moldovan population. The slaves were classified in three groups - State slaves (robi domenesti), Monastery and Orthodox Church slaves (romi manastiresti), and landlord slaves (robi boieresti). Roma, as today, were divided as well in different professional groups, some of them nomads, other sedentary, sharing the same social status, language, and origins as slaves at that time. According to statesman and historian Mihai Kogălniceanu, slaves were classified by their way of living, sedentary or nomadic, and by their main occupations. The nomad slaves were supposed to pay a tax twice a year to the state, up to 5 kg of gold per year, depending on their profession and skills.

From a social perspective, Roma from Romania faced a similar type of treatment as African slaves from United States of America, as suggested by Mihaela Mudure. They were called with a given name synonymous with slave (nigger vs. (a)țigan); the slave-owner had all the rights over the lives of slaves (except to kill them); the "good" slaves (in productive sense) were used for procreation and multiplication of the slaves able to work; and slaves were subject to trade, irrespective of family relations:

"The boyars had a special Penal Code for Gypsies: beating on the soles of the feet until the flesh hung in shreds... When the runaway was caught, his neck was placed in an iron band lined with sharp points so that he could neither move his head nor lie down to rest. The boyars had no right to kill their slaves, by there was nothing said about slowly torturing them to death. No law forbade the boyar to take the most beautiful girls as his mistresses, or to separate wives from husbands, and children from parents."

According to the anthropologists Elena Marushiakova and Veselin Popov, quoting authors like Viorel Achim, George Potra, Mihail Kogălniceanu and others, the juridical situation of Roma slaves had been unwritten for a long time. However, in Wallachia, the Penal Code included the following articles related to slaves:

"Art. 2 Gypsies are born slaves."
Art. 3 Everyone born from a slave mother is also a slave.
Art. 5 Every owner is entitled to sell or give his slaves as presents.
Art. 6 Every gypsy without any owner is a slave of the Prince.

From a juridical perspective, Roma shared a similar status in both Romanian Principalities. The two anthropologists also refer to the reforms in Moldovan legislation of 1833 and in the civil code. The following articles refer to the status of slaves:

II. 154 Legal marriages cannot be organized between freemen and slaves.
II. 162 Marriages between slaves cannot be done without the consent of the owner.
II. 174 The price of the slave should be determined by a tribunal according to age, condition and profession.
II. 176 If anyone cohabits with a woman slave, she shall become free after his death; if he has children from her, they too shall be free.

Viorel Achim, one of the most important contemporary historians on Roma studies from Romania, supported the idea that in the social hierarchy in Romanian Principalities, slaves represented one of the lowest categories, similar in some respects with local serfs (rumâni in Wallachia, vecini in Moldavia and iobagi in Transylvania), but even lower since they had no legal status as a person.

The process of slavery abolition in the Romanian Principalities started in the first half of the sixteenth century and lasted two decades. It was an uneasy process as some slave owners, including Orthodox Church, did not want to renounce these rights. A solution was identified and slaves owners were paid to free their slaves. As well, there were cases in which some Roma did not accept the new condition of a free man and tax payer, and therefore they preferred to remain as much as possible under the old status. The process of slavery abolition in Romanian Principalities ended in the mid nineteenth century.

One of the key figures in the struggle of abolition of slavery and emancipation of Roma was the aforementioned Mihail Kogalniceanu, the politician and author of the first study on the Roma of Romania, *Esquisse sur l'histoire, les moeurs et la langue des Cigains, connus en France sous le nom de Bohémiens*. In the year of his death, 1891, Kogalniceanu sustained a discourse in front of the Romanian Academy (as Senior Member) about the act of Roma slavery and the abolition of such phenomena from the Romanian space. He mentioned the abuse of the slave-owners, the inhuman treatment of this people, children separated by their families traded in different places: "Neither humanity, neither religion, neither civil law protected the unlucky souls. It was an impressive show, outrageous. That is the reason, driven by the spirit of the century, by the laws of humanity, a number of old and young landlords took actions to wash the shame of their country, the shame of slavery."

On the other hand, the sociologist Nicolae Gheorghe considers that not all the slaves suffered humiliation and refers to the state slaves, as their slavery was strictly related to the economy and social structure – feudal – of Romanian societies at that time: "The situation which we defined as slavery in this case of Roma groups belonging to the prince, representing in fact, I repeat, just a sort of administrative and fiscal dependance, involved less (or even not at all) personal humiliating dependence known as slavery. Even more, Roma's daily life was better, from certain aspects, than that of Romanian peasants living in the same area, because these were more bounded to the land and strongly exploited, while the nomad Roma were free to move all around the country and their skills were highly valued. The Roma that truly lived in slavery were those that belonged to land..."
owners: nobles and monasteries."^{17}

Kogalniceanu mentions within his speech, as well, the high economic importance of slavery for the development of Romania, stressing along with others "they constitute a great income for the state budget."^{16} This social-economic reality requires further analysis, which is undertaken in the next section.

Cost of the slaves' work

\[247,249,700,235 \text{ Euro} \text{ - rough calculation of the Romanian state debts to Roma during slavery.}\]

This is a rough calculation of the unpaid work of Roma slaves over five centuries of slavery. This calculation is not based on an economic methodology of calculation, nor does it take into consideration inflation or economic values of services over time or any other economic aspects. As well, the surviving costs of the slaves are not calculated as the cost investment of the slave owners - if this should even be accounted for and considered. The counting below is an illustration of a potential direct contribution of the Roma over the centuries as slaves, an analysis that needs to be carried further by economists and other scholars interested in the subject.

\[266,335 \text{ (slaves)} \times 471 \text{ (years)} \times 365 \text{ (days)} \times 5.4 \text{ Euro (minimum per day)} = 247,249,700,235 \text{ Euro}.\]

The figures within the economical counting exercise of the human resources under the slavery are based on the following facts:

Number of Roma under slavery – in the article published by Venera Achim on statistics of Roma from Romanian Principalities between 1830 and 1860, at the abolition of slavery, the number of Roma inhabitants, according to official data and estimation, was approximately 266,335 persons (in Wallachia 166,335 Roma and in Moldova approximately 100,000 Roma).

Slavery period - 1385 – 1856 = 471 years

Cost of the working day – According to the Romanian Government's Ministry of Finances^{20}, in 2012 the minimum wage is 162 Euro/month. Divided by 30 days (since slaves had no vacation or free days) makes 5.4 Euro per day as acceptable for survival. For sure these data are inaccurate and subjective, used only for a social representation of the impressive contribution of Roma to the development of Romania. Moreover, this figure - 5.4 Euro/working-day – represents a subject of analysis with a specialized economic methodology of evaluation of the costs on services of some centuries ago.

However, if we agree with this imaginary exercise and accept the final figure – the cost of human resources as 247,249,700,235 Euro – we can easily notice that this amount is more than double the GDP of Romania in 2010, which, according to the Romanian National Institute of Statistics, is 122 billion Euro. Although the total amount calculated with noneconomic methods is not accurate, at this stage it can give us the dimension of the contribution of Roma – with their own hands and skills – to modern Romania. In fact, nowadays, according to the World Bank Report "Economic Costs of Roma Exclusion"^{21}, if states with a large population of Roma such as Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, etc. would make efforts to include Roma in their labor markets, then economic growth would be immediately visible would ensure the future labor, as the Roma population is one of the youngest in Europe. Therefore, the report estimates that, if Roma would have a greater
presence in the labor market, the Europe will have:

"lower bound estimates of annual productivity losses range from 231 million Euro in Serbia, 367 million Euro in the Czech Republic, 526 million Euro in Bulgaria, to 887 million Euro in Romania. Lower bound annual fiscal losses range from 58 million Euro in Serbia, 202 million Euro in Romania, 233 million Euro in the Czech Republic, and 370 million Euros in Bulgaria. Using other Roma population estimates (UNDP, 2006), the economic losses for the four countries combined are as much as 5.7 billion Euros annually, and the fiscal losses 2 billion Euros annually".  

The cultural impact of slavery

Roma were slaves only in the Romanian Principalities. As I have already mentioned, the origins of Roma slavery are still a matter to be discussed and investigated through historical documents and other evidence. As well, at the moment we do not have data about Roma social structures and identities before the enslaving process, about which little is known. The information on the origins of the Roma relies exclusively on linguistic studies. In Romania, the contemporary Roma are divided into subgroups; clans in the anthropological sense, by their ancestral profession. The most relevant element of identification of Roma as being part of a group is related to the clan (professional subgroup), even though most of them no longer practice their traditional professions. According to the unpublished study coordinated by Ana Ivasiuc, Ana Chiritoiu and Ciprian Necula, for most of the Roma the traditional profession not only an occupation but also a cultural code unique to that clan. Nea Ion, a Roma blacksmith from southern Romania told us, during an interview in 2010, the following: "My dad died in 1947 after an injury from the Second World Word. He was fighting for Romania and left behind a family of 4 children. I was the older one, so I took the responsibility of supporting my family. I went for 3 years in a blacksmith workshop to learn better the profession and I managed to become one of the most appreciated blacksmiths in my village. Then, my mother decided that I should marry and have my own family. So, I went to a blacksmith family from another village and I took a test supervised by my future father-in-law in a blacksmith workshop, showing what I am able to do. Then, after I passed the test, I could see and talk to Maria – my future wife" (Nea Ion, Roma blacksmith, 2010). This extract from an interview with a Roma blacksmith shows the relevance of the profession within Roma communities. Having the same profession as his father-in-law and proving that he knows the techniques enabled him to get married, as he demonstrated his capacity to support a family. Nea Ion, as he stated, did not want to marry a Roma from another group and, moreover, believed that he would not be accepted: "how to demonstrate that I am skilled to a woodworker?" (Nea Ion, Roma blacksmith, 2010). The historical division of Roma into subgroups is a direct effect of slavery, and the way they are divided today could likewise be an effect of how they were organized by slave owners. The classification of Roma slaves only by the type of ownership is not enough to explain how this period and social status affected the identity of Roma community. Therefore, we should understand the way slaves were organized in subgroups and clans, serving the interests of their owners. As historian Viorel Achim noticed as well:

"classifying the Gypsies according to which of the three categories of feudal masters they served tells us little about the occupational and cultural diversity of this population.
The Gypsies were far from constituting a homogeneous group. The tableau presented by the Gypsy population during the Middle Ages was particularly varied. Spread throughout the country in relatively large numbers, the Gypsies formed distinct groups that were specialized in certain occupations, with their own cultural and ethnographical characteristics and sometimes even speaking their own separate dialects.

Therefore, this occupational division and occupational identity of Roma from Romania is one of the strongest characteristics of the Roma individuals. Moreover, the fact that this division is a phenomenon only in the case of the Romanian Roma has to do with local history of Roma groups, as slaves belonging to different owners. The process of splitting Roma into different production groups based on the economic needs of that time was a necessity for the slave owners and had a permanent impact on Roma community.

"(...) this gradual slavery process affected in different degrees the diverse occupational categories of groups of Roma. Yet, the domestic Gypsies (royal Gypsies) were freer than those that belonged to monasteries and nobles. Also, the monasteries' Gypsies were exploited and treated worse than the nobles' Gypsies, because the monasteries had fewer local peasants to work their fields. Among the nobles' Gypsies, those who worked in agriculture (field Gypsies) had a worse life than the nobles "servant Gypsies" (court Gypsies). Among those of the last category were many traders, which were generally better treated, etc. A large number of Roma lived in cities, having an easier access to urban resources than the population living in the rural areas. And certain Roma groups became sedentary through the force of slavery, even if majority maintained the nomadic way of life. All these differences influenced in a significant way the social dynamic and the culture of different Roma groups. What is extraordinary in the Roma's history in the Romanian Principalities is the fact that, in spite of the hard conditions of life, they managed to maintain, to reproduce, and to enrich their cultural heritage and distinctive identity. But, of course, there were variations from one group to another concerning their distinct cultural customs and the intensity of their identification as Roma. Part of these variations may be attributed to their ancestors experience as slaves, to which we have prior referred."

The impressive diversity of Roma groups, the fact that Roma members are closely related to other clan members (though not all Roma members), and the fact that marriages are organized mostly inside the clans, are the effects of a long history of separation. During the period of slavery, different Roma groups developed different cultures, different linguistic dialects, different social organizations and different principles and values. Consequently, today it is impossible for Roma social and political activists to refer to the Roma community as being a single one. Slavery managed to split the Romanian Roma into diverse communities that share some cultural characteristics, but not enough for political or any other type of solidarity. Between the groups, Roma individuals tend to develop especially commercium relationships, fewer commensalitas relationships, and rarely connubium relationships. As a reaction to the diversity and social distance between Roma groups, Roma elites developed the so-called "Romaniphen", a series of principles that intends to unify the Roma within a single group – the Roma nation. In other words, one of the preoccupations of the Roma social and political movement is to recover the status of Roma before the slavery period, at the European level. Therefore, the European Roma and Travellers Forum, an international representative organization of Roma at the European level, gives a definition of who is a Roma in its Charter of the Rights of the Roma (2009): "[one] who avows oneself to the common historical Indo-Greek origin, who avows
oneself to the common language of Romanes, who avows oneself to the common cultural heritage of the Romanipe. In this way, Romanipe plays an important role in the European construction of the Roma nation, eliminating the cultural differences between Roma groups and promoting communal principles among all Roma groups. More information on Romanipe is available in the annexes.

Definitely, the structure of the Roma community from Romania, the largest in Europe, has been affected by the period of slavery, transforming over the years one culture into many diverse cultures. This is the cultural cost paid by Roma for the period of slavery — diversity.

The social cost of slavery — marginality and the social gap

The emancipation of Roma slaves was one of the most important principles of the modernization of Romania. The process of modernization had a price, one that was paid by slaves and state for the freedom of the “tigani”. The slaves obtained the status of free people and nothing more, as other priorities, such as dealing with the peasants, were more important for the Romanian elite at that time. As Viorel Achim states:

“The laws that enacted the emancipation of the enslaved Gypsies secured the legal status of freemen for their beneficiaries and settled the issue of the compensation that their erstwhile owners were to receive from the State Treasury.”

A large number of Roma did not know what to do with their freedom and continued to work for previous owners in their traditional occupations or agriculture. From an economical perspective, they became assimilated taxpayers among the peasants. The settling of the Roma became one of the main preoccupations in both Principalities: “the main goal of the law was in fact to settle (sedentarise) this category of population. The policy of settling Gypsies in villages and houses actually preceded the legislation abolishing slavery. In the 1840s and ’50s, the governments of the two principalities and the county and district authorities adopted a series of measures to this end. In this way, there was particular interest in the settlement in villages of Gypsy blacksmiths.” Other Roma groups (especially Kalderash) maintained a nomadic lifestyle inside the boundaries of Wallachia and Moldova or abroad. Some Roma entered in possession of lands and settled down at the margins of villages and formed small communities, usually comprised of people belonging to the same subgroup. However, the situation of the Roma did not change considerably after abolition of slavery in the Romanian Principalities. The Roma managed to acquire the juridical status of a human being and taxpayer, which, in fact, ironically created even more unfavorable conditions for the Roma than before. The Roma were now the poorest of the poorest, uneducated, without a culture of property, and therefore they struggled to be accepted as human beings not only juridically but socially as well:

“The fact that the Gypsies lived at the edge of the village, and that they buried their dead at the edge of the cemetery is indicative of the position they occupied in the respective community and in society as a whole. It was at this time that the marginalization of the Gypsies in Romania from a social point of view took place. Romania entered the modern era with this social component present as a relic of its past.”

The way that the slaves’ emancipation took place in the nineteenth century has left an important fingerprint in the social evolution of Roma ever since. The marginal communities established in the mid nineteenth century can still be identified today, with so many of
them living in poverty and facing social exclusion:

"Emancipation from slavery in the mid-nineteenth century did not secure their complete integration into modern Romanian society, due to the nature of the conditions in which it took place. They have continued to occupy, even until the present day, a marginal social position"³⁰

Moreover, remnants of the slavery period are visible today in the ghettoisation of some Roma communities, discrimination in public services, social exclusion and marginality. Even the name given to this group and the presence of a continuous debates on this subject, including some parliamentary initiatives, show that the negative social perception of the Roma by the Romanian population, especially public servants, has not changed, unlike in the case of the rumani, the local peasants from Wallachia. As Nicolae Gheorghe states:

Their derogatory ethnic name, Gypsy, had the social significance of a slave, a subordinate and inferior social category. Something similar was true, also, for the local slaves, whose ethnic name “ruman” designated in the Principality of Wallachia the dependent peasants with no land, while the land owner class, from the same ethnic package, was identified with the foreign political elite of the Turks, or with their cosmopolitan, Greek, civil servants. Later the name of “ruman” transformed in Romanian³¹.

In part, therefore, the social condition, social exclusion and marginality of some Roma groups originated in the mid-nineteenth-century abolition of slavery and the lack of a coherent social-integration program for former slaves.

Conclusions

Involuntarily, the Roma contributed to the development of Romania from an economical and technological perspective. Their contribution during the slavery period is not publicly known since the existence of general information on slavery in Romania remains a taboo subject. The illustrative counting presented above in the chapter b, Cost of the slaves work, shows that the Roma, from their inferior positions over five centuries, were important to the economical development of the two principalities, providing a valuable source of human labor and industrial and agricultural technology. However, the Roma were never compensated for their enslavement, neither financially nor morally, as in Romania there are no institutions of memory dedicated to the episode of Roma slavery (e.g., the non-existence of a museum of Roma history, of monuments, or of public commemorations, or else the absence or portrayed insignificance of the Roma in history textbooks).

The cultural impact of slavery continues to determine the social dynamics of the contemporary Roma. There is no possibility to talk about Roma culture, only Roma cultures. The strongest identity of a Roma individual is related to his or her clan culture and values, with ethnicity being relative. Therefore, nowadays, the Roma community is structured on clan identity, such as blacksmiths (fierari), coppersmiths (kaldarash), wood workers (rudari), musicians (lautari), bear handlers (ursari), etc. The relationship between the clans’ members are limited and, sometimes, controversial. Roma clans have different values, traditions and principles and are unified only by an acknowledgement of the same origins, language (albeit using different dialects) and the perception of the “others”. The direct link to the slavery period for the current cultural diversity of Roma is that this situation is a phenomenon extant only in Romania, the only space were the Roma community
was enslaved and the only country with such a high diversity of this ethnic group. Roma communities did not share the same experiences during slavery, as occupations and local history had an impact on the lifestyle principles of each group. The cultural diversity of Roma has its origins in the slavery period of these people.

The social impact of the abolition of slavery was mostly negative for nearly all Roma groups. Since obtaining the legal status of freemen, they became taxpayers; and without a coherent social integration program, they soon became a socially confused mass. Some Roma groups established settlements at the margins of rural or urban areas; other groups decided to live a nomadic lifestyle both within the Romanian Principalities and abroad. This situation has perpetuated up to now. Although some positive social changes occurred under the communist regime, they were not enough to eliminate the social gap or to overcome the marginality of the Roma.

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Annex 1 - The official and estimated number of Roma (2012), Council of Europe

Document prepared by the Support Team of the Special Representative of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe for Roma Issues

Updated on 2 July 2012. Most estimates include both local Roma + Roma-related groups (Sinti, Travellers, etc.) & Roma migrants. See details in "Sources".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total population (World Bank 2016)</th>
<th>Official number (self-declared)</th>
<th>Census year</th>
<th>Minimum estimate</th>
<th>Maximum estimate</th>
<th>Average estimate (CoE used figure)</th>
<th>Average estimate as a % of total population</th>
</tr>
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<td>Turkey</td>
<td>72,752,325</td>
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<td>500,000</td>
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<td>659,007</td>
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<td>2,500,000</td>
<td>1,850,000</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2010</td>
<td>450,000</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
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<td>115,000</td>
<td>3.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Moldova</td>
<td>3,562,062</td>
<td>12,271</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>107,100</td>
<td>3.01%</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>70,000</td>
<td>140,000</td>
<td>105,000</td>
<td>0.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>3,760,049</td>
<td>8,864</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>76,000</td>
<td>58,000</td>
<td>1.54%</td>
</tr>
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<td>10,612,841</td>
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<td>34,000</td>
<td>70,000</td>
<td>52,000</td>
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<td>50,000</td>
<td>50,000</td>
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</tr>
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<td>9,490,500</td>
<td>9,927</td>
<td>1999</td>
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<td>70,000</td>
<td>47,500</td>
<td>0.50%</td>
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<tr>
<td>the Netherlands</td>
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<td>45,000</td>
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<td>0.24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>4,143,410</td>
<td>21,435</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>32,000</td>
<td>43,000</td>
<td>37,500</td>
<td>0.84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosovo*</td>
<td>1,815,000</td>
<td>45,745</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>37,500</td>
<td>2.07%</td>
</tr>
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<td>Austria</td>
<td>8,384,765</td>
<td>6,273</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>50,000</td>
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<tr>
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<td>12,731</td>
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<td>50,000</td>
<td>32,500</td>
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<td>40,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>0.28%</td>
</tr>
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Between Inclusion and Exclusion

**Annex 2. - Mihail Kogalniceanu’s discourse from 1891, at the Romanian Academy**

"Contemporanii mei fişi aduc aminte, și aci am ca martor pe mai junele meu contemporan, pe colegul meu Alexandru Papadopol Calimach, fişi aduc aminte ce erau țiganii, sunt acum 50 de ani, chiar atunci când razele civilizației moderne îmbânzise moravurile în toate societățile Europei și când sclavia nu mai avea domiciliu decât în Rusia și din nenorocire și în România.

Legea țării trata pe țiganii de lucru, vândut și cumpărat ca lucru, deși prin derizion numărul sau individul se califica de suflet: am atâtea suflete de țigan; în realitate, șii mai ales stăpânii care aveau puțini țiganii, îi tratau mai râu chiar decât prescripțiunile legii.

Chiar pe ulițele orașului lași, în tineretele mele am văzut ființe omeniști purtând lanțuri în mâini sau la picioare, ba unii chiar coarne de fier aninate de frunte și legate prin coloane împrejurul gătului. Bătâi crude, osândin la foam și la fum, închidere în închisori particulare, aruncați goi în zăpadă sau în răuri înghețate, iată soarta nenorocirii țiganilor! Apoi disprețul
pentru sfârșitul și legăturile de familie. Femeia luată de la bărbat, fata râpită de la sfinți, copiii răpitii de la sănul născătorilor lor și răzleții și despărțiri unii de alții, și vânduți ca vatele la deosebiri cumpărători, în cele patru colțuri ale României. Nici umanitatea, nici religiunea, nici legea civilă nu auveau ocrotire pentru aceste nenorocite ființe; era un spectacol grozav, strigător la cer. De aceea, povățuții de spiritul secolului, de legile omenirii, un număr de boieri bărăoni și tineri au întreprins de a spăla patria lor de rușinea slaviei. 

Înainte ca chestiunea dezrobirii țiganilor să fi intrat în consiliile, în planurile de reformă ale ocărușitorilor, ea a început a se agita prin însăși inițiativa parțială a stăpânilor de țigani. Multi din aceștia, și numărul lor din z:i în z:i sporea, ori în viață, ori mai ales la moarte, își dezbroeau, își iertau țiganii. Întrebuințez cuvântul de iertare, pe care îl găsim în toate acele de dezrobire; dar reforma era prea grea, ea jignea prea multe interese ca să se poată opera cu înlesnire. Erau țiganii domnești și foarte mulți; aceștia constituiau un venit mare în bugetul statului; erau țiganii mânăstirești și ai așezământelor publice, ale căror servicii intrau în trebuințele zilnice ale acestor comunități; erau, în fine, țiganii particulari, țiganii boierești, care constituiau personalul de servitori în curțile boierești, bucătări, vizititori, rândăși, receitori în casă, slujnice, bucatări, cusătorițe. Bolerii cei bogăți aveau chiar casele de muzici sau tarafe de liutari. Toate aceste funcții se exercitau de țigani; dezrobirea lor era dar combătută de trebuințele zilnice și casnice ale vieții familiilor, de aceea emanciparea nu s-a putut face decât treptat și sub două domnii, atât în Moldova, cât și în Muntenia. Întâi, în spate care s-a dat sclaviei a fost legea emancipării țiganilor statului și a mânăstirilor. Dezrobirea s-a facut mai întâi în Moldova de către domnul Mihail Sturdza, prin două legi din 31 ianuarie 1844, iar în Tara Românească de către domnul Alexandru Ghica, prin o lege din 1845. Această emancipare, deși parțială, era hotărâtoare și pentru emanciparea țiganilor particulari, rămasă încă în sclavie. Toate mințile prevăzătoare au înțeles că oara ștergerii sclaviei de pe pământul românesc sosise și că dezrobirea țiganilor particulari nu mai era decât o chestiune de timp. Entuziasmul Divanului ad-hoc era numai înaintemergătorul entuziasmului general ce pe atunci insufila toată România pentru viitoarea sa renăscere. Dovadă, sutele de proprietari care au respins orice despăguibire acordată lor de legiura emancipatoare. Numele acestora au fost publicate și aparținute iubitoiii nostrui coleg, zelosul nostru cercetător și colecționar, d-nul Dimitrie Sturdza, să ne împreună o istorie contemporană aceleia care, prin o generoasă renunțare, au expiat păcatele lor și ale țăranilor lor de a fi fost anii lungi stăpânii pe suflete de țigani. Cu o mica mândrie de moldovean, să-mi fie permis de a spune ianuarie 1844, iar în București în 1847; cea de a doua, în 1855, și în București la 8 februarie 1856.

Reforma emancipatîrii a avut în curând efectele sale salutare: afară de țiganii lași, care încă trăiesc în parte sub ștrăpă, și afară de ursari, care fac încă meseria de a domestiște fiarele sălbaticice, dar totuși se dau lucrului pământului, mai toți astați din celelalte clase de țigani s-au contopit în masa națiunii, și ei nu se mai cunosc decât prin fața lor smolită și asiatică și prin vivacitatea imaginațiunilor lor; altmintrelea noi îi găsim în toate clasele societății noastre.

Deși de la proclamarea emancipăționării nu sunt încă îndeplinite 50 de ani, țiganii ne-au dat industria, artiști, ofițeri distinși, buni administratori, medici și chiar oratori parlamentari. Numele acestora au fost publicate și aparținute iubitoiii nostrui coleg, zelosul nostru cercetător și colecționar, d-nul Dimitrie Sturdza, să ne împreună o istorie contemporană aceleia care, prin o generoasă renunțare, au expiat păcatele lor și ale țăranilor lor de a fi fost anii lungi stăpânii pe suflete de țigani. Cu o mica mândrie de moldovean, să-mi fie permis de a spune ianuarie 1844, iar în București în 1847; cea de a doua, în 1855, și în București la 8 februarie 1856.

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