

VIEWS OF STATUS DIFFERENTIATION
IN TWO VILLAGES OF NORTHEASTERN HUNGARY

Kathryn Ann Szent-Györgyi
Ph.D. in Social Anthropology
University College, London University

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ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses the question of how the inhabitants of two villages of northeastern Hungary conceptualise rank in the light of changes in politico-economic differentiation over the past one-and-a-half centuries. Following an initial description of the ecological-institutional context, the patterns of political and economic differentiation in the two villages, Botpalád and Kispalád, are discussed, and variations between the two villages are then related to the local patterns of family organisation, inheritance and marriage.

In the light of these findings, the author analyses two central concepts, rangos and módos, which the inhabitants of the two villages use when establishing a pecking order between the local families. For analytic purposes the author constructs some "ranking models" on the basis of these concepts, in order to highlight the overall trends in local conceptualisations of status differentiation. These "ranking models" are then related to other, more general attitudinal and behavioural attributes adopted by the local inhabitants. When these trends are analysed at a village rather than an individual level, an overall situation of divisiveness and distancing characterises Botpalád, as opposed to Kispalád's greater communal solidarity.

In order to shed light on the reasons behind these variations, the author looks initially into the historical backgrounds of the individual villagers who view status differentiation along the lines of the various ranking models. At this level a connection is found between being of formerly noble, and often landed descent, and envisaging rank on the basis of intangible descent-based criteria. The former presence of impoverished nobles who lived the life of peasants, so-called "peasant-nobles", emerges as a crucial factor in local developments. The author reconstructs historically

the process of status group formation in both villages in the light of whether, as in the case of Botpalád, the local population included peasant-nobles before 1848, or whether, as in the case of Kispalád, this was not the case, and then discusses further developments in the light of landownership patterns at the turn of the century. After considering various theoretical approaches, the author proposes a framework for envisaging the course of future developments, and describes some parallel occurrences of peasant-nobility in Eastern Europe.

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1. INTRODUCTION

No social scientist who deals with Hungarian material, let alone material from any East European country at present, can disregard the far-reaching changes in the patterns of stratification over the past half century. The system of property ownership as well as the distribution of political and cultural advantages in Hungary have been overturned, and again undergone reform, since the Second World War; much has been written, in the Hungarian and foreign specialist literature and press alike, on these infrastructural changes. However, the question of the impact, or reflection, of these changes in the people's outlooks has been largely untouched.

How do Hungarians view status differentiation nowadays, and to what extent do these outlooks mark a continuity with, or break from, past patterns of stratification? Moreover, are these views of status differentiation associated with more general sets of values? These are questions I shall address, within the framework of two small villages in Hungary's northeastern corner.

I. A glimpse into the literature on East European peasantry.

From amongst the several noteworthy English-language studies of East European peasantry¹, the works on rural dwellers in present-day Yugoslavia seem to constitute the most cohesive block of literature. These works tend to use the rural-urban continuum, and within this the juxtaposition of peasant vs. urban culture, based on Robert Redfield's distinction (Redfield 1956: 63-77), as the framework of analysis.

In A Serbian Village, Joel Halpern, apart from including introductory, historical sections, discusses local life as it was at the time of his fieldwork; in doing so he distinguishes "peasant" culture from "urban"

culture and states that elements of both are present in the village (Halpern 1958: 45, 74-78, 137). In his later book A Serbian Village in Historical Perspective (Halpern - Halpern 1972), he more directly addresses the question of change and also pays more attention to the history of the area. Nonetheless, he continues to distinguish a rural from an urban subculture, and he explains cultural change within this conceptual framework (Halpern-Halpern 1972: 146).²

Andrei Simic, in his book The Peasant Urbanites, deals with former rural dwellers who have moved into Belgrade. He criticises the common use of the folk-urban dichotomy, according to which folk culture is characterised by homogeneity, institutional integration and consensus of values, while the city is heterogeneous in composition with greater anonymity and offers many behavioural alternatives. Simic proposes (1973: 18): "The folk-urban dichotomy is...better applied in distinguishing modern, industrial societies from traditional ones, and in the case of intermediate societies we can expect to find a synthesis of the two divergent cultural systems, or elements of both coexisting side by side." It is within this conceptual framework of an "intermediate society" that he discusses the process of rural-urban migration. For the issues he addresses, Simic's approach is useful, but the question of how to distinguish "folk" from "urban" cultures remains unsolved.³

I maintain that in order to describe technological and demographic developments in Eastern Europe at present the concept of a rural-urban continuum is necessary, but a blunt distinction between "folk" culture and "urban" culture is of limited use. Although the latter typology allows a depiction of the process of the urbanisation of the countryside or the ruralisation of urban areas at a very general level, it does not help to pinpoint or explain cultural variation amongst urban dwellers, village dwellers, or even people of either different or

similar occupational types. New light should be shed on analyses of cultural variation by more directly considering the patterns of differentiation in the past, as I plan to do in the thesis which follows.

II. The Hungarian literature.

Many Hungarian ethnographers, folklorists and sociologists have touched on rank and values in relation to their more specialised subjects,⁴ however most of these works describe and offer insights into events before 1945. I shall now focus on a few of the more recently-published works which for the most part have appeared in English and deal with post-Second World War developments.

Kata Jávör's discussion of the people of Varsány (Jávör 1978: 295-373) is centred on the question of continuity and change amongst the villagers at the time of research in the early 1970s.⁵ Amongst other topics, Jávör covers "prestige values", "moral differentiation", and the relation of value systems to past social strata. She finds a duality in the villagers' value systems, and she traces the roots of this duality to the villagers' differing relations to the means of production before 1945. She describes two types (Jávör 1978: 315-317), a "peasant" type, that is the villagers who owned between 5 and 25 kh. (2.87 and 14.33 hectares, or ha.)⁶, and a "transitional" type, that is one-time agrarian proletariats or owners of under 5 kh. (2.87 ha.) of land.

Varsány's pre-1848 inhabitants included both nobles and serfs; a larger proportion of villagers of serf descent have remained in the collective farm, and furthermore, they mainly constitute the "peasant" type. Jávör (1978: 317-325) describes some characteristics, such as attitudes to work, to land, political views and lifestyle, which distinguish the two types from one another.⁷ She provides us with a useful description of the values of the inhabitants of one village in the early 1970s, in the light of their former legal and economic

statuses, although she brings in variables such as generational and sex-based differences without connecting these factors to the "peasant" or "transitional" type, and she mentions "urban-type changes", without specifying what such changes entail.

C.M.Hann, in his book Tázlár: a village in Hungary, focusses on the specialist co-operative (szakszövetkezet) of an area which in the past has been settled mainly by scattered farms known as tanya, and he briefly discusses differentiation and stratification, as well as values and norms (Hann 1980: 147-166). He finds a continuity between the pre-war and post-war patterns of stratification (Hann 1980: 148).⁸ He also says that the outlooks of the farming population prevail locally (Hann 1980: 149-150).⁹ Apparently (Hann 1980: 155) "There is relatively little overt expression of status ranking and differentiation in face-to-face encounters in everyday life . . ." Nevertheless, apart from age, a villager's respect is associated with the wealth of his family at present or that of his predecessors (Hann 1980: 156). "Older families still take great pride in family names and genetic parentage." (Hann 1980: 157)

Similarly to C.M. Hann, I. Vásáry in Beyond the Plan treats at length the production activities of the people of the Transdanubian village of Pécsely, both within and outside the framework of the collective farm, rather than undertaking a systematic analysis of local concepts of rank or values. She does, however, refer early on in her work (Vásáry 1987: 21) to concepts from the past as "vestiges" in people's minds.¹⁰ In a later chapter she discusses the so-called traditional paradigm as one of three coexisting, competing frames of reference for local inhabitants (Vásáry 1987: 245-255), but she does not attempt to link the villagers' concepts of status with their use of such paradigms. Although Vásáry claims at one point that features of the traditional paradigm are "no mere 'survivals' but active components of the villagers' lives" (Vásáry 1987: 255), in the

following chapter (Vásáry 1987: 264) she refers to "surviving elements of the traditional system".¹¹

In this thesis I shall attempt to examine systematically, along the lines of Jávör, whether there is a connection between measurement of status and the more general values adopted by the local inhabitants of the two northeastern Hungarian villages of Botpalád and Kispalád. I shall also investigate whether an assumption of community consensus concerning values and norms is valid for these two settlements, and under what conditions might certain views of status differentiation and related attitudes live on or die out.

Hungarian sociologists have also dealt with the importance of values and outlooks amongst present-day Hungarians, although, unlike Jávör, Hann and Vásáry, instead of concentrating on the inhabitants of one village, they have examined large rural, or both rural and urban areas. Scholars such as Zsuzsa Ferge (1979: 307), András Hegedüs and Mária Márkus (Hegedüs - Márkus 1972: 56) have mentioned the importance of both new and traditionally based values in planning social policy.¹² Agnes Losonczi, in her discussion of ways of living amongst the inhabitants of Békés County, again acknowledges the continued importance of traditional attitudes:

The often cruel differences between smallholders and large farmers, the discrimination maintained between farm-hands and navvies, the still existing detachment of servants of big estates and agricultural labourers, or the vestiges of the hierarchical world of the stewards in the former state farms, can be traced down to our days. All this proves that the roots are deep, that traditions are still shockingly powerful, that traditional social division is surviving in numerous complicated ways, and is still acting in the group transformations of our days. (Losonczi 1972: 93)

When explaining "prestige consumption", she goes on to say:

. . . 'prestige consumption' develops by no means solely on a certain level of industrial progress. In the sphere of our survey, in the villages and our

towns of a marked village character, it is exactly the forced adjustment dictated by tradition that explains the difference between pretension and real needs for the sake of social prestige. (Losonczi 1972: 103)

Finally, Judit H. Sas brings values into her article "Expectations from and Demands Made Upon Children in a Rural Community". She mentions the decreased importance of property as a social value. On the other hand, "education, primarily as a means to reach the desired goal, has greatly risen as a value." (Sas 1972: 267) This goal is for the children of peasants to attain a higher status than that of their parents - an objective which itself represents prestige (Sas 1972: 267).

In conclusion, the social scientists who have studied Hungarian village life are well aware that the villagers' current outlooks and values should not be examined without taking into account their ancestry, as well as past patterns of material and political differentiation. However, these authors have focussed on different topics or used different methodological frameworks from what I intend to use, and systematic investigations of the relationship between past patterns of differentiation, legal and economic ancestry and present-day outlooks amongst the inhabitants of one village are still in short supply.

I intend to incorporate Max Weber's concepts of "status honour", "status groups", and "status situation", when analysing the connection between the villagers' ancestral legal (and economic) status and their views of status differentiation, and when discussing the general impact of such outlooks on village life. When analysing the villagers' views of status differentiation, I shall initially discuss the local meanings of the foremost ranking expressions which are heard locally. On the basis of these meanings I shall construct some "ranking models" to illustrate the general lines along which the inhabitants view the local pecking order and society. I shall then examine whether any connection exists between

the villagers' views of status differentiation - which are illustrated by the ranking models - and their other attitudes and patterns of behaviour. I shall then discuss the views of status differentiation in an historical perspective, first at the individual, and later at the village level, and it is at this point that I shall deal with Weber's approach. The analysis will be confined to the two villages of Botpalád and Kispalád, in northeastern Hungary.

The chapter which follows after the introduction is a general description of the ecological and social context of the analysis. Chapters on local patterns of politico-economic differentiation, and on aspects of local life - family organisation, marriage and inheritance patterns - which have felt the impact of differentiation patterns, follow the chapter on the ecological-social context, and precede the chapters on local views of status differentiation. Before embarking on the description of the ecological and social context, however, I shall describe a legal-economic status particular to peasantry in pre-1848 Eastern Europe, especially in Poland and Hungary, that of peasant-nobility, which will prove central to this thesis. Subsequently I shall explain my fieldwork circumstances, and my sources and methods of gathering information.

III. Nobles and serfs in Hungary - a brief historical survey.

A comprehensive examination of noble-serf relations in Hungary before 1848 would be impossible within the framework of this thesis. I shall attempt, rather, to present the historical backdrop to a pre-1848 legal-economic status. This status, peasant-nobility, will prove crucial to my later analysis of views of status differentiation in Botpalád and Kispalád; it also was a phenomenon which existed in Poland, as well as, to a lesser extent, in other countries of Eastern Europe.¹³

Serfdom in Hungary was officially abolished in 1848, at the time of the War of Independence against the Habsburgs; before this time the status of nobility (nemes) was distinguished legally from that of serf (jobbágy), and the nobles had certain privileges to which the serfs were not entitled. The nature and ultimate significance of these privileges varied between the 14th and 19th centuries. Furthermore, whether or not the nobles were able to make actual use of these privileges depended on a variety of social, economic and other factors.

Although earlier documents¹⁴ guaranteed the future nobles a number of rights, István Werböczy's Tripartitum, which was published in 1517, served as the unofficial law for nobles during the following centuries. This book summarised the previously granted rights and other privileges of nobles. It never acquired statutory force, but nevertheless the nobles invoked it when they wanted to assert their exclusiveness relative to other social strata (Unger - Szabolcs 1976: 72). The nobles' four major rights, listed in Werböczy's text, can be summarised as follows (Werböczy 1894: 44-45):

1. Nobles cannot be detained anywhere at another person's instigation, complaint or request, without preliminary summons or legal conviction. This right is curtailed in the case of crime (e.g. premeditated murder, burning down villages, theft, brigandage, aggressive licentiousness), in which case any such offender loses the honour, title and freedom of nobility. On the scene of the crime peasants may also detain, convict and punish such people, but if the noble runs away from the scene of the crime and escapes his enemies, he can be sentenced and punished only through summons and judicial procedure.

2. All of the country's nobles are subject to no one's authority except for that of the legally crowned ruler; moreover, the ruler cannot use his power to disturb the person or property of any noble on the basis of anyone's complaints or information, without legal measures and interrogation.

3. Nobles may always exercise freely their legal rights and the proceeds from their lands; they are forever exempt from every type of serf duty,

contribution, tax which is kept count of by notching a piece of wood (rovás) and other tax, and the payment of customs and duties on one-thirtieth of the goods' value; they are obliged only to serve as soldiers in the defence of the country.

4. If any of the kings or princes were to dare to act against the nobles' proclaimed, explicit rights, then the nobles would be forever free to resist and oppose him without committing treachery.

Whereas the nobles' obligations were defined towards the king only, those of the serfs were defined towards the king, the church and their landlords (cf. Unger - Szabolcs 1976: 93-97, 139-141; Szabó 1976a; Varga 1969). The serfs had to pay a church tax in kind (the tithe, or dézsma), money or both. Their obligations towards the king and state grew during the 18th and 19th centuries. At this time they were required increasingly to provide services for the military and pay war taxes. The serfs also had to pay property and land taxes, and they were periodically called on to work on state-maintained facilities.

The serfs were required to provide corvée labour (robot) for their landlords. They paid the landlords a tax in kind (kilenced), which represented the ninth tenth of their yield after the tenth tenth had been paid as tithe (dézsma). They paid the landlord a money tax, and they were expected to present him with gifts periodically. After 1514 the serfs were legally bound to the land owned by their landlords and to which they held usufruct rights. The serfs were expected to comply with their landlords' rights to process and sell alcoholic drinks and meat (kocsmárlási and mészárlási jog). The manorial court (úriszék) handled their lawsuits and legal affairs. Part of the property acquired by a serf with no inheritors accrued to his landlord when he died, and his landlord got all of this property if he left no will (the right of caducitas) (Varga 1969: 477). The serfs were also expected to provide occasional transport for their landlords.

For the most part, the above burdens applied to the serfs who lived on and farmed land which was subject to serf obligations (urbéri land). These serfs were called telkes jobbágy, or in Latin, colonus. On the other hand, a large number of serfs were cotters, known as zsellér. Whether or not they possessed a house (for which the Latin term was inquilinus and subinquilinus, respectively), these cotters did not have any usufruct rights to urbéri land, nor did all of the above obligations vis-a-vis the landlords apply to them.

While there were attempts to specify the rights and obligations of the serfs vis-a-vis the church and the landlords, the relations between the nobles who worked the land and the landlords were less clear-cut. Ambiguity and variability characterised the dependence of a landworking noble on a landlord, and also the obligations that resulted from such a relationship. To complicate the situation, land itself could be classified as nemesi (noble) or urbéri (serf), apart from which there were some other categories as well. The obligations which burdened a peasant by virtue of the category of land he cultivated did not always correspond to the rights and obligations associated with his personal status.

The rights and obligations listed above applied generally to nobles and serfs in Hungary between the 14th and 19th centuries. Hungary had a large number of nobles; in the early 19th century the ratio nationwide of nobles to non-nobles was one to twenty (Szabó 1941: 12). Most of the people who were of noble status belonged to the lesser nobility (köznemesség). Some areas of Hungary, for instance the Szatmár region, where Botpalád and Kispalád are situated, had a particularly high proportion of nobles, and there even were some so-called "noble communities" (nemesi község), whose inhabitants were nearly all of this status. Many of the members of the lesser nobility lived as peasants, and I shall refer to them as peasant-nobles (the Hungarian term is

kisnemes). The historian István Szabó estimates that propertyless peasant-nobles constituted some two-thirds of all of Hungary's nobles between the 16th and 19th centuries (Szabó 1976b: 241).

Various types of peasant-nobles lived in Hungary between the 14th and 19th centuries. A number of the peasant-nobles obtained noble property together with their title of nobility (donációs nemesek), or they settled on noble land. Amongst the landed peasant-nobles were the so-called curialis or egytelkes nemesek ("one-tenement nobles"), who owned property the size of a serf tenement. Some egytelkes nemesek who inhabited the same village often descended from the same ancestral family (Szabó 1976b: 240).

In contrast, the so-called armális nobles were noble with regard to their person, only, and they owned little or no land. Many of the armális nobles lived on úrbéri land which was either subject to serf obligations, or for a period of time was exempted from such obligations but taxed by the state authorities (Szabó 1976b: 240-241; Szabó 1941: 15-16).

Some landless peasant-nobles lived on their landlord's property, and they were as poor as cotters. Other peasant-nobles included the so-called prédialisták, or church nobles. These people fell under the jurisdiction of the Catholic Church's highest officials, rather than the king and state authorities. Finally, although they were not peasants, some artisans who were granted nobility in return for their services also belonged amongst the poorer nobles, and therefore they too are worthy of mention.

A large number of peasants belonged to intermediate categories regarding their rights and obligations, and they were neither nobles, nor serfs. There was a proliferation of such peasants, especially during the 17th and early 18th centuries. Many of them had formerly been serfs who then obtained freedom from some of their serf (úrbéri) obligations by manumission.

Although they were szabados or libertinus, roughly translatable as freemen, they were not automatically entitled to the privileges of nobility (Varga 1969: 226, 229, 238, 260, 268). Only the king, or the Prince of Transylvania, could grant nobility, a procedure which was distinct from and not an automatic consequence of manumission.

Such szabados included serfs who were not tied to the land they worked, i.e. they could move if they so desired (the so-called szabadmenetelü jobbágyok, or "free-moving serfs"). Peasants who fulfilled their serf obligations by paying cash (the so-called taksások), those who rented the land which they farmed (the so-called árendások), and the contracted serfs (the so-called kontraktualisták) also belonged to this intermediate, non-noble non-serf category. Some newcomers (extraneusok) and immigrants of different ethnicity (the Slovak kenézek and the Ukrainian soltészek), who performed special services or settled new communities, held special rights. Some serfs were able to exempt their úrbéri land from serf obligations for a specified period of time (they had what was known as inscriptió).

Both peasant-nobles and szabados were free of many or all of the obligations which burdened the serfs. However, the peasant-nobles only sometimes, and the szabados never, enjoyed the full rights to which nobles generally were entitled. As regards their actual rights and obligations, neither the peasant-nobles nor the szabados followed neatly the distinction between nobles and serfs, so their life-situations varied considerably from one another.

Becoming a peasant-noble between the 17th and 19th centuries entailed either a rise in legal status for szabados or manumitted serfs, or a decline in material prosperity for lesser nobles (közneemes) who had previously owned large expanses of property. Such properties had sometimes covered villages or parts of

villages. Other peasant-nobles maintained hereditary rights to the privileged status that their ancestors had acquired from the king as early as the 12th century. The peasant-nobles were a mixed bunch regarding their former status and their life-situations.

Nonetheless, whatever their origins and whatever their specific rights and obligations, the peasant-nobles' immediate economic means and lifestyle did not distinguish them markedly from many of the serfs (Szabó 1976b: 244-245). Peasant-nobles often cultivated smaller properties than the serfs in their vicinity. The peasant-nobles who farmed úrbéri land or owned very small land-plots were not exempt from tax and other obligations. Such obligations neither facilitated their well-being, nor distinguished them from the serfs. As mentioned earlier, some peasant-nobles were as poor as cotters (zsellér), so they possessed less property than the serfs who had usufruct rights to úrbéri land.

According to the historian István Szabó (1976b: 245), peasant-nobles and the rest of the peasantry, including, e.g., szabados, serfs and cotters, lived in similar conditions. The factors which distinguished the peasant-nobles from the others included their noble privileges, the resulting awareness of their nobility and their political attitudes. It is likely that in villages where peasant-nobles regularly interacted with serfs, cotters and szabados, their legally based distinctiveness became a particularly salient issue. The peasant-nobles could represent themselves before the law, vote for representatives to the Diet at county assemblies, and they held other political rights, but nevertheless such privileges did not affect their immediate economic activities. In order to assert their exclusiveness, especially in villages of mixed population, some peasant-nobles reverted to displaying or boasting about their families' noble documents, and they traced or manipulated their descent links so as to prove their noble ancestry.¹⁵ In some areas¹⁶ the peasant-nobles had a

separate form of village government, and their leader was called the hadnagy ("lieutenant"), in contrast to the village mayor (bíró) who led the serfs (Degré 1978: 62; Ethey 1941: 22). The peasant-nobles in mixed villages may have tried to maintain their exclusiveness by restricting their social intercourse, relations and marriage ties to one another, and by expecting the use of more formal behaviour by villagers of serf or non-noble status. Of course, different villages of this type may well have varied from one another.

As mentioned above, the Szatmár region in northeastern Hungary had an especially large number of inhabitants of noble status before 1848. In the light of this, and also the ambivalence of the situation of peasant-nobles regarding their legal rights and actual living conditions, a study of the views of status differentiation and attitudinal-behavioural patterns of the inhabitants of two neighbouring villages in the area should be of special interest.

IV. My fieldwork circumstances.

My research for this thesis was funded by the Hungarian cultural organisation, the World Federation of Hungarians, between January 1976 and August 1977, and by the International Exchanges and Research Board of the U.S.A. between October 1977 and May 1978, supplemented with assistance from the University of London Central Research Fund. While I was in Hungary, my research was sponsored by the Ethnographic Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which, apart from providing professional advice, gave me official letters which facilitated access to numerous sources of information.

I lived and did fieldwork in the villages of Botpalád and Kispalád between March 1976 and June 1978. My residence in the villages was interrupted by a four-month stay in London from September to December 1976, and another month in London in September 1977, where I

processed some of my material in a preliminary fashion. I also paid periodic brief visits to Budapest and towns in Hungary's northeastern region such as Nyíregyháza and Debrecen, where I gathered supplementary information. I spent an additional six months in Budapest from June to December 1978, gathering further data, processing my material and consulting with Hungarian ethnographers, folklorists and historians.

During my residence in Botpalád and Kispalád, my accommodations consisted of a rented room in the homes of three different local families, who lived in considerably varying circumstances. I spent my first six months in the home of an elderly couple at the "old end" of Botpalád, my next five months in the home of a widow on Botpalád's "new row", and the remainder of my residence in a house, located in the centre of Kispalád, which was owned by a couple who lived, for the most part, as an extended family with family members in another part of the village.

Although when I set out to do fieldwork I knew of the past existence of peasant-nobles in the area, it was only after spending some time in the villages that I became aware of the use of the ranking terms, rangos and módos. These were later to become the focus of my investigation and then constitute the core of analysis in this thesis. Accordingly, I initially acquainted myself with the local families by asking the locals questions pertaining to subjects such as family trees, household surveys, general economic activities, kinship and descent expressions and local history. Although I questioned the local inhabitants on such topics throughout my period of fieldwork, I later focussed on their perceptions of rank and general attitudes and behaviour patterns.

My fieldwork methods included participant observation, and I was able to gain insight in this manner into the lives of a wide cross-section of the local population through all periods of the year and on various festive occasions such as weddings and funerals.

I also conducted formal interviews with villagers, where I asked structured questions and took notes on the spot, supplemented by later observations from memory, and occasionally I recorded our conversations, although I found that the taperecorder inhibited most local inhabitants.

I was allowed access to various local written sources: some families had old documents and books in their homes which they were proud to show. The local vicar kindly let me spend hours studying and taking notes from the church records. I was also shown documents at the office of the collective farm which gave information on the organisation of the farm, its activities and participation therein by the local inhabitants. I consulted the land registers in the district seat of Fehérgyarmat and the county archives in the town of Nyíregyháza. I later supplemented this information in Budapest with material from the ethnographic archives of the Hungarian Museum of Ethnography and with microfilmed and photocopied material from the National Archives. Published books and articles were of valuable assistance, and former teachers of mine at the University of Budapest were extremely helpful in giving me access to unpublished manuscripts, indeed even arranging for the translation, from Polish into Hungarian, of a book containing comparative material from the Mazovia and Podlasie regions of Poland.

I had originally planned to use the ethnographic present throughout this thesis, but the transformation of Hungary's political-economic institutions at the national and local level in the past two years has led me to adopt the past tense and refer to the time of fieldwork, when describing Botpalád's and Kispalád's formal institutional features. When discussing ecological features and certain aspects of social life such as concepts of rank and the villagers' attitudes, where I have no positive evidence of there being either a diversion from or continuation of patterns observed in the mid-1970s, I

have remained with the ethnographic present. The convention I have adopted, however, does not mean that I assume such cognitive-attitudinal patterns now to be identical to what I observed during my fieldwork period; indeed, this is a question which I shall discuss at the end of the thesis.

2. THE ECOLOGICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

I. Regional and local history.

From the time of its original settlement by the Magyar tribes in the 10th century, the settlement patterns of the Szatmár region have had a stability and continuity over the centuries which other areas of Hungary, to the south and west, have not experienced. Although the Tatar invasion of 1239-1242 swept over the area, the Turkish occupation, which destroyed many villages between the 16th and 18th centuries in much of the Great Plains and in areas of Transdanubia, did not extend as far north as Szatmár, thereby enabling the continued existence of small settlements in close proximity to one another. Szatmár at this time was mainly under the jurisdiction of the Kingdom of Hungary, but it was located close to the Principality of Transylvania and to an area on the Transylvanian-Hungarian frontier known as the Partium; indeed, Szatmár was one of seven counties to come under Transylvanian control from 1621 to 1629 and from 1645 to 1648 (Erdei (ed.) 1968: 219, 220; Történelmi Atlasz 1969: 17).

Szatmár was one of the regions of historical Hungary where the Reformation first took root in the 16th century. The people of the area remained strongly Calvinist during the counter-reformation instigated by the Hapsburgs in the 17th century, and since then have adhered to this faith.

In view of the region's Calvinist character and its exposure to the influence of the independent Principality of Transylvania, it is not surprising that these factors became inseparably linked with nationalist sentiment that gave rise to demands for independence. Such endeavours led to the Rákóczi uprising, and later the 1848 War of Independence, in which key roles were played by the Szatmár region and many of its "sons", such as the peasant leader Tamás Esze and the author and poet

Ferenc Kölcsey, who wrote what was to become Hungary's national anthem (Erdei (ed.) 1968: 226-227, 744-745).

The Szatmár region did not undergo the same degree of industrial development as that characterising more western parts of Hungary in the late 19th-early 20th century. However, agriculture became more market-orientated, and heavily-used trade routes passed through the area, between Transylvanian regions that now fell under the jurisdiction of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and areas located more centrally in Hungary (cf. Földesi 1964: 36; Luby 1955, EA 4225: 13-15; Borovszky (ed.) 1910). This had an enlivening effect on local economic activities. Otherwise, the period was characterised by an increasingly "gentrified" life-style amongst the landowners, and growing nationalism and provincialism, as described by the author Gyula Krúdy, who came from the area (cf. Bori 1978: 5-13; Takács 1964: 191-194, 201; Erdei (ed.) 1968: 775).

After the First World War, Szatmár, like other parts of Hungary, was ruled briefly first under Mihály Károlyi's "bourgeois democratic" government, and then under the Republic of Councils, during whose eventual defeat Romanian troops occupied the Szatmár area. In the wake of the Trianon Treaty in 1920, Szatmár was divided up between Hungary, Romania and Czechoslovakia; according to contemporary authors its area and population were reduced to one-third the original size (Fábián n.d.: 48). In the Second World War Hungary regained parts of Szatmár which after Trianon had been apportioned out to Czechoslovakia and Romania, but after the war Romania was given back its share and what had previously been allocated to Czechoslovakia was handed over to the Soviet Union. With its trade routes and many of its former towns cut off, for instance Szatmárnémeti (now Satu Mare, in Romania) and Nagykároly (now Carei, in Romania), and without any major local industries, Szatmár, which at the time of fieldwork was administered as part of County

Szabolcs-Szatmár, has become an economic and social backwater.

According to authors such as S. Borovszky and Antal Szirmai Szirmai, who have in the past compiled information on the individual towns and villages of the Szatmár region (Szirmai 1819: 227, 266-268; Borovsky (ed.) 1910: 47), the first documented mention of the "Palágyság", in 1410, refers to its being part of the Csaholyi family property. According to Szirmai (1819: 268), parts of Kispalád were given to Péter Ujhelyi and István Gödényházy in 1453 and 1455, and in 1479 János Kenderes was given, by royal bestowal, parts of Botpalád, Nagypalád and Kispalád; Borovszky (1910: 47) also mentions that the Rozsályi Kun family gained part ownership in Botpalád in 1490. Both sources say that the Csaholyi family died out in the male line in the mid-16th century, Imre Csaholyi had his daughters invested with the rights of inheritance of a son (fiúsította), and in 1545, 1547, 1568 and 1569 they were incorporated into his share of the holdings in the three villages. Later, the holding was split up amongst the lands of several families.

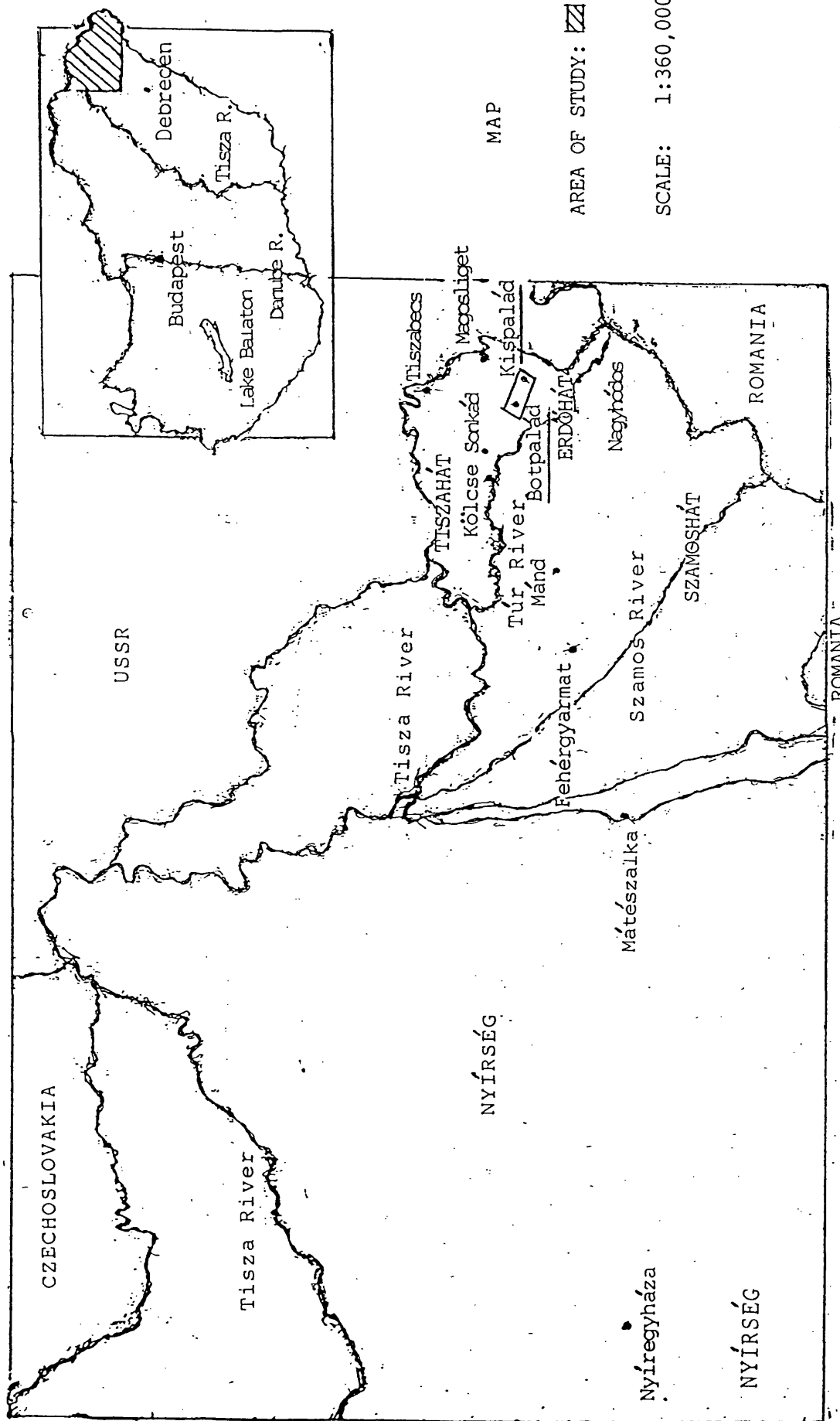
According to Iván Földesi, who wrote a college dissertation on the history of Botpalád, a process of large-scale ennobling took place in Botpalád in the 16th-17th centuries; he claims that participants in the fighting between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania were granted nobility in recognition for their merits in battle. Földesi (1964: 18-19) claims that part of Botpalád's population were cimeres nemes, who enjoyed personal freedom but lived on serf tenements and were burdened by obligations towards landowners and the state, while another portion of the local population were hajdúk, that is, soldiers who fought from horseback.

At the end of the 18th-early 19th century, the main landowners in Botpalád were Counts Ferencz and János Bárkóczy, Count László Teleky, Antal Kállay, and the


Fülep, Pinkóczy, Tasnády, Kozák and other "noble" families; in Kispalád they included Counts Ferencz and János Bárkóczy, Count László Teleky, the Károlyi family, Antal Kállay, László Szerdahelyi, Josef Longer, the widow of Miklós Taikly, the Becsky, Török, Angyalossy and other "noble" families (Szirmai 1819: 227, 266-267). Borovszky (1910: 47) writes that the Varga, Szikszó, Kánya, Thury and Papp families later gained considerable wealth in Botpalád.

Botpalád's parish, belonging to the Calvinist, Reformed Church, was established in the first half of the 17th century and first came under the jurisdiction of the Bereg diocese. It later became a "mother-church". Until 1787 one person performed the duties of both vicar and teacher (Nagy 1939: 188). Szirmai (1819: 227, 266-267) writes that in the early 19th century, Botpalád had 50 houses inhabited by Calvinist Magyars, and there were 34 nobles amongst them; Kispalád similarly had 50 houses inhabited by Calvinist Magyars, of which 12 were nobles. As of 1939, the Botpalád and Kispalád parishes belonged to the Szatmár diocese.

The main markets for Botpalád and Kispalád in the 18th-19th centuries were Tiszújlak (now Vilk, in the USSR), Szatmárnemeti, Beregszász (now Beregovo, in the USSR), Csenger and Fehérgyarmat. Apart from Csenger and Fehérgyarmat, these markets were cut off in the wake of the border changes after the First World War, and the two villages were compelled to redirect their trading to Fehérgyarmat, and thence towards towns in western and southern parts of Hungary. This was the situation, as regards directions of trade, up to the time of fieldwork. I shall discuss local developments over the past half century in the sections to follow, and refer to the history of the two villages throughout this thesis.



MAP

AREA OF STUDY: 

SCALE: 1:360,000

II. Some ecological features.

Located at 22 degrees 30' E longitude, and at 48 degrees N latitude, Botpalád and Kispalád are in the north-central section of the land area which constituted Szatmár County before 1920, but since then they have been border settlements. On current maps Kispalád marks the boundary for both County Szabolcs-Szatmár, and the country, while Botpalád is some two kilometers to the west of Kispalád and the Hungarian-Soviet border. Fifteen kilometers south of Kispalád, the Hungarian-Soviet border meets up with the Romanian border, and, some 70 kilometers to the northwest, with that of Czechoslovakia. Vis-a-vis more centrally located cities and towns in Hungary, the villages are approximately: 356 kilometers northeast of Budapest (286 kilometers as the crow flies); 123 kilometers northeast of Debrecen (110 kilometers as the crow flies); 100 kilometers east of Nyíregyháza (82 kilometers as the crow flies); 52 kilometers east of Mátészalka (37 kilometers as the crow flies); and 32 kilometers southeast of Fehérgyarmat (25.5 kilometers as the crow flies).¹

Both villages have been accessible by train and bus since the 1930s. However, transport services have been infrequent and erratic, thereby increasing travel time to and from Budapest to a minimum of one-and-a-half days, even as late as the early 1960s. The creation of new bus and train routes since then has cut this time down to some nine to ten hours.

County Szabolcs-Szatmár lies on the northeastern edge of the Alföld, the great plain covering the eastern section of Hungary, and including lands to the west, east and northeast of the Tisza River.² Szabolcs-Szatmár varies environmentally from the Alföld, and the visibility of the Carpathian foothills from Botpalád and Kispalád serves as a reminder of the proximity of the Carpathian chain which marks the boundary of the Carpathian basin.

The fieldwork area is separated from the central part of the Alföld by a region known as the Nyírség, which is characterised by low hills and sandy soil. The northern part of the Nyírség is skirted by the Tisza River, which flows in a western, then northern and then western direction before continuing its course in a southwesterly direction through the Alföld, east of and parallel to the Danube.

The region where I did fieldwork serves as a flood plain for three rivers, the Szamos, the Túr and the Kraszna, and for numerous brooks which feed into the Tisza. These rivers and streams originate in the highlands southeast of the region, and flow parallel to one another, northwest through the fieldwork area, towards the Tisza, thereby avoiding the Carpathian mountains to the northeast and the Nyírség to the west.

The fieldwork area is also characterised by topographical formations known as háts, "backs", which are gently sloping ridges that follow the banks of the respective rivers. Some of these háts are named after the rivers themselves - for instance the Tiszahát, Túrhat and Szamoshat. Botpalád, Kispalád, their sister village Nagypalád (now in the USSR) and some nine other villages belong to what is known both locally and by Hungarian ethnographers as the Erdöhát - literally translatable as "forest back".³

In a southeast to northwesterly direction, the Túr River skirts Kispalád from the south, and Botpalád from the south and west. A brook known as the Palád Patak flows through Kispalád, and in the past has been a major environmental factor.

The variations in temperature recorded in County Szabolcs-Szatmár in summer and winter are somewhat more extreme than in parts of Hungary which are not so close to mountainous areas such as the Carpathians.⁴ One of the winters I spent in the fieldwork villages gave wet, but mild, muddy conditions, while the other one was cold and hard, covering the villages with snow from early

December to late March, and yielding temperatures as low as -20 degrees Celsius. The summer months were changeable; the hot spells with temperatures reaching 30 degrees Celsius were broken up periodically by severe thunderstorms, sudden winds and cold rains. There also was a drought, which affected all of Europe in the summer of 1976, and which kept the villages dry from May until late July of that year. The electricity of the air in the Erdöhát area is a notable feature, and there is a high frequency of lightning storms which have been known to cause deaths and fires.

In spite of the nearby mountains, the elevation of Erdöhát does not exceed 150 meters (Mendöl 1939: 33), and its flatness is only occasionally broken up by the rivers, their sloped embankments and small mounds. Owing to their rarity, such mounds capture local attention and imagination, and become subjects of oral, historical legends.⁵

The clays and silts of Erdöhát contrast to the Nyírség's sand-loess soils, to the west, and to the Carpathians' sandstone and igneous formations to the east-northeast. The Kraszna, Szamos, Túr and Tisza rivers have deposited these topsoil sediments in long, delta-like formations, upon encountering sudden gradient changes at the base of the Carpathian foothills. The black and yellow clays of Erdöhát are rich in minerals, yet hard to cultivate. They are impermeable, and precipitation collects in large surface puddles which are neither absorbed nor drained off for many days. The sticky consistency of the wet clays prevents easy access to the fields. However, farming is also impeded when the soils dry up into rock-hard chunks. These age-old problems have been exacerbated by the increased use of heavy farming machinery in the past years. The slightest rainfalls produce expanses of mud, which may support a horse and wagon, but do not bear the weight of machines such as heavy tractors and combine-harvesters.⁶

A combination of topographical, climatic and geological features have increased the possibilities of flooding in the Erdöhát area. Before the Tisza and Túr rivers were channelled in the late 19th-early 20th centuries, much of Erdöhát's current ploughland was either periodically or permanently underwater. Sudden rises in the water level often ruined the villages' crops for the year (Schick 1939: 217).⁷ Villages are known to have been totally cut off from the mainland by water, which had to be crossed on horseback or boat, in order to reach the other side (Schick 1939: 218).⁸ Kispalád was particularly vulnerable to floods, and only a small area was free of water all year around; the quality of cultivable land was damaged by the periodic wash-outs in autumn and spring. Botpalád's settlement patterns and farming activities were also affected by the unpredictable water situation, but its cultivable lands as well as residential core were more spread out than that of Kispalád.

It was not until the late 19th-early 20th centuries that Erdöhát felt the effects of river channelling, which had begun some 100 years earlier on the Danube and Tisza in central and western Hungary. A network of channels, embankments and dams was completed in Erdöhát in the 1920s-1930s. Transport on dry land and farming became more reliable, however the threat of flooding is not entirely a thing of the past. The catastrophic floods of 1970 destroyed houses and property in villages and towns as close to the fieldwork villages as 20 kilometers (although Botpalád and Kispalád were unscathed). Flood control is still a major issue in Erdöhát, and this activity is supervised by the water management authority, which also serves as a potential employer in the area.

Erdöhát was named after the forests which covered much of the area as late as the end of the 19th century. These indigenous, deciduous forests consisted mainly of oak and alder (éger) trees; apart from serving as pasture

for pigs and cattle, they provided material for building and heating-cooking fuel. The trees were cut down as villagers turned increasingly to agriculture at the turn of the century. Only scattered patches of oak forest remain at present, however reforestation had already been attempted in the 1930s, and the local collective farm has planted much of its land with oak and willow saplings.

The area's natural vegetation has otherwise been typical of a boggy steppe, and included tall grass, wild wheatflowers, other wild flowers such as poppies, and clumps of sod and grass-roots forming so-called zsombék, which at rainy periods stick out above the large puddles. The undergrowth has included plants such as nettles and other weeds gathered for feeding poultry and pigs. Wild apple and plum trees are also reported to have grown in this area.

Animal husbandry was the main pursuit locally until the late 19th century, although some grains were grown for subsistence purposes. Wheat, barley, rye, millet (köles) and hemp (kender) were the earliest crops to be cultivated, to be joined in the 17th-19th centuries by newer crops such as maize, potatoes, fodder-vegetables and grasses (cattle-turnip or takarmányrépa, vetch or bükköny, lucerne, clover). Fruit trees were introduced, such as cultivated apple, plum, cherry, sour cherry and nut, as were the occasional kitchen vegetables, such as beans, cabbage, and marrow, which were sown interspersed between maize-shoots in the fields. The period since the First World War has seen the introduction of new kitchen vegetables, fruit trees, rape and sunflower for their oil, and there has been a decline in hemp and millet. This has occurred simultaneously with an increased market-orientation of crop production and less local self-subsistence, as reflected in, e.g. a decline in hemp-processing which previously had been aimed at providing local inhabitants with homemade cloth.

Hunting in Erdöhát has been a sport rather than regular means of procuring food.⁹ Foxes and wolves are

reported to have made occasional appearances in the past, and deer may still be seen in the fields at present. Smaller game such as hares, stone martens and rats still constitute a constant threat to crops and livestock raised on collective lands, household plots and in private gardens.

Local birds include jackdaws, storks that nest on the roofs of houses and stables, and pigeons that nest in lofts and sheds and whose eggs and meat are often consumed. Most domesticated poultry before the 1960s, chickens, geese, and ducks, were home-hatched and raised for their eggs, meat and feathers. Nowadays, home-hatched poultry are outnumbered by pre-hatched chickens and ducks which can be purchased from the General Consumers' and Marketing Cooperative.

Until the First World War the fieldwork area had rich stocks of horses, cattle, sheep and pigs (Zsarolyáni 1939: 150-162).¹⁰ The two World Wars and the Depression destroyed substantial stocks of livestock, and since the Second World War restrictions on the private ownership of horses and sheep have prevented the restoration of the pre-First World War levels.¹¹

The waters of the Erdöhát area have been conducive to the natural breeding of csik, a kind of fish which inhabits muddy and swampy bottoms, and of rák, a kind of crayfish.¹² The drainage of the swamps in the region has reduced the incidence of csik, but odd survivors of this species may nevertheless still be spotted on occasion.

Bee-keeping, which like fishing and crayfish-catching has been a side occupation locally, is pursued by at least one family in each village. Other traditional activities such as mushroom collecting are still pursued as a means of obtaining food to supplement the basic diet.

Botpalád and Kispalád, like the other villages of Erdöhát, are of a type known by Hungarian ethnographers as orsósutcáju, i.e. the houses and their farmyards are strung out, side by side, on both sides of a street, in a

bobbin-shaped fashion (Morvay 1968).¹³ The two villages are built along the banks of streams, but unlike some settlements in the area, do not have island-like or peninsular formations.

In the mid-1940s much of the property of large landowners, which had been made cultivable by water-drainage programmes 20 years earlier, was taken over by the state, then either redistributed to landless villagers or bought by local inhabitants for money in the following years. Both villages grew in length, to include a "new" or "upper" end, and each settlement gained a new road, known respectively as Petöfi road (in Botpalád) and New Row (Kispalád). The most recently built part of each village, which is still undergoing expansion, is the Gipsy row; this is inhabited by gipsies¹⁴ who have left their crowded pultris or hovels in the swampy outskirts of the villages, and built houses, under beneficial credit conditions provided by the state, at the new ends of both villages.

As in the past, the long narrow farmyards which are sandwiched alongside one another meet the road with their lengths perpendicular and their short sides facing it. At least one house stands on each farmyard, also with its length perpendicular to the road. The summer kitchen stands separately behind the house, away from the road, after which follow the tool and wood shed, and the sheds and pens for cattle, pigs and poultry. Behind these, the abora, a structure for storing hay, can be seen. Only occasionally is there still a csür, a large shed for threshing and storing grain, and on most farmyards the large outdoor ovens formerly used for baking bread have been dismantled. Most farmyards have a well, known as a gemeskút,¹⁵ and a drinking trough beside the well for watering cattle. The compost heap is usually located near the sheds and the outhouse. The flower garden towards the front of the house is fenced off, as is the kitchen garden in back of the farm buildings and sheds.¹⁶

Many traditional houses and other farm buildings had straw or wooden-shingled roofs and walls made of mud daubed onto a woven wooden lattice which was built onto a base of heavy logs, then covered with whitewash. The walls of other houses were made of unburnt adobe brick, and their roofs consisted of wood or brick tiles. All of these houses had porches running along their lengths, under the eaves of the side of the roof facing the centre of the farmyard. Although many straw-roofed farm buildings may still be seen, only a few straw-roofed houses remain in Botpalád and Kispalád at present.

Recently built houses are standard, centrally designed types, most of which are L- or block-shaped, with walls made of brick and plaster, and tiled roofs. These types are rapidly dominating the local scenery. Cement-laid driveways, cars and other modern machines are also becoming parts of the local environment, although at the time of fieldwork they were by no means common.¹⁷

The old part of the settlement is centred spatially around the church, although newly built or renovated stores, bars, schools, culture houses, post-and council-offices counterbalance the church's dominating influence over the focal points of interaction. In Botpalád's case the new buildings contribute to making the "new" end of the village the "busy" end. Kispalád's church is a strikingly large structure which was built at the turn of the century; unlike other villages in the area, the churches of Botpalád and Kispalád are attached to the church-towers.¹⁸

The stables, workshops, warehouses, offices and other buildings which belong to the collective farm are scattered in the outskirts of both villages. Apart from the church's towers, which are visible from afar, these rectangular white structures are the first buildings to catch the eye of a person entering the locality by road from a north-northwesterly direction.

The predominance of animal husbandry, over grain-farming, as a local activity up to the early 1900s was a consequence of, i.a., the threat of periodic flooding, the large expanses of forested land, and the shortage of easily tillable land. Horse, cattle and sheep breeding were pursued especially by landowners with over 80 kh., who traded these products at local and regional markets in Fehérgyarmat, Kölcse, Tiszaújlak, Csenger, Szatmárnémeti, Nagyszöllös, Nagykároly and Beregszász. Farming was pursued mainly to provide material essentials for the local inhabitants - i.e. grains, kitchen vegetables, fruit and hemp. The forests and swampy lowlands were not conducive to farming, but their fauna and flora were hunted and gathered, and fished - these activities being pursued by some villagers as a sport, and by others as a means of obtaining food.

After the swampy lowlands were drained and cleared, land cultivation gained importance as a local activity, and products of the soil were also sold at local and regional markets. An indication of the increased significance and changed nature of grain production is the fact that between 1920 and 1938 wheat grown in the Botpalád-Kispalád area was smuggled regularly across the border to what at that time was Czechoslovakia.¹⁹

Craftsmanship and home-industry were geared purely to local needs. Women in all but the most elite families were involved in refining hemp, spinning and weaving hemp cloth (kendervászon), cooking soap, and nearly every woman embroidered textiles to be worn or used by family members.

Someone usually specialised in making and repairing leather goods such as sandals, boots, harnesses and whips, on the side, in order to meet local demand. Other part-time craftsmen specialised in making and repairing wooden tools, traps and furniture (ács), and smiths and tinkers (bádogos) worked with metal. There were a number of generalised carpenters as well as some

wheelwrights. The carver of headposts to mark graves (fejfa) was also a sought-after person.²⁰ Apart from the latter, who often made headposts for residents of other villages, the services of these craftsmen extended little beyond the immediate locality.²¹

The importance of local handicrafts and craftsmanship diminished with the growing availability of textiles, clothing and equipment in the village shop, as well as with the mechanisation of farming technology and other local pursuits.

At the turn of the century most farming techniques involved mainly manual labour and livestock. The villagers used horse- or oxen-drawn wooden or iron ploughs, wooden harrows (borona) and rollers (hengerelö) for ploughing the topsoil, breaking up and rolling down the unmanageable clumps, then loosening up the soil and combing over the sown fields. Corn, potato and other vegetables were hoed by hand. The crops were also harvested manually; grains were cut either by scythe or sickle, while potato and root-crops were dug out with the aid of a flat iron-headed wooden-handled spade.

Before the introduction of threshing machines at the turn of the century, the straw of the harvested wheat, barley, rye and oats was separated from the grain by a procedure known as nyomtatás; the circularly laid out crop was trampled down repeatedly by a team of oxen or horses which was also led around in a circle. Horse- or oxen-drawn wagons or sleds were used to transport manure out to the fields, to take the newly-reaped harvest to the threshing site, and to move the bags of grain to the mill. Kispalád earlier had a "dry mill" (szárazmalom), which was worked by horses driven around in a circle, but villagers also used other, water-driven mills in the area.

The people of Botpalád and Kispalád baked their own bread in large, outdoor brick ovens. They washed their clothes by hand, made their own soap, and processed

their own cloth out of hemp, with the assistance of manual tools.

Farm machines, such as horse- or oxen-drawn sowing machines and motorised threshing machines, which had been introduced to the area in the late 19th-early 20th century, became more generally used by the 1930s. Not all landowning or landworking villagers possessed such equipment, and access to these tools was governed by various kinds of agreements. In some cases, the use of equipment was recompensed in the form of eventual payment in kind or services. Other villagers pooled their money and bought equipment which they took turns in using. Villagers sometimes rented equipment for a given purpose or amount of time. The operation of these machines required assistance from humans and animals alike. A minimum of five people was necessary to fuel and run even a threshing machine, to feed it with the harvested grain and handle the end products of grain and straw. The technology's labour power requirements fluctuated on a seasonal basis, according to the given farming activities.

Winter generally served as a time of rest from the farm tasks of the other seasons. After the ground frosts eased and the snow melted, the fields and kitchen gardens were prepared for planting and fruit trees were pruned. The sowing of the fields and gardens was ideally completed by mid-May, and by this time the animals which had been stabled in winter were driven out to pasture. The summer period was a busy time, involving tasks such as hay-gathering, and harvesting grain, vegetable and fruit crops. Hemp was harvested in late August, and the maize and sunflower crops in September-October. It was in the late summer-autumn period that the ugar (fallowed pasture) was ploughed and sown with the following year's crop. Livestock were driven in from pasture at this time as well. The late autumn was a time for weddings and preparations for Christmas, and with this, the pig-killings began.²²

At the end of the 19th century, Botpalád's lands were used according to a két fordulós, or two-field system, in which half of the villagers' fields were cultivated and the other half, the ugar, was put to fallow pasture. This system was compatible with extensive livestock breeding, in that large expanses were released for pasture. Within this yearly limitation of having to alternate the use of their fields, the individual tillers of the soil were free, in principle, to sow what they wanted, and according to their own yearly schedules. When the fields served as ugar, they were naturally fertilised by the livestock which were pastured there, and in this manner their nutrient value was not drained by repeated cultivation.

The people of Kispalád at the end of the 19th century used the local lands according to a három fordulós, or three-field system, one which was compatible, rather, with crop cultivation on a larger scale and more intensive livestock breeding. This farming system involved a complicated yearly schedule which necessitated the cooperation of all villagers who tilled their fields in this manner. Two-thirds of the fields were farmed, and one-third put to pasture, or ugar, in any one year. Half of the cultivated fields were sown in the autumn, and the other half sown in the spring. The autumn field was usually planted with autumn wheat, the spring field with other grains and crops such as oats, barley, maize, potato, hemp, clover and lucerne.

In the meantime, the fallow lands, or ugar, were used for pasturing all of the livestock from early spring until late June; upon the completion of the autumn wheat harvest, the livestock were sent on to the stubble left after the harvested crop, and the fallow fields were ploughed. Further stubble fields became available as pasture in late September, with the winding up of the harvest on the spring fields; the livestock turned to this new pasture and remained there until they were driven back to the village for winter. The villagers

ploughed the ugar two more times in late summer and autumn, then harrowed the fields with borona, and sowed them with the oncoming year's autumn wheat crop. Thus, from year to year the cycle was that the ugar of one year became the autumn field the following year, the autumn field became the spring field, and the spring field became the ugar. The rotation of the ugar and use of stubble for pasturing livestock ensured that the land was fertilised organically, thereby boosting the soil's fertility.

Botpalád's and Kispalád's lands were first consolidated around the turn of the century.²³ At this time, both villages' inhabitants who wanted to farm their lands separately from other local inhabitants each had their lands consolidated into one plot, and were known as the tagos villagers. The remaining plots were measured out into three forduló, to be farmed according to a three-field system, as described above.

After consolidation, the three-field farmers pastured only their gulya (cattle who stayed in the fields night and day) and pigs on the fallow fields; they pastured their csorda (cattle who were stabled at night) on specially designated land. The tagos villagers also had a similarly designated pasture for their csorda; otherwise they either owned or rented pasture-rights for the purposes of the gulya and pig-herd in the woods on the village outskirts. Tagos farmers who had their own shepherds usually owned enough land to allow them to set aside their own private ploughland for pasturing the sheep.²⁴

With the exception of the largest landowners who had private herds, each village had two separate gulya and pig herds as a result of the two coexisting farming systems.²⁵ There also were two separate herds of milch cows, or csorda.²⁶ Each village also had a tagos and a fordulós pasturing association, which managed the special fields that were used as pasture.

Work relations between the villagers varied according to the amount of property the families owned or cultivated, the available workforce and the yearly farming schedule. Within the family, age, sex and status affected the chores assigned to individual members. Most of the hard physical work in the fields or around the livestock and house was done by men in their physical prime, while the exclusive women's tasks were associated, rather, with housekeeping.²⁷ The extent to which children or elderly parents were put to work depended at times on whether or not it was desirable for the women's labour to be freed for work in the fields. Elderly women frequently took over the household chores and care of the young children, and elder daughters were also responsible for looking after their younger siblings. Otherwise, young boys helped with the livestock, girls with the poultry, both were entrusted with odd chores such as carrying the midday meals out to workers in the fields, and sometimes they too were involved in farm tasks such as gleaning the harvested stubble fields.

Economic cooperation and work relations involving people outside the family unit entailed some form of reciprocity between the parties. Informal segítség or help relations between two villagers were based on expectations that the seasonal or periodical services offered by one side eventually would be recompensed by the other, either in the form of the same kind of service or another kind of work, or material assets, when needed by the first party. Whereas the parties linked by segítség relations were of similar economic status, those involved in ledolgozás obligations were subordinate-superior to one another in this regard. The poorer villager repaid the material aid he had been given by the better-off villager by offering the latter the disposal of his services for a period of time or until the completion of a task. The ledolgozás relationship theoretically came to an end when this debt was repaid in the form of work; on the other hand, the segítség

relationship was a continuing tie between two parties, which fluctuated seasonally, only.

On special-purpose informally organised group work occasions known as kaláka, a set of people contributed their labour collectively to the economic endeavour of the organising family. The participants were treated to a special meal, and the eventual, although not immediate, reciprocation of this help at the kalákas of the participant families was also expected.²⁸

Other relationships between villagers, which were connected to farming activities, included those deriving from a landowner letting out some of his fields to another local inhabitant. The latter cultivated the land and recompensed the owner of the property by giving him either one-third or one-half of the crops which had been grown.

Some local landowners employed farm servants to help them with their farm work on a yearly basis. So-called bentkosztos farm servants were fed directly by their employers as part of their pay. On the other hand, the employers either gave the so-called kommenciós farm servants raw materials to cook, or allotted them landplots, and gave equipment and seeds for the servants to grow their own basic food. Most farm servants were given some clothing, footwear, spending money, firewood, and fodder for livestock. Having no land of their own, they moved from village to village as work opportunities arose and ceased; they of necessity were housed by their employers in farm-buildings, or so-called taxás houses in return for which they were expected to work for 40 days on their employers' land.²⁹

Another kind of work relationship between local inhabitants involved work on a day-to-day basis. The payment for this daywage (napszámos) labour, whether in kind or money, was agreed ahead of time. Részes workers were employed seasonally; they were expected to work either for a longer period of time than daywage labourers, or until a given farm task was completed.

They were recompensed by flour, brandy and szalonna (bacon) during the work period, and then by a proportion of what they had produced. For example, harvesters could usually keep one out of every 12-16 sheaves of grain they harvested. Such seasonal work relations were usually connected with harvest or with hoeing.³⁰

Finally, several times during the 1930s, special summás work bands were formed which travelled for employment and signed collective contracts regarding work obligations, duration and pay. Within the summás bands tasks such as cooking were differentiated and allocated to individual members. For the duration of employment the group was the mediator between the employers and the individual employees, and the participants' interests had to accommodate to those of the group. The summás bands from Botpalád and Kispalád which were organised in the late 1930s travelled mainly to Germany and worked on estates there.

Animal herders who cared for the cattle and pig-herds were employed separately by the two pasturing associations. They were recompensed by the pásztorbér (wages) for each head of livestock in the herd, and they were allowed to use the pásztorház, or house owned by the village, for as long as they were the tagos or fordulós animal herders.³¹ Shepherds were employed privately by owners of sheep flocks and were paid like all other farm servants.³²

Local inhabitants were usually involved in the distribution of agricultural and other products, as well. One such major channel of distribution within the village was segítség relations, which beyond the mutual provision of services and labour, often consisted of the delayed, reciprocal exchange of consumable goods such as hay, wheat, corn, cabbage, potatoes, beans, even milk and eggs. Villagers who were not linked by segítség ties and villagers who exchanged goods with outsiders from nearby communities usually did so directly on a reciprocal basis. On the other hand, the purchase of items at the

local store, and at nearby and regional markets, involved direct cash payment or promises of future such payments.

At weekly markets women handled poultry, eggs, vegetables and textiles. Men were in charge of large livestock such as horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and they also handled the wheat and other grains which were bought and sold at larger, regional fairs held every two-three months. Regional fairs were important social and economic occasions for rich and poor alike, whether the journey to Szatmárnémeti, Beregszász, Csenger and Nagykároly was made in horse- and oxen-drawn wagons or on foot.³³ Women with not enough time to go to such fairs, but who wanted to market their poultry, eggs and vegetables, often sold their products to women-traders who then sold these goods at the weekly markets in Kölcse, Fehérgyarmat or Tiszaújlak, or at more distant fairs.

The local stores in the early 20th century supplied mainly goods which the villagers themselves did not produce but nevertheless needed. Before the turn of the century, such products were oil, to be used for lamps, herbs or spices such as salt and black pepper which did not grow in the area, and paper-products.³⁴ By the 1930s, further store-bought items included soap, rice, sugar, matches, small metal nails and items used in building, and even various types of flour. Usually, each village had more than one store, and these were run by both Jews and non-Jewish Calvinists, the latter distinguished by the locals as "Magyars"; Botpalád in the 1930s had two Jewish and two so-called "Magyar" stores, while Kispalád had three stores.

A marketing and consumers' society known nationally as the Hangya operated in the 1930s, and it had outlets for the distribution of farm products at which Hangya shareholders could buy items at a discount, and were given priority in the granting of credit. Stores, otherwise, were privately run by villagers who

had applied for and received permits allowing them to engage in this type of activity.³⁵

IV. Subsistence activities after 1945.

A post-Second World War institution in Botpalád and Kispalád which has played a dominant role in the livelihoods of the local inhabitants has been the agricultural producers' cooperative (mezőgazdasági termelőszövetkezet) and its precursors. Therefore, much of the following discussion will focus on this collective farm.

The first, post-Second World War collective farms in both villages were given land which had been redistributed as a result of the 1945 land reform (Donáth 1977: 58, 61, 69, 76, 97, 144).³⁶ These collective farms were small both territorially and in membership, and they consisted nearly exclusively of so-called agrarian proletariats (agrárproletár), in other words farm labourers (Donáth 1977: 118-129; Hann 1980).³⁷

According to a local account (Vargha, Józsefné 1974), Botpalád's local Communist Party organ was formed in 1945, and it was from among these Party members that some villagers, reportedly 18 agrarian proletariat families, joined the first cooperative in 1946, after the land redistribution which had been carried out during this same year.³⁸ The membership of the collective farm increased to 80 in its first year, but later many villagers withdrew from it. This collective farm cultivated 187 kh. of land, and the overall lack of seed, animals and equipment hindered its productivity during the initial years.

Many villagers came back to the collective farm in 1955, its membership increased to 116, but the 1956 uprising disrupted this development. In the years up to 1956 new livestock stables and sheds had been built, 62 kh. of land had been set aside for growing rice, and 16 kh. of orchard had been planted. Nonetheless, the collective farm was burdened with obligatory deliveries

and credit obligations to be paid back to the state as well as the machine station in Kölcse. Many of its members abandoned the collective farm in the 1956 uprising, however according to the local account cited above (Vargha, Józsefné 1974) the local Workers' Party organ and 18 collective farm members kept the farm going under a new name, the Kossuth Lajos MGTSZ.³⁹

In 1958-59 the collective farm's communal property was reorganised and there were increased efforts to buy up or bring in additional land. Local reluctance still worked to the detriment of collective farm interests, but by the end of this period its membership was 230. Amidst conditions of latent discord between the members and leaders, in 1961 the Kossuth Lajos MGTSZ was merged with Kispalád's collective farm, under the new name of the Ujbarázda MGTSZ ("New Furrough" MGTSZ).

Kispalád's first collective farm, known as the Szabad Föld TSZ ("Free Land" TSZ), was established in 1949. It was the smaller of the two pre-1956 collective farms to function in this village, and like that of Botpalád, its 17 members were drawn, for the most part, from the agricultural proletariat. In 1952 another, larger collective farm came into being, under the name of the Rákóczi TSZ; its members were recruited from a large segment of the local populace, landowners with property ranging roughly from 5 to 40 kh. The two collective farms functioned simultaneously in Kispalád between 1952 and 1956.

In 1956 the Rákóczi TSZ was broken up, its members reclaimed their former lands, and they farmed privately until 1959. During this time the Szabad Föld TSZ decreased in size but nevertheless continued to function until 1961. At this time it was amalgamated with the Rákóczi TSZ which had been newly formed in 1959-60, as a result of pressure exerted by agitators on behalf of the nationwide collectivisation movement. The collective farms of the 1950s differed from the later ones in, i.a.,

size, equipment, institutional connections to the state, leaders' qualifications, and organisational principles.⁴⁰

The Uj Barázda TSZ, formed out of the merging of Botpalád's and Kispalád's collective farms in 1961, was to function continuously in the two villages through to the fieldwork period in the mid to late 1970s. The amalgamated collective farm had a land area of 4,956 kh., and its membership increased to 512 family heads.⁴¹ 1968 marked the beginning of mechanisation of the collective farm's equipment and methods, and the expansion of its facilities.⁴² During this year, and the following ones, buildings were built for stabling cattle, storing apples, repairing and storing machines, and a water-tank was acquired. The collective farm ceased to be dependent on the machine station in Kölcse, and this station has since closed down.

After 1960 other changes came into effect regarding the relations between the collective farm and its members, as well as the calculation of work done on TSZ land and villagers' recompense for this; the work unit system was replaced by a system of so-called work days, later changed to work hours.⁴³ The system of distributing fodder from collective farm lands, in proportion to the work done for the farm, also was altered.⁴⁴

After 1968, in theory it was possible for different members of one family to join the collective farm independently, thereby entitling them to separate household plots and other benefits; however, only in the mid-1970s did increasing numbers of local villagers take advantage of this opportunity. The collective farm sent some of its younger, working members to get a specialist training, and growing numbers of its employees were specialists with diplomas from technical schools. Between 1961 and 1979 the presidents of the Ujbarázda TSZ came from the following villages: Kispalád (1961-68); Kölcse (15 kilometers away; 1968-69, and 1970-73);

Magosliget (a village 6 kilometers away; 1973-76) and Botpalád (1976-79).

The 1970-73 period of state-supported prosperity for the collective farm reportedly led to an expansion of its buildings, with the addition of new horse, sheep and cow stables. The stock of sheep was increased, the reforestation of new stretches of land began, there was expansion of the land planted with lucerne, cabbage, rape-seed, maize, sunflower and apple-trees, and new combines were acquired to augment the stock of machinery. However, then, and constantly after that time, the collective farm was hampered by the isolation of the two villages, and by local weather and soil conditions.⁴⁵

In principle the collective farm at the time I did my fieldwork, in the mid-1970s, was a legal entity, a voluntary association of villagers who had pooled productive resources and who were entitled to share from the benefits of their common enterprise (Collective Farm's Charter 1972).⁴⁶ It was the membership to which the TSZ was ultimately answerable.⁴⁷ The TSZ member did not forfeit ownership rights to the land he took in, but, in principle, enjoyed usufruct rights to the land and was paid an annual land rent (földjára), the amount depending on the amount and quality of contributed land.⁴⁸

According to the charter of the local collective farm, each member had to contribute to the communal endeavour. In the mid-1970s, this, in the case of men, was an annual minimum of 150 ten-hour work days, and in the case of women 100 ten-hour workdays. In 1978 the minimums changed to 200 and 150 work days respectively. Other TSZ members' obligations, in principle, included attending all TSZ general meetings, helping to protect the TSZ's communal property, respecting TSZ regulations and obeying TSZ leaders' instructions.

The TSZ member also had the right to use and maintain a household-plot (háztáji gazdaság), ranging between one-half and one kh. in size depending on whether

the person was a full-time working member, retired or the widow of a TSZ member. Collective farm members could use the farm's facilities, work buildings and equipment in return for an established fee, and they were entitled to certain social and cultural benefits.⁴⁹ If a villager decided to leave the collective farm, the farm bought the ownership rights to the ex-member's land over five years, with the mediation of the land records office.⁵⁰

Two other statuses associated with the local collective farm were those of employee (alkalmazott) and "helping family member" (besegető családtag). The employee had a contractual work relationship to the TSZ, whereby he was also entitled to state social and cultural benefits comparable to those enjoyed by TSZ members, but in which he had no rights and obligations associated with land rent, household plot and attendance at general assemblies. Unlike the TSZ members, who only received part of their wages for communal work monthly in the mid-1970s (80%, and later, 90%), the employees received the full sum of their fixed wages (after social security deductions) every month.⁵¹

Being a "helping family member" meant that another member of one's nuclear family was already a full-scale TSZ member; the helping member was allowed to work for the TSZ, and to be recompensed in a similar manner, although to a different extent. Such helping members usually undertook seasonal or casual work, rather than working for the farm regularly.

Apart from the TSZ's communally farmed lands and the household plots which had been allocated to TSZ members out of the collectivised lands, the collective farm had pasture which could be used by the farm's communal livestock and that of the members, alike, although the herds and flocks were kept separately from one another. The farm also controlled a large area of meadow, much of which supplied the farm's and villagers' livestock with fodder, and a small part of which was sometimes let out to other organisations, such as the

local sports association which used a meadow next to the school as a sports field. The farm had also been reforesting two areas, in particular, where the trees had been felled in the past one-and-a-half centuries, and it received state support for this project.

As mentioned above, collective farm members were allocated household plots for their own use, however the services of the TSZ were also essential for the cultivation of these plots.⁵² The collective farm also could act as middleman for household plot products, by transporting the livestock, milk and fruit to be marketed, and it provided other services, too.⁵³ Before 1978 the payments for each TSZ service were calculated individually and then either paid out in cash or deducted from the member's monthly earnings. According to a new system introduced in 1978, the farming of the household plot was estimated to cost some 800 forints yearly; this amount was automatically deducted from the TSZ members' monthly wages in two lump sums, and, at the end of the year, the difference between the actual and estimated costs evened out between the TSZ and TSZ member.⁵⁴

A large proportion of TSZ members' returns for work done on communal lands was given in the form of money. The completion of work on the TSZ's communal lands also entitled collective farm members to a share of the grain and fodder crop.⁵⁵ The officially stated average monthly pay of working members of the Botpalád-Kispalád TSZ in 1977 was 1,800 forints. Taking into account the deductions from monthly payments i.e. the 20% - later 10% - held back until the end of the year, payment for TSZ services and deductions for recompense received in kind, as well as deductions for state social and welfare benefits, it is apparent that the villagers received little in their monthly pay packets. In theory, advance payments were possible on a credit basis, but the collective farm's money supplies were low and TSZ members were often compelled to look for other income sources to keep them going through the year - hence the locally

held attitude that one could not make a living off of the TSZ alone.

The collective farm's leaders in theory were answerable to the general assembly of TSZ members, which elected the nine-member leadership body, together with other committees, for four-year terms.⁵⁶ The leadership body organised and directed the TSZ's activities in general, but the TSZ president was the one official with widest-ranging responsibilities.⁵⁷ He was the TSZ's official leader and legal representative, and he directed the leadership body in fulfilling its responsibilities.⁵⁸

There nevertheless were theoretical restrictions on the TSZ president's power by means of the supervisory functions of the control committee and the general assembly, to which he was supposed to report regularly at a special meeting to give a closing account of the financial year. There also were checks on his power from above by the Hungarian Ministry of Finance, the National Bank, the county council, and regional Party and TSZ officials.

The collective farm president made decisions on the general course of action to be taken, on the basis of advice received from the farm's specialists - including the agronomist, the chief horticulturalist (fökertész), the forestry expert (erdész), the mechanical engineer (gépészmernök) and chief record-keeper (fökönyvelő) - as well as from the brigade leaders. At twice-weekly meetings, the president issued instructions to these specialists and brigade leaders, and he was supposed to be informed daily about the implementation of his directions and progress of work.⁵⁹

The TSZ's farming schedule, as well as the availability of its services and equipment, had a decisive influence on how local TSZ members scheduled their tasks through the year. Moreover, such members of the collective farm often did not know from one day to the next whether or not they would be asked to work on

collective lands, or whether they could devote their energy to tasks on the household plot, and this made it difficult to schedule jobs in advance.⁶⁰

To complicate matters further, the TSZ schedule often was disrupted by delays in working the fields which had turned into large pools of mud owing to the use of heavy machinery and inadequate drainage.⁶¹ In such cases, the collective farm's work schedule was set back, and this later led to an abundance of jobs needing simultaneous completion.

In the early to mid-1970s the government stepped up its efforts to promote household-plot production, especially in the sphere of vegetable-fruit growing and, even more so, in raising livestock. The TSZ handled many practical aspects connected with raising cattle, such as pasturing the village's csorda and gulya, paying the cowherds' wages via collection of contributions to this wage from individual cattle-owning families, inoculating calves, inseminating cows, and providing fodder. Beyond this, it acted as middleman by being almost the sole local institution to collect the milk produced by the villagers' háztáji cattle.⁶² The TSZ in the 1970s received state support for its role in the milk programme, as did villagers who invested in raising cows; the state benefits yearly in 1976 were 1,500 forints for one cow, and 3,000 forints apiece for the second and subsequent cows, while in 1977 the amounts increased to 2,500 and 5,000 forints respectively.⁶³

In addition, it was through affiliation with the TSZ that many villagers were entitled to state benefits, which however were distributed through the local post office.⁶⁴

The TSZ's middleman activities also included the wholesale purchase of calves which had been fattened for slaughter, as well as apples, although alternative marketing channels also existed for local inhabitants.

The collective farm was the dominant, but not exclusive, framework within which locals could work

agriculturally. There was a state farm in the region, with headquarters in a village called Csaholc, but with a branch on the Sonkádi tanya, which once was an estate on Botpalád's outskirts. The farm specialised in livestock breeding and grain production; before its harvesting methods were mechanised, local inhabitants worked there on a seasonal basis. In the mid-1970s, mainly animal herders, usually shepherds and livestock handlers, were employed at that farm. There also were some three villagers in Kispalád who no longer belonged to the Botpalád-Kispalád TSZ (although they once had been members), and who farmed privately by making intensive use of the gardens and plots they possessed. They had invested in slaughter bullocks, milch cows, and vegetable and fruit growing for marketing purposes. This so-called private farming was combined with the employment elsewhere of some family members, who thereby brought in extra incomes.

The choice of non-agricultural occupations open to villagers in the mid-1970s was more varied than before the Second World War, when apart from craftsmanship, shopkeeping, and a few professional positions, non-agricultural jobs had been available only in transport (the railways) and public utilities (with the water authority). White-collar jobs existed in the mid-1970s at the offices of institutions such as the TSZ, the council, the general consumers' and marketing cooperative and post offices.⁶⁵ There had been some, albeit not considerable, development in the region's light industry, and many young locals entered two-year training schemes after general school, before taking on a full job at a nearby factory. Such jobs ranged from positions in textile factories and workshops to employment by the regional construction enterprise, the catering industry, the bus-transport enterprise (volán), the water board, the road building enterprise, the general consumers' and marketing cooperative, and even jobs in Fehérgyarmat's shops.

Finally, both Botpalád and Kispalád had a number of families, mainly gipsy, whose men were migrant workers. They worked on construction projects or did other industrial jobs during the week in cities located further west, such as Budapest and Tatabánya where they lived in workers' hostels, and then returned to the villages to spend the weekends there with their families. In a later chapter I shall deal in more detail with the occupational breakdown of local inhabitants.

I have already mentioned the TSZ's middleman activities in buying up most of the locally produced milk, as well as apples, and some of the locally raised calves, bullocks and pigs.⁶⁶ The general consumers' and marketing cooperative, AFESZ, also served as a middleman channel for local products; it bought up all kinds of fruit, vegetables and eggs produced in the two villages. AFESZ was the institution through which villagers ordered their poultry, since home-hatched supplies were rarely sufficient to feed local families through the year. The AFESZ also sold seeds, chicken feed, vegetables and other such goods.⁶⁷

Another marketing channel locals used were the informal or privately contracted sales-purchase agreements both within and outside the village. Whether the buyers were the Botpalád nursery which needed fresh vegetables and fruit for its daily prepared meals, or whether they were teachers, gipsies or other people who did not grow such crops, there usually was a local demand for such products. Even poultry, pigs and cattle could be sold locally, although the large livestock were usually taken to fairs or regional markets for selling.

Large markets (nagyvásár) were held in both Kölcse and Fehérgyarmat once every two months. On such occasions the villagers usually marketed their livestock privately. Fehérgyarmat also held a weekly market for the sale of fruit, vegetables and poultry, although this town's distance discouraged most Kispaládians and Botpaládians from selling their goods there.

Local inhabitants who had children or other close kin living in urban areas often arranged for these kin to sell durable foodstuffs produced in Botpalád and Kispalád, such as nuts, poppy-seeds and beans, on a private basis to other town dwellers. The villagers gained in this manner, since higher prices could be charged in an urban area than in the countryside.⁶⁸

Another local middleman channel consisted of the middle-aged and elderly women, usually gipsies, who travelled from village to village, buying up goods in one place and then selling them in the next. The transactions were usually carried out via a bargaining process. The villagers often looked down on these women, calling them mischievous (huncut) and hinting that they were dishonest, but such middlemen were not shunned when their wares aroused interest.

Mutual aid relations (segítség) of the traditional type still prevailed in the mid-1970s, whereby help offered by people outside the family in doing production or distribution tasks was reciprocated in kind at a later time. Such arrangements were usually made between distant kin, neighbours and friends. Often, elderly villagers who lived alone and were physically unable to provide for themselves were fed, clothed, cleaned for and otherwise looked after by young distant kin, in return for which the younger party worked the land and used the machinery of the older kin, and also reaped the benefit of the ensuing products.

Alongside resorting to segítség relations in order to do tasks such as cooking, whitewashing or other taxing household chores, villagers in the mid-1970s still recruited labour on a mutual help basis for traditional, periodic work occasions such as pig-sticking, and jam-cooking.⁶⁹ Such relations also fed into the TSZ's organisational framework and sometimes affected cultivation of the household plot.⁷⁰

Alongside such segítség relations, villagers occasionally recruited the labour of other locals in

return for which a sum of money was paid immediately. These informal arrangements and the actual recompense forthcoming varied situationally. If the worker received nothing more than the money he had earned on either an hourly (órabér) or daywage (napszám) basis, the situation was clear-cut; labour was exchanged for money. However, if the "employer" offered his "employee" food or drink, the relationship took on the more intimate tones of segítség ties. The distinction was not rigid between napszám-órabér and segítség; situations of overlap occurred in which there was a small cash payment and at the same time hospitality was generous.⁷¹

V. Some other institutional features.

The administrative framework for local government (cf. Berényi - Martonyi - Szamel - Szatmári 1971; Erdei (ed.) 1968: 315-343) in Botpalád and Kispalád in the mid-1970s was the joint community council (nagyközségek közös tanácsa), one unit in Hungary's nation-wide council system which implemented policy decisions largely determined by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.⁷² The local council was also a major forum for representing constituents' interests, for overseeing state-supervised institutions, for seeing to paperwork, and for electing representatives to higher councils. For example, the local council was responsible for providing identification papers, certificates and employment books, for collecting taxes and small fines, and for keeping statistics. The paperwork it was responsible for covered state welfare benefits such as care for the elderly, retirement pensions, institutional food for the poor or incapacitated and nursery provision.

The council functioned together with an executive committee, which discussed and formulated the proposals which then were either adopted or rejected by the council. Councillors held this position on top of working in full time income yielding jobs; on the other hand, the council officials and employees, for example

the council chairman, secretary, office workers and assistants (tanács segéd), were paid for their work as full time council employees.⁷³

The most apparent manifestation of the HSWP's political influence⁷⁴ in the 1970s was the local full-time Party functionary who served both Botpalád and Kispalád.⁷⁵ He was among the leaders of the local collective farm and the council, thereby being affiliated with both a production (the TSZ) and a territorial administrative (council) unit. The Party secretary also held part responsibility for programmes intended for the ideological education of the villagers. Such "educative" meetings were held every two weeks during the winter; attendance was voluntary, and other villagers, or higher level council officials or councillors were also instrumental in organising such gatherings.

The Party had overwhelming influence over the activities of the local pioneer (üttörö) organisation, the local unit of the nation-wide HSWP organisation for young children, albeit these activities were staged within the framework of elementary school. Local and regional HSWP functionaries and members were also expected to check up on one another's activities as well as those of other leading villagers - for example the teachers, doctor, post office workers, shop-keepers, council chairman and church vicar.

Botpalád's and Kispalád's schools, like in the rest of Hungary, were nationalised in 1949, and in 1945 the age of compulsory attendance at elementary school was extended from six to eight years (Erdei (ed) 1968: 562). The local school before 1949 had been closely associated with the Calvinist Church.⁷⁶ After nationalisation, new school buildings were built. Botpalád's school, the only two-floor structure in either of the two villages, was erected in the early 1960s, at which time grades five through eight from both villages were merged and thenceforth taught in Botpalád's school. Botpalád in the mid-1970s had a teaching staff varying between eight and

nine, while Kispalád made do with only one and sometimes two instructors.⁷⁷

Each village also had a nursery to care for three to five year olds whose mothers worked regularly. The nursery's building also housed the kitchen in which meals were prepared for the nursery- and dayschool children as well as state employees who did not go home for lunch (teachers, TSZ employees and officials, post office workers, council employees, and nurses), as well as for elderly villagers who got such food as a welfare benefit.⁷⁸

Apart from the elementary school and the nursery, Botpalád in the mid-1970s had a dayschool, which was located in the pre-1945 schoolbuilding near the church. The dayschool looked after schoolchildren from both villages, whose parents worked after school hours. They were supervised by local teachers who had time to spare.

Botpalád and Kispalád are predominantly Calvinist,⁷⁹ and their churches of this denomination belong administratively to the Tiszántúl Reformed Church District (Tiszántúli Református Egyház Kerülete). Apart from the one vicar who lived in Kispalád in the mid-1970s but served both villages, Botpalád and Kispalád each had a churchwarden who was in charge of the church's finances, and 21 presbyters, one of whom served as church clerk and another as organist. The bell ringer was in charge of opening the church doors, cleaning and heating the church or parish room where services were held, and seeing to other preparations necessary for a church service. He was the only church employee, apart from the vicar, who received remuneration for his services.⁸⁰

Belonging to the church congregation involved expenditures apart from church tax. For example, separate payments were made for the performance of church rituals at christenings, marriages and funerals. Members of the congregation were expected to contribute wine and bread for services involving communion, and occasional contributions, e.g. flowers, were made for the purpose of

decorating the church. Individual families paid for textiles to be made to cover the altar and pulpit, which bore the embroidered inscription of their names and the year. Donations were expected for occasional campaigns, for example to renovate the church or maintain religious organisations elsewhere.

School and religious instruction in the mid-1970s were separate from one another, apart from the fact it was at the school that parents signed their children up for catechism classes. The vicar held such catechism classes after school hours to prepare the children for their confirmation exams, which eventually were held in church. The vicar also offered younger children below the age of confirmation religious instruction, and he sometimes taught them to recite poems or sing hymns which later were performed individually or collectively for the congregation during church services.

The non-gipsy inhabitants of Botpalád and Kispalád have been overwhelmingly Calvinist; only the occasional newcomer has been Catholic, and after intermarriage with the local Calvinists the offspring have assumed the latter religion. Otherwise, before the Second World War Botpalád had 26 and Kispalád had 22 Jews, most of whom disappeared, either having perished or fled during the War.⁸¹ About five of Botpalád's inhabitants in the mid-1970s were Adventists, a form of worship with which they had come into contact in villages and towns outside of Botpalád's vicinity.

Amongst gipsies of the area, a Pentecostalist sectarian movement recruited many followers in the mid-1970s. The local Calvinist vicar believed the gipsies' attraction to this sect was "in their blood", but the reason given by the gipsies themselves for turning away from the Calvinist church was their unwillingness to pay the church tax. The vicar nevertheless was endeavouring to strengthen the hold of Calvinism amongst them, and he

held separate church services for the some 10-15 gipsy women, from Botpalád, who could not attend the Sunday service.⁸²

3. PATTERNS OF POLITICO-ECONOMIC DIFFERENTIATION IN AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.

Similarly to the previous chapter in which I adopted an historical perspective in order to describe some general ecological and institutional features of Botpalád and Kispalád, I shall now discuss the local patterns of political and economic differentiation both before and after 1945.

In general, landownership determined the nature of economic activities pursued by the local families, the villagers' political rights, their educational opportunities and their church roles before 1945. It was the major factor to affect local patterns of material and political differentiation, while in this regard protekció was of secondary importance. Protekció is the Hungarian term which describes a relationship of two people, in which one person is subordinate to the other in some regard and favours are granted by the party in a position of superiority in return for services or payment. I shall discuss this type of relationship in greater depth later on. The two factors, landownership and protekció, will frame the discussion of local patterns of differentiation before 1945, which follows after the section dealing with the proportion of nobles and serfs amongst Botpalád's and Kispalád's inhabitants before 1848.

Since 1945, the number of adult family members to hold high income jobs, the allocation of family labour, the utilisation of family income, and the possession of livestock and farming equipment have become instrumental in increasing a family's material assets. In addition, compared to the situation before the Second World War, there is no close connection between a villager's material wealth, his political power, his educational opportunities or his church role. I shall bear in mind these considerations when discussing the local patterns of differentiation during recent years.

Regarding the local patterns of differentiation, the variations between Botpalád and Kispalád have not been as extreme as the variations between both fieldwork villages and other areas of Hungary, for instance parts of Transdanubia, in western Hungary, which had different settlement patterns, and where non-resident landowners possessed vast properties which were lived and worked on by large numbers of farm servants who formed entire communities. Life in these communities of farm servants in the early 20th century is vividly described in Gyula Illyés' work, Puszták népe (1968).¹

In contrast to these other communities, locally resident villagers owned most of Botpalád's and Kispalád's territory. The landowners' estates in the two fieldwork villages were much smaller than those of Hungary's most prosperous magnates before 1945. For instance, the prince Esterhazy owned 1,277,000 hectares in the early 20th century (Erdei (ed.) 1968: 278). On the other hand, the largest landowners in Botpalád and Kispalád owned in the range of 500 - 600 kh., or 286.5-343.8 hectares. Although some non-resident landowners owned property outside the two villages, their estates were considerably smaller than those of Hungary's largest landowners.²

Although from a general perspective the variations in patterns of social differentiation between Botpalád and Kispalád have not been extreme, the observable differences between the two villages are important for the purposes of later analysis. In comparison to Kispalád, Botpalád's population has been more heterogeneous in terms of its pre-1848 legal status, Botpalád's patterns of landownership have been more polarised, and its political structure has been more hierarchical. At the time of fieldwork, the Botpaládians were less prosperous than the Kispaládians, but they were more tightly incorporated into the regional political structure.

I. The presence of nobles and serfs before 1848.

For purposes of estimating the proportion of nobles to serfs in each village during any one time period, the information in the local parish registers is more reliable than that from the archival documents and books³ which date from the 18th and 19th centuries. These latter sources recorded either the nobles or the serfs, but not both together, and the time gaps between these records also limit their usefulness.

The church records for the years 1782-1853 in Botpalád and 1777-1851 in Kispalád indicate whether the villagers were nobles or serfs. The prefixes nemes (noble), nemzetes (honourable, noble), vitézlő (noble, in other contexts meaning heroic, valiant), or other such titles appear before the nobles' names. These records usually describe the serfs as "tax-payers" (adózó), but they sometimes leave unlabelled the serfs and other non-noble villagers who were exempted from certain villein obligations⁴.

The church records of local marriages did not cover all of the resident villagers. Some of the poorer villagers lived in common-law unions instead of contracting a church marriage. Nonetheless, these marriage records provide the most comprehensive information which is available, and they have been used in order to estimate the local proportions of nobles to serfs (see Table 1).⁵

TABLE 1

PROPORTION OF NOBLES AND SERFS BEFORE 1848

	Botpalad (1782-1853)		Kispalad (1777-1851)	
Nobles who married	269	53.1%	95	15.2%
Serfs and unlabelled who married	238	46.9%	528	84.8%
Total villagers who who married	507	100.0%	623	100.0%

As shown on Table 1, between 1782 and 1853, 507 Botpaládians married in the local church. 269 (53.1%) of these villagers were nobles, and 238 (46.9%) were serfs and other non-nobles.

In Kispalád, 95 (15.2%) of the 623 villagers who married between 1777 and 1851, were nobles. 528 (84.8%) of the total number of people who married in church were serfs.⁶

In Botpalád, a majority of the people who married during this time period were nobles, and the non-nobles also included a number of villagers who were freed from some villein obligations. On the other hand, a much larger percentage of Kispaládians who married in church were serfs.

In conclusion, the Botpaládians were more heterogeneous than the Kispaládians as regards their legal status before 1848. Furthermore, a larger proportion of nobles lived in Botpalád, while the inhabitants of Kispalád were primarily serfs. These results are compatible with the less comprehensive information provided by other 18th and 19th century documents.⁷

II. Patterns of politico-economic differentiation before 1945.

As mentioned earlier, landownership had a strong impact on the acquisition of material, political and cultural benefits during the early 20th century. A family's landholdings influenced its members' economic activities, their roles in local government and the church, and their educational opportunities.

Between 1848 and 1945, ties of protekció were only tenuously related to whether or not a local family prospered materially. However, protekció had a more direct effect on the villagers' chances to hold government office or acquire a secondary or higher education. Protekció, in general, both before and 1848, was a form of patronage in which a person with political

influence promised to swing his weight in the interests of his client, from whom recompense would be expected eventually in the form of services or payment in kind or cash. However, the value of the recompense would not be necessarily equivalent to that of the favour obtained.

The types of favours which were granted varied between the period before 1848 and the 1848-1945 period. Before the abolition of serfdom in 1848, lesser nobles often were connected by protekció to larger landowners of the nobility, thereby becoming serviens or familiaris. Ties of protekció also came about between a serf and a landlord or an influential administrative title-holder; on occasion, for example, the landlord secured the conferring by the king of nobility on the serf. In return for this favour, the former serf presented this patron with gifts in kind or services for years to follow (Varga 1969: 428; Szabó 1976b: 248-249; Szabó 1941: 15-16).

After the abolition of serfdom, the types of people involved in the granting of favours based on protekció differed somewhat from before 1848. People with government positions, whether they were administrative officials or key political party members, often used their influence on behalf of their subordinates or members of their political constituency. Such officials or power-holders usually were the largest landowners or wealthy, urban industrialists and merchants. Therefore, the individuals to exert the influence in a relationship which involved protekció were the people with economic power as well. During the late 19th-early 20th centuries, relationships which involved protekció pervaded Hungary's expanding group of white-collar workers in particular. The extension of kinship and friendship ties was the most widely used means of establishing protekció (Unger - Szabolcs 1976: 228-229).⁸

Some inhabitants of Botpalád and Kispalád had protekció via maintaining special ties with the village mayor, the local notary, the district police, and other

officials - even the border guards who controlled traffic over the Hungarian-Czechoslovak border after 1920. One villager whose father had farmed the notary's land on a half-shares basis was able to avoid military service in the early 1920s because the notary acted on this person's behalf and arranged his marriage with the daughter of a war-widow.

Another villager's platoon leader during the First World War later served as a customs guard in Kispalád from 1921-1938; this customs guard allowed the local inhabitant to cross the border weekly into what was then Czechoslovakia in order to visit some girls in Nagypalád, and he arranged the necessary papers. The district policemen were likely to wink at minor infringements of the law by villagers who had protekció; for this reason the central police authorities tried, with varying success, to station the policemen in areas where they had no groups of "friends".

The domestic and farm servants who were treated by their employers as "part of the family" also had protekció. This type of relationship particularly characterised the ties between Botpalád's village mayor between the two World Wars and his domestic servants, who included, for instance, his cook who lived in and was entrusted with the upbringing of his children after his wife's early death. I shall deal further with protekció later in this section.

I initially shall discuss below the distribution of landholdings in Botpalád and Kispalád at the turn of the 19th-20th century and in 1941. Then I shall deal with local land distribution at the turn of the century in the light of the villagers' legal ancestry - i.e. whether or not the people in different landholding categories were of noble or serf descent. The next subsection will discuss the relationship between landholdings, economic activities and material prosperity in the early 20th century. Afterwards, I shall turn to the relationship between landholdings, protekció and

local government at this time. The final two subsections will cover the local relationship between landholdings, protekció and education, and landholdings, protekció and church office in the early 20th century.

II.1. Land distribution before 1945.

Distinct variations between the two villages as regards the distribution of their lands before 1945 can be discerned, and these suggest a greater polarisation in the distribution of Botpalád's lands than in the case of Kispalád.

Comprehensive land surveys were made at the time of consolidation in Botpalád (1902) and Kispalád (1896). The data from these surveys are invaluable in enabling an assessment of the local land distribution on a statistical basis. Not only is it possible to estimate precisely the landholdings of each landed family; these surveys also indicate the degree of parcellisation of the lands in each community. The surveys pertaining to each village vary in length. The survey of Botpalád's lands is 85 pages long and has some 1,445 entries, while Kispalád's survey has a length of 288 pages, with some 4,896 entries. The difference alone in these figures suggests a smaller degree of parcellisation in Botpalád than in Kispalád, as each parcel of land was entered individually.⁹

The lands of Botpalád and Kispalád are broken down into the following categories for analytical purposes:¹⁰

<u>cadastral "holds" (kh.)</u>	<u>hectares (ha.)</u>
under 1	under .57
1 - 5	.57 - 2.86
5 - 10	2.86 - 5.73
10 - 20	5.73 - 11.46
20 - 40	11.46 - 22.92
40 - 80	22.92 - 45.84
over 80	over 45.84

The reasons for this breakdown will become apparent later on when I deal with the relationship between landholdings and economic activities and it

emerges that these landholding categories can be associated with variations in the local families' economic pursuits during the early 20th century.

After examining the territorial distribution of each village's lands in 1900 in terms of the percentages in each category out of the village's total territory (see Table 2), I shall examine Botpalád's and Kispalád's lands in 1900 according to the percentage of landowners in each category out of the total landowners (see Table 3). I shall estimate the proportion of working villagers in each village's total population, and then apply this estimate to 1900 in order, by subtracting the number of landed from all working villagers, to derive the number of landless villagers, and from that the proportion of landed and landless villagers in each village's working population as of the turn of the century. An examination of each village's land distribution in terms of the total working population (see Table 4), will facilitate eventual comparison of the information pertaining to 1900 with data from 1941.

Table 2, which gives the breakdown according to territory, suggests a greater polarisation in Botpalád's land distribution than in the case of Kispalád. In 1900, 58.0% of Botpalád's territory was covered by property holdings which exceeded 40 kh. in area, in comparison to Kispalád's 26.0%. Landholdings between 1 kh. and 40 kh. constituted 72.2% of Kispalád's territory, and only 40.7% of the lands in Botpalád.

TABLE 2

LAND DISTRIBUTION IN 1900 EXPRESSED AS PROPORTION OF TOTAL TERRITORY

Land category in cadastral holds (kh.)	BOTPALAD (1902)		KISPALAD (1896)	
	Territory in kh. and "négyyszögöl" (1=3.57 sq.m)	Territory as percentage of total	Territory in kh. and "négyyszögöl"	Territory as percentage of total
under 1 kh.	42 kh. 1053 négyyszög.	1.4%	50 kh. 1470 négyyszög.	1.8%
1-5 kh.	129 kh. 836 négyyszög	4.3%	187 kh. 649 négyyszög	6.8%
5-10 kh.	289 kh. 105 négyyszög	9.6%	584 kh. 756 négyyszög	21.1%
10-20 kh.	349 kh. 459 négyyszög	11.6%	693 kh. 642 négyyszög	25.0%
20-40 kh.	459 kh. 840 négyyszög	15.2%	533 kh. 152 négyyszög	19.3%
40-80 kh.	712 kh. 1120 négyyszög	23.6%	364 kh. 1020 négyyszög	13.2%
over 80 kh.	1037 kh. 1214 négyyszög	34.4%	355 kh. 785 négyyszög	12.8%
Total	3020 kh. 827 négyyszög	100.0%	2769 kh. 674 négyyszög	100.0%

TABLE 3

LAND DISTRIBUTION IN 1900 EXPRESSED AS PROPORTION OF TOTAL LANDOWNERS

Land category in kh. (kh.=cadas- tral holds)	BOTPALAD (1902)		KISPALAD (1896)	
	Number of landowners	Percentage of total landowners	Number of landowners	Percentage of total landowners
under 1 kh.	61	32.6%	61	24.0%
1-5 kh.	35	18.7%	52	20.5%
5-10 kh.	36	19.2%	68	26.8%
10-20 kh.	22	11.8%	45	17.7%
20-40 kh.	17	9.1%	19	7.5%
40-80 kh.	9	4.8%	6	2.4%
over 80 kh.	7	3.7%	3	1.2%
Total	187	99.9%	254	100.1%

Examination of the land distribution in relation to each village's total number of landowners alone also reveals a greater polarisation in Botpalád than in Kispalád (See Table 3). A larger percentage of Botpaládians owned lands in the under 1 kh. (32.6%) or the over 20 kh. (17.6%) categories than Kispaládians. The percentages for Kispalád were 24.0% in the under 1 kh, and 11.1% in the over 20 kh. categories. However, more of the landowning Kispaládians (65.0%) possessed between 1 and 20 kh. than Botpaládians (49.7%).

A larger percentage of Botpalád's total population in 1900 were landless, in comparison to Kispalád. According to the 1900 census, Botpalád had 950 inhabitants; out of these 763 or 80.3% were landless. Out of Kispalád's 902 inhabitants, 648, or 71.8%, were landless. The 1900 census does not give figures for each village's working population. However, if I assume that the proportion of working and dependent villagers did not vary considerably between 1941 (for which there is census data) and 1900,¹¹ I can estimate that in Botpalád the working population constituted approximately 45.0% of the resident population and some 43.7% of the working Botpaládians were landowners. Roughly 43.3% of the resident Kispaládians were working villagers, and 65.0% of the working villagers in 1900 were landowners.

A larger percentage of Botpaládians out of the working population, 56.3%, were landless, in comparison to Kispalád, where 35.0% of the working villagers were landless (see Table 4). Relatively more working Kispaládians (62.7%) than Botpaládians (40.0%) owned lands ranging from 0-40 kh.

TABLE 4

LAND DISTRIBUTION IN 1900 EXPRESSED AS PROPORTION OF TOTAL NUMBER OF WORKING VILLAGERS

Land category in kh. (kh.=cadastral holds)	BOTPALAD (1902)		KISPALAD (1896)	
	Number of villagers	Percentage of total working villagers	Number of villagers	Percentage of total working villagers
Landless	241	56.3%	137	35.0%
under 1 kh.	61	14.3%	61	15.6%
1-5 kh.	35	8.2%	52	13.3%
5-10 kh.	36	8.4%	68	17.4%
10-20 kh.	22	5.1%	45	11.5%
20-40 kh.	17	4.0%	19	4.9%
40-80 kh.	9	2.1%	6	1.5%
over 80 kh.	7	1.6%	3	0.8%
Total	428	100.0%	391	100.0%

Landless	56.3%	35.0%
under 10 kh.	30.9%	46.3%
10-20 kh.	5.1%	11.5%
20-40 kh.	4.0%	4.9%
over 40 kh.	3.7%	2.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 5

LAND DISTRIBUTION IN 1941 EXPRESSED AS PROPORTION OF TOTAL NUMBER OF WORKING VILLAGERS

Land category in kh. (kh.=cadastral holds)	BOTPALÁD		KISPALÁD	
	Number of villagers	Percentage of total working villagers	Number of villagers	Percentage of total working villagers
Landless	233	55.1%	98	28.8%
under 10 kh.	75	17.7%	133	39.1%
10-20 kh.	67	15.8%	63	18.5%
20-50 kh.	35	8.3%	40	11.8%
over 50 kh.	13	3.1%	6	1.8%
Total	423	100.0%	340	100.0%

An approximation of the land distribution among the total working population at the turn of the century is useful, because it enables me to draw comparisons with the available data on local land distribution in 1941. The 1941 census provides these data, which are presented in Table 5. A larger percentage of Botpaládians (55.1%) than Kispaládians (28.8%) at this time were landless. More Botpaládians (13) than Kispaládians (6) owned over 50 kh., although in percentages the difference between the two villages was only 1.3% . On the other hand, 69.4% of the Kispaládians owned between 0 and 50 kh., while only 41.8% of Botpaládians belonged to this land category.

The categories in the 1941 census differed from those used for the data from 1900. Nevertheless, there is an overlap between some categories, and for these property ranges trends are discernible in property accumulation or loss between 1900 and 1941 (See Table 6).

LAND DISTRIBUTION IN 1900 AND 1941 EXPRESSED AS PROPORTION OF TOTAL
LANDOWNERS

	Botpalád 1900	Botpalád 1941	Kispalád 1900	Kispalád 1941
Land category in kh. (kh. = cadas- tral holds)	Percentage of total landowners			
under 10 kh.	70.5%	39.5%	71.3%	55.0%
10-20 kh.	11.8%	35.3%	17.7%	26.0%
over 20 kh.	17.6%	25.3%	11.1%	19.0%
Total	99.9%	100.1%	100.1%	100.0%

PROPORTION OF LANDED AND LANDLESS IN WORKING POPULATION

	Botpalád 1900	Botpalád 1941	Kispalád 1900	Kispalád 1941
	Percentage of total working villagers			
Landed	43.7%	44.9%	65.0%	71.2%
Landless	56.3%	55.1%	35.0%	28.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Out of landowning villagers, the proportion of Botpaládians with over 10 kh. increased by 31.2% between 1900 and 1941. Out of all working villages the proportion of landless villagers decreased by 1.2%. Inconsistencies between the statistical data and statements by some local inhabitants, that several landowners accumulated sizeable (200-600 kh.) properties during the early 20th century, can be explained by the fact that much of the latter's property lay outside of Botpalád.¹² It is therefore likely that some of the property which was put up for sale was purchased by the smaller landowners and during this period there was a process of land-accumulation by both small and large landowners.

The increase in the number of landed Kispaládians with over 10 kh., out of all local landowners was 16.2%-15% less than that calculated for Botpalád. On the other hand, there was a sharper decrease in the percentage of landless villagers, there having been 6.2% fewer in 1941 than in 1900.

In conclusion, while some of Botpalád's largest landowners increased their properties outside of the village, other landowners seem to have sold some of their fields to villagers whose lands previously had been under 10 kh. There was a levelling in the distribution of local property amongst the landowners, and the villagers with under 10 kh. increased their holdings. However, the percentage of landless villagers relative to the total working population was little affected. There also was a process of land accumulation amongst the Kispaládian landowners during the early 20th century. Although this trend was less marked than in Botpalád, the proportion of landed villagers in Kispalád increased to a greater degree. The 1941 figures still indicated that Kispalád's land was distributed more evenly amongst its inhabitants, and more of its inhabitants owned land, than was the case in Botpalád.

II.2. Villagers of noble and serf descent in relation to their landholdings.

I have traced the greater polarisation in the distribution of Botpalád's lands during the early 20th century, as compared to Kispalád. Not only were the Botpaládians more differentiated on the basis of landownership; people of noble descent constituted a larger percentage of these villagers in the higher land categories than was the case in Kispalád.

The church records of the late 18th and early 19th century mention by name the villagers who were nobles, serfs or other non-nobles. In addition, the late 19th century and early 20th century land surveys give the local land distributions according to the name of each plot's legal owner. It is possible, by relating the two sets of data, to estimate the percentages of landowners of noble and serf ancestry in each landowning category (see Table 7), and also to obtain the breakdown, according to landowning category, of all of the landed villagers of noble and serf descent (See Table 8).

Within each landowning category, Botpalád had a larger percentage of villagers of noble descent than Kispalád (see Table 7). The proportion of noble, vis-a-vis serf, Botpaládians increased with each property category, from the under 1 kh. range (52.5% nobles to 47.5% serfs) to the ranges of 40-80 kh. with 77.8% nobles to 22.2% serfs, and finally over 80 kh. with 100% nobles to 0% serfs. The proportion of serfs decreased accordingly.

Kispalád differed from Botpalád, in that the proportion of serfs increased steadily until it reached a high in the 10-20 kh. range, with 15.9% nobles to 84.1% serfs. Then, before the sudden drop in the over 80 kh. range, this proportion decreased with each subsequently higher landowning category. The proportion in the 40-80 kh. range, 33.3% nobles to 66.6% serfs, approximated that in the under 1 kh. range, which was 33.9% nobles to 66.1% serfs.

TABLE 7

PROPORTION OF VILLAGERS OF NOBLE/SERF DESCENT WITHIN EACH LAND
CATEGORY

Land category in kh. (kh.= cadastral holds)	BOTPALAD (1902)		KISPALAD (1896)	
	Noble descent	Serf descent	Noble descent	Serf descent
under 1 kh.	52.5%	47.5%	33.9%	66.1%
1-5 kh.	57.1%	42.9%	21.2%	78.8%
5-10 kh.	67.6%	32.4%	20.9%	79.1%
10-20 kh.	68.2%	31.8%	15.9%	84.1%
20-40 kh.	75.0%	25.0%	27.8%	72.2%
40-80 kh.	77.8%	22.2%	33.3%	66.6%
over 80 kh.	100.0%	0%	100.0%	0%

The numerical dominance of Botpaládian nobles to serfs increased with each rise in property category, but a different situation prevailed in Kispalád. The proportion of Kispaládian landowners of noble descent reached a low in the 10-20 kh. range. Otherwise, except for in the over 80 kh. range, the Kispaládian serfs were in a strong numerical majority in all of the property categories.

Table 8 shows similar progressions for both villages, in the breakdown of total landowners of noble descent into different property categories. Except for the slight jump in the 5-10 kh. range, the percentage of nobles with under 80 kh. decreased with each successively higher category. Within this pattern of overall similarity, the percentage of Botpaládian nobles with under 10 kh., 64.6%, was lower than that for Kispalád, 73.0%, and a higher percentage of Botpaládians, 35.2%, than Kispaládians, 27.0%, owned more than 10 kh..

There was greater variation between the two villages in the distribution of their inhabitants of serf descent. The Botpaládian serfs were spread more unevenly amongst the different landowning categories; for Kispalád there was at most an 8.4% difference between the percentages of serfs in different property categories in the 0-20 kh. range, in comparison to Botpalád's 32.3%. A larger percentage of Botpaládian serfs owned under 1 kh., than Kispaládians of serf descent. On the other hand, a larger percentage of Kispaládian serfs possessed between 5 and 40 kh. than in Botpalád.

DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGERS OF NOBLE/SERF DESCENT ACCORDING TO
LAND CATEGORY

Land category in kh (kh.= cadastral holds)	BOTPALAD (1902)		KISPALAD (1896)	
	Noble descent	Serf descent	Noble descent	Serf descent
under-1 kh.	27.6%	42.6%	33.3%	21.7%
1-5 kh.	17.2%	22.1%	17.5%	21.7%
5-10 kh.	19.8%	16.2%	22.2%	28.0%
10-20 kh.	12.9%	10.3%	11.1%	19.6%
20-40 kh.	10.3%	5.9%	7.9%	6.9%
40-80 kh.	6.0%	2.9%	3.2%	2.1%
over 80 kh.	6.0%	0%	4.8%	0%
Total	99.8%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The information in Tables 7 and 8 indicates that at the close of the 19th century the Botpaládians of noble descent not only constituted a larger percentage of the landed population, with 66% of noble descent and 34% of serf or non-noble descent; their dominance prevailed more markedly in the larger property categories. They held a monopoly over the local lands. This type of situation was not paralleled in Kispalád, where 25% of the landed population were of noble descent and 75% were of serf descent. Three Kispaládians of noble descent owned more than 80 kh., but apart from this a larger proportion of the properties under 80 kh. in size were owned by villagers of serf descent, and the distribution of these villagers according to land category was more even than in Botpalád.

II.3. Landholdings, economic activities and material prosperity before 1945.

Before 1945, landholdings determined the pattern of local families' economic activities, and the size of the family property influenced the extent to which such activities were directed towards selling on the market. The latter two factors together had a decisive effect on the types of crops grown or livestock raised, the farming system which was followed and the types of work relations which were involved.¹³

It will emerge below that, as compared to the Kispaládians, the economic activities of the Botpaládian landowners were more directed towards market-selling. Large-scale sheep and cattle breeding, and grain production, were more common amongst the Botpaládians landowners, and they tended to farm their lands in one tag, or plot, with the use of hired labour. The Kispaládian landowners, whose activities were directed, rather, towards domestic consumption, tended to farm their lands in a three-field system and they drew on family labour and "help" relations with other villagers in order to recruit the necessary work force.

I have mentioned above that the degree to which a family's farming activities were directed towards market-selling depended on the size of the family property. Only landowners in the 80 kh. range or above could provide private pasture for flocks of sheep, whose wool, meat and milk products were sold on the market. They were able financially to employ shepherds and other farm servants. The sizeable stocks of cattle owned by these landowners were kept separately from the village herds, and they were bred with market sale in mind. These landowners were the villagers to be most affected by the increase in the importance of agriculture relative to animal breeding, during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This development resulted in their devoting larger areas of land to wheat cultivation, and selling part of their wheat crops on the market.

The villagers with lands in the 20-80 kh. range ran farm enterprises which produced enough so as to allow them to sell products on the market every year. They too were affected by the changes in the importance of animal breeding relative to agriculture, although to a lesser extent than the larger landowners. The people with 20-80 kh. regularly sold cattle, wheat and other products during the early 20th century, but these activities were pursued on a smaller scale than was the case amongst the larger landowners.

The landowners with under 20 kh. rarely sold livestock on the market, and usually, when they did so, it was in response to a need to raise large amounts of cash rapidly. Otherwise, their more limited property holdings restricted their activities to ensuring food, clothing, shelter and other basic provisions for their family. This orientation towards consumption by the family left them untouched by the increased importance of agriculture during the early 20th century. The villagers with under 5 kh. often did not own any livestock; they found work outside of the family enterprise - sometimes

on the lands of a villager whose economic activities were market-orientated.

There was a link between the economic strategies of the landowners after the local lands were first consolidated (tagosítás), and their type of farming system. Consolidation was carried out in Botpalád in 1902, and in Kispalád in 1896. I described in the chapter on the general ecological-institutional context how, prior to this regrouping of the local lands, Botpalád's lands had been farmed according to a two-field system (known locally as két fordulós), while the lands of Kispalád had been cultivated according to a three-field system (known locally as három fordulós)¹⁴; consolidation involved the separation of each village's fields into two different types, and each type was cultivated according to a different farming system.

Some properties after consolidation were called tagos; most or all of the lands of each tagos villager were grouped into one large plot, or tag. These properties in one tag could be farmed in order to produce large amounts of crops for sale on the market; the tagos villagers were able to devote all of their ploughland to growing grain which could be sold on the market, and their farming schedules and the types of crops which they grew were not tied to the activities of other landowners. The tagos farmers often were the first villagers to use inorganic fertilizers on their lands, thereby supplementing the organic fertilizer provided by livestock. Only tagos villagers could set aside land as pasture for their private flocks of sheep, whose products, as mentioned, were sold at regional markets.

After consolidation, the lands which were not called tagos were known as fordulós. These fordulós properties were divided into three sections, and they were farmed according to a three-field system; one section of land was sown with autumn crops, another section was sown with spring crops, and the third was left fallow. The use of these sections changed from

year to year, rotating from autumn crops to spring crops to fallow. The farming schedules of the fordulós villagers were strongly interdependent, and they had to grow similar crops which could be harvested at the same time; neither could they set aside large areas of pasture for private flocks of sheep. All of these factors together made it difficult for fordulós villagers to produce goods on a scale or of a type allowing for regular sales at regional markets.

Some local inhabitants remember how each village's lands were divided into tagos and fordulós plots after the first consolidation, and on the basis of their information I have estimated the proportion of tagos and fordulós landowners in each village during the early 20th century (see Table 9). According to these sources, there were important differences between the two villages: some 60.3% of Botpalád's landowners were tagos, and 39.7% were fordulós; some 18.2% of Kispalád's landowners were tagos, and 81.8% were fordulós. All of the landowners with over 80 kh. and many with 40-80 kh. in both villages were tagos.

TABLE 9

DISTRIBUTION OF "TAGOS"/"FORDULÓS" LANDOWNING VILLAGERS
IN THE EARLY 1900s

	BOTPALÁD Percentage of land- owning villagers	KISPALÁD Percentage of land- owning villagers
"Tagos"	60.3%	18.2%
"Fordulos"	39.7%	81.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

However, in Botpalád there were also a number of landowners who owned less than 20 kh. and whose properties were in one plot, or tag. The size of these landowners' properties made it difficult for them to cultivate grain in amounts beyond the provision of food for consumption by the family, and therefore, they had little surplus which they could have sold at regional markets. Nor did they have enough property to allow them to set aside private pasture for flocks of sheep - the products of which, once again, could have been sold. For these reasons, the Botpaládians in this landowning category were unable to enjoy the advantage which consolidation into one tag provided for the larger landowners. Nonetheless there was growing demand among the Botpaládian landowners for all of their family properties to be regrouped into single tag, and this procedure was carried out in 1942.

The size of the family lands not only affected the extent to which the landowners sold their products on the market and, to a degree, the system of farming they followed, but also the work relations which were involved in the cultivation of their lands. Allowing for possible overlap between land categories, in this regard, villagers with over 40 kh. generally required regular labour from outside the family in order to cultivate their lands. They recruited this labour locally, except for when, at the time of the grain harvest, they employed on a seasonal basis Ruthenian labourers from the Carpathians to the east. Landowners whose properties ranged between 20 and 40 kh. required regular or occasional workers from outside the family, depending upon the size of the family and its internal division of labour. Villagers with between 10 and 20 kh. usually managed to work and live off their lands by using family labour and taking advantage of "help" (segítség) relations with other villagers.

Families with under 10 kh. had to look for outside resources in order to provide for themselves. If they

owned a team of horses or oxen and farming equipment, they could gain cultivation rights to property belonging to larger landowners on a half or third-shares basis. Otherwise, they could seek seasonal employment on a shares basis (részes munka), they could work as day-wage laborers (napszámos), or they could be hired as permanent farm servants (cseléd) who either "ate in" (bennkosztos) or were given the raw materials from which to feed themselves (kommenciós). Those people in particular, who belonged to families which were landless or possessed under 1 kh., sought outside employment on the properties of local landowners or nearby estates.

I have estimated, on the basis of information from the local inhabitants, the proportion of landowners at the turn of the century who regularly employed farm servants. Of all landowning Botpaládians, 21.8% hired permanent farm servants, while a mere 3.0% of the Kispaládian landowners did so. The greater polarisation in the distribution of Botpalád's lands accounted in part for this difference in the degree to which farm servants were employed.

However, family size and organisation also affected the extent to which particularly the villagers with between 20 and 40 kh. employed farm servants. At this point it is worthwhile to note that while the difference between the percentage of Botpaládians and that of Kispaládians to hire farm servants was some 18.8 percent, the difference between the percentage of Botpaládian landowners who owned over 20 kh., who were thereby potentially in a position to employ farm servants, and the percentage of landowning Kispaládians in this category was some 6.5% (see Table 3). The difference between the two villages in the extent to which landowners actually employed farm servants exceeded the difference between them regarding the percentage of landowners who, from the viewpoint of property size, were potentially in a position to hire such outside labour. In connection with this, I shall discuss later the

relationship between family organisation and the use of permanent farm servants, as well as differences in family organisation between the two villages.

On the assumption that all of the landless villagers were employed as agricultural labourers,¹⁵ differences between Botpalád and Kispalád again come to light. In 1900, at least 56.3% of all working Botpaládians were agricultural labourers, in contrast to the 35.0 % in Kispalád (see Table 6). By 1941, the difference between the percentages in these two villages had increased. Agricultural labourers made up 55.1% of working Botpaládians, while they made up 28.8% of working Kispaládians (see Table 5). However, since many of these labourers worked on outlying estates it cannot be assumed that they were all employed by locally resident landowners. Nonetheless, the statistical variations between Botpalád and Kispalád again underline differences in the locally prevailing types of work relations.

In conclusion, the villagers with over 40 kh. potentially could run their economic activities with market sale in mind, they could farm their lands in one tag (plot), and employ farm servants without falling short of returns with which to maintain their venture. However, the situation for small landowners was less clear-cut.

On the basis of information from the villagers at the time of fieldwork, it seems that a number of Botpaládians with under 40 kh. cultivated their lands in one tag (plot) and some of them employed farm servants. However, the difficulties involved in paying and providing for the farm servants out of limited resources and returns led to increased impoverishment. All of the Kispaládians who owned between 0 and 40 kh. used the three-field system in farming their lands, and they recruited their labour force on the basis of extended segítség (help) ties. They were able, via close cooperation and intensive cultivation of their lands, to maintain themselves and their farming venture. They put

enough cash aside from occasional market transactions to purchase any plots of land which might be put up for sale from time to time.

A process of impoverishment among the Botpaládian landowners with over 20 kh., who farmed their lands in one plot with the use of farm servants, is not incompatible with the data presented earlier in Table 6. These data suggested that a large number of Botpaládians who, in 1900, owned between 1 and 10 kh. increased their properties to between 10 and 20 kh. by 1941. The number of villagers with over 20 kh. also increased. It is likely that some of these newly acquired lands were purchased from villagers with more than 20 kh. who, by selling off only some of their property, remained in the same landowning category.¹⁶ Therefore, many of the landowners with over 20 kh. probably fell into debt. Local inhabitants knew of several families with properties in this range who were compelled to sell some of their land because of inability to pay their liabilities.

The Botpaládians whose properties did not greatly exceed 20 kh., but who tried to sell products at regional markets, who employed farm servants and cultivated their land in one plot, met with problems imposed by limited resources and returns when trying to maintain their enterprise. These problems were compounded by the effects of the worldwide economic depression of the 1930s, which affected ventures geared towards sale on the market more drastically than those directed towards family consumption.

In contrast, the Kispaládians knew of few inhabitants who fell into debt during the early 20th century. The economic activities of the Kispaládian landowners were directed rather towards providing for the family and purchasing land when possible; therefore, they did not feel the full brunt of the depression. With their extended use of segítség (help) relations, neither did many Kispaládians encounter the difficulties of the

Botpaládian landowners in paying their farm servants out of limited returns.

When comparing the two villages, the greater extent to which the economic activities of the Botpaládian landowners were directed towards selling on the market, the greater frequency with which they cultivated their lands in one plot and their greater use of permanent farm servants can be explained generally by the higher number of larger landowners in Botpalád. However, a larger number of small Botpaládian landowners also farmed in this manner; their more limited resources made them not only less able to maintain such an enterprise over time, but also more vulnerable to economic depression. The relationship between these local trends, described above, and family organisation will be discussed later.

II.4. Landholdings, protekció and local government before 1945.

It has been pointed out earlier in this section that protekció was only tenuously related to a local family's material prosperity during the early 20th century, but it more directly influenced the villagers' chances to hold government office or acquire a secondary or high education. Therefore, when describing local government I shall pay due attention to protekció, as well as to landholdings.

However, before turning to this subject I shall briefly consider the importance of protekció in Botpalád and Kispalád before 1945, and I shall also point out some ways in which protekció could affect the material prosperity of a local family.

II.4.a. Protekció: Its local importance and some economic effects.

The local frequency and importance of protekció cannot be quantitatively assessed; no written material is available which would enable a systematic investigation

of the frequency of protekció before 1945 or even at present. It is necessary to rely on statements made by elderly villagers which either indicate their assessment of the importance of protekció during the early 20th century, or describe situations which serve as examples of protekció.

Such assessments and references to relations involving protekció suggest that protekció affected intravillage relations and were of major importance in Botpalád. Ties involving protekció incorporated Botpalád's largest landowners into the regional political structure, and these landowners mediated for the other villagers in contacts with government bodies at a higher level.¹⁷ The maintenance of ties involving protekció also was compatible with the hierarchical power relations which prevailed locally.¹⁸

Relations involving protekció were of some importance in Kispalád too, but they did not affect the majority of villagers to the same extent as in Botpalád. Kispalád's largest landowners were not as tightly incorporated into the regional political structure. Furthermore, a prevailing sense of egalitarianism and community solidarity among the Kispaládians hindered any polarisation of power relations which might otherwise have served as a local extension of protekció above the village level. These varying trends between the two villages should become clearer in the discussion of local government which will follow.

Relations involving protekció during the early 20th century to a large extent depended on economic power, as I mentioned earlier. Therefore, the villagers with the largest landholdings were in a position to grant favours to the small landowners or landless villagers. On the other hand, protekció in turn could have an impact, albeit a small one, on the course and lucrativeness of a local family's economic activities.

The local inhabitants used protekció in relating to more central institutions of economic impact - for

instance the state, banks and credit associations. Protekció facilitated the process by which the villagers had their lands declared "protected" (védett birtok). "Protected" property could not be auctioned off by the state if the owners became insolvent due to inability to pay taxes or other debts.¹⁹ "Protected" property became a factor affecting the villagers' economic status after 1935, following a measure taken in the 1930s whereby the institution of entailment was extended to peasant property in Hungary (paraszti védett birtok).²⁰ Villagers I spoke with said that many properties in Botpalád were "protected"²¹ and this claim is supported by written records found in the village.

II.4.b. Landholdings, protekció and local government.

Landholdings in particular affected the political rights held by local inhabitants, and hence their participation in local government in the two villages in the early 20th century. Before 1848, all nobles irrespective of their economic status had possessed the right to vote for their county's deputies to the Diet²². Act V of 1848, which was enacted in order to lay the foundations for popular rather than feudal representation in the Diet, decreed that everyone who previously had held the right to vote would retain the franchise. However, this legislation also extended the franchise to men who had been born or naturalised in Hungary, had passed the age of 20, were not under paternal or other such authority, were not being punished for fraudulence, smuggling, theft, murder or arson, who belonged to a legally accepted religion, and who met certain economic criteria. For example, in settlements other than free royal towns or communities with proper councils, a person had to possess one-quarter of a tenement held in socage, or property equivalent to this, in order to vote. The franchise extended, i.a., to lawyers, teachers, vicars, and village notaries (Csizmadia 1963: 311-312; Csizmadia - Kovács - Asztalos 1972: 358-359).

Act XXXIII of 1874 stated, along similar lines, that with the exception of women, all citizens who had passed their 20th year and who possessed property equivalent or similar to one-quarter of a tenement held in socage had parliamentary franchise, and so did all teachers, lawyers, clergyman and notaries. Domestic and farm servants did not have the franchise (Magyar Törvénytár. 1872-1874. évi törvényczikkek 1896: 314-316, clauses 1,4,9,10). Act XXII of 1886 on the villages stipulated that all voters were to have passed their 20th year and paid state tax in the village for two years. Only those who possessed parliamentary franchise could be elected to the national legislature or local government (Magyar törvénytár. 1872-1874. évi törvényczikkek 1896: 317, clause 13; Magyar törvénytár. 1884-1886. évi törvényczikkek 1897: 417, clause 40, 424, clause 73).

The limited franchise prevented at least 55% of the working Botpaládians and 30% of the Kispaládians, i.e. those villagers who were landless, from participation in local government. Furthermore, the so-called virilista system, introduced in 1871 (clause 34 of Act XVIII of 1871), and according to which one half of the village's 12-member "representative body" (képviselőtestület) was made up of the highest local taxpayers,²³ placed local government all the more in the hands of the landowners.

The members of the parish council (elöljáróság), which included the village mayor (községi bíró), the deputy village mayor (known locally as the albíró, the helyettes bíró and the törvénybíró), and the four village mayor's councillors (esküdt), were landowners. The district notary (jegyző or körjegyző) had to have professional qualifications after 1883 (Act I of 1883). The jegyző's property holdings were of little importance; nevertheless, before 1945 notaries usually owned some land in the village.²⁴ Only the village drummer (kisbíró) was recruited from among villagers who were either landless or owned under ca. 5 kh..

In both Botpalád and Kispalád of the early 20th century, the deputy village mayor, the councillors and notary owned properties which ranged between 10 and 40 kh. However, the village mayors of the respective villages were of considerably differing economic status.

Botpalád's last two village mayors before 1945 were among the largest local landowners; according to the 1902 survey their families possessed 153 and 142 kh. respectively. The sons of the village mayor of the late 19th century gained professional qualifications - one as a lawyer and the other as a doctor - and they retained their control over large expanses of local land during the early 20th century. The last village mayor in Botpalád held office for some 40 years, and one local inhabitant remembers that the village's representative body (képviselőtestület) had re-elected him unanimously many times at the end of his three-year terms of office.²⁵ One of his sons became district administrator (szolgabíró); his other son tripled his landholdings via marriage, and his daughter married the local vicar.

The landholdings of Kispalád's village mayors ranged between 20 and 80 kh. in size. Kispalád had at least five different village mayors during the same span of time in which Botpalád had two. Kispalád's village mayors are described by the Kispaládians nowadays as having been peasants who worked the land; most of their offspring remained tillers of the soil in the village. Kispalád's village mayors were not the largest local landowners. The largest landowner in the village owned 275 kh. (157.57 ha.) by 1943; he, in fact, was the local vicar, and did not belong to the parish council.

The more rapid turnover of Kispalád's village mayors and the greater variation in the mayors' family backgrounds, as compared to those in Botpalád,²⁶ can be explained by Kispalád's less polarised land distribution and greater proportion of landed inhabitants. The political and economic predominance of Botpalád's village mayor contributed to local power relations in which

political advancement depended upon hierarchical ties involving the granting of favours, between him and the other villagers.

Kispalád's largest landowner was not so predominant politically, and a wider range of villagers participated in local government than was the case in Botpalád. Not only was it easier for a small landowner in Kispalád to become a member of the representative body or parish council; newcomers to the village were accepted as community members and included in local government bodies over one generation. This contrasts to the three to four generations which were necessary for such government involvement in Botpalád.

The variations between the internal political structures of the two villages, which stemmed mainly from differences in land distribution, were further reinforced by differences in the local importance of protekció.

Botpalád's largest landowners held, or were related to people who held government positions locally and regionally. They provided a means of integrating Botpalád's internal power structure into the regional political structure. The abundance of office-holding landowners and landowners with professions provided an opportunity for the villagers to establish and maintain ties involving protekció. Such ties reinforced the dependency of the villagers on the economically and politically most powerful landowners; they reinforced the existing power structure which was already hierarchical.

Kispalád's government officials did not maintain such strong ties with professionals and officials at the regional level. Vis-a-vis the regional authorities, Kispalád had more internal autonomy than Botpalád. Ties involving protekció were less frequent and of less importance in Kispalád. The Kispaládians maintained more egalitarian, extended kinship and segítség (help) relations rather than relations of a hierarchical type, and these contributed to the more flexible and changeable nature of Kispalád's power structure.

In conclusion, a villager's chances to participate in local government were affected mainly by landholdings, and to a lesser extent by protekció. At the village level, however, the local land distribution determined whether the local power structure was dominated by a select few people, or whether a wider, variable group of villagers were involved. Ties of protekció could reinforce the local predominance, politically, of a select few, and protekció also could facilitate a tighter incorporation of the local government structure into the county and national structure. Botpalád, with its more polarised land distribution and local emphasis on hierarchical relations involving protekció, had a more rigid political structure which was more tightly incorporated into county and national government, than was the case in Kispalád.

II.5. Landholdings, protekció and education before 1945.

Before 1945, landholdings and protekció had a decisive effect on the villagers' level of schooling, whether they attended school locally or elsewhere. A major factor in this regard was whether or not the villagers had the material means for providing a primary or secondary education for their children. Furthermore, factors associated with the kind of work pursued by a villager also influenced the degree to which he was educated; however, work opportunities depended largely on the division of labour within the family and the family enterprise, and these latter factors in turn were influenced by the family landholdings.

Villagers with children who attended school locally were expected to contribute to the maintenance of both the school and teacher. They were responsible for heating the school house during the cold months. Each child had to bring one or two sticks of firewood for such purposes every day. The parents paid for the textbooks and every year they sent a sack of maize with each child for the teacher's benefit. However, the poorest families

- i.e. those who heated their home with straw and had no cash or maize to spare whatsoever - found these obligations difficult to fulfil. For these reasons, they often took their children out of school before they had completed the six years required by law. The offspring of some landless villagers are remembered as having received only one or two years of schooling.

A large number of the landless or nearly landless villagers were farm servants or agricultural labourers, and considerations related to the nature of their work also affected their children's level of schooling. The family frequently was split up, and the offspring were employed separately to work for their own keep. Farm servants such as animal herders often changed residence; other farm servants lived and worked on the outlying estates, one having been on Botpalád's and the other on Kispalád's outskirts. All of these factors hindered the regular school attendance of their offspring.

The 1970 census data reflect Botpalád's higher percentage of farm servants and agricultural labourers before 1945, in the level of schooling its adult inhabitants had received (see Table 10). Out of all 7+ year old villagers who were not attending school when the census was taken, 22.8% of the Botpaládians had completed three or fewer grades at the primary level, in contrast to Kispalád's 17.8%. In addition, relatively more Kispaládians than Botpaládians who were not attending school had finished grades four through eight (78.2% versus 74.1% for Botpalád) (1970.évi népszámlálás, volume 17 1972).

TABLE 10

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF LOCAL INHABITANTS (1970)

	BOTPALÁD	KISPALÁD
Total population 7+ years old	853	693
Total 7+ year old population not attending school	661	563
Total 7+ yr.old population not attending school, who have finished grades 0-3	151	100
Percentage of total 7+ yr.old non-school attending population who have finished grades 0-3	22.8 %	17.8 %
Total 7+ yr.old population not attending school, who have finished grades 4-8	490	440
Percentage of total 7+ yr.old non-school attending population who have finished grades 4-8	74.1 %	78.2 %

Secondary or higher education outside of the village necessitated large cash expenditures, in order to cover the children's tuition and other related costs such as living expenses, books and clothing. A marketable surplus from one's farming enterprises was needed in order to obtain the required cash. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, only some villagers with over ca. 20 kh. were able regularly to sell their goods at regional markets. In this regard, the landowners with over 80 kh. who kept their own private herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, and who sold part of their livestock, animal products and grain, were in the most advantageous position.

The children who were educated outside the village and became professionals such as lawyers, priests, doctors, or teachers, rarely worked on the family's lands with their own two hands; they were removed from the family labour force. However, such families usually hired permanent and seasonal workers, so the loss of labour power from within the family often was not a serious hindrance to the success of the family farming activities in continuing to produce a marketable surplus. This arrangement prevailed among Botpalád's largest landowners, where one son eventually stayed at home to manage the farming activities and at the same time practise his profession. Combining farming with a profession often worked to a landowner's own benefit, as in the case of the Botpaláedian lawyer who knew the legal ins and outs and increased his property by buying up numerous promissory notes.

On the other hand, landowners who did not produce enough marketable surplus, or whose products sold at local markets did not bring in enough cash, had difficulties in paying for education away from the village while also remunerating the hired labour force which farmed their lands. Such problems arose when, being exposed to market fluctuations, they felt the effects of economic depressions such as that of the

1930s. They occasionally had to lease out some of their lands on a sharecropping basis or they sold some of their property; nonetheless, having descended from families with learned traditions, many Botpaládians clung to the ideal of being educated. Although such landowners who clung to these ideals lived in run-down dwellings and could not always pay their farm servants the amounts previously agreed upon, they still sent all of their children to school outside the village.

Landowners with smaller properties, who worked their lands with both family and outside labour, did not educate their children beyond the level of the local school. They directed their economic activities towards providing for the family and, particularly in Kispalád, spent their cash returns on increasing their landholdings. Such landowners needed the labour of their adult sons, and even their daughters, in order to continue to cultivate their lands productively. For these reasons, the few landowners who aspired to educate a family member could afford to provide such schooling only for their eldest son. This son would either leave the village or marry the daughter of one of the largest local landowners, and would not receive his share of the land. The other sons and daughters who remained in the village divided up the inheritance between themselves.

The working of family lands by adult sons and daughters was common among all Kispaládians with under 40 kh., and it also occurred among some Botpaládian landowners with under 20 kh. Kispaládians at the time of fieldwork claimed that during the inter-war period a number of local landowners with between 20 and 40 kh. could have paid for a secondary or higher education for their children. However, the need for family labour, the desire to allocate their cash differently and the closely-knit quality of both family and community life discouraged them from sending their offspring to school outside the village.

Success at secondary and higher educational institutions before 1945 partly depended upon descent. Apart from lacking the material means to do so, the children of farm servants and agricultural labourers were barred from acquiring a secondary education because of the stigma associated with their parent's occupation. Local inhabitants at the time of fieldwork remembered that a poor peasant whose grandparents were shepherds encountered greater difficulties in being educated above the sixth grade level than the poor peasant who descended from a landowning family with a good name. The offspring of the wealthier villagers were sent on to study further, even if their marks were poor; in contrast, many poor but bright children who received high grades were held back.

Landownership and good descent as well as the possession of kinship ties in educational and administrative institutions made it easier for some villagers to maintain protekció in schools and the administrative hierarchy; protekció facilitated their children's admission to and successful completion of schools outside the village. Groups of families existed, in Botpalád particularly, which were known for their educated traditions. These families maintained extended relations involving protekció in the administrative and educational hierarchy, and many of them were related to one another consanguineally or affinally. One such set of families, several male members of which studied at the same school in Szatmárnémeti at the same time, paradoxically was known by the other villagers as the "clan of Judas" (Judás nemzetség).²⁷

At least seven lines of descent in Botpalád of the early 20th century were associated with an educated heritage; the names of the families in these descent lines including Kánya, Szikszó, Pinkóczy, Thury, Varga, Tasnády, and Papp. On the other hand, Kispalád had only one such major line of descent, Angyalossy. Some Angyalossy's were educated away from the village, but others remained in Kispalád as landowning and landworking

peasants. Apart from them, only two Kispaládian families in the early 20th century gave a son a secondary or higher education.

In conclusion, more Botpaládian than Kispaládian landowners educated their children away from the village. Such Botpaládians organised the tilling of their fields so as to have the necessary cash and not require the children's labour on the lands. Their descent made it easier for them to maintain protekció, and thus facilitated their children's scholastic success. At the same time, Botpalád had a higher proportion of farm servants and agricultural labourers than Kispalád; the schooling of many such workers was cut short before finishing primary school. Therefore, there were greater differences in the level of schooling amongst Botpalád's inhabitants than in Kispalád.

II.6. Landholdings and church office.

A villager's chances of becoming presbyter or any other official of the local Calvinist church before 1945 were not necessarily determined by his material means and landholdings. Church officials such as presbyters and the church warden were elected by the members of the local congregation. The only required payments were church tax and contributions in money, kind and labour to the vicar's upkeep, all of which were exacted from every member of the congregation. Nevertheless, many presbyters in both villages were virilista; they were the highest tax-payers locally, and they constituted half of the village's representative body (képviselőtestület).

Botpalád also had some presbyters who were not among the village's most prosperous inhabitants. These people were elected to their church position because their families were associated with strong church traditions. Although these families had lost some of their lands and did not include the highest local tax-payers, the men in previous generations had been presbyters; it was deemed fitting that the members of

later generations should hold this position too. The maintenance of church pews from one generation to the next in such families reinforced the villagers' awareness of the religious traditions of these families and the suitability of their men to be presbyters.

The church traditions of the villagers' families, as an indirect factor independent of tax-paying status, had little bearing on who was to be presbyter in Kispalád. Many of Kispalád's presbyters bore the surname Angyalossy and owned large properties exceeding 20 kh., and also, the vicar of the 1930s, who owned more property than the presbyters, was married to an Angyalossy. Otherwise, Kispalád's presbyters included villagers with 30-40 kh. who had no family heritage of religious titles.

Landholdings and material means affected the opportunities of a villager to hold church office insofar as cash was needed for a secondary and higher education, in order to be fully trained as a vicar. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, more Botpaládians than Kispaládians sent their children to schools away from the village. At least six Botpaládians became vicars, in contrast to Kispalád's one such case, the local inhabitant who served as Kispalád's vicar from 1925 until the early 1950s.

In conclusion, the church officials in both villages before 1945 were for the most part the most prosperous inhabitants. However, family religious heritage irrespective of economic status also affected the power structure within Botpalád's church. This was not the case in Kispalád.

II.7. Conclusions.

Landholdings were the major single factor which affected the acquisition of material, political and cultural advantages in the two fieldwork villages before 1945. Ties of protekció also influenced the villagers' chances to hold a government office or acquire a secondary or higher education.

The distribution of landholdings in Botpalád was more polarised than in Kispalád, and a higher proportion of the larger landowners were of noble descent. A larger number of Botpaládian landowners sold their products at regional markets and farmed accordingly; they tilled their lands in one plot and used hired labour. Some of the smaller Botpaládian landowners who farmed in this manner were unable to maintain such an enterprise during economic depression. Ties of protekció were of greater importance in Botpalád than in Kispalád; they reinforced the local political structure, which was already dominated by the largest landowners, and facilitated its integration into the county's political structure. The schooling of the Botpaládians were more differentiated than that of the Kispaládians, and more Botpaládian children received secondary or higher-level education. The power structure within Botpalád's church was influenced not only by material means but also by family religious traditions irrespective of economic status.

On the other hand, Kispalád's lands were more evenly distributed among its inhabitants during the early 20th century, and in the 0-80 kh. range a larger proportion of these properties were owned by villagers of serf descent. Most Kispaládian landowners directed their economic activities towards providing for the family and purchasing land; they farmed their lands in a three-field system and used family labour and "help" relations with other villagers in order to acquire the necessary work force. Ties of protekció did not affect the majority of villagers in Kispalád as much as in Botpalád. Kispalád's political structure was more flexible and less dominated by large landowners; nor did ties of protekció serve to integrate tightly the local political structure into the county structure. Few Kispaládian children received education at a secondary or higher level, but the level of schooling among the Kispaládians was less differentiated than in Botpalád. Finally, Kispalád's church officials were mainly the most prosperous

inhabitants, and family religious heritage as an independent factor did not affect the local church power structure.

Generally, the inhabitants of Botpalád before 1945 were more differentiated economically, politically and culturally than the Kispaládians. Aspects of village life such as family organisation, marriage and inheritance patterns, which stemmed from and, in turn, had an impact on patterns of politico-economic differentiation in the two villages, will be treated in a later chapter. First I shall discuss post-war patterns of politico-economic differentiation between the inhabitants of the two villages.

III. Land reform, collectivisation and politico-economic differentiation since 1945.

The factors leading to politico-economic differentiation between the families of Botpalád and Kispalád have changed considerably since 1945. No longer is there one factor - land - which has an overriding effect on access to material, political, and cultural advantages. Nor are local patterns of material differentiation directly related to political or cultural differentiation - although an indirect relationship might occasionally exist.

III.1. Landholdings and the occupational structure since 1945.

There had been a small-scale redistribution of land in some parts of Hungary in the early 1900s,²⁰ but the 1945 land reform was the first such endeavour this century to have considerable impact on a nation-wide scale, and it altered greatly the structure of land ownership in Botpalád and Kispalád. During the 1945 land reform, local land distribution committees, known as committees for land claims (földigénylő bizottságok) implemented the policies which were laid down by the Provisional National Government. The lower committees

functioned under the supervision of the National Council for Land Settlements (Országos Földbirtokrendező Tanács).

The first phase of the 1945 land reform involved the expropriation of most properties exceeding 100 kh. (57.3 ha.), with or without the payment of a compensation fee (Donáth 1977: 58). A distinction was drawn between the so-called úri ("gentlemen") landowners, who were identified as such by their having used only hired labour from outside the family to cultivate their lands, and the so-called parasztbirtokosok ("peasant owners"), who in many cases personally worked the land.²⁹ Under no condition could an úri landowner keep his property if this exceeded the established 100 kh. limit; on the other hand, "peasant owners" with under 200 kh. (114.6 ha.) were allowed to retain possession of their lands (Donáth 1977: 58).³⁰

People with legal claims to the redistributed land included all farm servants and landless agricultural labourers, and landholders with under 5 kh., the so-called törpebirtokosok, (meaning literally "dwarfholders"), who depended upon working for other landowners for a living. Also entitled to redistributed land were the small landowners with 5-10 kh. whose married sons could inherit no more than 5 kh. because of the family's size (Donáth 1977: 67). The average size of the redistributed plots was 5.24 kh., or 3 ha., nationwide (Donáth 1977: 69), and the landless as well as the 0-5 kh. landowners benefited in the largest numbers. These latter farm workers made up 91% of all Hungarians to benefit from the redistribution of the expropriated lands (Donáth 1977: 76).

The land reform affected a larger number of Botpaládians than Kispaládians. Villagers at the time of fieldwork stated that in the early 1940s six Botpaládian families owned over 200 kh. in Botpalád and in nearby villages, while there was only one family from Kispalád which was in the same landowning category. These

landowner' properties were expropriated and redistributed in the course of the 1945 land reform.

However, the situation for the villagers with between 100 and 200 kh. was less clear-cut. Their classification as úri or "peasant" owners determined whether they could retain their properties. The 1949 census, although not entirely reliable, is my only source of information on land distribution in the two villages in the late 1940s. According to this, there was still one landowner with over 100 kh., presumably with between 100 and 200 kh. in each village at this time. If these figures are compared with villagers' statements, that in the early 1940s Botpalád had two and Kispalád had three landowners with 100-200 kh., then it can be concluded that one and two landowners in this category in each village respectively had their properties expropriated during the 1945 land reform.³¹

The effects of government policy in the early 1950s contributed to changes in the two villages' land and occupational distribution. Peasant farmers nationwide were obligated to hand into the state a set percentage of their produce. The government set prices for the private farmers' agricultural produce at disadvantageously low levels, and levied heavy taxes on private farms (Donáth 1977: 137-139). The state authorities, by physical coercion and the disadvantageous relocation of the peasants' land-plots, tried to force these farmers to collectivise their lands. Some villagers, those who owned over 25 kh. (14.32 ha.), were officially designated as kuláks. Before 1959 kuláks were not allowed to join the first collective farms, and many of them who gave up farming sought jobs in industry in order to survive (Donáth 1977: 137-139).

Sixteen landowners from Botpalád and 18 from Kispalád owned over 25 kh.; according to villagers nowadays most of them were classified officially as kuláks. Many of these people, especially from Botpalád, gave up farming and left the village. Some kuláks had

their offspring trained in professions or non-agricultural occupations so as to free them from their dependence on the land for subsistence.

Other villagers who were not kuláks and did not join the first collective farms also found work outside the local area in order to supplement their returns from farming in the village. Some inhabitants were employed on a regular basis at a nearby state farm, known as the *Sonkádi tanya - Csaholci állami gazdaság*. Other villagers found seasonal work at more distant state farms, near Karcag and Kisújszállás some 150-180 kilometers away; they went in groups to harvest the rice fields there before these state farms were mechanised.³²

The 1960 census classified the populations of both Botpalád and Kispalád on the basis of occupation and type of work, rather than landholdings (see Table 11). The high percentage of villagers who belonged to the collective farm indicates that these statistics were gathered after the nationwide collectivisation of land in 1959 and 1960. According to these data, 15.1% of all Botpaládians subsisted off of non-agricultural activities, while in Kispalád this figure was 22.4%.

TABLE 11

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF INHABITANTS (1960)

	BOTPALÁD Percentage of total population	KISPALÁD Percentage of total population
Agriculture	84.9%	77.6%
Industry	1.4%	2.5%
Construction	4.6%	4.6%
Transport	0.6%	1.1%
Commerce	2.5%	3.3%
Other	6.0%	10.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL POPULATION (1960)			
Percentage of total agric. population:			
In employ- ment	permanent workers	13.5%	2.7%
	daywage workers	1.7%	5.1%
	white-collar workers	0.2%	0.6%
	permanent, daywage white-collar	15.4%	8.4%
Members of co- opera- tive	manual worker	62.6%	70.7%
	white-collar worker	1.3%	2.3%
	manual, white- collar together	63.9%	73.0%
Family members helping co- operative members		10.4%	16.1%
Independent farmers		8.0%	2.5%
Family members helping inde- pendent farmers		2.3%	0%
Independent farmers, helping family members together		10.3%	2.5%
Total agricultural population		100.0%	100.0%

A larger percentage of the agriculturally active Kispaládians (73.0%) than Botpaládians (63.9%) were members of the collective farm, while Botpalád had more workers at state farms; 15.4% of farm-working Botpaládians were employed thusly, in comparison to Kispalád's 8.4%. Botpalád also had more "independent", or private farmers, 8.0% of farm-working Botpaládians having belonged to this category in comparison to a respective figure of 2.5% for Kispalád.

These figures indicate greater efforts on the part of the Kispaládians to take advantage of work opportunities outside agriculture. The Kispaládians also participated more actively in the collective farm, and a slightly larger number of them had white-collar jobs there.

III.2. The accumulation of material wealth in the mid-1970s.

The stratificational importance of landed property had changed between 1945 and the time of fieldwork, as a result of land reform, collectivisation and other developments which have just been described. Other factors which had become more instrumental in Botpalád and Kispalád in increasing a family's material assets included the following: the number of adult family members to hold high-income jobs; the allocation of family labour, time and returns; and the possession of livestock and farming equipment. Kitchen gardens and land-plots for producing fodder were still necessary for a local family to prosper.

In the mid-1970s there was much less differentiation in the distribution of material wealth locally than before 1945.³³ Differential access to political and cultural advantages was not directly related to variations between the local families on the basis of their prosperity albeit this former process could be facilitated by ties of protekció, for which the material means to reciprocate favours was sometimes

necessary. On the other hand, through exercising political power or gaining qualifications in a lucrative occupation, it was possible to augment eventually the wealth of a villager's family.

As it will become clear in this section, a levelling process had taken place in both villages by the mid-1970s, but material, political and cultural differences between the two villages had also emerged. The Botpaládians generally were less prosperous than the Kispaládians, but people from Botpalád held positions with more political weight and dominated political life in both villages. The children from Botpalád who continued their educations after general school tended to specialise in the humanities, while the Kispaládians were usually trained in technical occupations. After discussing material differentiation in the two villages, I shall turn to local government and political power, and variations in educational level and type.

The types of material goods accumulated by the villagers changed between the collectivisation of most of the local farmland in 1960, and the mid-1970s. The villagers who joined the collective farm were obligated to hand over their landed property, apart from the gardens directly behind their homes, their farmyards and the plots on which their houses stood. Almost all of the local landowners who had not previously done so handed over their fields, and at the time of fieldwork there was virtually no land in the villages' outlying fields which was not owned by the state, the collective farm or other, state-controlled organisations such as the water management authority. These lands could not be purchased by private individuals, although the villagers could rent certain plots of pasture or meadow.

Land was no longer significant as an accumulable asset because of a combination of factors. A collective farm member had rights to use a household plot (háztáji) above and beyond privately owning the plot of land on which his house stood and the garden behind the house,

but membership conditions prohibited him from possessing more landed property. The lack of purchasable farmland which was not owned by the state, collective farm or other state-run organisations made it difficult for any villager who was not a collective farm member to own privately more than some 5 kh.. Lastly, there were legal restrictions on the number of houses and internal house-plots, which one individual could own.

Such restrictions did not exist for certain types of livestock in the mid-1970s. Except for some shepherds, the local inhabitants could not keep sheep privately, nor were there any privately owned horses, but cattle, pigs, poultry and other small stock, such as rabbits, could be raised in unlimited numbers. The availability of fodder could set a practical limit to the amounts of privately owned livestock; for instance, the maximum amount of cattle owned by one family in the two villages in the mid-1970s was some 18 head, including cows, bullocks and calves. Neither were there legal restrictions on the small farming machinery or equipment which a villager could privately possess.

There had been a growth in the frequency of and cash amounts involved in financial transactions in the two villages between 1960 and the time of fieldwork. Cash had become increasingly important not only as a means of transferring material wealth, but also as an indicator of material wealth per se. No official restrictions limited the amounts of cash which a local inhabitant could accumulate. Villagers could summon large sums of money by maintaining extended borrowing and lending arrangements with neighbours, distant kin and friends; such arrangements sometimes involved up to 6,000 forints in the mid-1970s. The National Savings Bank (Országos Takarékpénztár), which had a branch office in Fehérgyarmat but also dealt with the villagers' affairs via the local post office, provided a means of saving cash with interest over time. Growing numbers of local inhabitants had accounts there, with savings at the time

of fieldwork amounting up to and exceeding 100,000 forints.

Consumer items were another type of material asset which was readily available and could be purchased in unlimited amounts at the time of fieldwork. These goods represented a growing proportion of the villagers' cash expenditure, whether they were household appliances and furnishings such as washing machines, gas ranges and televisions, clothing, vehicles such as motorcycles and cars, or other items.

The extent to which a local family managed to accumulate the types of material wealth described above depended upon both occupational and organisational factors. A villager with a specialist training was likely to get a high income job and bring in more cash. On the other hand, belonging to and working in the collective farm had other advantages. The collective farm member's household plot (háztáji) enabled him to provide fodder for his livestock with greater ease; the collective farm gave its members other benefits such as cheaper fuel, cheaper transport of building materials and cheaper services for the cultivation of private gardens. However, the wages received by a worker in the collective farm and the timing and quality of the services he got depended upon the success of the collective farm's crops and its financial profits.

In the village context, a high income job was not the only way to become prosperous, nor did it necessarily ensure material well-being. Irrespective of his job situation, a villager who kept many cattle could get sizeable cash returns from the milk he took to the collecting station, and also from the sale of calves, particularly young bullocks. Pigs also could be raised and sold for cash. Furthermore, a villager who intensively cultivated his garden behind his house could produce enough fruit and vegetables to sell some of the crops in return for cash.

At any event, most villagers in the mid-1970s found it necessary to raise pigs and poultry in order to acquire meat for their own domestic consumption. Although the local shop usually had lard, and occasionally had meat products such as bacon (szalonna) and salami, only very rarely could fresh meat be purchased there. A villager who wanted to purchase fresh meat, or even meat products, usually travelled to Fehérgyarmat, the district centre, or to other towns. The local branch of the General Consumers and Marketing Cooperative, known as AFESZ, was a source for buying fruit and vegetables, but its supplies were sporadic and limited. Most Botpaládians and Kispaládians produced up to 90%, if not more, of their own fresh meat, fruit and vegetable supplies, and relied on shops and the AFESZ only as a supplementary source of such foods.

On the other hand, some professionals and white-collar workers who lived locally did not belong to the collective farm, and they did not grow fruit and vegetables or raise livestock. They often spent large sums on food supplies purchased from the shop or from other villagers, as well as on fuel and other such basic necessities.

Raising livestock and cultivating gardens and household plots (háztáji) took up much time and labour; at least one person had to remain at home to look after these affairs. A villager who worked close to home could use his free time more efficiently by doing chores associated with his family's private farming activities immediately after work and during the breaks. A commuter to the district centre 32 kms. away on occasion waited several hours before being bussed home, and spending 8-10 hours away from home, he or she was unable to use time off work in the manner described above.

The occupational and organisational factors mentioned above had to be carefully balanced in order to have a household plot (háztáji), keep livestock, bring in large cash returns and accumulate consumer items. A

lucrative arrangement at the time of fieldwork was for all of the working family members to have specialist trainings, and belong to and work for the collective farm in high salary jobs. In this manner, they received regular wages, they had more than one household plot (háztáji), they could keep large amounts of livestock and also grow vegetables and fruits for sale. If the retired family members who received pensions remained at home to look after the livestock, gardens and household plots, and the working members spent their spare time in family farming activities, then the family as a whole could complete the farm chores successfully and net a sizeable yearly income. Their year's gains could be increased by minimising their expenditures on fuel and food, for example by occupying one room for everyday activities and eating from a common pot.

Now, having described changes in the local patterns of land distribution and occupational structure between 1945 and 1960, as well as post-1960 changes in the types of accumulable materials goods, and also having noted that a combination of occupational and organisational factors could influence a rural family's success in becoming prosperous, I shall turn more specifically to Botpalád and Kispalád and discuss material differentiation there.

III.3. The occupational structure and material differentiation in Botpalád and Kispalád in the mid-1970s.

The inhabitants of Botpalád and Kispalád had difficulty at the time of fieldwork in putting into practice the ideal combination of factors, described above, which in theory could lead to increased prosperity in a rural context. One reason for this was that the villages' collective farm had not functioned profitably for several years; membership in it often had proved to be a hindrance rather than an advantage. Nonetheless, as it will emerge, the Kispaládians were more able than the

Botpaládians to overcome the difficulties involved in belonging to this collective farm - in fact sometimes they turned the collective farm's losses to their own personal advantage - and were more capable of combining collective farm activities with high income jobs. As a consequence, the Kispaládians generally were wealthier than the Botpaládians.

The villagers had difficulty in increasing their family incomes by working at the local collective farm partly because the farm had had a history of financial deficits since 1968. The collective farm regularly had relied upon state credit which it could not pay back, and supervisory authorities had sent auditing committees to check the accounts and pinpoint the reasons behind the farm's lack of productivity. The farm, at the end of each financial year, had been unable to pay its working members the 20% of their wages held back from the monthly payments,³⁴ except for the 1970-73 period when state support made this possible.

The Botpalád-Kispalád collective farm in the mid-1970s raised livestock, grew grain, fodder and some fruit, but remained unspecialised, unlike other collective farms in Hungary which had specialised in certain branches of production such as intensive poultry farming or greenhouse gardening. Only at certain times of the year could the local collective farm provide jobs for its more poorly paid, unskilled agricultural workers. Furthermore, there were only a limited number of posts for skilled workers, whether they were agricultural specialists, office workers, machine drivers, or mechanics in the farm's machine workshop. For this reason, many skilled workers had to find jobs elsewhere, locally, in the district centre or even farther away.

In practice, few Botpaládian and Kispaládian families had more than one wage-earning member who were regular workers or employees at the collective farm. A number of Botpaládians had found jobs in road building, construction, catering, and at a textile factory and

other workshops located at the district centre. Apart from industry, jobs in transport and in shops³⁵ had become popular among the Kispaládians.

Generally, the Kispaládians had a higher proportion of wage-earners than the Botpaládians, more of them had jobs in agriculture, and those in non-agricultural occupations tended rather to be skilled workers.

The 1970 census data indicate a greater involvement in agriculture, industry, transport and other occupations among the Kispaládians than the Botpaládians (see Table 12). According to these statistics, out of all non-agriculturally employed villagers, Kispalád had a higher percentage of skilled workers in industry, transport and construction (see Table 13). On the other hand, in industry, construction and commerce, Botpalád had a higher percentage of manual workers (56.4%) than Kispalád (33.5%).³⁶

The 1970 census suggests that so-called "actively earning" men and women (regular wage-earners) made up slightly more, 47.0% of Kispalád's total population, than was the case in Botpalád, where the amount was 41.3% (see Table 14). Out of these regular wage-earners, 30.8% of the total in Kispalád were women, while in Botpalád, 24.9% were women. Far more of Kispalád's working women, 84.1%, were involved in agriculture, in comparison to Botpalád's 64.6% agriculturally working women.

TABLE 12

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF WAGE-EARNERS AND DEPENDENTS(1970)

	BOTPALÁD	KISPALÁD
Industry	2.9%	3.6%
Construction	20.5%	12.3%
Agriculture	66.2%	72.9%
Transport	1.9%	2.5%
Commerce	2.5%	0.3%
Other	6.0%	8.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 13

DISTRIBUTION OF NON-AGRICULTURAL WORKING VILLAGERS AND DEPENDENTS
ACCORDING TO TYPE OF WORK (1970)

		BÓTPALÁD	KISPALÁD
Industry	skilled worker	4.1%	12.0%
	other manual worker	4.1%	1.2%
	white-collar worker	0%	0%
	self-supporting, helping family member	0.4%	0%
	Total	8.6%	13.2%
Construction	skilled worker	7.0%	12.0%
	other manual worker	51.9%	32.3%
	white-collar worker	1.1%	0%
	self-supporting, helping family member	0.4%	0.6%
	Total	60.4%	44.9%
Transport	skilled worker	4.1%	8.4%
	other manual worker	0%	0%
	white-collar worker	0.7%	0.6%
	self-supporting, helping family member	0.7%	0%
	Total	5.5%	9.0%
Commerce	skilled worker	2.2%	0%
	other manual worker	0.4%	0%
	white-collar worker	4.8%	1.2%
	self-supporting, helping family member	0%	0%
	Total	7.4%	1.2%
Other	skilled worker	1.9%	0.6%
	other manual worker	6.6%	19.2%
	white-collar worker	9.3%	10.8%
	self-supporting, helping family member	0.4%	1.2%
	Total	18.1%	31.7%
Total: industry, construction, transport, commerce, other		100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 14

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ACTIVELY WAGE-EARNING MEN/WOMEN (1970)

	BOTPALÁD		KISPALÁD	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Industry	3.2%	7.3%	6.6%	3.4%
Construction	19.4%	1.2%	12.6%	2.3%
Agriculture	68.8%	64.6%	72.2%	84.1%
Transport	2.4%	3.7%	2.5%	2.3%
Commerce	2.4%	3.7%	0.5%	1.1%
Other	3.6%	19.5%	5.5%	6.8%
Total	99.8%	100.0%	99.9%	100.0%
Wage-earning men and women combined	Botpalád 41.3% of total pop.		Kispalád 47.0% of total pop.	
Proportion of wage-earners who are women	24.9%		30.8%	

TABLE 15

 DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURALLY WORKING VILLAGERS AND DEPENDENTS
 ACCORDING TO TYPE OF WORK (1970)

		Botpalád	Kispalád
State Farm	manual worker	14.0%	6.1%
	white-collar worker	0%	0%
	Total	14.0%	6.1%
Cooperative - employees:	manual	2.5%	1.3%
	white-collar	2.1%	3.2%
	Total	4.6%	4.5%
Cooperative - members	manual	66.6%	79.7%
	white-collar	2.7%	5.9%
	Total	69.3%	85.6%
	helping family member	1.1%	0%
	Total	75.0%	90.1%
Other: Agriculture	manual	0%	0.5%
	self-supporting, helping fam.member	0%	0%
	Total	0%	0.5%
Forestry	manual	0.9%	0%
	white-collar	0%	0%
	Total	0.9%	0%
Water Authority	manual	10.0%	2.9%
	white-collar	0%	0.5%
	Total	10.0%	3.4%
Total - agric.(state farm, coop., other)		89.0%	96.7%
Total - agric., forestry, water authority		99.9%	100.1%

From among all the villagers in agriculture, forestry and water management, a higher percentage of Kispaládians were involved in the collective farm in comparison to the Botpaládians, who worked, rather, at state farms, in forestry or water management (see Table 15). The respective figures for collective farm involvement were 90.1% of the Kispaládians, and 75.0% of the Botpaládians. Notably, Kispalád had more manual and white-collar working members in the collective farm.

Kispalád's greater involvement in agriculture, namely in the collective farm, its higher proportion of skilled workers in non-agricultural occupations, and its higher proportion of regular wage-earners, many of whom were women in farming, were related to the local types of family organisation, a subject to be discussed in the following chapter. For present purposes suffice it to mention that in Botpalád a large number of the married women at the time of fieldwork stayed at home to look after the household tasks, and they did not contribute any independently gained regular wages to the family income. The women who earned wages mainly were the unmarried girls who had completed their schooling and found manual work in industry, agriculture, or other such fields. The married women in Kispalád left the household tasks in the care of their parents or other elderly family members, and they worked regularly at the collective farm in order to net additional wages and benefits for the family enterprise.

The Kispaládians potentially were in a more lucrative position than the Botpaládians from the viewpoint of number of regular wage-earners and types of jobs they held. However, whether or not the Kispaládians benefited materially from their greater involvement in the collective farm, which as mentioned above had been suffering financial losses, remains to be answered. Some collective farm statistics will be used below in order to estimate the cash returns from this involvement and other

payments which affected material differentiation locally at the time of fieldwork.

More of all collective farm workers with fixed salaries were from Botpalád (50.0%) than the 41.2% from Kispalád (see Table 16). However, 47.1% of the Botpaládians with fixed salaries were manual workers in comparison to Kispalád's 21.4%. Kispalád had more collective farm employees in leadership positions, and a larger percentage of the fixed-salaried Kispaládians were trained specialists, administrators and office-workers. The average salary of the fixed-salaried Botpaládians was higher than that of the Kispaládians, but when the collective farm president, who was from Botpalád, is omitted from these calculations the Kispaládian employees had a slight edge over the Botpaládians.

TABLE 16

COLLECTIVE FARM: SPECIAL POSITIONS AND WAGES (1977)

		BOTPALÁD		KISPALÁD	
Total workers at collective farm (TSZ) on fixed salaries:		34 (from Botpalád, Kispalád and elsewhere)			
Villagers who work at TSZ for fixed salaries:		17	50% of total	14	41.2% of total
Average salary per villager working for fixed salary:		2686 forint/month		2493 forint/month	
Average salary per fixed-salary villager excluding TSZ president		2479 forint/month		2493 forint/month	
Distribution of fixed-salary villagers	leaders(president, brigade-leader, party sec., etc)	3	17.6%	5	35.7%
	trained specialists	2	11.8%	2	14.3%
	administrators, office-workers	4	23.5%	4	28.6%
	manual workers	8	47.1%	3	21.4%
	Total		100.0%		100.0%
Skilled workers in TSZ machine work-shop		6	35.3% of total workshop workers	11	64.7% of total workshop workers
Skilled workers in TSZ work-shop: average wages		10.4 forint/hour		11.4 forint/hour	

The number of Kispaládians who were skilled workers with jobs at the collective farm's machine workshop was almost two-fold that of the Botpaládians (see Table 16). Their average wage was also somewhat higher, by one forint per hour, than that of the Botpaládians who worked there.

A higher percentage of Kispaládians than Botpaládians were involved in the collective farm in a working capacity, as members of the collective farm (see Table 17). However, the collective farm members from Botpalád had a higher average monthly wage (1,872 forints) than those from Kispalád (1,509 forints). The greater number of women, 30.7% among Kispalád's collective farm members in comparison to Botpalád's 16.5% women, accounted for the difference in monthly wages. The annual minimum work hours required of female collective farm members were lower than those required of the men; therefore, women who fulfilled the minimum work hours at the collective farm and spent their remaining time working at home or on the household plot received lower wages than the men.

Among other categories of collective farm workers, where roughly half the workers from each village were men and the other half women, the Kispaládians earned more per month than the Botpaládians. These categories included retired collective farm members, occasional workers and seasonal, but not permanent employees.

TABLE 17

WAGES AND WORK-HOURS OF VILLAGERS INVOLVED IN COLLECTIVE FARM
(1976)

	BÓTPALÁD		KISPALÁD	
Number of TSZ (collective farm) members	79	29.8% of TSZ-involved villagers	88	37.9% of TSZ-involved
Average work hours and wages per member/month	197 work hours	1,872 forints	178 work hours	1,509 forints
Number of retired TSZ members	113	42.6% of TSZ-involved	101	43.5% of TSZ-involved
Average work hours and wages per retired member/month	13 work hours	87 forints	17 work hours	107 forints
Number of occasional workers	46	17.4% of TSZ-involved	33	14.2% of TSZ-involved
Average work hours and wages per occasional worker/month	32 work hours	233 forints	47 work hours	353 forints
Number of periodical-seasonal employees	24	9.1% of TSZ-involved	6	2.6% of TSZ-involved
Average work hours and wages per seasonal employee/month	102 work hours	1,103 forints	107 work hours	1,170 forints
Number of permanent employees	3	1.1% of TSZ-involved	4	1.7% of TSZ-involved
Average work hours and wages per permanent employee/month	260 work hours	3,419 forints	249 work hours	3,390 forints
Total no. of TSZ members, retired members, occasional workers, periodic-permanent employees	265	100.0%	232	99.9%
Number of women who are TSZ members	13	4.9% of TSZ-involved	27	11.6% of TSZ-involved
		16.5% of TSZ members		30.7% of TSZ members
Proportion of total population involved in TSZ	27.5%	8.2% of pop. are TSZ members	30.2%	11.4% of pop. are TSZ members

Information from the collective farm on the villagers' privately held livestock (see Table 18) and milk payments received by the villagers (see Table 19) also provide insights into material differentiation at the time of fieldwork. A higher percentage of Kispaládians kept cattle than Botpaládians. The total amount of cattle kept by Kispaládians was greater than that of Botpaládians, and Kispalád also had a lower ratio of villagers per head of cattle. 94.2% of Kispaládians who kept cattle were members of the collective farm, while this proportion in Botpalád was only 80.3%. The average number of cattle kept by the Botpaládians who did not belong to the collective farm was lower than that for the collective farm members from the same village. The reverse was true in Kispalád; the villagers who did not belong to the collective farm on the average kept more cattle than the collective farm members.

Similar variations emerge from the information on milk payments (see Table 19). A larger percentage of Kispaládians than Botpaládians handed in milk and receive payments for it. The average monthly payment per milk-contributor was almost 145 forints more in Kispalád than in Botpalád.³⁷ A larger proportion of the Kispaládians who delivered milk belonged to the collective farm than was the case in Botpalád. In Botpalád, the average monthly payment for non-members was less than that for collective farm members, while in Kispalád the non-members received more than the members.

TABLE 18

LIVESTOCK OF VILLAGERS (1976)

BOTPÁLÁD

KISPÁLÁD

Total number of villagers with cattle	137	14.2% of total pop.	121	15.7% of total pop.
Villagers with cattle who are TSZ members	110	80.3% of all villagers with cattle	114	94.2% of all villagers with cattle
Villagers with cattle who are not TSZ members	27	19.7% of all villagers with cattle	7	5.8% of all villagers with cattle
Total number of cattle	300		351	
Average number of cattle per livestock-keeping villager	2.2		2.9	
Average number of cattle per villager (total population)	.31, or 3.2 villagers per head of cattle		.46, or 2.2 villagers per head of cattle	
Average number of cattle per villager who is TSZ member	2.3		2.9	
Average number of cattle per villager who is not TSZ member	1.9		3.1	

TABLE 19

PAYMENTS FOR MILK DELIVERED IN TO COLLECTIVE FARM (1977)
 (Average of figures for January, April, July, October)

	BOTPALÁD		KISPALÁD	
Average payment per milk-contributing villager per month	1,713 forints		1,857 forints	
Proportion of total population to deliver milk and get payments regularly	11.6%		13.7%	
Milk-delivering villagers who are collective farm (TSZ) members (number, percent)	90/month on average	80.4% of all milk contributors	100/month on average	95.2% of all milk-contributors
	100%		100%	
Milk-delivering villagers who are not TSZ members (number, percent)	22/month on average	19.6% of all milk-contributors	5/month on average	4.8% of all milk-contributors
Milk-payments to villagers who are TSZ members (Total)	158,758 forints/month on average		183,042 forints/month on average	
Milk-payments to villagers who are not TSZ members (Total)	33,097 forints/month on average		11,992 forints/month on average	
Average milk-payment per villager per month	TSZ members 1,764 forints	Non-TSZ members 1,504 forints	TSZ members 1,830 forints	Non-TSZ members 2,398 forints

The information above indicates that in Botpalád the villagers who did not belong to the collective farm were unable to bring in as much cash from their private farming activities as the villagers who were collective farm members. On the other hand, the Kispaládians who did not belong to the collective farm got more cash from their private farming than did the local collective farm members, but even the latter had a larger private farming income than the collective farm members from Botpalád. The Kispaládians were able to profit materially out of their agricultural activities, irrespective of whether or not they belonged to the collective farm. On the other hand, the Botpaládians depended on the collective farm for their material prosperity.

Variations in family organisation account partly for these differences. The Botpaládians who worked in industry or construction at the district capital or farther away did not have the time or labour power necessary to keep large amounts of livestock. The greater frequency of the extended family and the more intensive use of labour and time made this possible in Kispalád.

The Kispaládians were able to make more productive use of the available resources. For instance, many local families used their cows for both draught and milk.³⁸ Instead of depending upon the collective farm's horse-teams and machines, they were able to cultivate their household plots and gardens at their own pace, and thereby reduce the possibility of crop failure. The Kispaládians took advantage of the collective farm's losses. For example, one family bought up some of the collective farm's bruised mash (cefre) apples at .80 forints per kilogramme, and then sold the peeled and cleaned product to the consumers' and marketing cooperative (AFESZ) at five forints per kilogramme.

The Kispaládians took advantage of the collective farm's resources, or found alternative means of overcoming its detrimental effects, so that their private

farming activities would benefit. They had a higher proportion of regularly earning family members whose jobs ensured greater returns, than the Botpaládians. In comparison to the Botpaládians, the more intensive use of family labour and time by the Kispaládians also contributed to the productivity of their economic activities.

Given the above variations in economic activity, it is not surprising that the Kispaládians had more cash to spend on improving their living conditions (see Table 20). In 1970 the two villages differed little in the density of dwellers per 100 rooms, but Kispalád had more bathrooms and wash-basin alcoves than Botpalád. In 1970 one house in Kispalád had a flush toilet (there were at least three such houses in 1977), while in Botpalád there were none. In comparison to Botpalád, a lower percentage of the rooms in Kispalád had beaten earth floors, and a higher percentage of houses had gas ranges. Relatively more houses in Kispalád had electricity, and this indicates a lower frequency of straw-roofed dwellings.

The Kispaládians' greater cash returns otherwise were manifested by their possession of expensive consumer items, such as colour televisions, which in 1977 cost 22,000 forints apiece, cars which cost at least 100,000 forints, and refrigerators. Such items were either rare or non-existent in Botpalád.

TABLE 20

HOUSING AND LIVING CONDITIONS (1970)

		BOTPALÁD		KISPALÁD	
No. of dwellers/100 inhabited houses		361		354	
No. of houses with 1 room		107	43.3% of all houses	88	43.1% of all houses
No. of houses with 2 rooms		126	51.0% of all houses	102	50.0% of all houses
No. of houses with 3+ rooms		14	5.7% of all houses	14	6.9% of all houses
Total no. of houses		247	100.0%	204	100.0%
Dwelling Rooms	living rooms	403	46.8% of total rooms	322	42.4% of total rms
	side-rooms	2	0.2% of total rms	9	1.2% of total rms
	kitchens	248	28.8% of total rms	197	26.0% of total rms
	living and side rooms combined	405	47.0%	331	43.6%
Bathroom, wash-basin alcove		6	0.7%	22	2.9%
Other rooms		203	23.5%	209	27.5%
Total no. living-side-rooms, kitchens, bathrooms, other			100.0%		100.0%
Rooms with beaten earth floors		304	35.3% of total rooms	215	28.3% of total rooms
*No. of rooms/100 houses		164		162	
No. of dwellers/100 rooms		214		214	
No. of bathrooms/100 houses		2		11	
No. of houses with electricity		195	78.9% of total houses	169	82.8% of total houses
No. of houses with gas		6	2.4% of total houses	66	32.4% of total houses
No. of Houses with flush toilets		0	0%	1	0.5% of all houses
No. dwellers in houses with electricity		707	78.4% of all dwellers	571	80.8% of all dwellers
No. dwellers in houses with gas		19	2.1% of all dwellers	257	36.4% of all dwellers

In conclusion, there had been a general levelling process regarding material wealth in the two villages, but nonetheless the Kispaládians were more prosperous in the mid-1970s than the Botpaládians. There were several reasons for the greater prosperity of the Kispaládians, which was manifested in their more modern living conditions: the type of jobs the Kispaládians held, their higher proportion of wage-earners, their more intensive use of family labour and time, and their greater ability to turn the collective farm's failures to their own advantage.

III.4. Local government and political power in Botpalád and Kispalád in the mid-1970s.

The inhabitants of Kispalád in the mid-1970s were more prosperous than the Botpaládians. However, as already mentioned, there was no causal relationship between material wealth and political power even if political influence could be used to better one's material standing. It will emerge below that although the Botpaládians were less wealthy than the Kispaládians at the time of fieldwork, the office holders with greatest political weight came from Botpalád, and they dominated political life in both villages. The greater importance in Botpalád of hierarchical relations which were conducive to establishing ties of protekció, and the villagers' greater skill at maintaining such relations, accounted in part for Botpalád's political dominance.

I shall now trace the economic statuses of local office holders between 1945 and the mid-1970s, and I shall also discuss the backgrounds of the local officials at the time of fieldwork. Then I shall turn to the issue of Botpalád's political dominance.

There was a full reversal of and then partial return to the original situation, as regards the economic status of local officials between 1945 and the mid-1970s. Between 1945 and 1948 the members of the parish council (elöljáróság) included mainly landowners with under 40

kh., who belonged to the Independent Smallholders' Party (Független Kisgazdapárt) or the National Peasant Party (Nemzeti Parasztpárt). At a national level the Hungarian Workers' Party (Magyar Dolgozók Pártja) was formed out of the merging of the Hungarian Communist Party (Magyar Kommunistá Párt) and the Social Democratic Party (Szociáldemokrata Párt) in 1948, and it gained full political power. From this time on into the 1950s the Hungarian Workers' Party appointed the previously landless agricultural labourers who had joined the party to various government posts. At first the former farm labourers held traditional offices on the parish council, but as these positions were phased out, they became council secretaries, or other such council officials or employees.

The obligatory deliveries to the state of fixed quotas of the villagers' farm produce during the early 1950s led to a build-up of administrative paperwork. The local officials, who often were untrained, were unable to handle their administrative tasks. Gradual changes were introduced after 1956, and during the 1960s a modification of election procedures allowed a more representative set of villagers to hold a government office. By the mid-1970s, in principle all Hungarian citizens who were over 18 years of age could vote and were eligible to run in elections (Erdei (ed.) 1968: 322). More than one candidate could in theory be nominated for election to each position (Erdei (ed) 1968: 310).

This more representative nature of local government was reflected in the composition of the so-called "large communities' common council" (nagyközségek közös tanácsa), which served Botpalád, Kispalád and three other villages. The council members who had been elected from Botpalád and Kispalád individually represented one of each village's six electoral zones. They included villagers of landed and landless descent, Party and non-

Party members, people of differing material wealth, women and men, and even some gipsies.

Some office workers at the common council's headquarters in Kölcse, some 10 km. away, came from Kispalád, but the secretary who mediated regularly between the council and the two villages was Botpaládian. This secretary, who looked after all of the administrative tasks in both Botpalád and Kispalád, descended from a formerly noble family which during the early 1900s had owned some 20 kh. of land and had an educated heritage.

Another resident of Botpalád was a county council member at the time of fieldwork, who at the local and regional levels exerted more political influence than any other local council official. She had a job teaching at the local general school, and she had married into Botpalád from outside the area in the early 1950s. Her husband was the local headmaster for a number of years, and like the secretary at the common council, he had descended from a landed family with a heritage of higher education.

Botpalád and Kispalád each had a council assistant (tanácssegéd) who, with his wife, cleaned and looked after the council office, drummed out public announcements, sent messages concerning official matters, and did other menial tasks. In both cases, the council assistant was the direct offspring or close kin of the previous village drummer (kisbiró), members of whose family before 1945 had subsisted as agricultural labourers.

The Party secretary who served both villages, like the member of the county council and the secretary at the common council, also came from Botpalád. On the other hand, his ancestors were landless farm servants. The president of the collective farm which served Botpalád and Kispalád was of similar origins; he came from Botpalád and his ancestors also were landless farm servants.

It is apparent from the above that the people holding political and government positions which served both villages overwhelmingly were from Botpalád. The Party secretary was powerful in that he provided a major link between the local inhabitants and the Party apparatus. He played an important role in the ideological training of the villagers, via helping to organise special talks related to this topic and supervising the activities of the local branch of the Hungarian Communist Youth League, known as KISZ. The Party Secretary in fact was attached officially to the local collective farm, via which he served both Botpalád and Kispalád; he was included in the collective farm's leadership and his sphere of influence extended to economic activities too. He settled the villagers' complaints concerning the collective farm's services; one such instance occurred when a collective farm horse team, whose services were paid for, left large strips of a villager's garden plot unploughed.

The people with the most political weight in both villages were the Botpaládian schoolteacher described earlier, who also was a county council member, and her husband. Both she and her husband were Party members. Her husband headed the local committee of the mass organisation known as the Patriotic People's Front (Hazafias Népfrent), which was responsible for holding elections and furthering relations between the council members and the citizens who elected them.³⁹

These two people usually took the first steps in arranging talks and courses for the ideological training of the villagers, and they led the discussion at such events. They were instrumental in arranging local elections and festivities to mark national holidays. The county council member maintained contacts with the government authorities which supervised the collective farm's activities, and thus, she too had a role in reviewing the farm's performance. This couple had a

great deal of control over the academic futures of the local children.

This schoolteacher and her husband were not popular among all of the local inhabitants. Nonetheless, Botpaládians and Kispaládians alike, especially those with young schoolchildren, endeavoured to maintain ties of protekció with this couple, and in this manner further their own and their children's interests. They regularly brought "gifts" such as fruit in season, baked or cooked delicacies, woven textiles or embroidery, or flowers. They invited the schoolteacher and her husband to festive events such as feasts at pig-killings and family weddings, and they outwardly remained on friendly terms with the couple. When their children left the local school to continue their education or start training for a job, and even later when their children tried to enter an institution of higher education, they expected the couple to "arrange their affairs". In fact, the schoolteacher complained about the fickleness of the villagers from Kispalád, whose children's affairs she did not "arrange" for what she claimed to be academic reasons.

Ties of protekció with the schoolteacher and her husband could also help the villagers in attaining objectives such as appointments to coveted posts, receiving special permits or exemptions, and gaining priority to medical facilities.

These two people, by virtue of their other government and political roles, carried more political weight than their colleagues in the local school. They were able to use their other posts as a pretext for eliciting services from the other schoolteachers. For example, although this couple did not have a car, they often prevailed upon the car-owning teachers to give them free lifts, "at the orders of the county council". They had priority over the other teachers in the allocation of benefits such as reduced-rate accommodation at holiday resorts and bonuses for teaching gipsies.⁴⁰

The political influence of this schoolteacher and her husband, and the fact that the other major political and government leaders came from Botpalád, were reflected in Botpalád's dominance at the institutional level. Prior to the establishment of the five-village common council in Kölcse, the originally separate councils of Botpalád and Kispalád had been merged, with the headquarters of the merged council in Botpalád. Other post-1960 developments which indicated Botpalád's greater political influence regionally included the construction in this village of a new school, which housed grades 5-8 from both Botpalád and Kispalád, and Botpalád's new doctor's office - a feature Kispalád did not have.

Botpalád's political dominance over Kispalád in the mid-1970s can partly be explained by the nature of relations within the former village; these relations, like in the early 20th century (mentioned earlier in this chapter), still were hierarchical and conducive to protekció.⁴¹ The Botpaládians were more familiar with relations which involved the provision of favours in return for cash, gifts and services; some of them, such as the couple described in this section, had used their familiarity with such relations to gain political positions and then further increase their power locally. This contrasted with the situation in Kispalád, where relations among the villagers were more egalitarian in nature. These villagers occasionally attempted to use protekció to further their interests, and in such cases they were compelled to turn to the most politically influential Botpaládians.

In conclusion, after the Second World War a new government and party system was established in Botpalád and Kispalád, holding political office became divorced from one's material prosperity, and the incumbents themselves changed with regard to their descent. Nonetheless, internal power relations within Botpalád remained more hierarchical, and more conducive to ties of protekció, than in Kispalád. Botpaládian office holders

dominated political life in both villages in the mid-1970s, and facilitated Botpalád's tighter incorporation into the regional Party and government structure.

III.5. Education in Botpalád and Kispalád in the mid-1970s.

I have already mentioned that the educational level of a local child at the time of fieldwork depended in part on the ties of protekció his parents maintained with the politically most influential local schoolteacher. I shall discuss this point after I have described the effect of one's level of schooling on earning power in a rural environment, and the material means needed for further schooling. Then I shall trace the level of education of the local inhabitants from the 1950s to the mid-1970s.

The acquisition of a higher education or skilled training was a major means in the mid-1970s of increasing one's earning power in a rural area. People with university degrees or technical school diplomas in practical subjects such as engineering, could receive a salary at this time in the range of 5,000 forints per month, a skilled worker could earn over 3,000 forints monthly, while the wages of an untrained worker might amount to not much over 2,000 forints per month.

A villager's education affected his future prosperity, but in principle, educational opportunity in the mid-1970s was divorced from one's material means. In practice, however, the villagers' educational chances were not entirely based on scholastic merit. Material wealth and protekció indirectly influenced the schoolchildren's educational progress.

Primary school in Botpalád and Kispalád, encompassing grades 1-8, was free; tuition and accommodation expenses for the local children attending secondary school elsewhere usually were minimal, if anything at all. Nonetheless, the villagers were expected to treat their children lavishly while they were

in secondary or higher education. Their expenditures in cash and kind on clothing, pocket money, food sent to the students by post, or extravagant graduation banquets held upon the schoolchild's completion were sometimes considerable. These extras were not essential for the schoolchild's academic progress, but every local parent tried to provide them, thereby diverting family resources from other possible uses.

Protekción with influential people in the educational or political hierarchy could improve one's chances of acceptance at secondary school and institutions of higher education. The local schoolteachers, particularly those who held other educational or political posts, often provided such protekción. I described earlier such ties of protekción between the villagers, and the most influential, local schoolteacher and her husband. In return for gifts, services and invitations to family festivities, the teachers recommended their hosts' offspring to the members of the admissions boards of the schools to which these children had applied.⁴²

The practice of plying the local teachers with gifts, services and invitations spread particularly after the nationalisation of schools in 1948. For local families whose offspring had traditionally been educated beyond primary school level, admission into a secondary or higher educational institution became more difficult, as educational opportunities for the formerly landless agricultural labourers improved after nationalisation. No longer could such families, who in the early 20th century had provided their offspring with further schooling, rely upon extended kinship ties and descent alone for establishing the ties of protekción necessary to their children's education. Therefore, they reverted to plying the teachers with material benefits. This practice was then taken up by all of the villagers who wanted their children to study beyond primary level.

During the 1950s a few local children of formerly landless families were given state assistance to continue their education at special training courses or other schools. Some villagers who officially were classified as kuláks scraped together enough money to finance their offspring's secondary or higher education. Otherwise, only after collectivisation and the 1961 Education Act did education beyond primary level become common practice in both villages.⁴³ Contributing to this development was the increased dependence of earning power on training. The Botpaládians and Kispaládians who in the 1940s and 1950s attended only the local schools remarked wryly in the mid-1970s that everything now depended upon a professional training, and a person could not even hoe the collective farm's lands without a diploma.

Many young people at the time of fieldwork, particularly from Kispalád, attended a vocational secondary school (szakközépiskola) or a training school (szakiskola). They thereby acquired a specialised training in agriculture or commerce or mechanics, which they later were able to make use of in jobs at local and regional institutions. Such institutions included the consumers' and marketing cooperative (AFESZ), the collective farm, shops, organisations in charge of public works, and machine and carpentry workshops.

The 8th year primary school students who had not applied or been admitted to vocational secondary or training schools chose a trade such as catering or factory work. Their future employers provided for their training during the first two years after completing general school. This course of action was followed mainly by Botpaládians.

Some villagers who were interested in the humanities, work of a theoretical nature, teaching and office work⁴⁴ attended grammar schools (gimnázium) in the region. Then they sometimes continued their studies at universities, teachers' training schools and other colleges. In the mid-1970s there were schoolchildren

from both Botpalád and Kispalád who completed grammar school and studied at higher institutions. Nonetheless, a larger number of Botpaládians seemed to follow this course of action, and they also showed a preference for the traditional professions.⁴⁵

The 1970 census (1970. évi népszámlálás, volume 17 1972) indicates such trends. According to this information, more Kispaládians (19) than Botpaládians (14) had completed secondary school and received a certificate for having passed the final examination. On the other hand, more Botpaládians (8) than Kispaládians (3) had attended institutions of higher education, with or without having received a diploma.

In 1976 two students from both villages combined went on to grammar schools, in 1977 this number rose to three, but in 1978 there were none. In 1978 five local children entered vocational secondary schools and three went directly into the catering trade. It can be estimated that out of an average graduating class of 15, two 8th year students proceeded to grammar school, eight entered vocational secondary or training school, and five went directly into some trade in conjunction with two years of training.

Between the early 1960s and late 1970s, more than eight youngsters from both villages combined continued their studies at the university level, and at least four attended teachers' training schools.

In conclusion, together with the increased dependence of earning power on training and qualifications, a growing number of children from both Botpalád and Kispalád in the mid-1970s endeavoured to continue their education after having finished at the local school. The secondary and higher education of their children entailed material outlays on the part of the villagers, although secondary school tuition and accommodation expenses were minimal. Protekció with the local schoolteachers, mainly with the politically influential couple described in this section, could

facilitate the educational progress of the villagers' children. The youngsters from Kispalád tended rather to attend vocational secondary school or training school in order to be qualified for skilled work in local and regional institutions. A larger number of Botpaládians inclined towards a grammar school, and then university or college education, and they also showed a preference for the traditional professions. On the other hand, more Botpaládians also went directly into a trade, involving two years of preliminary training.⁴⁶

III.6. Conclusions.

In the mid-1970s, landed property was no longer the overriding factor affecting the acquisition of other material assets and political and cultural benefits. The prosperity of a Botpaládian or Kispaládian family depended upon a combination of factors, including the number of high-income job-holders in the family, the use of family labour, time and returns, and the possession of livestock and farming equipment as well as kitchen gardens and fodder-producing land-plots. There was no causal relationship between material wealth and the acquisition of political power or a secondary or higher education; on the other hand, the possession of the means with which to reciprocate the favours involved in the ties of protekció necessary for such political or cultural advancement was potentially useful. Also, political power and a training in a profession could contribute to the prosperity of a villager's family.

There was an overall levelling process in Botpalád and Kispalád, as regards material wealth. In spite of this, the Botpaládians generally were less well-off than the Kispaládians, due to the type of jobs held by the Kispaládians, the latter's higher proportion of wage-earners, and their more lucrative use of family labour and time. They were better able to use the collective farm's shortcomings to their benefit. The Kispaládians also had better living conditions than the Botpaládians.

On the other hand, political life in the two villagers was dominated by people from Botpalád; this dominance was due, in part, to the greater importance among Botpaládians of hierarchical relations conducive to creating ties of protekció, and the villagers' ability to maintain such relations. The Botpaládian office holders helped to incorporate Botpalád more tightly into the regional Party and government structure than in the case of Kispalád.

IV. Politico-economic differentiation in an historical perspective: general conclusions.

The inhabitants of Botpalád historically have been more socially heterogeneous and differentiated than those of Kispalád from the viewpoints of material wealth and legal status. The structure of power in Botpalád has been more hierarchical and rigid than that of Kispalád.

Before the abolition of serfdom, there was greater variation in the legal status of Botpalád's inhabitants, and whereas the Botpaládians were split between nobles and non-nobles, the nobles being in a slight majority, in Kispalád the serfs predominated overwhelmingly.

These legal categories of noble and serf no longer existed officially during the late 19th-early 20th centuries; landholdings and protekció became the factors which overwhelmingly influenced the acquisition of other material, political and cultural advantages during this time. At the turn of the century and also in 1941 there was greater polarisation in the distribution of Botpalád's lands than in Kispalád. A higher percentage of the Botpaládians were landless. Villagers of noble descent constituted a higher proportion of Botpalád's landed population, and people of noble ancestry predominated more markedly in the higher property categories. In contrast, a substantial percentage of Kispalád's larger landowners were of serf descent.

Not only were the Botpaládians more differentiated in terms of landholdings in the early 20th century;

relations involving protekció were important in Botpalád, they affected a majority of the inhabitants and were compatible with the polarisation of local power relations. Relations involving protekció affected fewer Kispaládians; nor did the locally prevailing spirit of egalitarianism and community solidarity encourage any polarisation of power relations within Kispalád, which might otherwise have facilitated the creation of such ties of protekció.

During the early 20th century, landownership usually determined the orientation of a local family's economic activities. Together with protekció and some factors associated with family organisation, landownership also influenced the returns which each family received from its farming enterprise. A large number of the Botpaládian landowners tried to run an enterprise directed towards selling on the market. They farmed their lands in one tag, or plot, and they regularly hired farm servants. They also were more vulnerable to the effects of economic developments within the wider society. Most Kispaládian landowners directed their farming towards domestic consumption and the purchase of additional property. They cultivated their lands in a three-field system, using family labour and extended "help" (segítség) relations. In comparison to the Botpaládians, the Kispaládians were less set back by the economic depression of the 1930s.

Botpalád's internal power structure in the early 20th century was more hierarchical than that of Kispalád, and it was dominated by the largest local landowners. Furthermore, Botpalád was more tightly incorporated into the administrative structure at the district and county level. At this same time a larger proportion of Botpaládian landowners also gave their children a secondary or higher education. and some of these offspring were trained as lawyers, doctors, teachers and clergymen. Finally, in both villages the structure of power within the church was parallel, generally, to the

secular political structure. Nonetheless, in Kispalád there was a closer correspondence between landholding status and holding a church position, than was the case in Botpalád.

After 1945 factors other than landholdings and protekció became increasingly important in gaining material wealth; the bases of access to political and cultural advantages also changed. Furthermore, material prosperity did not ensure a villager political power or better educational opportunities at the time of fieldwork, nor did all wealthier villagers hold political office or provide their children with secondary or higher education.

Local differences in the possession of material goods levelled out after 1945. Nonetheless, in comparison to the Botpaládians the inhabitants of Kispalád brought in larger returns in cash and kind each year, at the time of fieldwork. A larger percentage of the Kispaládians were active wage-earners; many of these income-gainers were skilled or white collar workers with higher incomes than the manual workers, of whom there were more in Botpalád. Many of the Kispaládians had jobs at the collective farm or other institutions near home; thus, they were able to divide their time efficiently between the workplace and the family farming activities. A higher proportion of the Kispaládians were working collective farm members who benefited from the household plot (háztáji) and other services offered by the farm. Many of these collective farm members were wives and mothers, whose earnings represented only a small part of the total family income. The Kispaládians kept more cattle per villager than did the Botpaládians, and their monthly milk payments were greater. The Kispaládians were able to alleviate the effects of the collective farm's losses, and even use some of these losses to their own personal benefit.

The earning power of the Botpaládians and their patterns of usage of time and labour prevented them from

becoming as prosperous as the Kispaládians in the mid-1970s. A smaller percentage of the Botpaládians were working members on the collective farm, and they were less able to benefit from collective farm membership; moreover, the collective farm's losses affected them more drastically than in the case of the neighbouring village's inhabitants.

However, power relations in Botpalád remained more conducive to establishing and manipulating protekció. Botpalád was more tightly incorporated into the regional political structure. Some local Botpaládians held influential political posts above the village level, and Botpaládians dominated the institutions which served both villages.

In the mid-1970s a number of children from both villages continued their studies at secondary or higher level. The Kispaládians inclined towards the vocational secondary or training schools, while some Botpaládians attended grammar schools, and then university or college. However, more Botpaládians than Kispaládians did not continue schooling beyond primary level and instead entered a trade directly.

Differences in local types of family organisation have emerged several times in this chapter. For this reason, before turning to the topic of rank, I shall examine family organisation and two other aspects of village life which have been inseparable from local patterns of differentiation: inheritance and marriage.

4. FAMILY ORGANISATION BEFORE AND AFTER 1945.

I noted in the previous chapter a connection between the economic activities and material prosperity of the villagers, and their patterns of family organisation. It will emerge in later chapters that the villagers' attitudes towards the respective roles of women and men, and the prestige or stigma they associate with working manually in the fields, have influenced their patterns of family organisation too. Since on the one hand economic factors have set general limits on the prevailing types of family organisation and, on the other hand, within these economic limitations evaluative factors have had an impact on the family as well, it is only fitting that this chapter should deal with the prevailing types of family organisation in both villages before and after 1945.

I initially shall describe the types of family existing locally at the time of fieldwork; then I shall discuss family organisation in the light of economic factors before 1945, and subsequently I shall deal with family organisation, with regard to economic factors since the collectivisation of the local lands in 1960.

I. The family types.

The most common explanation villagers give for the word család, or family,¹ is that it consists of father, mother, and children, and possibly other kin or persons, who live under one roof, farm or manage jointly their subsistence activities, pool their savings, and eat together. The specifying of who belongs to the family in this sense depends on factors with direct economic implications, rather than on a particular kinship or descent category. Thus, offspring who live in the city may be treated as guests during their occasional visits to their parents in the village. On the other hand, non-villagers from a distant region who rent a room, eat and

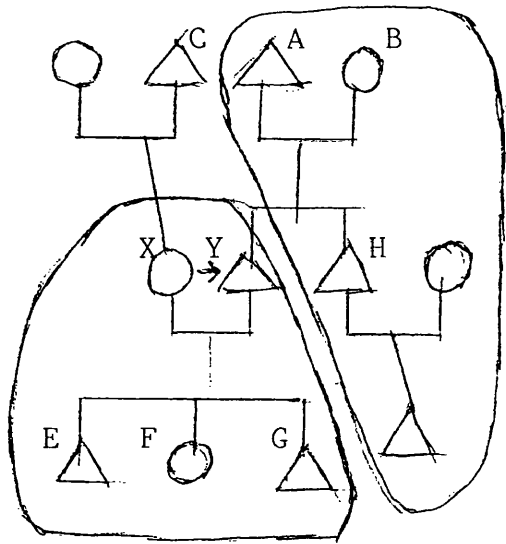
take on chores connected with their landlord's household, may be considered as belonging to the family.

On the basis of the above, most oft-recurring criteria, the functions of a given local family can vary along a scale from one extreme, in which the family members live together, farm together and eat together, to the other extreme, when they perform only one of these functions jointly. A family whose members live, farm and eat together is a more cohesive unit than one in which any of these activities is done separately, and a family whose members do only one of the above activities collectively is even less cohesive.

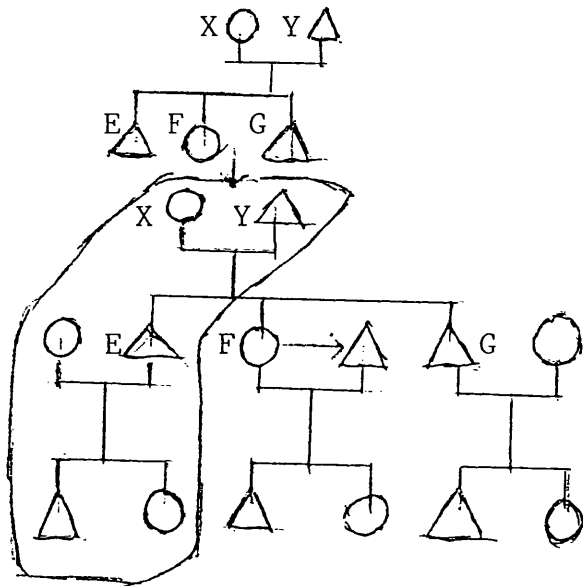
Two basic family types, in terms of composition, have existed in Botpalád and Kispalád. The first type, which I shall call the nuclear family, includes two, then three and then two generations during the course of the developmental cycle, and consists of mother, father and unmarried offspring at the first and final stages of this cycle (see Diagram 1). The second type, to be called the extended family, includes three, then four and then three generations over the developmental cycle. At the first and final stages of the cycle it comprises mother, father, married sons, and their respective wives and children (see Diagram 2).

DIAGRAM 1

THE "NUCLEAR FAMILY" OVER THE DEVELOPMENTAL CYCLE

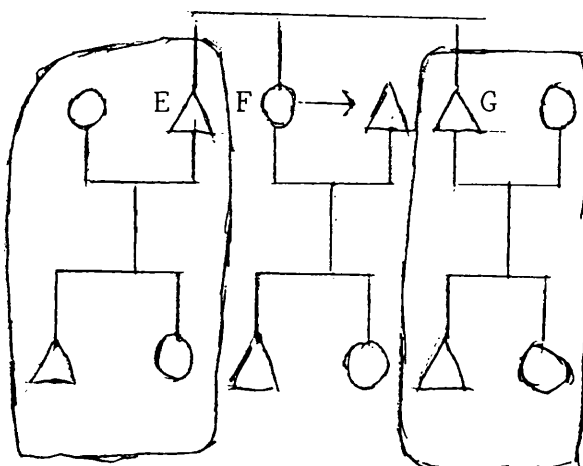


- Two generations:
H is youngest brother.
E is youngest son.



A, B and C die.

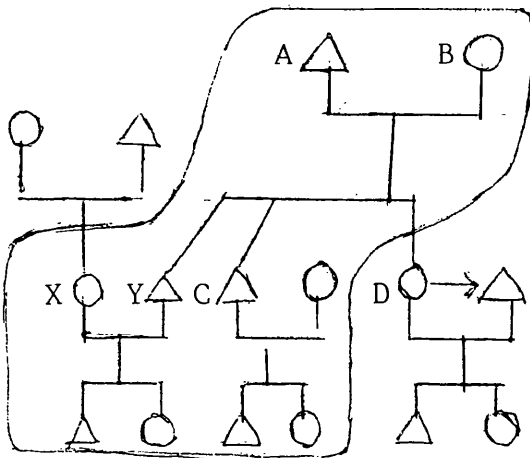
- Three generations:
G, wife and offspring live as separate family unit, in separate house or separate quarters in same house or farmyard.
F moves to live with husband.
E, wife and offspring live with X and Y as family unit, and care for them.



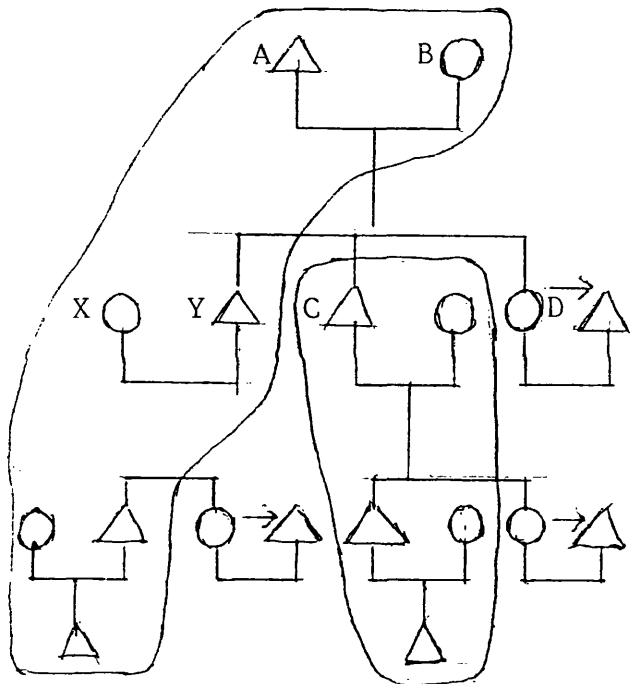
- Two generations:
X and Y die.

DIAGRAM 2

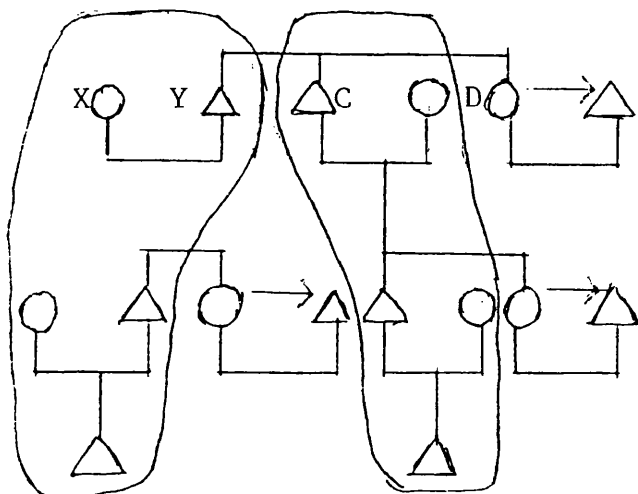
THE "EXTENDED FAMILY" OVER THE DEVELOPMENTAL CYCLE



1. Three generations:
Y is youngest brother.
Y, C, wives and offspring
live as family with A
and B.
D moves to live with husband.



2. Four generations:
A becomes incapacitated.
Family of Y, including A
and B, becomes 4-genera-
tion.
Family of C is three-genera-
tion.



3. Three generations:
A and B die.
Families of Y and C are
separate and 3-generation.

The nuclear family prevailed in both villages in the mid-1970s. Nevertheless, my fieldwork data indicated a higher percentage of nuclear families (65%) and lower percentage of extended families (10%) in Botpalád, in comparison to Kispalád, where the nuclear type constituted 49% and the extended type amounted to 26% of the local families (see Table 21).² Local inhabitants said that prior to 1945 too, the nuclear family was more prevalent in Botpalád, while the extended family occurred with greater frequency in Kispalád.

TABLE 21

FREQUENCY OF FAMILY TYPES AMONG NON-GIPSY INHABITANTS

	BÓTPALÁD (1976)		KISPALÁD (1977)	
	Number	Percent out of all fa- milies	Number	Percent out of all families
Nuclear family	128	65.0%	65	49.0%
Extended family	20	10.0%	35	26.0%
Nuclear family plus sibling of one parent	4	2.0%	1	0.7%
Miscellaneous arrange- ments, involving 2 siblings, non-related people, and other arrangements	21	11.0%	15	11.0%
People living alone	24	12.0%	18	14.0%
Total	197	100.0%	134	100.7%

II. Family organisation before 1945.

Before 1945, and even until collectivisation in 1960, the possession of land to cultivate, livestock and labour with which to work the land, and a house in which to live influenced the occupational statuses and courses of economic activity of the local inhabitants, and the allocation of rights and duties amongst the members of their families. The various courses of economic activity included: permanent employment as a farm servant, occasional employment on a shares or day-wages basis, the cultivation of another person's land on a half or third-shares basis, the cultivation of one's own land with the labour of the family, the cultivation of one's own land with the use of people employed from outside the family, and the leasing out of one's own land. I shall discuss family organisation before 1945 according to their courses of economic activity.

Economic and occupational factors also set general limitations on the degree of cohesiveness of the families in Botpalád and Kispalád at this time, particularly amongst the landless people, the villagers with landholdings under 10 kh., and those possessing over 40 kh. I shall initially focus on these categories, before turning to family organisation amongst the villagers with 10-40 kh. of land.

II.1. Family organisation among villagers with under 10 and over 40 kh. of land.

The families of villagers who worked primarily as farm servants, agricultural labourers, and sharecroppers generally were less cohesive as economic units than families who worked their own land. The farm servants, agricultural labourers and sharecroppers had little or no landed property; therefore, the ownership of land, collectively worked to sustain the family, could not serve as a factor reinforcing any existing sense of cohesion amongst family members in these categories. The

small landowners had some property, but this was not enough for the family's subsistence; the family members had to work on the property of other villagers, and this dispersal of family labour again detracted from any sense of family cohesion.

Many of the farm servants (cseléd) did not own their own houses, and hence, often their living arrangements were unstable. The cseléd who were employed on a bentkosztos basis were fed and occasionally allowed to sleep in the employer's house as part of their pay. Nonetheless, whether or not their spouse and offspring also were provided for in this manner depended upon the work the latter did individually for the employer. Such arrangements, in fact, were not conducive to starting families. Usually, villagers who were single, or women who had given birth to illegitimate children, were employed on this basis, and if necessary, the children were sent to work for their keep for other landowners, at about the age of six.

More frequently, the cseléd was granted the right to inhabit an end of one of the houses owned by a local landowner, in return for which the cseléd would either pay a yearly sum of money, or work on the landowner's lands for a minimum number of days, 25 or 40, each year. Many of these farm servants also paid for their work on their employer's lands in the form of kommenció: they were given the raw materials in kind, for example ground wheat, salt, vegetables, firewood, or were provided with the resources deemed necessary for their upkeep. In the latter case they were supplied with small land-plots, seeds, livestock, and with these, they would feed themselves for one year.

Such agreements, allowing a farm servant to inhabit a landowner's house and also receive compensation in the form of kommenció, had to be renewed from year to year. Nevertheless, they enabled family units to live under one roof, eat together, and the family members often worked on their employers' land together. They

also had their land-plots to till and livestock to keep, and this, moreover, necessitated a division of labour among the family members. However, provisions could not be made out of the family's assets for the children to set up an independent household upon marriage. As a result, the latter had to make separate arrangements regarding employment. Furthermore, they rarely had the resources needed to hold a wedding celebration involving the religious ritual or legal procedure. Consequently, such farm servants often lived in common-law union, called vadházasság. The nature of such unions reduced the cohesiveness of farm servants' families.

In comparison to the farm servants, there was more family cohesion amongst the sharecroppers and agricultural labourers who worked on the lands of other families, usually owned their own dwellings, and in some cases were not landless, even if their property ranged from only 1 to 10 kh. The villagers who cultivated other families' lands on a half-shares basis were expected to till and sow the soil as well; the necessary possession of at least one team of livestock for draught purposes was a contributing factor to a sense of family unity amongst such people. Agricultural labourers, i.e. the daywage labourers and részes, who received a pre-set proportion of the crop they harvested, often worked in family units; this latter factor, together with the fact that such labourers owned some property, and lived and ate together, contributed to the sense of cohesiveness in these families too.

The arrangements of the kommenciós cseléd allowed for the establishment of nuclear families based on common-law unions but, since their adult children usually had to make separate arrangements regarding employment, did not encourage the setting up of cohesive, four-generation extended families. On the other hand, sharecropping and working as an agricultural labourer allowed the villagers to live in both nuclear and extended families, although the membership of an extended

family in this occupational category usually exceeded the maximum size that could be supported by the family's resources. During the discussion of family organisation amongst villagers with 10-40 kh. of land, it will emerge that in fact, sharecropping and employment outside the family sometimes resulted from the splitting up of the family lands amongst the sons of an extended family over several generations.

The local families with property of over 40 kh. were not cohesive family units either, in spite of their awareness of owning such large family properties. The size of their properties alone made it necessary for them to employ people from outside the family in order to cultivate the lands. The family members were unable to till their lands on their own; in fact, the offspring of these families usually were educated outside of the village and later pursued professional careers and/or left the village, thereby not getting directly involved in the farm work. There was a divergence of occupational interests within the family. Furthermore, there was no division of labour amongst the family members in activities which might have been crucial to the family's material survival, as was the case, as it will emerge shortly, amongst families with 10-40 kh. of land.

The people in the over 40 kh. landowning category usually lived in nuclear families which were not cohesive; the family members lived and ate together, but did not farm together. Nevertheless, these people had sufficient means, i.e., land, livestock and more than one house locally, for their children to set up independent nuclear families upon marriage. The fact that some of their professionally educated children left the village in pursuit of careers ensured all the more that the resources to set up families for the offspring who remained in the village were sufficient, and that the family property remained in one piece, to be inherited by the offspring remaining in the village, rather than being split up.

II.2. Family organisation among villagers with 10-40 kh. of land.

Economic and occupational factors did not have as direct an effect on family type and organisation amongst villagers with 10-40 kh. of land, as in the other occupational and property categories. People with properties ranging from 10-40 kh. organised their economic activities according to a division of labour amongst the members of either a nuclear or an extended family. In the following, I shall trace both types of family through the developmental cycle, also taking into account the division of labour within the family. I shall then briefly consider the relative frequencies of the two family types in Botpalád and Kispalád before 1945, and finally discuss how the local frequencies of these family types tallied with the patterns of material differentiation, work organisation and economic strategy, as well as land parcellisation before 1945.

Diagram 1 depicts the developmental cycle of the nuclear family. The two-generation family, consisting of parents and offspring, became a three-generation family, comprising the parents, one son and his wife and offspring, and eventually returned to being two-generation, with the death of the parents. Marriage usually was virilocal, so the daughters moved away to live with their husbands and husbands' families.

Local inhabitants living in a nuclear family, with lands of 10-40 kh. to cultivate, had difficulty in working the land without resorting to labour from outside the family. The extent to which outside labour was used depended on circumstantial factors, such as how many sons there were in the family, and evaluative factors, such as attitudes towards women working in the fields.

Some nuclear families in this land category, which had reached a later phase of stage 1 of the developmental cycle (see Diagram 1), i.e., physically able father living with unmarried, but physically mature sons, were

able to farm their property with family labour, using outside labour only on occasions such as harvest-time. Otherwise, it was necessary to seek people from outside the family to help in the fields, or sections of the family's plots were leased out to other villagers on a half or third-shares basis. Sometimes, strong attitudes of disapproval against women working in the fields made it all the more necessary for such a local family to resort to outside labour.

Within such families, the physically able father and sons worked in the fields, for the most part. The mothers stayed at home to care for the livestock, household tasks and young children. The daughters helped their mothers at home, except for some girls above the age of about 12 years, who worked in the fields on tasks other than those associated with the harvest.

Upon marriage, the offspring of nuclear families in this land category tried to set up their own, independent nuclear families - with the exception of the youngest son, who remained with his parents. However, the conditions necessary for establishing such a family were met rarely amongst villagers in the 10-20 kh. land category. The parental families in this category did not have enough land to allow their offsprings' families to farm on their own, without damaging the self-sufficiency of the parental families. Neither did such parental families have enough livestock, or possess a vacant house and/or house-plot, for the independent use of their offsprings' households.

The local families with 20-40 kh. of land were better able to meet these conditions. Nonetheless, in practice the married child often was dependent on his parental family, in the 10-40 kh. property category. This dependence lasted until the child established independent rights of ownership to land, either by inheritance after his parents' death, the purchase of property or marriage to someone with control over large plots of land. Therefore, the nuclear families in the

10-40 kh. land category were far from being fully-independent, self-sufficient and self-contained units.

Diagram 2 traces the developmental phases of the extended family. The three-generation family, containing parents, unmarried children, as well as married sons and their families, became a four-generation family living on the same house-plot. The four-generation family contained the elderly parents, whether or not they were physically incapacitated, the youngest son and his wife, and the latter couple's unmarried children, as well as married sons together with family. Finally, when the elderly parents died, the four-generation family once more became a three-generation unit. As in the case of the nuclear family, the daughters moved away to live with their husbands upon marriage.

The extended family was more suited than the nuclear family to making effective use of the family's labour force. The most elderly, physically able women remained at home to care for the youngsters and livestock, and also to do the other everyday household chores. Thus, the other women and girls were freed from many of the household tasks, and they were able to contribute their labour to the farm work in the fields. The men still did the most physically demanding jobs, for example cutting hay with scythes, leading the teams of horses or oxen during ploughing, and loading or unloading the wagons with heavy items such as manure or wood. Nevertheless, the women helped considerably by completing a large proportion of the less taxing but equally essential tasks, for example by gathering hay, sowing the fields, and spreading manure. Under optimal conditions, even 30-40 kh. of land could be cultivated with solely the labour of the members of such a family, comprising parents, two or more married offspring, unmarried offspring, and physically mature grandchildren.

The members of the more closely knit extended families not only worked the land and kept their livestock as a joint venture, but they also consumed the

same food, and either lived under the same roof or on the same house-plot. Thus it was not necessary to expend as much time, energy and resources on establishing independent living arrangements for each child, as in the case of the nuclear family. In this manner, the extended family made effective use not only of the available family labour, but of the family resources as well.

On the other hand, the quantity of resources possessed by extended families in the 10-40 kh. land category also posed problems for the villagers living in this kind of arrangement, especially when the family covered four generations. The external land holdings were not always sizeable enough to support a family of four generations. Neither were the internal house-plots necessarily large enough to enable the building of new homes or rooms for housing the married members of the third generation. Furthermore, additional sheds and fodder were needed to keep more livestock.

These problems aggravated the tensions which often came to the forefront when the male of the eldest generation, the family head who had made the major decisions concerning farming and the tasks of the family members, and who also had distributed the returns amongst them, became physically incapacitated. The question of how to distribute, amongst the married sons, the authority over direction of farming activities often gave rise to bad feelings and conflict among family members.

In fact, as shown on Diagram 2, it was at this point that a splitting process occurred between the male siblings of the second generation. Each sibling became the head of a separate three-generation family comprising his own lineal descendants and their virilocally married spouses. The only family to span four generations was that of the youngest second-generation male sibling, who lived with and cared for his elderly parents.

The de facto division of immovable property between the second generation siblings at this point was different from the transferral of the legal ownership

rights, which was enacted only after the death of the elderly father of the first generation. Nonetheless, such de facto divisions took place with each cyclical occurrence of the splitting process among second-generation males, and they later were given legal backing and led to the splitting up of the external landholdings and internal house-plots. Eventually, the three generation families' decreased share in the original landholdings became insufficient for feeding and maintaining the family members and livestock, even if the supply of labour within the family was plentiful, if the parcellisation process was not offset by new purchases of land or advantageous marriages.

The extended families with insufficient property often devised sharecropping arrangements on a half or third-shares basis, thereby occupying family members productively for much of the agricultural season. Another alternative was for some members of such families to seek employment on a shares or day-wage basis. Nevertheless, such arrangements did not resolve in the long term the weakness built into the extended family as it existed in Botpalád and Kispalád: the ever-diminishing size of the families' landholdings as a consequence of parcellisation.

No hard data are available regarding the past frequency of family types of Botpalád and Kispalád. However, local inhabitants, when referring to past living arrangements, division of labour and ways of working the land, indicate a greater frequency of nuclear families in Botpalád than in the neighbouring village, and a higher proportion of extended families in Kispalád.

It has emerged in this chapter that the greater frequency of nuclear families in Botpalád was, in part, inseparable from the greater polarisation in the distribution of local lands, thereby resulting in more farm servants and property owners with under 10 kh., as well as landowners with over 40 kh. In turn, such occupational and economic factors were conducive, rather,

to the establishment of nuclear families. Even inhabitants of Botpalád with 10-40 kh. tended to live in nuclear family units rather than in the extended family, which was more common in Kispalád.

III. Family organisation after collectivisation.

The importance of size of landed property, as a factor influencing family organisation in Botpalád and Kispalád, decreased after collectivisation. On the other hand, the possession of livestock, living quarters and the availability of labour still had an impact on the family, although in the 1970s there was less differentiation than previously in the possession of such assets. A new factor of potential influence was the availability of social welfare provisions that pertained to the family.

The collective farm in the mid-1970s provided the framework for local agricultural activities, and within this an important consideration regarding work status, instead of being land as it was previously, was education and technical training. Individuals belonging to the same family could become independent collective farm members, and increasing opportunities for employment in the industry of the region became available, thereby allowing the members of one family greater independence from one another regarding their production activities.

For the above reasons, I shall single out the factors of the mid-1970s which affected the allocation of the family resources, and thereby the organisation of the family's activities, on the basis of whether or not both husband and wife were employed, and if so, whether they worked on the collective farm or in industry elsewhere, or whether one of them stayed at home.³

Some changes in the functions of the local families in the post-1960 context are noteworthy. For example, although it was possible at the time of fieldwork for the members of a family to farm together when cultivating their gardens or their household plots

(háztáji), when gathering hay or when caring for their livestock, only very rarely did these villagers undertake all of their production activities in such an organisational framework. This point held true especially if the villagers were in their physical prime. Therefore, no longer did the members of a family live together, farm together and eat together, as might have happened previously. However, although the activities common to family members were increasingly directed to consumption and the consequences of living together, for example household tasks, this did not necessarily mean a breakdown in the power relations between the family members.

Responsibilities undertaken by state welfare programmes included care for the elderly, in the form of old-age homes and heavily subsidised at-home care services, and provisions affecting young children, in the form of nurseries, day schools, six-month maternity benefits and child-care allowances for the first three years following birth. However, not all villagers took advantage of such provisions, nor did the claiming of such benefits necessarily lead to a proliferation of local two-generation nuclear families.

Another noteworthy point is that the overall movement of the young people from the villages to the towns of the region or to more centrally located cities did not lead necessarily to a disruption of everyday links between parents and their children's families, especially if, like the Kispaládians, the young folk lived within commuting distance of their parents. Furthermore, increasing numbers of houses and internal house-plots had been vacated, so the problem of obtaining living quarters upon marriage was not as serious at the time of fieldwork as it once had been.

The nuclear family continued to occur more frequently in Botpalád at the time of fieldwork than in Kispalád, while extended families were more prevalent in Kispalád. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, nuclear

families constituted 65% of the families in Botpalád, while they made up 49% of those in Kispalád. On the other hand, 26% of the families in Kispalád were extended families, while only 10% of those in Botpalád were of the extended type. I shall now discuss this continued variation in family type between the two villages, and the material ramifications of this variation, in the light of occupational categories in the mid-1970s.

Generally, the employment of both husband and wife, either by the collective farm (TSZ) or elsewhere, was bound to increase the family income. If, by virtue of TSZ membership, they were entitled to a household plot, the supply of maize grown on this land enabled the family to increase its number of milch cows, bullocks or pigs. The cash returns from the sale of milk, bullocks and pigs were potentially lucrative. If the private, internal house-plots were planted with fruit trees, a good crop could bring in sums of money ranging up to some 10,000 forints from, for example, ten apple trees (as of 1977-78). However, these endeavours, which ranged beyond the raising of cattle, pigs, poultry, and the growing of vegetables and fruit for domestic consumption, required labour inputs which the services provided by the TSZ rarely fulfilled. The labour problem was less severe if both parents worked on the TSZ, and they were able to keep an eye on developments regarding the livestock, household plot and gardens. However, even in these cases some family members were needed to attend to such tasks.

An extended family was better suited than the nuclear family to fulfilling the labour demands created by cultivating a household plot, raising milch cows, bullocks or pigs, and growing fruit. In Kispalád, where, as mentioned earlier, the extended family was more common, an oft-occurring arrangement was for the physically able, middle-aged or elderly parents, some of whom were retired TSZ members themselves, to care for their own and their married child's private gardens, household plots and livestock. They looked after their

pre-school grandchildren and their own, physically incapacitated parents. Although such parents and their married children sometimes occupied separate houses, they often lived on the same house-plot, in close proximity to one another, they ate together, and when the child and his spouse were at home, they tackled other household and farm tasks together.

On the other hand, school-age children spent at least six hours away from home daily. The grandparents were thereby relieved of having to look after them, but as the grandchildren grew older, this also meant that they were less readily available for doing odd chores around the house. After the eighth grade, their attendance at technical and secondary schools 32 kilometers away, if not more distant, restricted even further their capacity to contribute their labour to the family enterprise.

The pattern which emerges in extended families of Kispalád as of the mid-1970s is that about one child per family remained in the village with his parents after having been educated or trained, and married. The finances for the purchases of flats, cars, etc. elsewhere for the non-resident offspring were supplied largely by the parents, while the child who returned to, or stayed in, the village eventually occupied his parents' or grandparents' house. The previously existing problem of having to split the family's property up among many resident offspring was thereby solved.⁴

However, large sums of money were necessary in order to acquire town accommodation, which in turn required substantial family profits, stemming from both the incomes of the family members and the revenues from the private and household-plot farming activities. Gradually, the recently educated child who remained in the village took over his parents' role as the major wage earner, and the parents became the stay-at-homes who looked after the household plot, the household and

garden, and the members of the eldest and youngest generations.

The problem of allocating time and labour to the household, garden and household plot was less easily resolved within the framework of the nuclear family in the mid-1970s. Botpalád, as mentioned earlier, continued to have a higher proportion of nuclear families than Kispalád, and it is not surprising that a large proportion of the young wives and mothers stayed at home in Botpalád.⁵ When the husband did not work on the collective farm, the family was not entitled to a household plot, and as a result, fewer livestock were kept and the associated tasks were less burdensome; nevertheless, the wives were responsible for the household chores, the pigs and poultry, and much of the cultivation of the private home-gardens. They also cared for the pre-school children. The children who finished their schooling or technical training and then returned to Botpalád sometimes lived with their parents until they were married. However, they contributed less to the completion of tasks associated with their parents' household and farming activities than their counterparts in Kispalád; this was especially true if such young people were employed in light industry, construction or roadworks outside of the village.

Upon marriage, the locally resident offspring of inhabitants of Botpalád who lived in nuclear families set up independent households. They lived, farmed and ate separately from their parents, except for occasional co-operation in the form of non-reciprocated economic help and cooperation on ritual occasions. These ties occasionally intensified when the parents became physically incapacitated, if the offspring and his family took on some of the duties of looking after the elderly villagers, but this was not always the case. On the other hand, the increase in the proportion of young villagers who had left Botpalád allowed the Botpaládians who married and remained to obtain their own property and

houses; therefore, they could live separately from their parents.

The differences in frequency of family types in Botpalád and Kispalád are reflected in the extent to which the local inhabitants made use of the available welfare facilities in the mid-1970s. The Botpaládian mothers of preschool children who did work - usually in connection with the local school - took greater advantage of the local nursery than the Kispaládian mothers. Some ten non-gipsy children from Botpalád attended the local nursery in 1976 and 1977, while the corresponding figure for Kispalád was no more than one. The Kispaládians reasoned that the nursery's facilities were inadequate, and it had been taken over by the gipsy children.⁶ Nonetheless, it is apparent that the Kispaládians, in contrast to the Botpaládians, were able to solve their child-care problems within the family if the mother worked, without much disruption to the organisation of their activities.

There is less apparent variation between the two villages in the proportions of old people who in the mid-1970s were cared for by social welfare. In each of the communities there were some three to five such people who usually had no locally resident close kin. However, as an illustration of the prevalence of the nuclear family amongst the Botpaládians in this regard too, a man who was 82 years old in 1977 lived on the same house-plot as his daughter but in a granary separate from her house, and he was fed through the council's provisions. The living arrangements of this family were inseparable from the poverty of the old man's daughter and her family, as they did not have the means to care for the old man. Such a situation clearly fed back on itself. The nuclear family, as an organisational framework in the village context at the time of fieldwork, was a less effective way of allocating the family's labour and assets than the extended family, as described for Kispalád. Fewer of the family members brought in regular incomes, there was less

of a pooling of resources, and the maintenance of separate households used up more labour and resources than otherwise; all this eventually led to the inability of the married offspring to care materially for their physically incapacitated parents.

In the final stage of the development cycle, after all of the children had married and set up separate families, some elderly couples from Botpalád, who were still physically able, farmed, lived and ate separately from their offspring. They were not in their physical prime, and the people in the mid-1970s who belonged to this category had not acquired a technical training; many were retired, and they therefore belonged to the lower income categories. Although such people often declared that their desires and requirements were limited, it is apparent that material circumstances necessitated a limitation of their cash dealings and restricted their capacity to purchase consumer items or invest in large-scale economic undertakings.

I have noted in this chapter that two types of family existed in Botpalád and Kispalád, both before 1945 and in the mid-1970s: the nuclear family, encompassing two, then three and finally two generations over the developmental cycle, and the extended family, encompassing three, then four, and finally three generations. The nuclear family was more common in Botpalád than in Kispalád while there was a greater frequency of extended families in Kispalád.

Before 1945, economic-occupational variables had a decisive effect on the family type of villagers in certain land-categories and of those who were landless. Landless villagers, people with under 10 kh. of land and those with over 40 kh. lived mainly in nuclear families, and the greater polarisation in the distribution of Botpalád's lands partly explains the greater frequency there of nuclear families. Economic factors did not have as decisive an impact on the family types of villagers with 10-40 kh. Here, where the villagers had more of a

choice as to whether to organise their activities in the framework of a nuclear or an extended family, once more the nuclear family seems to have occurred more frequently in Botpalád, while the extended family was more common in Kispalád. The nuclear family was a less effective framework for organising the villagers' economic activities, but on the other hand the splitting up of the family lands over time posed a problem for the people living in extended families.

In the mid-1970s, the economic-occupational variables which set the framework within which the village families organised their activities differed from those before 1945. Furthermore, the local inhabitants had a choice as to whether both husband and wife should work away from home, and the family was no longer the same kind of unit engaged in production activities that it was before the end of the Second World War. Nonetheless, even with the changes in function, the nuclear family continued to be more common in Botpalád than in Kispalád, while there was a greater frequency of extended families in Kispalád. These variations were associated with the greater success of the extended families of Kispalád in achieving material gains, and the greater use of welfare provisions by the nuclear families in Botpalád.

As indicated earlier, evaluative factors, alongside economic ones, have played a role in the decisions taken by local inhabitants of certain economic-occupational categories regarding whether to organise their activities in a nuclear or extended family. I shall deal more extensively with these evaluative factors in the chapters on rank, which will follow after having discussed marriage and inheritance patterns.

5. INHERITANCE AND MARRIAGE PATTERNS BEFORE AND AFTER 1945.

As in the case of family organisation, inheritance and marriage patterns, which were closely interlinked before 1945, were strongly influenced by economic factors, namely landownership, and they in turn helped to perpetuate politico-economic differentiation between the villagers along family lines, thereby affecting their economic activities. By the mid-1970s, the importance of land as a factor affecting inheritance and marriage patterns had decreased, thus the connection between inheritance and marriage patterns, and economic activities, was more tenuous.

In this chapter, I shall initially discuss inheritance, primarily before 1945, and then I shall deal with local marriage patterns before 1945, in the light of inheritance patterns and material differentiation. I shall then turn to marriage patterns primarily since 1960, in the light of changes in what can be inherited, and this will be followed by a discussion of the norms in the two villages concerning choice of spouse both in past and present. Lastly, I shall trace statistically the frequency over time of local endogamy, that is to say, marriage between two inhabitants of the same village.

I. Inheritance patterns in Botpalád and Kispalád.

According to the local inhabitants, the general practice in both villages before 1945 was for both sons and daughters to inherit equal portions of the family lands.¹ Alternative arrangements also occurred. For example, the daughters sometimes were given a sum of money equal to the value of their portion of land, and the sons retained legal rights over this land. In other, rarer cases, only one son inherited the ancestral lands, and the other sons, together with the daughters, were given their share in money. Such payments usually were

made among the inheritors themselves, following the death of the ancestor or parent who had left the land.

The lands which the husband and wife inherited from their respective parents were officially kept account of separately, unless the lands were legally transferred. The legal titles to both these lands and the property accumulated jointly by the husband and wife were passed on to their offspring, unless special wills were drafted. However, the widow always was legally entitled to the use-rights of her husband's property until her death. This arrangement was not reciprocal; the widower did not enjoy the use-rights to his deceased wife's property.

In some cases, one of the sons was given a higher education, outside the village, and his portion of the land inheritance was small. Such sons, who often were the eldest in the family, then became church vicars, notaries, lawyers or teachers. They often left the village to work elsewhere. Their professions guaranteed them a regular income, and owing to the prestige their education bestowed on them, they were in advantageous situations for marrying the daughters of families with large landholdings.

Special arrangements were made on occasion, according to which the land and house-plot of a childless villager were willed to another person, either a distant relative or an unrelated person, who had cared for the villager in his old age. The inheritance also was willed occasionally to a villager's foster child (neveltgyermek). Before the First World War, there were no legal restrictions on the willing of one's property to someone other than the legal inheritors, i.e. the direct offspring. After that time, however, even if a will was drawn up, the children could not be deprived of more than half of their inheritance.

The inheritance of other material goods, such as livestock and equipment, followed a pattern similar to that of land inheritance. The parental house usually was

inherited by the child who had cared for the parents in their old age, who in most cases was the youngest son.²

In Botpalád, the right to sit in certain church pews was inherited patrilineally. Only certain families were allowed to occupy given pews. The offspring sat in the pew allotted to their father's family, unless their father came from another village, in which case their pew was that of their mother's family. Upon marriage the wife sat in the pew of her husband's family.

The legal arrangements which were associated with the inheritance of immovable and moveable property were made upon the death of the former owner of the property, however the daughters usually received their share of the moveable property upon marriage. Together with their husbands, they were granted informal use-rights to the part of the land which the daughter would eventually inherit.

The size and quality of the dowries with which the girls from the villages began their married life depended largely on the material prosperity of their parental families. Nearly all of them were given linen, towels, cloths, tablecovers, sheets, pillows and eiderdowns which were home-produced before 1960, taking years of preparation before the daughter could be married off. A poorer dowry in Botpalád of the late 1930s included 20 towels, 12 kitchen cloths, 4 tablecloths, 6 sheets, 6 pillow-cases, one feather eiderdown, and possibly one cow. A wealthier dowry included more of everything, along with cows and furniture, if the marriage was to be virilocal. On top of these articles, the well-to-do inhabitants of Kispalád gave their daughters jewellery.

The parents of the husband-to-be usually gave the young couple livestock and granted them the use-rights to some of their land after the marriage, but they did not pay any bridewealth to the parents of the wife-to-be.

After collectivisation in 1960, the major changes to have occurred in the former inheritance patterns involved the arrangements concerning family property

which had been collectivised. The villagers held legal titles to this property, but they did not control the use of the land. If they withdrew their membership from the collective farm, they could not reclaim their land, and its value was paid to them by the collective farm in a lump sum. Furthermore, the annual földjáradék (land-rent) payment could only be inherited by lineal descendants. The transferrals of legal ownership, i.e. the inheritance, of these lands still were recorded at the district's land-registry office, but this practice was being phased out in the mid-1970s.

The inheritance rights to the internal garden and house plots were transferred in a similar fashion as before collectivisation. The disposal of moveable property appeared similar to the mode of transfer before collectivisation, in theory, but in practice the distribution of livestock, equipment and other such items was influenced by whether or not the offspring were involved in farming or keeping livestock at all, and whether or not they lived near to the village of birth.

Dowries still were provided for the daughters of the local inhabitants when they married. The dowries at the time of fieldwork consisted largely of store-bought linen, household furniture and accessories, clothing, and possibly one or two cows, if the young couple was interested in keeping livestock. The quantities of these items had been ever-increasing, in conjunction with the overall rise in material prosperity after 1960. Jewellery still remained an important dowry item among the people of Kispalád.

On the other hand, the economic significance of such a traditional type of dowry had decreased, owing partly to the fact that many parents provided large-scale material support in order to help their offspring set up their own households. Furthermore, the parents of the new husband also made such material contributions after the couple's marriage, making such support more far-reaching and prolonged than previously. In the mid-

1970s, marriage and inheritance were far from being the exclusive occasions at which property transfers were made from one generation to the next within the same family.

The processes of gift-giving, and the quality and quantity of the gifts which were transferred at wedding celebrations also had changed. Wedding guests often presented the bride and groom with items that also constituted part of the dowry, for example sheets, pillowcases and appliances. The dowry therefore had lost its significance even as an exclusive way for the new couple to acquire such goods.

Now that some general patterns of inheritance locally, in the past and present, have been outlined, I shall turn to marriage patterns and discuss them in the light of inheritance.

II. Marriage patterns before and after 1945.

II.1. Types of marriage and inheritance, before and after 1945.

Before discussing marriage patterns in Botpalád and Kispalád prior to and after 1945, it should be pointed out that the types of post-marital residence occurring locally both in the past and at the time of fieldwork included the following: virilocality (wife moves to husband's family house), uxorilocality (husband moves to wife's family house), neolocality (husband and wife move to their own house, separate from those of either spouse's families), local endogamy (marriage between two inhabitants of the same village), and local exogamy (marriage between two inhabitants of different villages). Apart from this there had been cases of marriage between two sets of siblings or cousins, marriage between kin, and on rare occasions a widow had married the brother of her dead husband, or a widower had married the sister of his deceased wife.

Prior to 1945, economic factors such as the available living space, labour and land-inheritance,

together with the villagers' marriage norms, influenced the type of marriage a local inhabitant contracted.

Many villagers reasoned at the time of fieldwork that local inhabitants married endogamously before collectivisation because the parents of the spouses did not want the family lands to fall into the hands of outsiders. As mentioned earlier, all offspring were entitled to a part of the family land inheritance. A son or daughter who married out encountered problems in cultivating the lands in his or her village of birth. A son's successors to the inheritance, who were not born or brought up locally and were connected by matrilineal descent to another village, were unlikely to be considered "natives". In this manner, the lands eventually fell into the hands of so-called outsiders.

However, this process was avoidable in various ways. For example, the daughter who married out of the village sometimes was paid her portion of the land inheritance in the form of money. Another solution was the occasional marriage of the offspring of the exogamously married daughter back into the village of their mother's birth. Such solutions occurred in Botpalád, in particular.

Another course of action was for the locally born son, who was unlikely to inherit enough land to support a family anyway, to marry exogamously into a village where more land was available for purchase at cheaper prices than in his village of birth. The money received for the sale of his land in the village of birth was used to buy up more land in the village into which he married. His new economic position allowed him greater self-sufficiency and the opportunity to organise his farming activities gainfully. His offspring also were in a stronger economic position, whether or not they wanted to marry back into their father's village of birth. The people of Kispalád, especially, followed this strategy, owing to the lesser availability of land per farming

villager, and, according to villagers' accounts, its higher market price.

As regards the house of residence of the newly married couples, the general pattern in both Botpalád and Kispalád was for them to move either to the home of the husband's father, or to the home which the husband had inherited. The villagers reasoned at the time of fieldwork that deviation from this practice, for example the residence of the young couple in the home of the wife's father or on property inherited by the wife, occurred for circumstantial reasons. For example, the wife had no brothers, and therefore the duties of caring for her parents and also the inheritance of the ancestral plot fell on her, while her husband and his parents were unable to offer such spacious living arrangements.

Another, occasionally occurring form of marriage was between two sets of siblings. If these sibling-sets came from different villages, both couples were able to benefit from the resulting inheritance arrangements with a minimum of cash payments if the landholdings of the families of each sibling-set were equivalent. When the sibling-sets consisted of a brother and a sister, each sister who moved to her husband's village forfeited to her brother the rights to her own inheritance of immovable property in the village of birth. In turn, her husband gained the rights to the property of her sister-in-law. Such transactions were preferred by the small landowners who had little cash to spare for giving the marriageable daughters a payment in lieu of their share of the land-inheritance.

Similar arrangements also were possible between a set of brothers and a set of sisters from different villages, if one of the marriages was uxorilocal and the other virilocal. The virilocally married brother gained control over the land to which his uxorilocally married brother had held inheritance rights; the latter exercised control over his wife's inheritance, which had been augmented by the share of his wife's virilocally married

sister. However, this type of arrangement did not involve an exact equivalence in material exchanges between the spouses' families, because the daughters were given dowries, while the sons' families did not have to make reciprocal expenditures of the same type.

Exogamous marriage arrangements between sibling-sets, intended to serve the family's material interests as described above, differed from endogamous marriages in that the couple did not have access to both husband's and wife's land inheritance. On the other hand, an endogamously married man was near both to his own and his wife's inheritance, and it was not necessary for the spouses to receive their shares in the form of money.

Furthermore, siblings, usually brothers, were able to remain joint owners of the family land after their father's death. In this manner, they prevented the legal division of the property, irrespective of the extent to which they farmed together in practice. The process of dividing up the family land amongst the siblings, if and when this happened, was known as osztályra menni. In one case, two brothers married two sisters and held joint ownership rights to the properties they had inherited. However, they farmed their informally divided-up shares of the land separately.

Other cases of marriage between two sets of siblings or cousins were endogamous. Some of these marriages, among families with lesser means to pay off in cash the daughter's share of the inheritance, each involved two brother-and-sister sets.

The remarriage of a widowed spouse with the sibling of his or her deceased spouse occurred occasionally, although infrequently. This type of arrangement held advantages for the families of the dead husband and for the widower. The dead husband's brother, via marriage with the widow, gained control over the husband's property. The use-rights to this property otherwise would have fallen to the widow, and the inheritance to the children. A widower, by marrying his

dead wife's sister, was less likely to have to deal with claims by his wife's kin to their share of the inheritance. Furthermore, the widower held no legal use-rights to the deceased wife's land in the early 20th century, and he overcame this obstacle via this type of marriage.

Both parents had a say in the selection of their offsprings' marriage partners in the past, however the father's word was usually final. He was the major decision-maker regarding how much to contribute to the young couple's new household, while the mother was in charge of arranging the wedding ceremony and making sure that it was carried out according to expectations. However, these activities involved all the family members, and any refusal on the part of the future bride or groom to comply with the wishes of the parents or family members was likely to result in the withdrawal of financial support and social contact.

The impact of such sanctions became less far-reaching after the collectivisation of the local lands and the increase in the independent employment of young villagers. Yet, although there had been a loosening up of parental control over spouse selection in some local families, in many households parental wishes still remained a major factor which had to be taken into consideration, and this was the subject of widespread complaint among the young in the mid-1970s.

Otherwise, after the collectivisation of the local lands in 1960, land inheritance became negligible as a factor affecting the types of post-marital residence amongst the inhabitants of Botpalád and Kispalád. Post-marital residence at the time of fieldwork was affected by the available living space and labour considerations.

Many people had left the two villages over the previous decades, leaving more houses vacant for young couples to inhabit. Neolocal marriages had become more common, especially among couples whose parents built for them a new house. Labour considerations affected

marriages in the mid-1970s because, as discussed in the chapter on family organisation, the extended family provided the best framework for making the most of the labour force within the family. On the other hand, the members of some extended families lived under separate roofs but nevertheless performed some of their production activities together, and they consumed and managed their affairs jointly. In such cases, the extended family was compatible with the neolocal marriage of a young couple joining the family, if they lived close to one another within the village.

II.2. Marriage norms.

Having discussed the different types of post-marital residence together with their economic ramifications, before and after 1945, I shall now deal with the locally prevailing marriage rules, or norms. These norms have not changed dramatically over the past 40 years, so I shall discuss such norms, both past and present, together.

All of the people of Botpalád are expected by their fellow-villagers to marry endogamously, with someone of an equal rank and wealth who also fits the secondary criteria of a good husband or wife. The secondary criteria of a good husband stipulate that he should be hard-working, a good farmer and provider for the family who does not drink away his income; he should be able to have a good time; he should have a stalwart physique and an imposing appearance. The secondary requirements of a good wife stipulate that she be clever with her hands and have a knack for everything; she should be willing to withstand harsh treatment without quarrelling; she should have moral decency, strength and a winning appearance.

In Kispalád, there is no such normative ideal of endogamy, and the villagers do not express extreme opinions on the subject of either endogamy or exogamy. Nonetheless, the implicit rule has been for the spouses

to have descended from families of similar economic status, or that they be of similar economic status. The personal qualities sought by the Kispaládians in a proper husband or wife do not differ much from those of the Botpaládians, although the people of Kispalád lay greater stress on the virtues of diligence.

Family interests govern the selection of the villagers' spouses, the conditions of the marriage agreement, and the scale and type of marriage ceremony. Offspring at the time of fieldwork who had left the village and found a spouse in their new place of residence were less subject to their own families' wishes in this regard. Nevertheless, the children who remained in the villages often found their families' desires restrictive.

The structured occasions for courting include dances, weddings, group work occasions such as spinning bees and hemp-softening in the past, or jam-cooking which still continued at the time of fieldwork, and special nights of the week which have been set aside for courting. Such occasions usually involve adult supervision. Furthermore, the proximity of the village houses to one another, the general focus of the local inhabitants' interest on street life, and the existing, extended gossip networks all act against courting on the sly without the knowledge of one's parents. These same factors even function as checks on the privacy of the young people's activities when they frequent other villages or small towns of the region.

The primary norms defining the set of villagers from amongst whom the local inhabitants choose spouses are rank (rang) and wealth (mód) in Botpalád, and wealth (mód) in Kispalád. Local patterns of interkin marriage among the villagers will be discussed below in the light of these norms. The terms rang and mód will be analysed in detail in a later chapter on ranking categories. For the time being, suffice it to say that the semantic nuances and content of these terms are wide-ranging.

Nevertheless, former landownership, one of the criteria used in assessing mód and rang in the past, and the family surname, as one of the aspects of rang, are both elements which can indicate the extent to which such criteria have actually restricted the villagers' choices of spouse.

The surnames which appear in the family trees of the inhabitants of Botpalád represent a smaller proportion of the total number of surnames in the village than in Kispalád. Furthermore, in some cases these surnames have recurred from generation to generation. For example, marriages in Botpalád have been frequent between villagers with the surnames Papp, Debreceni, Varga, Dobos and Bodor, or between people named Kövér, Veres, Török, Kocsis and Ombódy, provided their landholding and/or occupational statuses have been similar. However, it has not been local practice for people from the first set of names to marry people from the second set, for example, people with the name Debreceni did not marry those called Kocsis unless they had lost all of their lands and their economic situation left them with no choice but to marry below their name.

Spouse-selection for most people in Botpalád has meant not only finding someone belonging to a predetermined set of families, but also coming across a person whose parents' landholdings equalled those of one's own parents. The restrictions imposed by such considerations on the number of villagers who could be viewed as potential spouses have led to small compromises regarding property, with differences of up to 10-15 kh. between the lands of the husband's and the wife's parents.

In Kispalád, the major consideration in seeking a spouse has been the family property-holdings or current economic means irrespective of name. This is reflected by the fact that the family trees in Kispalád include a larger proportion of the total number of surnames occurring in the village. It has been permitted for a

person named Bartha to marry a Cserepes, a Tóth, an Angyalossy, a Török, an Oláh, a Bakk, a Balogh, a Józsa, a Fórizs, a Rozsályi, a Nagy, an Érodödi, or any other villager provided that they have been of similar landowning status, or currently are of similar economic means. One name in particular, Angyalossy, has been considered a "good name", and people bearing this name have been preferred as potential spouses. However, this can be explained by the fact that most of the largest local landowners, with over 40 kh., have been named Angyalossy.

The Kispaládian landowners with between 10 and 40 kh. were a mixed bunch from the viewpoint of surname, and given the limited upward and downward mobility in the local landowning hierarchy of the early 20th century, there has been nothing to prevent the intermarriage of an Angyalossy with 20 kh. with any other villager having the same amount of land, or an Angyalossy possessing 60 kh. with a Cserepes of similar landowning status.

The people of Kispalád have rationalised the intermarriage of distant kin with the same surname by saying they belong to different fajta, an expression which serves to delimit a range of kin outside of which a villager may marry.³ Villagers of the same surname have belonged to different fajta, which in turn have been distinguished from each other by a prefixing nickname or initial, and in this manner the range of villagers from whom they have been able to choose spouses has expanded. In any case, the limited variety of surnames occurring in Kispalád indicates that marriages with other villagers of the same surname, and also the intermarriage of villagers of similar landowning or current economic status, irrespective of name, have both occurred.

All of the Kispaládians ultimately may have intermarried, and in actuality they all may be related to one another, but the appearance of there being kinship ties between all of the local inhabitants is heightened by a wider recognition and greater awareness of their kin

than is the case in Botpalád. On the other hand, the apparently lesser degree of general inter-marriage among the Botpaládian families appears to have resulted from the more restricted and selective acknowledgement of kinship, and the limiting effect rang has had on spouse-selection, on top of landowning or occupational status.

II.3. Local endogamy over time.

I have already pointed out a link between inheritance patterns and special types of marriage, for example between two sets of siblings, close kin such as first or second cousins, and marriage to the brother of one's dead husband or sister of one's dead wife. Inheritance is also linked to the frequency of endogamy and exogamy, as well as uxorilocality and virilocality. Since the large-scale collectivisation of the lands of Botpalád and Kispalád in 1960, the above types of marriage have undergone change. Special arrangements such as marriage between two sibling-sets have become rarer. On the other hand, the occurrence of exogamy, especially into villages, towns or cities outside of the region, has increased. With the increased availability of living quarters for each local inhabitant, the proportion of uxori-local and viri-local marriages has evened out, and the establishment of neolocal households has become a more frequent phenomenon. The above, post-collectivisation developments have been more pronounced in Kispalád, where the factor of landownership was indisputably the major consideration in spouse-selection. I shall now trace statistically one aspect of these developments, the trends in local endogamy and exogamy over time, with the use of the local church records.⁴

If the assumption is made that until 1960 the majority of marriages were viri-local, as indicated by local inhabitants' accounts, then these church data indicate mainly the proportion of women to marry out of the village, the proportion of men who recruited their wives from elsewhere, and the proportion who married

endogamously, from the late 18th century until the time of fieldwork (see Table 22).

Both Botpalád and Kispalád showed similar trends from the late 18th century until the mid-1970s. Before 1853, which was the fifth year after the abolition of serfdom and the final year in which the church entries distinguished the nobles from the "taxpayers" accordingly, the proportion of endogamy to exogamy was quite evenly balanced (45%-55%, and 43-57%). In spite of the variation between the two villages regarding marriage rules, there was little statistical variation for this period.

The years 1854-1919 showed a sudden jump, of some 26-28%, in the relative frequency of endogamy. The proportion of endogamy between 1920 and 1945 declined slightly in Botpalád (from 73% to 70%), and more sharply in Kispalád (from 69% to 55%). This variation between the two villages narrowed once more in the post Second World War period, as the proportion of endogamy dropped to 44% (Botpalád) and 39% (Kispalád) respectively.

In theory, one consequence of the abolition of serfdom was that land became a freely marketable commodity. Years passed before the effects of this development were felt in the area of Botpalád and Kispalád. It is nonetheless likely that the increase in endogamy reflected an attempt on the part of the villagers to keep control over their family property and to accumulate these lands by marrying within the village.

TABLE 22

FREQUENCY AND RANGE OF LOCAL EXOGAMY VS. ENDOGAMY

	Bot- pal. 1782- 1853	Kis- pal. 1777- 1853	Bot- pal. 1854- 1919	Kis- pal. 1854- 1919	Bot- pal. 1920- 1945	Kis- pal. 1920- 1945	Bot- pal. 1946- 1977	Kis- pal. 1946- 1977	Bot- pal. 1961- 1977	Kis- pal. 1961- 1977
Endogamy: number of marriages	156	194	335	345	126	84	76	53	21	19
Endogamy: percentage out of total marriages	45%	43%	73%	69%	70%	55%	44%	39%	27%	23%
Exogamy within 150 km: number	189	249	121	144	51	62	62	65	35	55
Exogamy within 150 km: percentage out of all exogamous marriages	100%	98%	99%	95%	96%	91%	63%	77%	61%	87%
Exogamy within 150 km: percentage out of all marriages	55%	56%	26%	29%	29%	41%	35%	47%	45%	67%
Exogamy outside 150 km: number	0	5	1	8	2	6	36	19	22	8
Exogamy outside 150 km: percentage out of all exogamous marriages	0%	2%	1%	5%	4%	9%	37%	23%	39%	13%
Exogamy outside 150 km: percentage out of all marriages	0%	1%	.2%	2%	1%	4%	21%	14%	28%	10%
Exogamy - wife from village: number of marriages	124	123	104	136	44	51	71	59	35	51
Exogamy - wife from village: percentage out of exogamous marriages	66%	48%	85%	89%	82%	75%	73%	70%	61%	81%
Exogamy-husband from village: number of marriages	65	132	18	16	10	17	26	25	22	12
Exogamy-husband from village: percentage out of exogamous marriages	34%	52%	15%	11%	18%	25%	27%	30%	39%	19%

The one-time peasant-nobles who had lost many of their privileges, such as tax-exemption, and the former serfs, who had redeemed and become the legal owners of the lands they cultivated, both seem to have tried to defend or promote their own interests by endogamous marriage. The family holdings became increasingly parcellised over the generations, and in order to counteract this, the Kispaládians in particular looked outside the village for the purpose of making economically advantageous marriages.

Parcellisation does not seem to have been such a problem in Botpalád, partly because the occasional loss of lands through indebtedness and the auctioning off of some of this property provided a potential source for replenishing the family properties of the wealthy landowners. However, even the newly impoverished villagers do not seem to have tried to improve on their situations by marrying exogamously in the ways described earlier. The effects of parcellisation, which were felt more by the Kispaládians than the Botpaládians, became marked during the years between the two World Wars, a time during which the occupations of the two villages remained agricultural.

The drop in endogamy in both villages after 1946, and particularly after collectivisation, is not surprising. For the villagers who were discouraged from living directly off of the land, as well as for those who joined the collective farm (most of the farming villagers after 1960), the issue of trying to increase the family property via strategic marriages which did not infringe upon the local marriage rules lost economic relevance. The only land-plots which at the time of fieldwork could be enlarged somewhat in this manner were the house-lots with living quarters. From the viewpoint of getting ahead economically, the issue of making effective use of family labour had gained importance, as opposed to landownership.

There was little variation between Botpalád and Kispalád regarding the relative frequencies of endogamy and exogamy in the post-war and post-collectivisation period. Nevertheless, differences are apparent if the distances of the villages or towns or cities into which the local inhabitants married exogamously are considered.

Before 1945, a negligible proportion of the villagers married exogamously outside of the range of some 150 kilometers. After 1946, this proportion jumped to 21% in Botpalád, and only 14% in Kispalád (or 37% and 23% of the exogamous marriages respectively). After 1960 in particular, this differential increase between the two villages became more marked - 28% of the total marriages (39% of the exogamous marriages) in Botpalád, and 10% of the total marriages (13% of the exogamous marriages) in Kispalád were outside the range of 150 kilometers.

The industrialisation and urbanisation of the countryside after the Second World War allowed the villagers to marry and remain in the vicinity of their village of birth, while they at the same time were employed in occupations other than working the land. In any case, it was possible to maintain stronger kinship ties with the parental family of the villager who married out. Such villagers were able to interact and cooperate economically on a periodic basis, and at the same time optimise their labour - which often was skilled. Such tendencies, as already mentioned in the chapter in family organisation, were more apparent among the Kispaládians.⁵

The postmarital residence of inhabitants of Botpalád and Kispalád has also been affected by political factors. The redrawing of the political map, thus resulting in the separation of the two villages from other communities which now belong to the Soviet Union and Romania, has curtailed the establishment of marriage ties with the inhabitants of these places, especially since 1945. However, rather than contributing to a change in the overall frequencies of exogamy and endogamy, such political developments appear to have led,

rather, to a displacement of the communities with which the Botpaládians and Kispaládians have been affinally connected. Instead of extending to the east, south and northeast, such ties now extend to the west and southwest - to the more central parts of present-day Hungary.

In conclusion, it has emerged that land inheritance has become negligible as a factor affecting the types of marriage contracted locally, thereby leading to a decrease in the frequency of marriage between sibling-sets and cousins, interkin marriage, and marriage with the sibling of one's deceased spouse. Together with other recent economic developments, the diminished importance of land has resulted in the more common occurrence of neolocal marriage, exogamy and greater numbers of exogamous marriages into villages, towns or cities outside of the Botpalád-Kispalád area.

Nonetheless, in spite of the above-mentioned differences between present and past marriage patterns in the two villages, there appears to be a continuity with the past in the ranges of intermarrying residents of each village. In Botpalád, the set of local inhabitants from which a given villager chose, and now chooses, his spouse has been more restricted than the range of potential spouses in Kispalád. This difference between Botpalád and Kispalád appears to be associated with the differing criteria used locally in spouse-selection.

In the past two chapters I have discussed family organisation, inheritance and marriage patterns in Botpalád and Kispalád, and found these aspects of local life to have been influenced by, and in turn, to have exerted an impact on, the villagers' economic situations and activities. At the same time, the attitudes and values of the local inhabitants also have had a subtle impact on the family, inheritance and marriage. These attitudes and values have been closely associated with the villagers' views of status differentiation, a topic I shall turn to in the following chapters.

6. BOTPALAD AND KISPALAD: RANKING CATEGORIES AND VIEWS OF STATUS DIFFERENTIATION.

In the following chapters I shall consider the views of status differentiation adopted by the inhabitants of Botpalád and Kispalád at the time of fieldwork, and in the course of doing so I shall discuss the ranking categories they used. For such purposes I shall define ranking to be the process whereby the villagers establish a pecking order between the local families - i.e. place these families in positions of superiority or subordination relative to one another.

There may be large-scale variation from one person to the next, regarding the type of hierarchy they envisage and the criteria according to which this hierarchy is established. Each villager may have a unique view of status differentiation, and furthermore, this view may be subconscious rather than constituting a consciously recognised model in their minds. On the basis of the two central concepts, rangos and módos, I, for purposes of analysis, shall construct some general types of ranking hierarchies, and I shall refer to these constructions as ranking models.

Ranking cannot be understood without considering the individual's social environment. As it will emerge in later chapters, the villager's outlook on status differentiation has an impact on his social milieu, and his ideas about rank cannot be divorced from his family's legal and economic background. In this chapter, it also will become apparent that a villager's ranking criteria sometimes derive from the immediate social context.

As units to be ranked in relation to one another, I shall focus on families which have possessed property or resided locally, or both. In the chapter on family organisation, it was already pointed out that both the nuclear (2-3-2 generation) and the extended (3-4-3 generation) family have been the minimal organisational units to engage in common economic activities and to

maintain a degree of cohesiveness. Over recent years the number of wage-earners within each family has increased, but many of these job holders contribute their earnings and labour to the family enterprise, and the family remains the dominant economic unit.

Therefore, families also are the minimal units between which material differentiation can take place. Since in a later chapter I shall discuss ranking models in the light of such differentiation, it is only logical that the family unit should serve as a focus of analysis.

Furthermore, the Botpaládians and Kispaládians continue to identify the local inhabitants by reference to their family. The word for family, család, can crop up in any of its meanings when the local inhabitants describe one another, and családból való ("of a family") is a common phrase which accompanies many descriptive references.

I shall restrict most of the discussion of ranking categories and models to the two fieldwork villages. This limitation is necessary in order to give a comprehensive historical analysis based on written and oral data. It also enables a more thorough examination of how the villagers' views of status differentiation affected other aspects of local life at the time of fieldwork. Such comprehensive treatment would be difficult in an urban context, where other factors such as open-ended social networks, ethnic and religious variation would complicate an analysis of ranking. However, I have no intention to underestimate a priori the significance of ranking processes in an urban setting.

I obtained the data on ranking categories and views of status differentiation via intensive interviews and constant participant observation. I conducted some 200 interviews which included questions directly relating to rank, and I recorded many spontaneous comments or events which were later found to have a bearing on this same topic. I attempted to note down this information as

near to verbatim as possible. Such attempts were successful in over three-quarters of the cases, but on other occasions in order to maintain the spontaneity of the original situation I had to record the information from memory. My first ideas and questions about ranking were based on general impressions, and subsequent endeavours at systematic data-gathering should help to have counterbalanced any overly impressionistic trends in the material itself.

In later chapters I shall discuss the effects of different views of status differentiation on other aspects of local life, and I shall also treat rank in an historical context. Beforehand, I shall examine the ranking categories rangos and módos, and on the basis of these concepts I shall, as mentioned above, construct some general ranking models. Any references to the "current" ethnographic present of course pertain to conditions as they were at the time of fieldwork, in the mid-1970s.

I. Rang and mód: some general comments.

The following analysis is based on the two concepts of rang and mód. Both words in their noun (rang, mód) and adjectival (rangos, módos) forms occur with equal frequency in Botpalád. On the other hand, in Kispalád mód/módos is by far the more commonly heard word. In the two villages, rang/rangos was recorded to have been used on more than 600 different occasions, in contrast to the 300 recordings of mód/módos. However, owing to its intangibility, the concept rang necessitated more extensive questioning in order to clarify its meanings, so these figures for the two words do not reflect the frequency of their spontaneous, everyday use.

Irrespective of the frequency of their local occurrence, rang and mód touch on sensitive issues among the villagers. The meanings and importance which one person attributes to these words may be vehemently

disputed by the next. Owing to their controversial nature, rang and mód merit closer examination.

Furthermore, it will soon become apparent that the two words as they are used in Botpalád suggest very different qualities. Rang is intangible, and it usually refers to one's descent, while mód is far more concrete and is associated directly with one's material assets. The two words suggest different outlooks on society, perspectives which may potentially conflict with one another. Therefore, a focus on both rang and mód is all the more worthwhile.

The dictionary equivalent of rang is rank, standing or status.¹ The Concise Hungarian Explanatory Dictionary (Magyar Ertelmező Kéziszótár 1972: 1145)) gives the following meanings which are of interest: 1. "In feudal and bourgeois social hierarchies, the privileged social position which determines the respect or title which a person will be accorded. 2. A person's post which will define his sphere of work and influence. 3. The importance or esteemed quality of something which results from its social role."

In the above sense a rangos person is someone of higher rank, or a person whose rank distinguishes him from the others. The Hungarian Explanatory Dictionary also gives an alternative meaning, which refers to behaviour. Although in this sense rangos suggests a quality of dignity, in colloquial usage it may carry perjorative nuances, for instance acting distinguished in a snobbish, haughty manner (A Magyar Nyelv Ertelmező Szótára, volume 5 1966: 924; Ország 1953: 1089).

Rang is believed to be of German origin, and its roots allegedly go back to the Old Lower Frankish language. The word was introduced to Hungary via French transmission during the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), as a military expression meaning a line of troops (hadsor). In the sense of the position, grade or importance held in a given order or system, rang's written appearance has

been dated to 1725-64 (A Magyar Nyelv Történeti-Etimológiai Szótár, volume 3 1976: 344).

Among the definitions for módos, the following are noteworthy (A Magyar Nyelv Ertelmező Szótára, volume 5 1966: 11): "1. Wealthy, well-to-do, with material resources or assets (It may be used to qualify material objects such as clothing, in which case it again indicates wealth). 2. Suitable or proper behaviour in a given context or situation (rare). 3. Attractive, pretty, pleasant to the eye." The earliest known Hungarian occurrence of módos in written sources was 1604, however mód, the noun from which it was derived, has been found in earlier documents.

Mód is believed to originate from the Latin modus, from which it was transmitted in the Medieval Latin form. During and after the late 14th to early 15th centuries, mód appeared in documents and carried a variety of meanings. These meanings include the following (A Magyar Nyelv Történeti-Etimológiai Szótár, volume 2 1970: 939-940): The form of appearance; the order or form of an action or process; material or mental condition, or capacity to carry out something; custom; extent; possibility; propriety; style; fashion; method; and health. In the sense of condition or capacity to carry out something, mód first appeared in 1474.

Most city dwellers are acquainted with the terms rang and mód. However, as mentioned earlier, my discussion will focus on the terms' meanings and uses in the two fieldwork villages. My first task will be to clarify the nuances of rang and mód, as they are used by the villagers.

II. The concept of rang as distinct from mód (Botpalád).

Similarly to the dictionary definitions, the Botpaládians use rangos in two senses. It may imply the "true" status of a family, a status which is allegedly an accepted fact of local life. The villagers may also use rangos to refer to what they believe are unfounded

attitudes or behaviour, in which case they believe such attributes are not based on external "reality". Whether it describes a fact or attitudes and behaviour, rangos may refer to the past or to the present-day situation.

The Botpaládians find rang difficult to define by just giving one synonym or listing one attribute. A set of other descriptive, and sometimes more specific terms are given, however these qualifying terms vary greatly from one villager to the next. None of the qualifying terms are identical with rang, but there is some overlap between them and the less tangible, but for our purposes more central concept. By treating the qualifying terms as criteria of rang, an idea of the greatest possible range of rang's meanings may emerge. If the economic, political, cultural and social dimensions of the terms are considered, a picture may also take shape of rang's local ramifications.

II.1. Rang as a "true" status.

Many of the Botpaládians who use rangos as a description of "true" status associate this concept with nobility in the past or with families at present who are said to be of noble (nemes) descent. They state that noble ancestry is the cause of rang in the first place. Often the rangos families are further specified as being of a good name (jónevü) or a good family (jó család). The pure-blooded, ancient, autochthonous (törzsökös or tösgyökeres) families are believed to be the more rangos ones. The rangos families are also associated with being more gentlemanlike (úri), educated (müvelt), entitled to live like a gentleman (úr) and to be addressed accordingly (urazás). The gipsies and villagers who have descended from landless farm servants, animal herders and agricultural labourers are said to be without rank (rangtalan). On the other hand, being a pure-blooded magyar and having owned land, thereby having been módos, a landowning peasant (gazda) or landowner (birtokos) may

also contribute to the rang of a local family. I shall now examine more closely the above expressions.²

1. nemes (noble): The Botpaládians usually use the word nemes in an historical sense. Most villagers are familiar with the expression, and they explain the nemesi világ ("world of nobles") as having been a system before their time which involved nobles and serfs (jobbágy). The villagers give varying, and sometimes erroneous, accounts of the actual time when there was a "world of nobles", and their accounts of the rights of nobles also differ.

Some villagers say that the "world of nobles" existed as early as the signing of King Endre II's Golden Bull (Aranybulla) in 1222. Other Botpaládians believe that nobility was granted recently by Francis Joseph, the Hapsburg emperor from 1848-1916 and King of Hungary from 1867-1916. The "world of nobles" is also associated with periods of time between these two extremes.

The nobles are remembered as having held a variety of privileges, ranging from tax-exemption and exemption from military service to the possession of noble documents, sanctuary on their own lands from the Hapsburg gendarmes, and having the right of way when encountering serfs. Some local inhabitants state that the nobles owned "noble land" (nemesi birtok), and in this sense they were large farmers (nagygazda). The serfs or peasants worked for them and called them úr (sir).

These depictions of nobility originate in part from oral traditions which were passed by word of mouth and occasionally written down by the local clergymen, teachers and other professionals. These traditions drew on "old books", documents and church records which listed the noble families in the region. The villagers' present knowledge of nobility also stems from the information on national history which they acquired at school.

Irrespective of their otherwise differing depictions of nobility, the Botpaládians agree that during this "world of nobles" the title of nobility was granted to many of the local families. A few villagers stress the importance of nobility with respect to status differentiation in the past:

"Perhaps their ancestors were nobles. They behaved as if they were nobles . . . they considered themselves superior. They did not deign to speak with others, they did not speak with them as if they were humans".³ (Description of the village mayor's family before the Second World War)

A number of local inhabitants explicitly define a rangos family as one of noble descent, or they assert that the noble families became rangos after the abolition of serfdom.

"A rangos family means that someone descends from a more noble family. His ancestors were noble. This is still very important, it is borne in mind . . . "⁴

"The letter of nobility was granted during the time of Maria Theresa. When an end was brought to this, those families who had been nobles or who had possessed a letter of nobility considered themselves to be rangos. Kossuth was the one who established equality."⁵

Other Botpaládians do not openly acknowledge a connection between noble descent and rang. Nevertheless, they do allow for an indirect link between the two attributes. Many local families which they say are of noble origins are also described by them as rangos.

2. jó család (good family): Jó család refers to a family which is evaluated positively by the villagers on the basis of any quality - education, material possessions, a "good" surname, or any other characteristic. Jó család may be used together with rangos in order to emphasise the positive qualities of the family described. On the other hand, the reasons one villager gives for calling a

family a "good family" may directly contradict the reasons given by another villager:

"The names which end in -i or -y are considered to be Magyar. This also means that a person is descended from a good family."⁶

"The name does not count. For instance, there is a gipsy named Nádasdi, you do not need a better Magyar name. The name does not count. A good name does not mean that it is a good family."⁷

Whereas one Botpaládian might describe a family as "good" because in the past it farmed its own lands, another villager might refer to a family as "good" despite its lack of landed property. These different uses of the expression arise because the local inhabitants do not always concur in what they mean by "good".

3. jónevü (of a good name): Jónevü refers specifically to the formal qualities of a villager's surname. As apparent from the above examples, a good name is usually believed to end in -i or -y. A good name may be further described as magyaros (Magyar-like) or nemes (noble). Many Botpaládians acknowledge the continued importance at present of having a good name, and the connection between having a good name and rang is often evident:

"Tasnády, Thúry, Pinkóczy. They know who they are, what kind of ancestors they have, they consider these to be noble names. For instance, Gusztáv Tasnády objected to one of his sons-in-law being named Varga, not Tasnády."⁸

"Rang went according to the name. This still holds now."⁹

"In the village it is still noted who has what kind of name. For instance, Babica Papp married a man who was beneath her rang. This would not have happened in the past."¹⁰

Some of the gipsies are acknowledged to have "good", Magyar names - e.g. that of Nádasdi. Most of the names of the other Magyarised Botpaládian gipsies end in -i too (e.g. Pataki, Lendvai). Other non-gipsies or villagers with mixed blood, whose immediate forebears

were landless, also have "good" names (e.g. Váloci, Szöllösi, Ombódi, Diószegi). By virtue of their name, they may strengthen their claims to rang. Name-kinship (névrokonság), which occurs when apparently unrelated villagers share the same surname, may also provide a basis for strengthening one's claims to rang, and this institution further emphasises the importance of the formal qualities of one's surname.

4.a.& b. törzsökös (pure-blooded), tösgyökeres (ancient, pure-blooded): The Botpaládians use törzsökös and tösgyökeres in order to emphasise the length of time which the family they are describing has resided locally. The more ancient families have better claims to being "native", pure-blooded Botpaládians.

The expression törzsökös (pure-blooded) also suggests that the family described is of noble descent. Some villagers believe that Botpalád's first settlers were granted nobility and land; therefore they connect the most ancient families with nobility and landownership in the distant past:

"The Pinkóczy's also were nobles . . . Their ancestors could have been here when Bot Pál first settled in 1100, 1200. Bot Pál was the village's first landlord, then it could have had about 100 inhabitants, among them were the Pinkóczy's . . . In those days they gathered the people, they said that the serfs should come here, they would grant them free land . . . Gábor Kánya and Endre Kánya considered themselves kin of one another, they too were pure-blooded, certainly their ancestors lived here during the time of Bot Pál."¹¹

"The more pure-blooded families, rather, were the rangos ones, nobles who had a coat-of-arms with a five-pointed crown."¹²

A villager's claims to rang are strengthened if he belongs to an ancient Botpaládian family, or is a truly native inhabitant, and thereby merits the label törzsökös (pure-blooded) or tösgyökeres (ancient).

"In establishing rang . . . it counts how ancient the family is, it is much better if the family is old, and if the family was noble . . . Rangtalan people are those who are descended from families which moved into the village . . ." ¹³

"More prestige is accorded to a family which is ancient." ¹⁴

"If someone came here to Botpalád from elsewhere, he did not have the same rang as those who were born here." ¹⁵

"The pure-blooded always lived in the village, they looked down on the newly settled people, if they had an argument they already lashed back at them 'you newcomer'. They said the same to the children and grandchildren of the newly settled villagers, their ancestors' origins . . . The pure-blooded consider themselves more rangos than the newcomers, it is still like that." ¹⁶

Although the actual time deemed necessary for a family to be törzsökös (pure-blooded) or tösgyökeres (ancient) may vary from villager to villager, the lower limit is about three generations of local residence. The expressions törzsökös and tösgyökeres also measure a family's assimilation into the Botpaláodian Magyar community. People of different ethnicity, such as gypsies, or Ruthenians who moved in before 1945, cannot become native, pure-blooded Botpaládians. Before the Second World War the locally resident Jews were not considered tösgyökeres. Participation in everyday life has also been necessary in order for a family to be considered native, for instance the few non-resident landlords who owned estates on Botpalád's outskirts before 1945 were not called tösgyökeres.

4.c.& d. idegen (stranger, foreign), bekerült (newly settled, newcomer): The Botpaládians use the expressions idegen (stranger) and bekerült (newly settled) in direct contrast to törzsökös (pure-blooded) and tösgyökeres (ancient). People who are described as idegen or bekerült are not considered true, native Botpaládians.

Idegen (stranger) refers to anyone who does not belong to the village, whether or not he resides locally. A person who was born in a village six kilometers away, a person from Budapest and someone from abroad may all equally be described by this expression as foreign.

A bekerült (newly settled person) is someone who has moved into Botpalád but who is still viewed as an outsider. This word has already appeared in some of the examples given for the use of törzsökös (pure-blooded) and tösgyökeres (ancient) (see above).

It may take more than three generations of continuous residence in Botpalád for the labels bekerült or idegen to wear thin. All Botpaládians are aware of the derogatory nuances of these terms, and to be called bekerült or idegen is viewed as an expression of contempt.

The label jött-ment (vagabond, comer-and-goer) may be heard in open accusations or behind-the-back gossip, and its negative connotations are undisputed.

5.a. úri (gentlemanlike): As a label for the local elite, úr (gentleman) usually occurs as the antithesis of paraszt (peasant) or any agricultural worker. The Botpaládians say that the úr (gentleman) distanced himself from the farming tasks in the past, and instead he hired farm servants, seasonal labourers and other workers. The ultimate sign of being an úr (gentleman) before 1945 was having one's sons educated professionally. If an úr could not provide a secondary education for his daughters, he at least kept them away from the menial farming chores and let them do their needlework at home all day.

One Botpaládian describes such a family which "did not work" (nem vették fel a munkát) as having the úri nyavalya (úri, or gentleman's, malady). Another villager claims that although his father owned 20 kh. (11.46 ha.), he uraskodott (played the gentleman) and opened a public bar and store - in other words, he avoided working the

land with his own two hands. Finally, when listing different types of social groups, a few villagers oppose the peasants to the úrs (a paraszt az úrral szemben).

The landworking villagers were expected to use a distinctive form of address when speaking with an úr (gentleman). The word úr (sir or Mr.) followed the surname or the occupational title of the person who was addressed, and the formal third-person verb forms were employed. If such villagers spoke to the wife or unmarried daughter of an úr (gentleman), the word úr (sir, Mr.) was replaced by asszony (Madam) or kisasszony (Miss). This form of address was called urazás. The urazás is often associated with having been rangos.

" . . . the rangos people in the past boasted about their letter of nobility. They said that they had one, and behaved accordingly. They gave themselves airs, they demanded to be addressed as sir, that they be called sir."¹⁷

Apart from referring to the members of families who did not till the soil with their own hands, úri may describe a way of life in itself. Uri módon élni means "to live in the manner of an úr (gentleman)". In the past, regardless of whether or not he was considered an úr, a villager living in the manner of one had a distinctive lifestyle which set him apart from the landworking Botpaládians. "To live in the manner of a gentleman" sometimes referred to eating habits, such as consuming a lot of meat and eating white bread or fine brioche (kalács) made out of wheat. "To live in the manner of a gentleman" occasionally meant the possession of clothing which was not homespun or was otherwise distinctive - for instance the men's white gloves; the women's hats, silk stockings and dresses, for which the materials were purchased at fairs. Other manifestations of a life of luxury, for example driving down the street in a coach drawn by four horses, also gave rise to comments about living like a gentleman.

"Farmers who were not good . . . lived carelessly, like gentlemen. They borrowed at interest from the Jews, the better part of their crops went on that . . . The people who lived like gentlemen dressed differently and better than the peasants, for instance as people dress today, but this was not possible then. They had to be addressed as sir."¹⁸

The verb urizál (give oneself airs) suggests that a person displays the characteristics of an úr (gentleman) without actually being entitled to do so. In the past, the daughter of a landworking peasant who wore makeup or a hat was branded by the use of this word, and nowadays the gipsies who stroll down the street in the latest fashions may be similarly accused of giving themselves airs. Local girls who have moved to the city often are accused of unfoundedly acting like úr (gentlefolk) on their return visits.

"The village girls go to Budapest, already two, three months later they come back to the village and wear a hat, makeup and nail-polish . . . they want to be treated like úri girls, they already cannot speak properly, for instance one neighbour's daughter who was so affected that she said köll [instead of kell] . . . When she stepped onto the street she dangled her posh handbag from her hand."¹⁹

The Botpaládians still use the terms úr (gentleman), úri (gentlemanlike), úri módon élni (to live in the manner of a gentleman) and urizálás (to give oneself airs), and nowadays these expressions have taken on added meanings. As a result of the overall rise in living standards and the increase of consumer items over the past two decades, many villagers comment that nowadays everyone lives like an úr. Physical labour may still be the quality which distinguishes the úr from the nép (people). For example, although the local vicar is addressed as tiszteletes úr (Your Reverence), he works manually in his garden, and for this reason the villagers consider him and his wife to be parasztos (peasant-like). The Botpaládians use urizálás (giving oneself

airs) derogatorily in reference to any allegedly improper behaviour - extreme affectation, haughtiness, or intimacy by gipsies towards non-gipsies.

Nor has the urazás (addressing as sir or Mr.) become outdated. The villagers address most of the trained professionals and officials as úr (sir or Mr.). The urazás has become more restricted to this category of people, eliminating the untrained but supposedly rangos villagers who in the past would have expected this form of address. Nevertheless, some of the elderly one-time landowners who were not educated beyond primary school are reputed to expect invariably the urazás. These expectations are met when they converse with other elderly Botpaládians, even if their respective material situations are the reverse of what they once were. However, the Botpaládians who were born after the Second World War do not address these former landowners as sir or Mr.

"Irma-néni and others call Gergély Szikszó Mr. Szikszó. Boriska calls him Gergély-bácsi because he is uneducated. The district administrator was different, he was a doctor." (Irma is the mother of Boriska, and Boriska was born after 1945. Gergély Szikszó was the largest landowner before 1945, and the district administrator was his brother.)²⁰

"The middle peasants, for instance Thury úr, the great gentlemen, desired the esteem, that they should be called sir. Now too they expect it, especially those who have been appointed to a higher position, for instance teachers, even Irmus Papp [council secretary] too . . . Gyula Bodor also was a middle peasant, he too would expect to be addressed as sir. Not Endre Dobos, nor Uncle Laci Papp, because he was a peasant, a working man like us . . . The Party secretary and his wife would also wish (to be called sir) . . . but the Party secretary came from elsewhere, he settled into the village."²¹

From the above statement it is evident that the incumbents of new posts, for example the Party secretary, the council secretary and the collective farm president also expect the urazás (being addressed as sir or Mr.).

Being addressed in this manner suggests power. However, the Botpaládians are reluctant to call these new officials sir or Mr., particularly if the latter are from allegedly rang-less families.

5.b. nagy (great, grand): The Botpaládians sometimes use nagy to describe a family, and it may mean that the family is either large in size or eminent. In the sense of eminent, a great family (nagy család) belongs to the local elite, but a villager may base this assessment on the family's rang, its wealth, its educated traditions, its political position, or a combination of all of these attributes. The word nagy (great) is often used in the same context as rangos:

"Sándor Papp would like to marry a teacher, but he would not marry Kató Kaluczsa, who is a teacher and his neighbour, because the Kaluczsa's are not rangos. Uncle Sanyi is descended from a great family. His grandfather was from the great Papp farmyard . . . He could marry Ida Kocsis because Aunt Ida is rangos via her mother."²²

5.c. müvelt (educated, refined): A müvelt (educated) family has a heritage of education in the traditional disciplines of religion, law, medicine and teaching. A person who is müvelt is believed to be refined in a positive sense, and the word is used interchangeably with fajn ("refined").

Müvelt (educated) and fajn (refined) are used in reference to nationally and regionally known personages, to intellectuals who have settled in Botpalád, and to the educated descendants of local families. Both expressions suggest that the person or family thusly described understands and sympathises with the less wealthy landworking villagers of all occupational statuses. A müvelt or fajn person complies with local norms, for instance he does not work in the fields and he addresses the other, farming villagers in the formal third person. He may express his sympathy with the local inhabitants by

greeting everyone, including the gipsies, as he walks along the street. He helps the other Botpaládians by virtue of his political connections (protekció) and his influence.

Many villagers believe that an education in a traditional profession will increase one's rang. On the other hand, this does not apply to all types of secondary or higher education at present; for example, a vocational training does not strengthen a villager's claims to rang.

"If one becomes a qualified clergyman, teacher, and he holds a high office, his rang increases. More esteem is given to such a teacher, clergyman, the whole family also acquires greater rang on his account."²³

"The müvelt (refined) people, rather, were rangos . . . Now, if someone gets a higher education, he is not considered rangos in the same way."²⁴

5.d. paraszt (peasant): By the word paraszt (peasant), the Botpaládians usually refer to a person who lived off of the land which he owned and worked with his own hands. As a descriptive term without any modifiers, paraszt accentuates the physical farmwork undertaken by such a villager. Paraszt (peasant) contrasts to the local meanings of the terms úr (gentleman), müvelt (educated) and fajn (refined). The expression often is used derogatorily.

The son of the local village mayor, who also was the largest landowner before 1945, did not acquire a secondary or higher education. Instead, he preferred to handle livestock, "crack a whip" and go out into the fields in peasant clothing. He is described as follows:

"Gergely Szikszó was a big stupid peasant. He had no higher schooling, he was not of a fine mind."²⁵

"I gave the title of gentleman to those who went to school and acquired esteem in that manner . . . but those who lived like peasants in the village, they are peasants to me too."²⁶

Paraszt (peasant) and the adjective parasztos (peasant-like) often qualify people, families and

cultural features which are associated with a peasant life style. A peasant-like person or family is one who has adopted the acknowledged peasant conventions, whether or not he may actually have been a worker of his own property.

"They were the first family in Sonkád, only there, these people also used the tegezödés. They did not use the urazás or urfizás as in Botpalád . . . The Kónya family was large, it also was wealthy, but they were also peasant-like. They understood farming and they had everything".(Sonkád is a neighbouring village.)²⁷

A peasant-like person may be a villager who enjoys tilling the soil or someone who likes other "simple" things, for instance the simpler foods which have been consumed by peasants, their oral traditions and contact with their physical surroundings. Peasant-like may apply to cultural features, such as the local idioms, turns of speech and accent (parasztosan beszélni), the local foods (parasztos étel) and the traditional clothing (parasztos ruha). Certain items of clothing, such as hats, represent a denial of one's peasant identity.

"I did not allow my daughters to go around in hats in Botpalád, that in this manner they should deny their peasant origins, although they have hats in Budapest, they wear them, too, there . . . in the city."²⁸

"The middle peasants were simple people . . . Of course there were those . . . who put hats on their heads when it became the fashion . . . it always meant distancing from the people."²⁹

The words nagy (big), közép (middle) and kis (small) specify the property category to which the peasant family belonged before 1945. The use of the expression underlines the quality of landownership. It appears interchangeably with birtokos (landed) and gazda (landowning peasant), together with their modifiers.

"Apart from these big gentlemen, big landowning peasants, there were only farm servants and poor people, for example Gábor Thury was a middle peasant, that is what he is called."³⁰

Many young Botpaládians have become workers in industry and other occupations. Technically, the word

munkás (worker) would be more applicable to them, however the villagers use this term infrequently. Paraszt (peasant) is mentioned more commonly in everyday life, and it describes the local inhabitants today, not just in the past.

"The vicar is reckoned to be amongst the gentlemen, the skilled worker is not considered to be the same. Whoever becomes a qualified vicar or teacher is not a peasant anymore. The skilled worker is always a peasant . . ." ³¹

6.a. magyar (Magyar): the word magyar has historical and nationalistic importance for the Botpaládians. Major events in the 1703-1711 Rákóczi uprising against the Hapsburgs took place near to the village, in communities such as Tiszabecs and Tarpa. Botpaládians fought in this uprising as well as in the 1848 War of Independence, and the descendants of the participants in these nationalistic movements are proud of their heritage.

"The old people spoke about Ferenc Rákóczi, too. He crossed the Tisza [River] at Tiszabecs . . . he also left from there when he was elected ruler . . . Rákóczi was a proud ruler . . . I also heard a lot about Lajos Kossuth and the 1848 War of Independence. A lot of people fought from the village too . . . Dániel Tasnádi, József Györi, János Oláh, Gedeon Györi. They were over there in the 1848 War, they fought heroically. They are talked about in the village." ³²

"My grandfather's grandfather fought on the side of Rákóczi, he was a Kuruc. He was forced into Szatmárnémeti when the Germans surrounded him. Sándor Károlyi handed them in, Ferenc Rákóczi, who was in Poland, did not come back." ³³

A family with ancestry such as that described in the second quotation above may claim to be truly magyar. Magyar may be used in order to distinguish the Magyar people as a nationality from people of other nationalities. The Botpaládians occasionally define nemzetség (clan) as meaning the same as nemzetiség (nationality), and as examples they give the magyar (Magyar), the ruszin (Ruthenians), the oláh (Romanian, Wallachian), the cseh (Czech, Bohemian), and the tót

(Slovak). However, they acknowledge that except for occasional Ruthenians, there have been no nationalities other than the Magyar in Botpalád.

"There were no nationalities, for instance Romanians, Czechs, in the village."³⁴

The villagers distinguish the Jews who resided locally in the past by calling them zsidó (Jew). The Jews are not included amongst the truly Magyar Botpaládians, however they are not considered to be a separate nationality in the same sense as Ruthenian, Romanian, Slovak and Czech.

6.b. & c. cigány (gipsy), korcs (mixed-breed): The Botpaládians at present use the term magyar most frequently in order to distinguish the local non-gipsies from the gipsies. There are some 250 resident gipsies and they constitute ca. 25 per cent of the local population. The Botpaládian gipsies speak the Magyar tongue, in contrast to the Romanian or gipsy (Romany)-speaking gipsies elsewhere in Hungary. The gipsies are officially recognised as Hungarian citizens with the same rights as non-gipsies. In order to assimilate and acculturate them, the government offers the gipsies special benefits if they settle down, buy a house-plot, build a home, take on permanent employment, and otherwise adapt to a sedentary life which is compatible with the socialist regime.

Irrespective of their same language and citizenship, the Botpaládians oppose the magyar (non-gipsy Magyar) to the cigány (gipsy). The distinctions between these two categories of people are based on varying physical, social and cultural features. The local non-gipsies emphasise the gipsies' darker hair and colouring. The gipsies interact more with one another, and they are mainly migrant labourers who keep no livestock except for some poultry. They are still somewhat nomadic, and they participate less actively in the local church and school. They have larger families

which reside together, many couples live in common-law union, and other features socially distinguish the gipsies from the non-gipsies. Certain cultural features, such as the untidiness of their clothing and homes, the lack of cleanliness and hygiene in their daily habits, and the foods they eat, are also said to set the gipsies apart from the non-gipsies. The non-gipsy Botpaládians elaborate on these differences when they speak about the gipsies.

Most of the non-gipsy Botpaládians believe the gipsies to be rangtalan (rang-less). To be associated with a gipsy results in a loss of prestige. One villager, who scolded her daughter-in-law for being friendly with another woman, reasoned as follows.

"Julianna Komáromy was a kulák girl, while the father of Sára Balogh lived with a gipsy woman." (Julianna Komáromy was the daughter-in-law, and Sára Balogh was the friend of the daughter-in-law.)³⁵

"Lajos Kánya took up with his former servant in common-law union and they had children. It does not suit the rang of Lajos Kánya. You only have to look at his wife and it shows how much she looks like a gipsy."³⁶

"Magda Páva has an ugly way of speaking . . . in vain does she put on airs, the gipsy shows underneath . . . The Páva name is pure gipsy."³⁷

A few gipsy families have been socially and culturally integrated into the non-gipsy community in that they wear fashionable clothing, they are well-groomed, they keep livestock, they have obtained some modern household appliances and they have otherwise changed their lifestyles. Some gipsies have tried to become more Magyar by changing their surnames from recognisably gipsy ones (e.g. Lakatos, Páter) to "good" Magyar ones (e.g. Lendvai, Pataki).

Since at least the 19th century, some Botpaládian gipsies and non-gipsies have lived in common-law union. As a consequence, some Botpaládians are known to be korcs (mixed-breeds). The label korcs (mixed-breed) amongst

the non-gipsies is derogatory, while having pure blood (tiszta vér) and being truly Magyar may enhance one's rang. However, the descent of many Botpaládians is questionable.

"The Botpaládians . . . inbred with the gipsies . . . half of the village is mixed-breed . . . the old people remember who had what kind of ancestor. For instance those of Tomcsis, Lendvai - they were all gipsy. The gipsies also are becoming Magyar."
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The Botpaládians often use an adjective which has been coined out of cigány, cigányos, in order to describe behaviour, appearance or customs which they believe to be improper. A non-gipsy whose hair and clothes are untidy, one who openly uses unseemly language and degrades his close kin in doing so, or one who spends most of his time at the public bar may be called cigányos. Verbs such as cigányul élni ("to live like a gipsy") or cigánykodni (to deceive or haggle) may be equally condemning.

7.a,b.& c. gazdag (rich), szegény (poor), nincstelen (poverty-stricken): The Botpaládians say that the word gazdag (rich) means the same as módos (wealthy).

"If a family is wealthy, it is in need of nothing. It means the same as rich, it does not mean land because nowadays no one owns land."³⁹

In everyday life the villagers use gazdag (rich) less often than módos (wealthy), and I shall discuss the latter expression later. Nonetheless, the assessment of a villager's rang may be partly based on his past wealth:

"Rangos family, that was a rich family, which was wealthy. Whoever was rangos was called sir . . . If the family was poor, it did not consider itself rangos."⁴⁰

In the past, the villagers who were called poor were contrasted to the wealthy. In the mid-1970s, however, the conditions no longer existed which once had been associated with poverty. For example, no one now had to eat cornmeal bread, use straw for heating fuel, or make one pair of shoes suffice for 12 children.

"He who was poor had nothing to eat, he had poor, ragged clothing . . . Now there are no poor people, the state looks after everyone."⁴¹

The villagers sometimes use the word szegény (poor) to describe former landowners whose living conditions were penurious.

"If in the past they had a lot of land but fell into debt, and they could not dress well or pay the farm servant, they were no longer considered rich, but poor."⁴²

Only rarely did the Botpaládians use the word nincstelen (poverty-stricken) in the mid-1970s. When it was mentioned, the expression referred to the lifestyle of the farm servants and animal herders before collectivisation and its meaning was nearly identical to that of szegény (poor).

8.a,b.& c. gazda (landowning peasant⁴³), birtokos (landowner), kulák (kulak, wealthy peasant⁴⁴): Especially when accompanied by the adjectives small (kis), middle (közép) or large (nagy), the Botpaládians use these expressions in reference to the families which before collectivisation owned lands in different property categories. They may also use the expression paraszt (peasant) in this manner. The terms are directly related to a family's past economic status, and therefore to the concept of mód (wealth). However, they are relevant to the concept of rang insofar as only families which were landed before 1945 may be considered rangos at present.

The alleged borderlines between these landowning categories vary from one villager to the next. According to most Botpaládians the nagybirtokos (large landowners) owned well over 80 kh. (45.84 ha.) and this category included the landowners who owned property in the region but did not reside locally.⁴⁵

The középbirtokos (middle landowners), nagygazda (large farmers), nagyparaszt (large peasants) and nagykulák (large kulaks) possessed between ca. 40 and 80 kh. (22.92 and 45.84 ha.), and they hired labour in order

to cultivate their lands. The kisgazda (small farmers), kisparaszt (small peasants), sometimes középparaszt (middle peasants) and kisbirtokos (small landowners) owned between ca. 10 and 20 kh. (5.73 and 11.46 ha.), and they usually were self-supporting farmers.⁴⁶ Occasionally, the villagers describe the families with less property as having been kisgazda (small farmers).

8.d,e,f,g.& h: cseléd (domestic or farm servant), gulyás (herdsman of cattle which are kept outside of the village day and night), csordás (herdsman of regularly stabled cows), juhász (shepherd), kondás (swineherd): Cseléd (domestic or farm servant) denotes the villagers who before 1945 were landless, without their own livestock and living quarters, and who were employed as domestic and farm servants. Some of the domestic and farm servants, especially the ones who lived in, were well provided for and lived more comfortably than the landowners who were parsimonious, and economised on food, clothing and shelter. Nonetheless, they undisputedly belonged to a separate category, lower than that of all of the landowners.

Except for a few shepherds who owned some livestock, the animal herders also lacked land, livestock and their own living quarters. The status of the animal herders vis-a-vis the landed villagers was similar to that of the farm servants, and some of the privately employed animal herders were technically called farm servants.

The animal herders and farm servants were employed on a yearly basis, and they moved around from employer to employer, often from village to village. This mobility contributed to the negative evaluation of them.

"Rang-less people are those who are descended from families which came into the village, they lived the lot of a farm servant without a house or other immoveables . . . Their children are no longer as rang-less as their ancestors . . . but they still stand lower than others."⁴⁷

Az evident in the above statement, the alleged rang of the farm servants' descendants at present is lower than that of other villagers. The occupational stigma of having been a farm servant or animal herder lasts at least three generations.

The collective farm still employs cattle herders, shepherds and swineherds. Unlike the expression cseléd (farm servant), gulyás (cattle herder), csordás (cattle herder), juhász (shepherd) and kondás (swineherd) can refer to current occupational statuses. Amongst these animal herders there is a separate pecking order - the cattle herders are less scorned than the shepherds and swineherds. Nonetheless, most Botpaládians consider the families of all animal herders to be rang-less, and to have descended from an animal herder marks a person for a lifetime.

From the above discussion it is clear that the concept of rang as a "true" status is based on the family background or descent of a villager. Having noble ancestry and belonging to a positively evaluated family which has a "good" name ending in -i or -y contributes to the rang of a Botpaládian. An ancient, pure-blooded Botpaládian family is likely to be considered rangos, as is the family which has educated its offspring in the traditional professions, lived the life of gentlemen and expected to be treated accordingly by the landworking villagers. Villagers whose ancestors participated in nationalistic movements and "true" Magyars whose predecessors did not inbreed with gipsies or people of other nationalities may also claim to be rangos. Although many Botpaládians do not consider all of the landowners before 1945 to have been rangos, nor do the offspring of all former landowners have claims to rang at present, in order to be called rangos a local family had to possess some landed property in the past.

Owing to the fact that their forebears did not own any land, some villagers believe that the offspring of farm servants and animal herders are without rang. Villagers of gipsy or mixed ancestry are put in this same category. The local inhabitants whose forebears tilled the soil with their own two hands, and only recently settled into Botpalád, cannot claim to be very rangos. The same holds true for Botpaládians who do not have "good names" or for those who do not come from "good" or noble families.

In conclusion, rang's criteria may include political, economic, social and cultural features, mostly referring to the past. When using rang to refer to what they believe is a "true" status, inhabitants of Botpalád may show a concern with a family's ancestral legal and economic status, and with the features of the family name. Rang in this sense is compatible with local pride and feelings of exclusiveness towards new settlers, "outsiders", non-Magyars and gipsies. It also suggests sentiments of superiority vis-a-vis the landworking villagers.

II.2. Rangos as an attitude or type of behaviour.

Instead of referring to a "real" status, the word rangos may describe a villager's attitudes or behaviour. Often, some villagers associate the features which allegedly merit the label rangos with a particular family or line of descent. The attitudinal or behavioural meaning of rangos is apparent when the villagers declare that someone "considers himself rangos" (rangosnak tartja magát) or "considered himself rangos" (rangosnak tartotta magát).

"If someone . . . considered himself rangos, this did not mean that he had a lot of land. It was a question, rather, of his behaviour and attitudes. He could give advice to others, but not to himself, he could not run a farm."⁴⁸

"There were some people here who considered themselves rangos because they said their ancestors were nobles."⁴⁹

"Rangos refers, rather, to attitudes, they make it felt that they are rangos."⁵⁰

A few verbs which have been coined out of rangos have similar nuances. Rangolni, rangozni and rangoskodni all suggest that someone acts as if he were rangos or makes a big issue out of rang.

"There are still some in the village who act as if they were rangos (rangoznak) . . . they feel that they are rangos."⁵¹

"Erzsi Thury makes a big issue out of rang (rangol), in how she feels, that . . . she is twice Thury, that . . . her ancestor, or she herself also are great, rangos."⁵²

The expression rangkóruság, which verbatim means rang-malady, suggest that issue of rang has gone to one's head.

". . . rurally they call it rang-malady, in other words pretension, [when] they want to acquire prestige, rang for themselves, they want to raise themselves from their poor or peasant lot."⁵³

Other expressions which are associated with rangos in describing a kind of behaviour or attitude include the following: nagynak tartani magát (to consider oneself great), nagyzolni (to show off), nagyzási mánia (delusions of grandeur), nagyra vágyó (having great ambitions), rátarti (uppity, snobbish), feszíteni (to show off), hencegni (to show off), and verni a mellét (to pound one's chest).

"Rangos meant that they were of noble descent in the past, they had a title and letter of nobility, and with this they boasted that they were great."⁵⁴

"Her father had no land . . . but they attached importance to their name, they showed off . . . they considered themselves rangos."⁵⁵

"There were many people in the village who had nobility, they considered themselves rangos . . . this boasting 'who I am, what I am' attitude continues today, they pound their chests . . . but they have no great material basis . . ."56

Botpaládians who supposedly consider themselves rangos may do so because of their surname, and they may also expect to be addressed as sir (úr).

"The Thury's were name-rangos, but not wealthy, not big landowning peasants."57

"He still considers himself great, rangos, he would like to be addressed as Mr. Szikszó . . . there are some who pound their chests, how great, rangos they were . . ."58

Some Botpaládians may use rangos in the behavioural sense to describe the villagers who had been of legal and economic statuses which later became anachronistic. After the abolition of serfdom, the villagers of noble descent reputedly believed themselves to be rangos, as did the former landowners more than 100 years later, following the collectivisation of Botpalád's lands. The villagers described may be of a descent which would contribute to rang in its "true status" sense, but nevertheless in these cases rangos refers to attitudes and behaviour.

"Formerly there was a world of nobles . . . these nobles considered themselves better than the serfs . . . Rangos [means that] because of what their ancestors were like, they consider themselves better, they are haughty . . . If someone in the present system shows off . . . it is the same thing."59

The offspring of former farm servants, agricultural labourers, animal herders and even gipsies reputedly may consider themselves rangos, insofar as they behave in a manner which does not suit their forebears' status. Some Botpaládians may accuse such villagers who dress stylishly and openly display their possessions (e.g. linen, rugs and other consumer items) of playing the gentleman (urizálás). They may describe these persons as rags-to-riches people (rongy- or koldusból

lett urak), who shake their rags (rongyrázás) or flaunt themselves (flancolás).

". . . when for instance a person of lower rang puts on a new dress . . . it is said in the village that 'she is shaking her rags, we know who her ancestors were'."⁶⁰

Taken to its extreme, the expression rangos may suggest that the behaviour of any Botpaládian is boastful without grounds, whatever his ancestry. Furthermore, the same villager may use rangos in both its "true status" and "behavioural" senses.

III. The concept of mód (Botpalád and Kispalád).

The term módos, as currently used by the Botpaládians and Kispaládians, indicates a state of material wealth. However, the criteria for measuring material wealth have changed since 1945. Módos may cover a variety of situations, and while in one case the word may be used in association with some pre-1945 landowning categories (e.g. nagykulák, nagygazda or közép-nagybirtokos, indicating large kulaks, farmers or middle-large landowners), in another situation the term may refer to material wealth at present.

The villagers describe the supposedly módos families before collectivisation in this manner largely because of their landholdings. Although the villagers say that most of these módos families also possessed livestock, their own homes and farming equipment, they generally acknowledge that in the past "mód came from the land" (a földből lett a mód). The minimum amount of property which reputedly was necessary in order for a family to have been módos was about 20 kh. (11.46 ha.).

"In the past the big farmer was módos. He who had a lot of land was called a big farmer."⁶¹

"Here, a person was considered módos who had a lot of land . . ."⁶²

As discussed in the chapter on politico-economic differentiation, the size of the family property influenced the amount of livestock the families were able

to maintain and their course of economic activity. However, landed property did not necessarily determine the amount of their returns in kind, cash and purchased goods. The family's internal division of labour, its internal distribution of power, its strategies to save on long-term vs. day-to-day bases, its market-orientation and its vulnerability to external economic trends also affected each family's material returns.

During the economic depression of the 1930s some of the allegedly most módos landowners in Botpalád fell into debt, they had to lease out part of their property on shares bases, and they could not pay their farm servants the wages in kind and cash which were due throughout the year. Other so-called módos landowners in both villages were known to eat frugally and live in less comfortable conditions than the farm servants of the more prosperous and generous landowners. A few landowners are described paradoxically as having been módos but szegény (poor) - i.e. they possessed landed property (módos) but their living conditions suggested poverty (szegény). Some of these villagers, particularly in Botpalád, had property which was protected by the state (védett birtok) but which they could no longer cultivate themselves. Other módos but poor landowners in both villages had so many children that they could not adequately clothe them all.

In the past, other alleged signs of prosperity, apart from land, also influenced how the villagers assessed the mód of a landowner with over 20 kh. Many villagers believed that a family which ate and dressed well, that is, its members ate meats, fats and fine white wheat bread in abundance, and wore market- or store-bought fabrics and fashionable clothes, had greater mód. Providing one's children with secondary or higher education, holding lavish rites of passage celebrations, and being able to pay liberally one's employees as well as help other villagers in need also enhanced one's

alleged mód. However, the primary criterion of mód always was land.

Mód often occurs in reference to a family's material wealth at present. As mentioned earlier, collectivisation and other economic developments since 1945 have contributed to a shift in the relative importance of mód's criteria. The most apparent change is the decreased significance of landholdings. Depending on how many family members are collective farm members, the local families may have ownership or usufruct rights to up to 3-4 kh. (1.72-2.29 ha.), but fewer villagers privately cultivate larger properties. The size of the family's lands no longer affects the family's economic strategy and the occupational status of its members. Although the land's use for growing fodder or fruit and vegetables may increase the family's cash returns, the limiting factor is the availability of time and labour to devote to such undertakings, rather than the possession of a house-plot or garden in which to grow such crops.

"Módos family - which had land and livestock. In the present system there is the same, families which have more livestock, machinery, clothing than others . . . But in the present system there have been changes. Whoever strives, has a large family and values money will have mód."⁶³

Cattle, pigs and their products may supplement a family's cash income, as well as supply milk, meat and lard for domestic needs. Although the provision of fodder for large numbers of livestock is difficult and often involves cash expenditures, in principle the villagers may keep unlimited cattle and pigs. In assessing mód, the relative importance of livestock has increased, and even if he spends much of his cash income on fodder, a villager with a few children who currently owns 5-6 head of cattle, 6 pigs and ca. 130 hens, chickens and other poultry, is called módos. The government subsidies for keeping cattle may also be viewed as contributing to the recipient's alleged mód. When describing a family as módos at present, the

villagers also take into account the size of the family in question.

Together with the general increase in prosperity since the early 1960s, consumer items such as household furnishings and appliances, modern machinery and vehicles, and large, fashionable wardrobes have gained importance as markers and criteria of mód. A similar development has taken place regarding the openly displayed lavishness of rites of passage celebrations and eating "well" on everyday occasions.

Finally, when assessing a given family's mód at present, the villagers take into account the size of its savings bank account, its returns in cash and kind, and also the incomes of its members.

"Módos means rich, a person has everything . . . Money means mód, as do the National Savings Bank deposit book, livestock too . . ."64

Apart from the above factors, the villagers acknowledge that one's diligence and ability to maximise his time and labour, and to save and profitably allocate his returns affect his family's mód. They recognise that a person's schooling or training also influences his mód. Statements such as the following are common.

"Mód - someone has land, but they don't say that now, only the profession counts."65

"What counts now in the village is who has how much, for example home furnishings, livestock, clothing, household appliances. Land does not count any more. From this, it is taken that one person is more diligent than the other. The knowledge of someone who has attended grammar school or university is valued more."66

Although the Botpaládians and Kispaládians agree that land has become less important as a contributor to and criterion of material wealth at present, there is no set hierarchy in the significance of the other factors discussed above. Whether a local family is called módos because of its livestock, its diligence and ability to save, the training of its members, its returns in cash and kind, its savings-bank account, its living quarters

and furnishings, its equipment and machines, its clothing, its lavish eating habits, or its extravagant family celebrations, varies situationally and from villager to villager.

On the other hand, some villagers use módos only as a descent label, based on the pre-1945 economic status of a local family. In such cases they refer to the economic situation of a family at present with phrases such as "how things are going for a person" (kinek hogy megyen) or "who has how much" (kinek mennyije van).

IV. The concept of rang in Kispalád.

In Kispalád, the villagers use the expression módos more frequently in everyday life than rangos, and many people do not distinguish the two words' meanings from one another. They say that both mód and rang refer to the former landholdings of a local family.

"In the past mód counted, rather. There was no great difference between rang and mód. The land also had rang . . ." ⁶⁷

"Rang meant the same as mód, a lot of property . . ." ⁶⁸

The Kispaládians also associate a "good name" (jónév), a "good family" (jó család), and sometimes a gentleman (úr) with the concept of mód.

"The Angyalossy family was the first in the village, it was módos, it was a good name too, because it was módos." ⁶⁹

"He who has a car is a gentleman." ⁷⁰

Like in Botpalád, in Kispalád the word módos may refer to the material wealth of a family at present, and not just before 1945.

"Being more módos is who has what and how much. Now this goes according to work, who works how much. In the past mód depended on landed property too, and on how the people married." ⁷¹

Whether the Kispaládians rank the local families at present on the basis of their former landholdings or current prosperity, they base this pecking order on the concept of mód. Many of the expressions which were

discussed earlier in relation to rang may also be heard in Kispalád. However, the Kispaládians discuss nobility (nemesség), being of an ancient family (tösgyökerez), being gentlemanlike and expecting to be treated accordingly (úri, urizálás) only in connection with past phenomena which have no relevance to the present situation. The Kispaládians may say that these qualities relate to rang, but if the villagers do not mention these expressions as a part of history, they speak about them in the form of jokes and other oral traditions such as sayings and legends.

"In Kispalád there was no presumptuousness or playing the gentleman, at the most they called Ferenc Tóth, Gyula Angyalossy and Ferenc Angyalossy sir. But they were rangos, módos."72

"Nobility - she had not seen cabbage which was stuffed with nobility. That was what my grandmother said . . . You cannot stuff cabbage with nobility, only with meat."73

"If your family is noble, that still does not endow you with a title. Only he who has a noble mind and morals is worthy of this title."74

"Ida Rangos was the gooseherd. Her father, a gipsy, was named Imre. She was made out to be rangos out of fun, because her father was a cattle herder and things went well for him."75

As in Botpalád, the Kispaládian non-gipsies distinguish themselves from the gipsies by calling themselves the true Magyar in contrast to the cigány (gipsies). On the other hand, there has been no comparable trend towards Magyarisation amongst the Kispaládian gipsies, and common-law union between the local non-gipsies and gipsies has been far less frequent than in Botpalád. The Kispaládian gipsies are more separate from the non-gipsies socially, culturally and spatially, than is the case in Botpalád. There is a strong sense of Magyar self-identification amongst the Kispaládian non-gipsies vis-a-vis the gipsies. However, unlike Botpalád, this Magyar-gipsy distinction is not

incorporated into any overriding ranking category such as rang.

In comparison with the Botpaládians, the Kispaládians identify themselves strongly with their peasant origins. For them the word paraszt (peasant) does not carry the same stigma as it does for many Botpaládians. Together with other expressions which denote landowning status (kisgazda, kulák, etc.), they often mention paraszt (peasant) in the context of mód.

"In Kispalád there were no properties as large as in for example . . . Botpalád . . . In Kispalád the population was more uniform from the viewpoint of mód, descent - a peasant, landworking population."⁷⁶

"Today the peasants have become kulaks . . . In the past there was no such mód, there were no such weddings."⁷⁷

In conclusion, most Kispaládians do not distinguish between the concepts of rang and mód. The villagers who separate the two concepts treat rang and its criteria as historical categories or use them to express ridicule. In everyday life the concept of mód, whether it is based on past or present material wealth, is the basis on which the villagers rank the local families. This concern with material wealth is compatible with the Kispaládians' pride in their peasant identity.

V. Views of status differentiation in Botpalád and Kispalád.

The concepts rangos and módos are closely associated with how the Botpaládians and Kispaládians viewed local status differentiation at the time of fieldwork. The villagers were able to rank most of the families on scales which ranged from rang-less (rangtalan), to very rangos, or from being without mód, to very módos. Therefore, these two ranking categories are essential elements in constructing models which depict the villagers' views of status differentiation. I

have constructed the ranking models, which I feel are necessary for further analysis of local views of status differentiation and which are to be discussed below, on the basis of how the villagers define the concepts of rang and mód in relation to one another.

The following ranking models portray four general views of status differentiation (see Table 23). Two of these outlooks, depicted by the so-called "úri" ("gentlemanlike") and "competitive" models, prevail in Botpalád alone. The outlook illustrated by the so-called "land-focussed" model is common in Kispalád, especially amongst the elderly villagers. Finally, the "egalitarian" model depicts a view of status differentiation amongst a few Botpaládians and some young Kispaládians. While in Botpalád there is no clear-cut slant in outlooks according to generation, in Kispalád the villagers born after 1950 more commonly view society along "egalitarian" lines than do the older people.

TABLE 23

RANKING MODELS IN BOTPALÁD AND KISPALÁD

	The "úri" model (Botpalád)	The "competitive" model (Botpalád)	The "land-focussed" model (Kispa-lád)	The "egalitarian" model (Botpalád and Kispa-lád)
Definition of <u>rang</u>	<u>Rang</u> is a "true" status; for some villagers <u>rangos</u> also refers to a type of behaviour or attitude.	<u>Rang</u> is a type of behaviour or attitude.	<u>Rang</u> is a "true" status based on past landholdings.	<u>Rang</u> is an unfamiliar term.
Definition of <u>mód</u>	<u>Mód</u> is based on past landholdings.	<u>Mód</u> is based on current wealth.	<u>Mód</u> is based on past landholdings.	<u>Mód</u> is based on current wealth.
Relationship of <u>rang</u> to <u>mód</u>	<u>Rang</u> is different from <u>mód</u> but <u>mód</u> is a criterion of and contributes to <u>rang</u> as "true" status. Amongst some villagers lack of <u>mód</u> entails being <u>rangos</u> in behavioural-attitudinal sense.	<u>Mód</u> is different from <u>rang</u> . <u>Mód</u> is the "valid" basis of rank and being behaviourally <u>rangos</u> entails lack of <u>mód</u> .	<u>Rang</u> is not distinguished from <u>mód</u> , and as a ranking category is subsumed by <u>mód</u> . <u>Mód</u> is "valid" basis of rank.	<u>Mód</u> is "valid" basis of rank insofar as there is such status-differentiation.
Gradations in ranking hierarchy	Graded sequence of <u>rangos</u> families with block of <u>rang</u> -less families at bottom. Families with both <u>rang</u> and <u>mód</u> are at top, followed by families with other qualifications of <u>rang</u> but lacking <u>mód</u> , then families with only <u>mód</u> , and finally <u>rang</u> -less families. For some	Graded sequence of <u>módos</u> families with behaviourally <u>rangos</u> ones at bottom, together with other families which lack <u>mód</u> ,	Graded sequence of families based on their <u>mód</u> . Less differentiated than hierarchy in <u>úri</u> , "competitive" model, with many families in central region.	A group of families which is homogeneous or only slightly differentiated on basis of <u>mód</u>

TABLE 23 (cont)	"Uri"	"Competitive"	"Land-focussed"	"Egalitarian"
Gradations in ranking hierarchy (cont)	villagers the <u>rang-less</u> families at the bottom of the hierarchy are the ones who are behaviourally <u>rangos</u> .			
Alleged interrelations of families of different rank	Mutual recognition of relative superiority/subordination, distancing, occasional paternalistic relations. For some people slight competition between <u>rang-less</u> and <u>rangos</u> families.	Competition and antagonism amongst families of all grades, but particularly between <u>módos</u> and behaviourally <u>rangos</u> families.	Competition and some antagonism between families at each extreme of hierarchy, otherwise solidarity among families of similar <u>mod</u> .	Solidarity, albeit possible undercurrent of competition among local families.
Degree and basis of mobility from one gradation to another	Mobility between grades of <u>rang</u> via education, marriage and manipulation of descent ties. Negligible mobility from being <u>rang-less</u> to <u>rangos</u>	Mobility for all grades, albeit opportunities not always equal. Upward progression through increase in material wealth, higher education/skilled training, accumulating external markers of wealth.	Increased contemporary wealth does not affect a family's alleged rank. Upward progression in rank may be achieved by retrospective claims to family wealth and education. Otherwise, the hierarchy is fairly rigid.	Equal opportunities for all to increase <u>mód</u> via higher education/skilled training, investment in sales-orientated production, diligence and ability to save.

V.1. The "úri" model.

The "úri" model is based on the concept of rang in which rang is believed to be a "true" status. Mód refers to a family's former landholdings, and it is one of the several criteria which may potentially contribute to the rang of a local family.

Rang, when viewed as being a "true" status, is an intangible and somewhat ambiguous concept. It cannot be associated with any one social, cultural, economic or political criterion alone. A person may inherit rang patrilineally, matrilaterally or ambilaterally, so he may easily manipulate his descent ties in order to strengthen his claims to rang. Few villagers possess the documents whereby they could prove their noble ancestry. The church records which contain such information are accessible only to the vicar who can then impart this knowledge verbally. The villagers may also refer to "old books", which list the local nobles in the early 19th century, as "proof", however they maintain the knowledge of noble descent in Botpalád primarily by word of mouth. The same is true of other alleged criteria of rang - for instance the knowledge of which families are ancient, "good" and truly Magyar. An orientation towards past statuses and attributes pervades the "true status" meaning of rang, and also the "úri" ranking model.

According to the "úri" model, the ranking hierarchy consists of a graded sequence of rangos families, with a block of rang-less families at the bottom. The families which are reputedly both rangos and módos are at the top of the scale, after which follow the undisputedly rangos families whose mód is questionable. The módos families which lack the other qualifications of rang are subordinated to the families mentioned above. Below all of these grades of rank is the block of rang-less families.

The families of different rank usually acknowledge their superiority or subordination with respect to one

another, although in some cases, to be described shortly, an element of ambiguity regarding a person's alleged status is introduced when a villager believes rang refers both to "true" status and a behavioural attribute. Families of different rank, according to the "úri" model, keep their distance, show mutual respect, and are occasionally bound by paternalistic relations which involve the exchange of different kinds of goods or services to the advantage of both parties. The members of families which are already rangos may increase their rang by acquiring a higher education in a traditional profession or marrying into families of higher rang. They may retrospectively manipulate their descent connections to their own advantage, by emphasising their ties to "good" families which are ancient, "truly" Magyar, úri (gentlemanlike) and módos. A villager who is only módos may climb in rang by modifying his surname or adding prefixes and initials so as to have a "good name". However, the possibilities for a rang-less family to become rangos are negligible, since by definition such a family is also lacking in mód and therefore its members were landless farm servants or animal herders before 1945 - a stigma which is difficult to overcome through retrospective manipulation of ties to landed families or claims of landed ancestry.

The Botpaládians who view contemporary local status differentiation along the lines of the "úri" model also believe that ranking patterns before 1945 corresponded to the "úri" model. The villagers whose outlooks on both the past and present approximate the "úri" model envisage an historical continuity in the local ranking patterns.

Nonetheless, some Botpaládians whose views of status differentiation follow the lines of the "úri" model use the term rang in both a "true status" and a "behavioural" sense. They define mód as landholdings before 1945; they use it as a label which describes the descent of the contemporary local families, and it

contributes to rang in its meaning as a "true" status. According to these villagers, when used to describe the behaviour of formerly landless or nearly landless villagers who since 1945 have become more prosperous and therefore act "uppity", considering oneself rangos entails a lack of mód which otherwise might justify such attitudes. These villagers believe that there has recently emerged a behaviourally rangos group of villagers; thus, they envisage a slight historical change in the local ranking patterns. Yet they do not believe that this new set of behaviourally rangos villagers threatens the families which are rangos in the "true status" sense, even if they are competitive.

In order to illustrate the family background, behaviour and attitudes of the Botpaládians whose views of status differentiation approximate the "úri" model, two case studies will follow which depict conditions as of the time of fieldwork. The villagers in the first example have outlooks which correspond closely to the "úri" model, while the woman in the second case study uses rangos in both a "true status" and "behavioural" sense.

V.1.a. Case study number one.

G. Tasnády and his wife R. Pinkóczy possessed 30 kh. of land when they joined the collective farm in 1960, but their fathers' holdings had been larger. At the turn of the 20th century, the patrilineal ancestors of G. Tasnády owned 25 kh., while those of R. Pinkóczy possessed 75 kh. R. Pinkóczy's father had owned 150 kh. before 1945, but during the course of the post-war land reform most of this property was expropriated to become part of the early collective farm.

Both husband and wife are of noble descent, and they proudly acknowledge this fact. Their view of contemporary society corresponds closely to the "úri" model, and they believe rang to be a "true" status, one which they associate themselves with and claim to have

acquired by virtue of their noble and "pure-blooded" ancestry. For them, the ultimate proof of rang is for one's ancestors to appear in an "old book" which was published in 1819 and lists all the nobles in the region at that time (Antal Szirmay Szirmai's Szathmár vármegye népe és esmerete).

G. Tasnády and R. Pinkóczy live alone in their summer kitchen (nyári konyha), which is a single room for cooking and sleeping, directly next to and under the same roof as the cow shed. They own one half of a house which faces the summer kitchen from the opposite side of the farmyard. However, their part of this building is used only when guests or their non-resident daughters pay a visit.

During the 1950s and early 1960s they took on boarders to help finance the secondary and higher education of their two daughters. Both daughters were given the opportunity to attend a grammar school in the region, and eventually they were trained as a nurse and a kindergarten teacher. Now they are married and live in more central towns - Debrecen (some 110 kilometers away as the crow flies) and Hódmezővásárhely (in southeastern Hungary, some 265 kilometers away as the crow flies).

The parent-daughter ties are still strong. The daughters and sons-in-law often pay weekend visits, and on these occasions they help with any farm or household work which has piled up. In cases of sickness or if other services are needed, they manipulate their urban connections so as to provide their parents with, for example, good hospital care. They have given their parents what modern household conveniences the latter possess: two gas burners, a washing machine and a refrigerator - the parents did not want a television.

During her childhood, R. Pinkóczy's father employed two permanent farm servants to help with tasks in the fields, and she was kept at home to deal with household chores only. This division of labour has continued. R. Pinkóczy stays at home, she does no

farmwork on the household plot (háztáji) or collective farm, and she leaves such activities to her husband. Like in the past, she cooks a hot meal at midday and consumes it then, and if her husband cannot return home at that time she warms up this food for him later. This pattern contrasts to that of the families in which the women work away from home, and the hot meal is consumed when everyone returns home in the evening. G. Tasnády was a full-time collective farm member for 10 years, after which he retired for health reasons. At the time of fieldwork his main farming responsibilities concerned the cultivation of his household plot and the garden, and looking after his cattle (3 cows and 3 calves in 1976; the 2 pigs and 60-70 poultry at that time were the responsibility of his wife).

The marriage connections of the immediate kin of this couple are noteworthy because they link local families of attributed rang, whose members view society in a manner depicted by the "úri" model. Most of these marriages have also been with villagers from families with large lands, particularly that of the brother of R. Pinkóczy, who married the daughter of the largest landowner in the village (possessing some 600 kh. before 1945). Even one of the daughters of the couple married the son of a Botpaláedian landowner, who had possessed some 30 kh. This son-in-law of G. Tasnády and R. Pinkóczy had studied to become a priest, but he later became an employee of a transport enterprise in Debrecen.

G. Tasnády and R. Pinkóczy live together in apparent peace. However, other Botpaládians assert that their marriage was a planned one. G. Tasnády would have preferred a girl from Kispalád, whom he clandestinely abducted once and lived with for a few weeks. However, he eventually gave her back to her family, in submission to the wishes of his and her parents.

Neither member of the elderly couple is outgoing. R. Pinkóczy claims to have always preferred to stay at home, and at the time of fieldwork she avoided going to

public places if she could. For example, she went to the store only once every two weeks in order to buy some of their staple foods, and she said that her appearance there was not for the purpose of gossiping or chatting. On the other hand, she and her husband both declare that they are religious, and in this connection they refer to their family traditions, such as the right to occupy family pews near to the pulpit and being presbyters. They also show an awareness of the history of their region and country. They can describe the privileges of nobles vs. serfs in the past and the abolition of these statuses with more accuracy than many of the other villagers, and they hold stores of information about the locality which was transmitted verbally by their elders.

G. Tasnády and R. Pinkóczy attribute great importance to being treated with the respect that one is due. While most villagers, for example their niece and her family next door, are allegedly full of respect (tiszteletudó), some are not so. The villagers who are claimed to be disrespectful are the formerly poor people who have only recently become prosperous and who at the same time have forgotten their past poverty. This couple also believes that the Botpaládians who have only recently obtained household plots on the new row (újsor) or Petöfi Street, and who were mainly landless before 1945, drive themselves much more and are more envious of one another's material possessions than the villagers near to where the couple lives, on Botpalád's "old end" (régi vég). G. Tasnády and R. Pinkóczy openly disapprove of working so hard for material purposes; after all, they claim, one only lives once, and there are good things in life apart from material possessions. Nonetheless, this couple does not believe that such hardworking, formerly landless villagers pose a threat to the "true" status of the rangos villagers.

V.1.b. Case study number two.

E. Thury is an elderly widow who lives alone on the "new row" of Botpalád. She inhabits a "summer kitchen", similar to that of the Tasnády couple. It is under the same roof and connected to a tool shed, a fuel storage shed, a cow shed and a pig shed. In front of this complex, along the same side of the farmyard and looking on to the street, is a new house which was built in the 1970s and contains two rooms, a "winter kitchen" (téli konyha), a pantry and a glassed-in veranda. These quarters, which are intended for the wife and future children of one her sons, have been let out to boarders and are used for the storage of clothing, linen and food. There is a new television set in the winter kitchen, and one of her sons and his family watch it occasionally. In 1977 E. Thury had a radio, 2 wood- and coal-burning stoves, a washing machine, and she was considering the purchase of a gas cooker. She at that time had 2 cows, 1 calf, 100 chickens and 2 pigs. She also was thinking of buying a milking machine in order to enable an increase in the number of her livestock.

E. Thury's two brothers and sister live in Budapest and Dunakeszi, both near to one another along the Danube in central Hungary, and her daughter resides and works in Budapest. One of her sons married a girl from outside the Szabolcs-Szatmár region. As a skilled worker, a carpenter, he has been employed in more central areas of Hungary, and he returns to Botpalád for occasional visits. E. Thury's other son also married exogamously. His wife is from Tiszabökény, a Hungarian village which now belongs to the Soviet Union, however they have both settled in Botpalád. This son and his family live down the street in a separate house from that of E. Thury, and their relationship has been full of friction and dispute. The Botpaládians commonly acknowledge that none of the immediate kin of E. Thury live with her because she is "impossible to get along

with" (összeférhetetlen), a trait which she allegedly inherited from her mother and which has characterised all of the members of her family. During the period of fieldwork, she frequently had violent disputes, some of which led to physical beating.

The ancestors of E. Thury were noble, and her own grandfather possessed some 25 kh. of land. However, these lands were apparently lost after her grandfather, in a state of inebriation, signed a document which made him stand security for three Botpaládians. These latter villagers had been accused of stealing cloth at a regional fair, and when they were proven guilty, the lands of E.Thury's grandfather were confiscated in order to pay the fines and other expenses. In any case, E.Thury's own parents were landless upon their marriage. After a few years they were able to purchase a house and a house-plot in the village. Nevertheless E. Thury spent her childhood, adolescence and much of her married life working for other landowners, or cultivating other peoples' lands on half-shares bases.

The husband of E. Thury, a widower, had been from a neighbouring village, Kishódos, where he had owned 3.5 kh. Before 1950 they worked this land and they also cultivated 14 kh. on a half-shares basis. In 1950 they acquired 3.5 kh. of "claimed land" (igényelt föld) as well as a house-plot in Botpalád. From then until 1960 they farmed their own lands only.

During the Second World War E. Thury scraped together enough capital for her and her husband to open a store directly after the war. Evidently their business was successful, until the council secretary demanded that they close down. This development indicates the success, albeit short-lived, of E.Thury's endeavours to make the most of what assets she had.

The Botpaládians claim that E. Thury has a nose for profit, which she uses to her own advantage. She is known as the "neighbourhood till" because of her lending activities, and she keeps a careful account of the money

which she is owed - even from her own son. At one point during the period of fieldwork she had 6,000 forints out on informal loans. She summoned together at least 70,000 forints of cash during one year, money which she gave to her children and also owed to her step-children by court agreement. The amounts of money she acquired demonstrate her skill at making the most of her farming activities and exchange agreements with the other villagers.

E. Thury is familiar with the term rang, however she often uses it in the behavioural sense and she does not consciously acknowledge a link between rang and noble descent. At the same time, she sometimes uses rangos in the "true status" sense, and she bases her evaluation of the relative ranks of the local families on criteria which are associated with rang, rather than mód. One such criterion which she particularly emphasises is having a "good name" (jónév), i.e. one which ends in -y or -i.

Both her mother and father bore the surname of Thury, which most Botpaládians acknowledge to be a good name. E. Thury has made such a fuss over her surname, and she has apparently acted so uppity about it, that the other villagers have dubbed her kétszer Thury ("twice Thury"), két-Thury Erzsi ("Erzsi two-Thury") and nagyravágyó Erzsi ("pretentious Erzsi"). Although other villagers state that no such tie exists, E. Thury accentuates her kinship with another Botpaládian Thury family. This latter family possessed 45 kh. before 1945, and it is undoubtedly rangos in the eyes of the villagers who believe that rang refers to what they think is a true status. E. Thury also emphasises kinship to other "well-named" families, for example her matrilineal links to the Tasnádys. Although she tries to increase her own rank by economic gains, E. Thury believes that the local inhabitants of different rang recognise their relative hierarchical statuses, and they maintain a mutual respect and distance.

E. Thury and her own parents have interfered in the marriages of their offspring by trying to pair them with "well-named" or rangos spouses, but this has been difficult due to their poverty in the recent past. No rangos or "well-named" Botpaládian of a family with over 10 kh. before 1945 would consider marrying someone who (or whose parents) had been compelled to work as a farm servant, daywage labourer or seasonal labourer. The only Botpaládians who would think of marrying into E. Thury's family are those from families of equal occupational status. However, since E. Thury and her parents have not allowed such marriages, they have had to look outside of Botpalád for spouses. All of E. Thury's immediate kin have married exogamously, which in itself has caused a fall in rang, insofar as being an authentic, native Botpaládian is considered important. Some of these marriages which have been contracted with landowners have involved conditions which further detract from one's reputation, for example, marriage to a widower.

The other villagers claim that E. Thury has always acted uppity towards the other Botpaládians who were once of similar economic status. They say that she did not deign to interact or talk with them unless material circumstances made it advantageous for her to do so. It appears that the same is true regarding her relationships to the gipsies who live near to her on the "new row", at present. She encounters them daily. She sells preserved vegetables and fruits, eggs and milk to them, she exchanges these items in return for other goods such as coal, or for services, or she pays them to do occasional chores in the garden. On the other hand, she avoids visiting them for purposes of socialising or chatting, behind their backs she strongly condemns the gipsies, and she asserts her distance from them and her own pure-blooded Magyar background.

E. Thury never was a full-time member of the collective farm, she did not work for the collective farm at the time of fieldwork even on an occasional basis, and

she regarded with cynicism the women who did go regularly to work for the collective farm, primarily the Kispaládians. Nonetheless, she made no bones about the amount of work she did around the house, garden and with the livestock. She considered this work to be necessary in order to get ahead materially, and she complained about the extent to which she had to push herself, in other words she did not exert herself physically out of pleasure. Although she claimed to be religious, she said that she did not attend church regularly because of the work she had to do.

E. Thury shows a concern for external appearances, tidiness and cleanliness. She endeavours to maintain an attractive flower garden, an imposing house-front, and an extravagant iron fence which can be seen from the street and sidewalk. She dons clean boots and clothing if she ventures onto the street. Nevertheless, the internal farmyard, the "summer kitchen" and other areas often are muddy and strewn with unwashed belongings and items which give the impression of chores being half-finished. E. Thury is also quick to criticise other villagers for immoral behaviour or improper language, although her own vocabulary is not entirely lacking in the latter trait.

V.2. The "competitive" model.

The "competitive" model illustrates the outlooks of the Botpaládians who distinguish rangos from módos, and define rangos to be a behavioural or attitudinal trait only. Instead of referring to the purported wealthy ancestry of contemporary villagers, mód is used by them to describe a local family's current wealth. Such Botpaládians rank the local families vis-a-vis one another according to this meaning of mód. They say that a villager who acts rangos puts on airs without any material grounds for doing so, so in this sense rangos entails a lack of mód.

According to the "competitive" model there is a local hierarchy which consists of grades ranging from

very módos to lacking in mód. The behaviourally rangos villagers are not módos, and therefore they are at the bottom of the scale. The families of the different grades of mód compete with one another in trying to get ahead, however the relationships which involve the behaviourally rangos but non-módos villagers are particularly competitive. A family may increase its mód, and therefore rank, by becoming more prosperous. Some such ways of achieving this objective include investments in market-orientated farming activities, the betterment of one's professional qualifications through further training, and the acquisition of consumer items which are locally recognised markers of wealth. In theory any family may become more módos, but in practice the opportunities for doing so are not always equal, nor are all of the families equally skillful at gaining prosperity.

The Botpaládians whose outlooks at the time of fieldwork approximated the "competitive" model used similar concepts in interpreting the past; rangos was defined in a behavioural sense, and it entailed the lack of mód. In this case, mód referred to pre-1945 landholdings, and only after the loss of their lands were some villagers reputed to have acted rangos with no material basis for doing so. The alleged pre-1945 hierarchy included a wide range of families with different degrees of mód, and at the bottom were the families that lacked mód - some of which acted rangos. The módos families were highly competitive towards one another, while the families which lacked mód opposed the módos families as an antagonistic block. Nevertheless, a few behaviourally rangos families maintained paternalistic relations with the módos families, they recognised their subordination, they kept their distance from and showed their respect towards the larger landowners. While the módos families were able to progress upwards by increasing their landholdings,

mobility from the grade of non-módos to módos was virtually impossible.

Major changes have occurred, according to the Botpaládians who view society at present along lines of the "competitive" model and envisage the past as described above. The alleged criteria of mód have changed since 1945, and furthermore the families which were módos before the Second World War often are not the ones which were prosperous at the time of fieldwork. There has been a turnover in the families which belong to different grades of mód, the range of alleged differentiation has become less extreme, and there is greater mobility from one grade to the next. Nonetheless, the ranking hierarchy has retained its former shape, and it is still dominated internally by competition and some antagonism.

The outlooks of the I. Kövér couple and the Gyurkó family resemble the "competitive" model. Their case studies are given below.

V.2.a. Case study number three.

I. Kövér and his wife E. Veres have descended from serf families. Their immediate ancestors were landless villagers who obtained their sustenance as farm servants, daywage labourers or seasonal labourers.

This couple lived alone at the time of fieldwork in a newly built house on Petöfi Street, on land which was sold cheaply by the state to the landless villagers after the 1945 land reform. Their house contained two rooms, a kitchen, a pantry and a glassed-in veranda. Behind it was a cow shed, a pig shed, quarters for keeping the poultry and a rack for storing maize. Their household appliances and equipment included an oil heater, a gas cooker, and two coal-wood stoves, a television, radio and a washing machine. They kept 2 cows, 2 calves, 3 pigs, 100 chickens and hens, and 31 ducks in 1976. They also had two household plots and a garden to tend.

At that point in time their adult son was also living with them. However he was preparing to marry, and his plans to move with his new wife to Fehérgyarmat, the district seat 32 kilometers away, were carried out a year later. During the interim period the newly married couple lived with the elder I. Kövér and his wife.

I. Kövér was a full-time member of the collective farm, and he worked in the construction brigade. He was one of the collective farm's more involved members from Botpalád. He regularly attended the meetings which were held locally in connection with the collective farm's activities, and he usually had comments to make. His son, who was a skilled carpenter, used to work in this same construction brigade before he found a job with the construction enterprise in Fehérgyarmat which paid him wages of 3,000 forints monthly. E. Veres worked occasionally at the collective farm. However she had never been a full-time member, and she otherwise preoccupied herself with tasks around the house and in the village. Her new daughter-in-law, who was born and brought up in the village of Csaholc, some 14 kilometers away as the crow flies, had no connection whatsoever with the local collective farm. During the year she spent in Botpalád, and since then as well, she has worked at the clothes factory in Fehérgyarmat. I. Kövér and E. Veres also had an unmarried daughter, but she lived in Budapest where she had found work at a hospital, and she visited her parents only a few times each year.

I. Kövér's and E. Veres's views of status differentiation at the time of fieldwork resembled the "competitive" model. Although they were familiar with the term rangos, they believed that it meant a type of behaviour only, and not a "real" status. Mód is the critical factor in their assessments of "real" status, and mód is based on criteria which have relevance in the current economic situation. These criteria include mainly the possession of material goods.

I. Kövér and E. Veres also believe that in the past one's mód was determined by one's land and livestock holdings. They describe E. Thury and her family as having believed themselves to be rangos, in spite of their lack of land: "They attributed importance to their name, they put on airs, they believed themselves to be rangos."78 The aunt of I. Kövér bears a "good" name, that of Tasnádi, she is allegedly of noble descent, but her own parents possessed only 2-3 kh. of land. The I. Kövér couple also claim that she believes herself to be rangos, that she boasts of her "great" family, and that she also flaunts her current material possessions, such as her stores of preserved fruit and vegetables. They condemn this behaviour for being unfounded, since materially E. Tasnádi, they claim, is no better off than I. Kövér.

The relationship between E. Tasnádi and the I. Kövér couple is coloured by the fact that they live next door to one another, and they have had heated disputes over the fence which separates their house-plots. Otherwise, I. Kövér and E. Veres have wide-ranging friendship and kinship ties along Petöfi Street, the "new row" and in the centre of the village. This couple actively maintains such links, along with their neighbourhood ties. The I. Kövér couple pay frequent visits and participate in group activities.

Although they do not openly approve of what other villagers would call moral indecency, this couple is fairly matter-of-fact about illicit love affairs. They admit the involvement of some of their kin in extra-marital affairs, but they do not disown or even strongly condemn them for it. Nor are they as assertive in their condemnations of the gipsies or in their attempts to disassociate themselves from such people, as are other Botpaládians such as E. Thury.

Although they do not make great claims regarding their own piety or their families' religious traditions, both I. Kövér and his wife attend church occasionally. Their son's wedding involved a religious as well as a

civil ritual, apart from the festivities which were held at the bride's and groom's homes.

By staging an extravagant and showy wedding celebration in Botpalád, the groom's parents displayed their wealth and tried thereby to impress upon the other villagers their relative mód. In this manner they asserted their claims to what they believe constitutes rank. Apart from their kin and close friends, amongst the 180 wedding guests were the members of local families which were economically "well ahead" in the mid-1970s, and also were landed before 1945. By inviting such people, the I. Kövér couple tried to strengthen their ties with the local families which in their eyes are of the highest rank. The other Botpaládians are aware of the Kövérs' endeavours along these lines. They complain that this couple always tries to flaunt its material wealth.

V.2.b. Case study number four.

The parents and grandparents of P. and L. Gyurkó were landless, and they settled into Botpalád only during the late 19th century, between 1862 and 1887. Many of the Botpaládians claim that the grandfather of P. and L. Gyurkó was Ruthenian, from the Ukraine (ruszin). He was the ancestor who had originally moved into Botpalád to establish the so-called Gyurkó "clan" (nemzetség), which encompasses at least three generations of descendants. The church records do not indicate anyone named Gyurkó before 1887, so they support the villagers' statements. Given the uncertainty of the location, ethnicity and social conditions of the origins of the Gyurkós' ancestors, it is unclear whether or not these predecessors were of noble or serf status.

On the other hand, the grandfather of P. and L. Gyurkó entered Botpalád as an itinerant farm servant, and therefore these ancestors probably were landless and poor. In any case, the Gyurkós are distinguished from the other Botpaládians, particularly by the formerly

landed villagers, on the basis of their recent in-settlement, their ethnicity, their name and their appearance (they have dark complexions and rather Mongoloid features). The villagers whose outlooks resemble the "úri" model, for example G. Tasnády, R. Pinkóczy and E. Thury, believe that all of the above factors combine to lower the Gyurkós' rang.

P. and L. Gyurkó are elderly brothers, and both were in their sixties in the mid-1970s. They had retired from working full-time on the collective farm's lands, although P. Gyurkó, who had been a full-time member for 22 years, from 1947 to 1969, still stepped in sometimes as a watchman in the late 1970s. Both brothers had married long ago and they had established separate households, however they and all of their offspring who remained in Botpalád lived in close proximity to one another on Petöfi Street. L. Gyurkó and his wife, E. Liszák, who had been a servant and cook for Botpalád's former village mayor, lived together with one of their sons and his family. On the other hand, P. Gyurkó and his wife M. Paládi lived alone in a house with two rooms and a kitchen. Two of the offspring of P. Gyurkó had set up households on Petöfi Street, while four of the children of L. Gyurkó had done the same.

The scale of P. Gyurkó's farming activities and his living conditions do not indicate greater prosperity than that of other Botpaládians such as G. Tasnády or E. Thury. In 1976 P. Gyurkó kept two bullocks, a sow with piglets, 40 poultry (hens, chickens, roosters), he possessed sheds for these animals as well as a rack for storing maize, he had one household plot (háztáji) and a garden to tend, and his household machines and appliances included two wood-coal stoves and one radio. Nevertheless, the Botpaládians whose outlooks resemble the "úri" model (e.g. G. Tasnády and E. Thury) condemn the Gyurkós for unfoundedly "pounding their chests" or acting uppity about their wealth. They view the Gyurkós' economic gains in an historical perspective. The latter

are prosperous only in comparison to their poverty before 1945, but according to villagers like G. Tasnády and E. Thury, it is only one's rang, including one's past economic status, which provides any justification for showing off at present.

The Gyurkós themselves view status differentiation along the lines of the "competitive" model. They claim that in the past the landless farm servants, seasonal or other agricultural labourers, and the villagers whose lands exceeded 10 kh. were mutually antagonistic towards one another. The landowners allegedly avoided interacting with the landless villagers apart from greeting them during streetside encounters. Although they may have had more possessions, the landowners whose holdings did not exceed 40 kh. wore clothing and ate foods which did not differ in quality from those worn or consumed by the farm servants or other landless villagers, and their distancing behaviour was all the more resented by the latter. The Gyurkós claimed that although an economic levelling process had taken place between the local families, the above attitudes and behavioural patterns characterised interaction amongst the Botpaládians at the time of fieldwork, as well.

Three of the locally resident sons of the Gyurkó brothers were full-time working members of the collective farm, and the wives of two of them were also working members. The combined services to the collective farm of the fathers and sons indicate that the Gyurkós were amongst the most actively involved Botpaládians in this agricultural unit.

The elderly Gyurkós claim to be religious, they support the church, and declaim the fact that religion is no longer taught in school. They attend church services periodically, but their adult children may only rarely be seen there. The Gyurkós are outgoing, they often make use of the kinship, friendship and neighbourhood ties which they have on Petöfi Street, but their sphere of interaction is largely confined to this area and to the

"new row". Their general attitude towards life nowadays is positive, and they are orientated towards the present and the future, rather than towards the past. Nevertheless, P. Gyurkó and L. Gyurkó assert that they enjoy farming and could not live without raising livestock. Their sense of identity as Magyars is inseparable from their self-identification with the poorest, most exploited strata of Hungarians in the past. They claim that the Hungarians have had "a dog's life" (kutyasors), and that the only time there was justice in the past was under the rule of King Matthias (1458-1490) who "loved the poor man" (szerette a szegény embert).

V.3. The "land-focussed" model.

The "land-focussed" model illustrates the views of status differentiation amongst many of Kispalád's elderly inhabitants. They rank the local families according to their mód, and they use mód in reference to these families' past landholdings. They do not distinguish the concept of rang from that of mód except when referring to rang as a phenomenon of the past. Otherwise, some families which they describe as rangos, gentlemanlike, educated or "good" are above all known to be amongst the most módos in the village. Mód has precedence over and subsumes rang.

According to the "land-focussed" model, the families in Kispalád are ranked on the basis of their mód, but in this regard local differentiation is less extreme and graded than in Botpalád. In the hierarchy's central region there is a large group of former middle peasants who are reputedly módos, although not extremely so. Relations of solidarity bind these families to one another, while the fewer families at the hierarchy's upper and lower ends are slightly competitive. The current families are ranked according to their past landholdings, so it is only via manipulating their claims to landed and educated ancestry that the villagers may strengthen their claims to mód and progress upwards.

The Kispaládians whose views of society resemble the "land-focussed" model envisage some continuity between the ranking patterns of the past and the present. On the other hand, as a ranking category which was used before 1945, they believe that mód referred to contemporary landholdings in those times, rather than describing a family's ancestral property. For this reason, any family which increased its landholdings could progress upwards in rank. Such goals could be reached by working hard, making the most of the available family labour, marketing some of the farm produce (e.g. grain), and marrying into a landed family. Instead of being rigid, this ranking hierarchy in the past allowed for some internal mobility.

The people who will be described in the following case study do not belong to a typical Kispaládian family. T. Tóth's father was the largest local landowner and he also was Kispalád's vicar between the two World Wars. However, a case-study of this family should prove informative, since the outlooks of its various members resemble not only the "land-focussed" model but also a model which will be discussed later, the "egalitarian" model, and also certain trends which characterise the family point to features which pertain to the entire village.

V.3.a. Case study number five.

F. Tóth, the father of T. Tóth, was Kispalád's vicar from 1922 until the early 1950s, when he was forcibly retired by the church. F. Tóth's own father had been a landworking peasant, who during his lifetime had increased his landholdings from 24 kh. to ca. 80 kh.. However, there were seven children who had legal claims to portions of the inheritance. One son, F. Tóth, was given a higher education, he became a vicar and inherited his parents' house upon his return to Kispalád, while the other sons and daughters inherited land and remained landworking peasants.

F. Tóth had become a member of the educated elite, so his parents were able to arrange his marriage to the only child of the largest landowner in Kispalád, a girl who furthermore bore the surname of Angyalossy. Angyalossy is the one surname in Kispalád which the villagers commonly acknowledge to be a "good name", and according to the church records the Angyalossys were amongst the few Kispaládians to have been of noble status before 1848.

Through this marriage, F. Tóth acquired some 250 kh., the largest property to be owned by a locally resident Kispaládian during his time in the early 20th century. The children of F. Tóth, T. Tóth and his brother and sister, were spared having to work in the fields during their childhood. They were sent away to Debrecen and Szatmárnémeti to receive their secondary educations at the grammar schools there. The brother of T. Tóth eventually gained a training in law, and he now works as a legal adviser in Debrecen. The sister of T. Tóth married a man from Budapest after the Second World War, and later she and her husband left the country for West Germany, where they now live.

The wife of T. Tóth is named S. Bartha. Before 1945, the parents of S. Bartha together owned 53 kh. Of this property, her father, L. Bartha, had inherited 20 kh., and her matrilateral grandmother had purchased 33 kh. out of money she had earned during a 20-year stay in the United States. S. Bartha was also spared having to work in the fields as a young girl, and her mother never even did the chores around the house, since there always had been a servant to perform these tasks.

The land reforms and the first years of socialism after the Second World War brought a quick end to the former life style of both T. Tóth and S. Bartha. Except for 13 kh., all of the lands of F. Tóth were confiscated and redistributed amongst the landless or given to the first collective farms in the late 1940s. Then, in the early 1950s, both F. Tóth and L. Bartha were classified

as kulaks. Hoping to encounter less discrimination and circumstances more favourable to their material survival, as a young couple T. Tóth and S. Bartha moved to what was then called Sztálinváros (now known as Dunaújváros), which is located along the Danube River, south of Budapest.

They lived in this town from 1953 until 1957, where T. Tóth worked in an iron foundry. Following the 1956 uprising, when many of the collective farms were dissolved and the lands returned to their former owners for private farming, T. Tóth and S. Bartha returned to Kispalád in order to cultivate their own property. The property was collectivised in 1960, but T. Tóth and S. Bartha have nevertheless remained in Kispalád. T. Tóth found employment with the regional water management authority, while S. Bartha worked on the collective farm as well as on the various family gardens and household plots.

Despite the extreme changes and the adverse circumstances which this couple went through, S. Bartha and T. Tóth show a sound ability to adjust to new situations. They actively participate in local activities, intermingle with all of the Kispaládians and make use of their local ties as if there had never been any geographical distance or economically based distinctions which might have separated them from the others.

T. Tóth and S. Bartha have two married children. Their son married a girl from Kispalád, the daughter of a former farm servant who had worked on F. Tóth's lands, and this couple now lives in Fehérgyarmat, where both of them have found jobs. The son, T. Tóth junior, works as a lorry driver, while his wife worked at a sewing workshop until she gave birth to their second child. The daughter of T. Tóth and S. Bartha, E. Tóth, completed the vocational secondary school in Fehérgyarmat. Immediately afterwards she was given an office job at the Botpalád-Kispalád collective farm, and even after her marriage to

a boy from Turricse (a village some eight kilometers away as the crow flies) she remained in Kispalád. Her husband was trained at an agricultural technical school (technikum), and he has been employed as the local collective farm's chief gardener, under the title of horticultural works engineer (kértészüzemmérnök).

E. Tóth, her husband and two young daughters live in the same house as the parents of S. Bartha. Many of the household arrangements between T. Tóth - S. Bartha and their daughter's family indicate the presence of an extended, 3-4-3 generation family. Although they sleep under separate roofs, S. Bartha took over most of her daughter's and mother's household chores until E. Tóth gave birth to her second child. S. Bartha looked after her granddaughter and helped to cultivate their gardens so that E. Tóth could continue to bring in a relatively large income from her job at the collective farm's office. After the birth of her second daughter, E. Tóth took child care leave from her job for three years, however S. Bartha continues to do much of the work involved in running her household. S. Bartha and T. Tóth eat together with the family of E. Tóth and occasionally the parents of S. Bartha join them - if they cook separately anyone is free to take from whatever food her prefers.

S. Bartha helps to milk the four cows which her father keeps, and the milk which is not handed in at the collective farm's collecting point may be consumed by anyone. The same holds for garden produce and fodder. The members of the extended family jointly work the household plots, of which there are four altogether, under the names of L. Bartha, S. Bartha, E. Tóth and her husband. On the other hand, they do not pool all of their cash returns, and although the parents or offspring may freely lend or give money to one another, they keep separate purses.

Altogether, in 1977 S. Bartha and her husband, her parents and her daughter's family kept four cows, two

calves, and 16 piglets. S. Bartha's parents and daughter together kept 122 chickens, two geese and 22 ducks, and S. Bartha herself kept about the same amount of poultry at her own house.

The house which S. Bartha's parents and daughter's family inhabit was part of the inheritance of S. Bartha's mother, and it is divided into two sections, each of which contains three rooms (two front rooms, one main room), a kitchen and a pantry. There also is a separate "summer kitchen", a storage room and a pantry. Behind the house are two livestock sheds, an old construction which is used for storing grain and straw, a hay rack, a baking house and several poultry sheds. Altogether, the house contains two gas stoves, two oil heaters and two coal-wood burning stoves. There is one television set, two radios, two washing machines, one motorcycle, one electric grinder (for maize), and various other modern appliances such as a cassette recorder.

T. Tóth inherited his and his wife's living quarters matrilaterally. Their house contains four rooms (two large ones, a small and a front one), a kitchen, a pantry, a gas burner, an oil heater, a wood-coal stove, a television, a radio, and they also own a motorcycle. In back there are two farm buildings, one of which they now use for storage, the other for keeping pigs and poultry.

While T. Tóth envisages contemporary status differentiation along the lines of the "land-focussed" model, the outlook of S. Bartha resembles the "egalitarian" model. For T. Tóth, the villagers' family lands before 1945 are the criteria of mód, according to which he ranks the current local families. He believes that the former farm servants and landless Kispaládians who have become prosperous since 1945, especially in comparison to their past situations, are not entitled to this wealth, nor to any prestige which might be associated with it. In contrast, S. Bartha is more sympathetic to the formerly landless villagers. For her the true measure of mód is current wealth, and

accordingly she works to her utmost to make the most of her own material assets. This difference in outlook has contributed to the tensions between husband and wife. Because he sees no point in doing so, T. Tóth does not push himself in order to acquire the cash and goods which would raise his rank in the eyes of the Kispaládians who define mód as meaning current material prosperity. As a result, the bulk of the chores in the house, the garden and the household plot fall upon S. Bartha.

The villagers commonly admit that in the past, Kispaládian marriages were arranged according to the mód of the respective spouses. Although many marriages were unhappy ones, divorce was and still is infrequent. At the time of fieldwork, many villagers still believed that the past landholdings of the young people's families affected their marriages, but they admitted that this influence had greatly decreased. Some recent marriages had been contracted according to the current wealth of the spouses' families. In other cases, "marriages out of love" had taken place, and such marriages had met approval from a number of the villagers.

One such "marriage out of love" was that of T. Tóth junior with the daughter of his grandfather's former farm servant. Nowadays, from the viewpoint of wealth, occupation and education there is little difference between the younger members of the Tóth family and the Erdödi family (that of T. Tóth junior's wife). Nevertheless, the marriage of T. Tóth junior and I. Erdödi met strong opposition from T. Tóth and his kin, particularly those bearing the name of Angyalossy, for instance E. Angyalossy, T. Tóth's mother. On the other hand, S. Bartha and especially her matrilineal kin have supported this marriage. They have tried to minimise any feeling of difference between the families of the two spouses.

The villagers whose outlooks resemble the "land-focussed" model believe that E. Tóth has married in accordance with her background and rank. In this regard

she reputedly resembles her father rather than her allegedly "peasant-like" (parasztos) mother. The husband of E. Tóth is a descendant of one of the so-called "first families" of Turrice, because some of his ancestors were landowners and nobles. Furthermore, his skilled training and position in the collective farm enhance his rank in the eyes of most of the Kispaládians.

E. Tóth falls in line with the more traditional expectations regarding the type of spouse she married. However, her attitudes towards religion clash with what is deemed proper in the light of her background, and they are in line with the official Marxist ideology as of the mid-1970s. She has openly stated that she does not believe in God, and this declaration has caused widespread consternation. S. Bartha's feelings of shame over this are intensified by the knowledge that E. Tóth's own grandfather was the local vicar for decades. None of the members of the Tóth family attend church service regularly. On the other hand, S. Bartha asserts that she is pious, that she does not go to church because of the chores which keep her at home, and that both she and her husband pray every night. Their reluctance to attend church services seems to stem from their sensitive relationship with the current vicar. Nevertheless, the children of both T. Tóth junior and E. Tóth have been christened at church ceremonies.

S. Bartha and T. Tóth have kinship, friendship and neighbourhood ties which encompass a large proportion of the villagers and which they frequently make use of. Some of these ties involve "help" (segítség) relations between two parties, which may be fulfilled individually or by participation at collective work occasions. Other ties, which usually involve distant kin, are somewhat less defined, and the time and degree of reciprocation are left unspecified. Upon ritual occasions the kinship ties particularly come to the forefront, for example after the birth of E. Tóth's second daughter, when six

second cousins brought her "food for the mother in childbed" (gyermekágyas étel).⁷⁹

The continued strength of the ties maintained by S. Bartha with her childhood friends (cimbora) is closely related to her participation in the women's brigade of the Botpalád-Kispalád collective farm. The majority of the members of the women's brigade are Kispaládians. They have joined the collective farm as full-time working members in order to acquire for themselves the use of a household plot, to ensure for themselves an income in cash which is independent of that of their husbands, and also to gain for themselves the associated social welfare benefits such as retirement pensions and sick pay. The Kispaládian women who have not received a skilled training compete and try to outdo one another in the cash earnings that they receive from the collective farm. Upon these occasions they talk and socialise freely, and in this manner they form or reinforce existing, individual friendship ties and they also acquire a sense of group solidarity vis-a-vis the other collective farm brigades.

S. Bartha is one of the more enthusiastic members of the women's brigade, and working with them constitutes the high point of her everyday activities. She enjoys working physically in the fields, hearing about the latest events, and talking, joking and reminiscing with her old childhood cronies as well as with her new friends. She also feels a commitment towards the jobs which the farm has entrusted her to complete. At times she has condemned the women whose work ethic was lax, for instance on an occasion when they left a planting job unfinished in order to get home early one afternoon.

During their everyday activities the people in the T. Tóth family do not distance themselves from the other villagers. The Tóth's are well liked locally, and they feel a solidarity with Kispalád and its inhabitants. Furthermore, their attitudes towards many of the local institutions and other aspects of current village life do

not vary from those of any one set of Kispaládians. They welcome "outsiders", that is people who were not born or do not reside locally. They are flexible and accept change. These moreover are characteristics which appear to distinguish the Kispaládians generally from most of the Botpaládians.

V.4. The "egalitarian" model.

Some inhabitants of both Botpalád and Kispalád are unfamiliar with the term rangos. They rank the local families at present on the basis of mód only, and they use this term in reference to the villagers' current material wealth. Their views of status differentiation are illustrated by the "egalitarian" model.

According to the "egalitarian" model there currently is very little material differentiation amongst the villagers. Therefore, rather than constituting a graded hierarchy, the local families have levelled out into a homogeneous group without any large variations in rank. Although there is a competitive undercurrent, it is overridden by a solidarity which links all of the inhabitants of each village. Furthermore, any family may gain rank by becoming more prosperous, and its members may attain this objective via a higher education or skilled training, investments in sales-orientated farming, diligence, and making the most of the family's savings and labour.

The Botpaládians and Kispaládians whose views of current status differentiation resemble the "egalitarian" model believe that rank before 1945 depended upon mód at that time, i.e. on a family's landholdings. According to the Botpaládians there was a graded hierarchy, with some mobility amongst the módos families but no mobility and strong antagonism between the families without mód and those with mód. In comparison to the Botpaládians, the hierarchy envisaged by the Kispaládians was less graded, less antagonistic and more flexible. Nevertheless, all of these villagers believe that major changes in rank

have taken place since those times. There has been a levelling out process together with an increased sense of solidarity and greater scope for anyone to gain economically, thereby raising his rank.

When describing the family of T. Tóth as a case study for the "land-focussed" model, I said that the social outlook of the wife of T. Tóth was more in line with the "egalitarian" model. This type of outlook is more common generally amongst the younger Kispaládians, while in Botpalád there is no such generational slant. Some members of the Botpaládian family to be described below were born as early as 1920, and their outlooks still resemble the "egalitarian" model.

V.4.a. Case study number six.

Mrs. B. Bandics (née A. Liszák) is the widow of a former farm servant who moved into Botpalád from Tisztaberek, a village some six kilometers away as the crow flies. This woman is of non-noble descent. Through her father, she is distantly related to E. Liszák, the wife of L. Gyurkó (described earlier in this chapter). The father of Mrs. B. Bandics was landless, and he gained his sustenance by working as a farm servant, a seasonal labourer, or by cultivating other people's land on a shares basis. As a girl, and later as a married woman, Mrs. B. Bandics also had to work in the fields "like a man". Before 1945 Mrs. B. Bandics and her husband were landless, but afterwards they acquired 2 kh. of claimed land (igényelt föld), which they later took into the collective farm.

Mrs. B. Bandics has five children, three of whom live in Botpalád. Two of her daughters moved, upon marriage, to Kölcse, a village some 12 kilometers away, and Eperjes, a town to the north of Kassa (Kosice), in what is now Czechoslovakia. Another daughter married into the Kocsis family, which is of serf and landless descent, and she lives at Botpalád's "old end" (régi vég). The two sons of Mrs. B. Bandics live opposite to

one another on the "new row". The widow, who was born in 1899, resides with her elder son and his family.

Mrs. B. Bandics and the family of her elder son inhabit the same house, which contains two main rooms, two kitchens and one side room. However, the widow keeps her own poultry (26 chickens, 5 hens and 15 ducks in 1976), and she eats and sleeps separately from her son and his wife. She also keeps a separate garden and independently cultivates her 0.5 kh. of land which she receives from the collective farm through her deceased husband's membership. Her son has a 1 kh. household plot from the collective farm, he has a garden and keeps one cow, four pigs and ca. 100 chickens. His wife is from another village, Darnó, and apparently the friction between her and Mrs. B. Bandics has brought about the separation in their household and farming activities. The two sons of Mrs. B. Bandics's son and daughter-in-law are studying in Tatabánya, an industrial town to the west of Budapest, and their daughter has married and lives in Fehérgyarmat.

The elder son of Mrs. B. Bandics is a brigade leader for the collective farm, and her younger son is a field guard. They both deny any familiarity with the term rangos, and furthermore they claim that distinctions on the basis of mód are invalid nowadays since everyone stands equally from a material point of view. They have been active collective farm members since 1946, and they express support of it and its programmes. Apart from supporting the first local collective farm, they, some of their sons and many of their matrilineal and affinal kin, for example the Liszák's, the Kocsis', and the Szeles', are or have been, Party members since the late 1940s. They do not go to church, even their marriage ceremonies have not included a church ritual, and they openly avow their lack of piety. From amongst the Botpaládians they were the ones who most willingly complied with the regime's plans as of the mid-1970s, and

they occasionally served as its mouthpiece or mediator at the local level.

V.5. Conclusions.

In this section I constructed four models in order to illustrate the different views of status differentiation which prevail in Botpalád and Kispalád. As examples, I selected case studies from both villages. The "úri" model, the "competitive" and the "egalitarian" models portray the varying outlooks in Botpalád. In Kispalád, however, the villagers view society along the lines of only the "land-focussed" or the "egalitarian" model. Furthermore, their variations in outlook follow generational differences to a greater extent than in Botpalád.

In order to understand the significance of these different outlooks in local life at present, I shall, in the following chapter, discuss these views of status differentiation in relation to the villagers' more general attitudes and behaviour.

7. BOTPALAD AND KISPALAD: VIEWS OF STATUS DIFFERENTIATION IN RELATION TO OTHER ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOURAL ATTRIBUTES.

The ranking categories and views of status differentiation discussed in the previous chapter are examples of evaluative judgements made by the villagers. Now, I shall examine other attitudinal and behavioural attributes of the villagers, which equally reflect evaluative judgements, in relation to how these villagers rank the local families.

Although I took into consideration the attitudes and behaviour of all of the Botpaládians and Kispaládians, I intensively studied 17 families from each village. Eventually the different views of status differentiation will be analysed in the light of material and political differentiation before 1945, and it was with this objective in mind that I selected the 34 families. My primary considerations were the legal and economic status of the villagers' ancestors. In the representative sample the proportion of families of noble descent to those of serf descent was equivalent roughly to the local proportion of nobles and serfs in the early 19th century. The representative sample also reflected Kispalád's more even land distribution as compared to that of Botpalád at the turn of the 20th century. Finally, the representative sample included villagers whose views of status differentiation followed the lines of each of the models which were described in the previous chapter.¹

Tables 24 - 32 give the tabulated results of the investigations which I conducted on the representative sample. I shall refer to and explain these tables in detail during the following discussion.

For reasons of style I sometimes shall refer to the villagers by the models which their conceptualisations of rank at the time of fieldwork resembled - for example the "úri" Botpaládians, the "competitive" Botpaládians, the "land-focussed"

Kispaládians, or the "egalitarian" inhabitants of either village. This type of labelling does not mean that the villagers have explicit models in their minds; I must emphasise the merely rough approximation between their outlooks, which they themselves often were unable to explain or express verbally, and the models I constructed.

I. Attitudes.

The themes according to which I shall discuss the villagers' attitudes at the time of fieldwork are as follows:

1. The importance the villagers attribute to historical consciousness. Their evaluations of and orientations towards the past vs. the present.
2. National consciousness.
3. Attitudes towards official institutions, i.e. the collective farm, the council, the school and the church.
4. The villagers' attitudes towards diligence, and towards economising and saving.
5. The villagers' attitudes regarding technical and organisational innovations, e.g. modern machinery, store-bought or consumer items.
6. The villagers' esteem for erudition (műveltség), i.e. schooling in the traditional professions vs. a technical or skilled training.
7. The importance of being religious.
8. Local pride and xenophobia, i.e. the degree to which belonging to the village is regarded as an exclusive privilege, vs. the welcoming acceptance of new residents into the community.
9. Attitudes and inclinations towards introversion, envy and quarrelsomeness.
10. The importance of moral propriety, the villagers' attitudes regarding common-law union, illegitimate birth and extra-marital affairs.

I.1. Historical consciousness and the past vs. the present.

Whether the villagers view the past in a positive or a negative light partly reflects their own and their immediate predecessors' experiences. A former agricultural labourer who spent his childhood working and walking barefoot due to poverty is likely to give a far more negative description of local life before 1945 than a former landowner who lived more comfortably at that time.

The extent to which the villagers dwell on the past and evaluate contemporary life by comparing it to earlier times poses a different issue. The esteem the people associate with being knowledgeable in local and national history, irrespective of the factual bases of these accounts, also depends on other factors.

The villagers have become acquainted with their national and local past partly through their schooling, but much of this knowledge has been passed from generation to generation as oral tradition and ethnohistory. Circumstantial factors have affected this latter form of transmission, for instance the availability of elderly persons with the time and ability to pass on these accounts to the young folk, or the possession of "old books" which help to maintain continuity with the past.

Nonetheless, the villagers with different views of status differentiation vary in the extent to which they emphasise "history", "old things" or the "past". Emphasis on such oral traditions about the past contrasts to a preoccupation amongst some local inhabitants with other folkloric genres such as songs, sayings, humorous anecdotes, beliefs or stories associated with such beliefs. The "úri" Botpaládians as well as the "land-focussed" Kispaládians are more knowledgeable and aware of "history" than the other villagers (cf. case study of G. Tasnády and also Table 24 for material relating to discussion in sub-sections I.1.-I.10.).

TABLE 24: VIEWS OF STATUS DIFFERENTIATION AND RELATED ATTITUDES

		"Uri"	"Competitive"	"Land-focussed"	"Egalitarian"
1. Historical consciousness	strong	81.8%	40.0%	83.3%	0%
	weak	18.2%	60.0%	16.7%	100.0%
2. Evaluation of present vs. past	positive	18.2%	80.0%	75.0%	100.0%
	negative	81.8%	20.0%	25.0%	0%
3. National consciousness in everyday life	strong	81.8%	60.0%	41.7%	0%
	weak	18.2%	40.0%	58.3%	100.0%
4. Evaluation of TSZ	positive	9.1%	40.0%	66.7%	100.0%
	negative	90.9%	60.0%	33.3%	0%
5. Eval. of local council	pos.	9.1%	60.0%	33.3%	100.0%
	neg.	90.9%	40.0%	66.7%	0%
6. Eval. of current school	pos.	9.1%	40.0%	83.3%	100.0%
	neg.	90.9%	60.0%	16.7%	0%
7. Eval. of current church	pos.	100.0%	60.0%	58.3%	16.7%
	neg.	0%	40.0%	41.7%	83.3%
8. Attitude to diligence	pos.	27.3%	80.0%	91.7%	83.3%
	neg.	72.7%	20.0%	8.3%	16.7%

TABLE 24 (cont)		"Uri"	"Competitive"	"Land-focussed"	"Egalitarian"
9. Attit. to econo- mising	pos.	27.3%	60.0%	100.0%	83.3%
	neg.	72.7%	40.0%	0%	16.7%
10. Attit. to inno- vation	pos.	18.2%	60.0%	83.3%	83.3%
	neg.	81.8%	40.0%	16.7%	16.7%
11. Eval.of tradi- tional vs.tech- nical training	pos.	81.8%	40.0%	16.7%	0%
	neg.	18.2%	60.0%	83.3%	100.0%
12. Import- ance of piety	import- ant	90.9%	80.0%	58.3%	16.7%
	not import- ant	9.1%	20.0%	41.7%	83.3%
13. Local pride, xeno- phobia	strong	100.0%	80.0%	8.3%	0%
	weak	0%	20.0%	91.7%	100.0%
14. Degree of in- trover- sion	strong	63.6%	20.0%	8.3%	0%
	weak	36.4%	80.0%	91.7%	100.0%
15. Condem- nation of envy dis- putes	strong	81.8%	100.0%	91.7%	83.3%
	indif- ferent	18.2%	0%	8.3%	16.7%
16. Import- ance of moral propri- ety	import- ant	81.8%	40.0%	100.0%	0%
	not im- port- ant	18.2%	60.0%	0%	100.0%

The "úri" Botpaládians define rang on the basis of descent qualifications and they often can trace the origins of rang to status categories before the abolition of serfdom. They associate rang with noble ancestry, and they say that the nobles owned land, i.e. they were módos. However, some former nobles who were also rangos and módos had lost their lands after the abolition of serfdom, and therefore they became rangos but not módos.

The "land-focussed" Kispaládians use mód in reference to landholdings before 1945 only. This ranking category too is a description of descent, but it subsumes rang. These historically conscious villagers associate nobility with the non-resident gentry who owned estates on Botpalád's and Kispalád's outskirts, the so-called "great gentlemen" (nagy urak). They say that such landowners were both rangos and módos, and they remained so after the abolition of serfdom.

The "úri" Botpaládians regard the "past", before 1945, in a rosy light. Although there were admittedly great variations in rang, they believe that the villagers of different rank coexisted peacefully, maintained mutual respect and helped one another when necessary - often via patronage. They claim that there were abundant crop yields, since the villagers at that time knew better how to cultivate the land with traditional methods and according to their own schedules. Not even the farm servants or agricultural labourers are said to have gone without shelter, food and clothing.

In comparison to the idealised past, these people view life at present rather negatively. The "úri" Botpaládians believe that relations between the families of different rank have deteriorated over recent years (see the case study of G. Tasnády). Some "úri" villagers attribute this deterioration to the competition amongst the behaviourally rangos villagers who want to increase their rank. They say that because of overwork, the behaviourally rangos villagers suffer from nervous and

other disorders, and that relations within as well as outside the family have also worsened.

The "competitive" and "egalitarian" Botpaládians have a negative view of the past (see case study of L. and P. Gyurkó). They stress the constant toil and physical hardships which the nearly landless villagers, the farm servants and agricultural labourers endured. They say that many of the landowners who hired outside labour treated their employees harshly. They reputedly overworked these labourers, they had no sympathy for their physical hardships, and often they either paid their farm servants poorly or gave them no remuneration at all due to poor crop yields. When the farm servants received no pay they sought employment elsewhere, but a repetition of such situations led to their continued movement and insecure existence.

In contrast to the past, the "competitive" and "egalitarian" Botpaládians appreciate the material prosperity and comfort which nearly everyone was enjoying in the mid-1970s. Although they admit that success involves competition, most people who work hard may gain materially. Therefore, they consider the current situation to be much better than that of the past.

Like the "úri" Botpaládians, a few "land-focussed" Kispaládians have a negative opinion of life at present as compared to the past (see case study of T. Tóth). These villagers emphasise the increased competition amongst the local inhabitants and their overly acquisitive attitudes nowadays. Such qualities reputedly result from the general growth in prosperity since 1960. However, the "land-focussed" Kispaládians rank the local families on the basis of mód, by which they mean former landholdings. According to them, getting ahead economically at present does not increase one's rank. These "land-focussed" Kispaládians frown on the former landless villagers' endeavours to accumulate wealth, but this attitude does not restrain their own economic activities in any way.

On the other hand, a number of "land-focussed" villagers who have grown very prosperous since 1960 believe that life currently is better than in the past. In this regard, their opinions are identical to those of the "egalitarian" Kispaládians.

The "egalitarian" Kispaládians rank the local families according to their mód, and they use this term in reference to one's current prosperity. Like the "competitive" and "egalitarian" Botpaládians, these Kispaládians approve of any economic gains nowadays. They praise the overall prosperity which characterises the local inhabitants' current living conditions, and to this situation they contrast the poverty of the nearly landless villagers, the farm servants and agricultural labourers before 1945. The "egalitarian" Kispaládians also emphasise the solidarity and homogeneity amongst the local inhabitants, rather than any competitive aspects of their current relationships.

In summary, the "úri" and some "land-focussed" villagers have a greater historical awareness, and the "úri" villagers also view the past in a positive light, when compared to the present. The "competitive" and "egalitarian" villagers have less of a sense of history. Furthermore, they speak negatively of the past, in contrast to which they emphasise current material comforts.

I.2. National consciousness.

All of the villagers are aware and proud of their national heritage (see case study of P. and L. Gyurkó). However, the "úri" Botpaládians, some "competitive" and "land-focussed" villagers are more concerned with their Magyar identity in everyday life than are the other local inhabitants.

A number of "úri" Botpaládians in particular believe that being truly Magyar also means having a Magyar name or belonging to a pure-blooded, ancient family. For them, being truly Magyar contributes to

one's rank and therefore national identity is an especially important issue. Otherwise, this feeling of being Magyar is also inseparable from the villagers' historical awareness. It is also related to their sense of ethnic distinction as opposed to the gipsies.

I.3. Attitudes towards official institutions.

Most inhabitants of both villages admitted at the time of fieldwork that although they initially were reluctant to collectivise their lands in 1960, as of the mid-1970s they would not want the return of their former property, together with the heavy tax burdens of the past. On the other hand, the "úri" and some "competitive" Botpaládians were critical of the local collective farm. Their criticisms were based on the collective farm's lack of success, rather than on the principle of collectivised agriculture per se.

Most "úri" and some "competitive" Botpaládians blamed the collective farm for not providing the villagers with the incomes, resources and efficiency of services which other collective farms offered (such complaints were voiced by G. Tasnády, E. Thury and I. Kövér). They believed that the collective farm's leaders and specialists were unable to deal with the local environment, and as a result the crop yields did not measure up to those of private farming in the past. They also claimed that the collective farm's leaders and specialists lacked commitment to the locality.

The "úri" and "competitive" Botpaládians in the mid-1970s considered themselves to be of higher rank than some of the collective farm's leaders and specialists, and in such cases they were reluctant to follow the latter's directions. For example, the collective farm president from 1976 to 1978 was the son of a former local farm servant. The "úri" and "competitive" Botpaládians asserted that he never learned how to manage a farming enterprise except "from a book", i.e. by obtaining

technical qualifications, and such attitudes greatly undermined his local influence.

In comparison to the above, most "land-focussed" Kispaládians and the "egalitarian" villagers were more optimistic about the collective farm, and they were more committed to its aims (see T. Tóth and Mrs. B. Bandics). These villagers admitted that the collective farm had problems. However, instead of blaming the leadership for these difficulties and opposing any innovative measures, they put the onus on the collective farm's members. To prove their point they referred to the constant dissatisfaction and reluctance to participate in collective activities amongst many of the Botpaládians. They mentioned the lax work discipline and the short hours which were actually worked on the collectivised lands. The "land-focussed" Kispaládians and the "egalitarian" villagers also pointed out that the collective farm members often worked carelessly, and they preferred to drink and play cards rather than complete the tasks assigned to them.

Neither the Botpaládians nor the Kispaládians were openly enthusiastic about the existing council system of government in the mid-1970s. They realised that although the opportunities for the expression of one's interests in local government existed in theory, in practice other factors such as the Party and protekció played a decisive role. However, in this regard they did not believe the current situation to be any worse than that of the past. Most villagers said at the time of fieldwork that local government before 1945 was at least as unrepresentative as in the mid-1970s, if not more so. Nonetheless, with the above proviso, the local inhabitants who approved of the council system in the mid-1970s mainly consisted of "egalitarian", some "competitive" and a few "land-focussed" villagers.²

All of the Botpaládians and Kispaládians approved of the equal educational opportunities which in theory prevailed in the mid-1970s. On the other hand, the "úri"

and "competitive" Botpaladians, and a few "land-focussed" Kispaládians admitted that in practice one's educational progress depended upon other factors too, such as protekció and descent. The "egalitarian" villagers appeared more oblivious of these factors. Nor did they criticise the quality of teaching, the maintenance of discipline and the subjects taught during school hours (e.g. no religion was taught during school-time) - in the manner of the "úri", some "competitive" and a few "land-focussed" villagers.

The "úri", most "competitive" and some "land-focussed" villagers still approved of the church in the mid-1970s even if, compared to the past, they viewed negatively the decline in its role. These people asserted that in theory anyone could join the church and still enjoy his full rights as a citizen of a socialist state, but they regretted the church's decreased influence in education and in the observance of local holidays. The "úri" and "competitive" Botpaládians also disapproved of some of the vicar's attempts to democratise the local church's internal structure. These attitudes were not directly reflected in the frequency of church attendance, and furthermore some office-holders and professionals, such as teachers, were known to avoid attending church service for "practical" reasons.

In contrast to the above, the "egalitarian" Botpaládians and a few of the "land-focussed" Kispaládians disassociated themselves from the church, and they expressed no interest in its affairs (see case studies of Mrs. B. Bandics and T. Tóth).

1.4. Diligence and economising.

A stereotype of the Botpaládians prevails amongst the inhabitants of both villages. According to this stereotype, the Botpaládians dislike farming the land or engaging in other productive work. They prefer to enjoy life while they can and squander their returns rather than economising or saving them. However, the

Botpaládians vary amongst themselves in their evaluations of diligence and economising.

With some exceptions the "úri" Botpaládians adopt an epicurean attitude towards life, the rationale being "why work so hard when we know that we will all eventually die anyway?" (see case study of G. Tasnády). They believe that the former farm servants and agricultural labourers who inhabit the "new row" and Petöfi Street overwork in their attempts to make money. They claim that incidents such as suicides, nervous disorders and family friction result from these villagers pushing themselves excessively. The "úri" Botpaládians disapprove of the villagers, especially the women, who work regularly on the collectivised lands. They assume that the household chores, caring for the home garden, the livestock and the household plot alone involve enough work. The villagers say that some of the local landowners in the 19th and early 20th centuries lost their lands because instead of working they preferred to eat well, drink and be merry. If this claim has any factual basis, the same negative attitudes towards diligence, economising and saving may have existed before 1945 as well.

The "competitive" Botpaládians, the "land-focussed" Kispaládians and the "egalitarian" villagers have higher esteem for the qualities of diligence and thrift (see case study of L. and P. Gyurkó). The "competitive" and "egalitarian" Botpaládians consider hard work and the ability to save as being necessary in order to "get ahead". For this reason, they praise industriousness, even if the speakers themselves complain about the tedium of their own tasks.

The "land-focussed" and "egalitarian" Kispaládians are more enthusiastic about work as an activity in itself (see case study of T. Tóth). They often express their enjoyment of physical activity from sunrise to sundown, and diligence is a quality which they take for granted in one another. They consider the ability to make the most

of one's resources an important quality. This opinion is reflected in their approval of the villagers who use their own cows for draught. They praise the families whose members all contribute large incomes to the family enterprise. They also think highly of the villagers who, instead of spending their returns on short-term benefits, invest in assets with more long-range results, for example land, in the past, and a skilled training, at present.

I.5. Technical and organisational innovations.

The "úri" and some "competitive" Botpaládians are conservative regarding the introduction of new equipment, goods and methods. They claim that they have no need of modern farming equipment and household accessories. They believe that home-produced goods such as meat, lard, milk and dairy products, and until recently, bread, are better than what can be purchased at the store. These villagers claim that they avoid using store-bought items unless there is no alternative. They also disapprove of many of the collective farm's technical and organisational innovations, for instance the use of modern, heavy machinery and the centralised distribution of hay to TSZ members from the crop harvested on all of the collectivised meadows. These Botpaládians are reluctant to participate in the state-subsidised livestock and fruit-growing programmes, and they claim that there is too much work involved to make such farming endeavours worthwhile.

Some "competitive" Botpaládians and the "egalitarian" villagers are more enthusiastic about innovation than the people described above. Nonetheless, in this regard they are neither as keen nor as ingenious as the Kispaládians.

With a few exceptions, the "land-focussed" and "egalitarian" Kispaládians are openly willing to try new tools and methods. For instance, they are eager to buy equipment such as milking machines and colour

televisions, to install bathrooms and put together "small tractors" (kistraktor) out of old, often discarded machines. They adapt to and often support organisational changes which have been instituted by the collective farm. They also approve of and participate actively in the state-subsidised livestock and fruit-growing programmes.

I.6. Education in the traditional professions vs. a technical or skilled training.

The adjectives "educated" (müvelt) or "refined" (fajn) were already mentioned when discussing the concept of rang. The villagers have always respected the people who have been educated in the traditional professions. Such people include lawyers, doctors, clergymen and teachers. The villagers have also called them gentlemen (úr). Nevertheless, there are variations nowadays in how the Botpaládians and Kispaládians evaluate the traditional professions as compared to the technical trades.

Most "úri" Botpaládians still have high regard for the traditional professions. They prefer the traditional subjects such as history, religion, ethics and literature, although not all of these were taught during school hours at the time of fieldwork. They also praise other qualities, such as gentility, which they believe contribute to being refined.

In contrast, most "competitive" Botpaládians, most "land-focussed" Kispaládians and the "egalitarian" villagers consider a technical training to be more useful for getting ahead in this day and age. The "land-focussed" and "egalitarian" Kispaládians in particular evaluate one's technical training according to the income it may bring in. They admire and respect the collective farm officials and specialists. This attitude is rare in Botpalád, especially amongst the "úri" villagers who deny that an "outsider" can learn how to farm the local lands from a book.

I.7. The importance of piety.

Except for the "egalitarian" and some "land-focussed" villagers, the Botpaládians and Kispaládians think highly of being religious. The "úri" Botpaládians express this opinion the most fervently (see case study of G. Tasnády). For them, any association with the traditional religious elite contributes to one's rank. They say that the presbyters came from "educated" and úri ("gentlemanlike") families which contributed lavishly to the church and possessed special family pews for their exclusive use during service.

When evaluating a person's piety, the "úri" Botpaládians consider factors which they also believe contribute to a person's rank. However, they take into account other qualities, too, such as for instance emotional displays at church service (crying, etc), subscriptions to the Calvinist newspaper and Bible- or psalm-reading at home.

The "competitive" and "land-focussed" inhabitants who approve of piety do not attribute such importance to their ancestors' church activities. On the other hand, the "competitive" but not the "land-focussed" villagers make a show of their religious fervour at church services. Like the "úri" Botpaládians, the "competitive" and "land-focussed" inhabitants do not associate religious commitment with church attendance alone (see case study of T.Tóth). They say that true religious commitment may also be measured by other activities, such as listening to radio broadcasts of church services, reading religious newspapers or praying at home. They believe that everyday, rather than ritual, behaviour is the essential test of whether or not one has a "true" Christian spirit.

Most "egalitarian" and some "land-focussed" villagers openly disapprove of religious sentiment and they ignore church affairs. This attitude is most common amongst such families' younger members who have acquired

a secondary or higher education, or joined the Party (see case studies of T. Tóth and Mrs. B. Bandics).

I.8. Local pride and xenophobia.

Whether they view local status differentiation along the lines of the "úri" model or the "competitive" model, most Botpaládians show a strong sense of local pride. They believe that belonging to the village is an exclusive right which is closed to new settlers or outsiders.

In particular, the "úri" Botpaládians assert that they belong to the village by virtue of their families being "pure-blooded" (törzsökös) and "ancient" (tösgyökeres) (see case study of G. Tasnády). In addition, except for a few "egalitarian" Botpaládians, most of the inhabitants attribute great importance to being a "true" member of the village. They reaffirm the exclusive nature of this status by calling the new residents "newcomers" (bekerült) or "foreign" (idegen).

On the other hand, the "land-focussed" and "egalitarian" Kispaládians pride themselves on their open acceptance of the newly settled inhabitants (see case study of T. Tóth). Within a few years they consider the recent settlers to be members of the community, and without discrimination they incorporate the latter into the local networks of "help" and other relations. Families which have moved into Kispalád and husbands or wives who have married into the village are welcomed equally.

Kispaládians and non-residents alike state that anyone who moves into the village never wants to leave. They say that the opposite is true of Botpalád, a claim which the Botpaládians do not deny, indeed some even reaffirm it. The Botpaládians' alleged dislike of strangers is confirmed by the number of doctors, teachers and other officials from elsewhere who have left the village shortly after moving in, due to local antipathy towards them.

I.9. Introversion, envy and quarrelsomeness.

Apart from some exceptions, the variations in the degree of introversion amongst the villagers correspond to differences in how they view status differentiation. Most "úri" Botpaládians prefer to spend time alone, away from groups of people (see case study of G. Tasnády). These villagers also condemn the envy and quarrelsomeness which they believe characterise the relationships amongst the residents of the "new row" and Petöfi Street.

The "competitive" and "egalitarian" Botpaládians also condemn envy and disputes generally, but they declare that such frictions prevailed amongst the larger landowning families before 1945. On the other hand, these "competitive" and "egalitarian" villagers, many of whom live on the "new row" and Petöfi Street, are far more outgoing than the "úri" Botpaládians. They encounter and visit one another more frequently than the latter (see case studies of I. Kövér, and P. and L. Gyurkó). They are more aware of one another's family affairs and of other local events, and they may use this knowledge to their own advantage.

Most "land-focussed" and "egalitarian" Kispaládians show greater friendliness, extroversion and community spirit than any of the Botpaládians (see case study of T. Tóth). Talkative, friendly people are generally liked, and one Kispaládian is expected to help any other villager who is in need. The villagers know a great deal about the affairs of one another's families, but strong norms govern the use of this information. Accordingly, such knowledge should in theory not be used maliciously, to the advantage of any one person, and some discretion is maintained when family affairs are discussed. These villagers also condemn open disputes and displays of envy.

I.10. The importance of moral propriety.

Most of the "úri" Botpaládians emphasise the importance of moral propriety. They remember that before 1945 many farm servants, agricultural labourers and animal herders lived in common-law union and gave birth to illegitimate children. In the eyes of the "úri" Botpaládians, the stigma associated with such villagers' low status is inseparable from their maintenance of such strongly condemned relationships.

Although the "land-focussed" Kispaládians disapprove of common-law union, illegitimacy and extra-marital affairs, they do not openly condemn the villagers who have been involved in such relationships. For them the status connotations of such relationships are not as marked as for the "úri" Botpaládians.

In comparison to the above Botpaládians and Kispaládians, most of the "competitive" and "egalitarian" villagers treat common-law union, illegitimacy and extra-marital affairs more casually. Some of them even mention the affairs of their predecessors and kin without shame (see case study of I. Kövér). These villagers in general accept such relationships as a part of the natural course of events, both in the past and present.

II. Behavioural patterns.

In the following section I shall discuss the villagers' behaviour and activities in relation to their views of status differentiation. I shall consider whether or not the villagers' attitudinal variations, described in the previous section, correspond to behavioural differences as well. The activities to be covered include the following:

1. Participation in the collective farm, local government, the school system and church.
2. Economic activity, i.e. occupation and division of labour amongst the family members, family type (nuclear, or 2-3-2 generation, vs. extended, or

3-4-3 generation), subsidiary incomes, the allocation of the family's returns (productive investment vs. saving vs. immediate consumption or purchase of consumer items).

3. Interaction and group formation in everyday life and on festive occasions, i.e. the acknowledgement of kinship, the range and intensity of friendship and neighbourhood ties, other relations within and outside the village (street behaviour, forms of address, group work, attendance at ritual gatherings).³
4. Marriage and the selection of a spouse, i.e. the criteria of selection, the influence of parents or kin on the choice of a spouse, husband-wife relations and their compatibility, the showiness of the wedding.
5. Lifestyle, i.e. food, clothing, cleanliness and hygiene, household appliances, farm machinery and vehicles.

II.1. Participation in local institutions.

II.1.a. The collective farm.

The data in Table 25 suggest that apart from being more committed to it in attitude, the "egalitarian" and "land-focussed" villagers, together with some "competitive" villagers, were more actively involved in the collective farm's ventures in the mid-1970s than the other Botpaládians and Kispaládians. The other villagers' negative attitudes and behaviour towards the collective farm were most strikingly demonstrated by the lack of involvement on the part of the "úri" Botpaládians.

TABLE 25

VIEWS OF STATUS DIFFERENTIATION AND COLLECTIVE FARM INVOLVEMENT

(averages per family)	"Uri"	"Competitive"	"Land-focussed"	"Egalitarian"
Average TSZ wages/month in forints	584	1,175	1,006	1,327
Number of working TSZ members and permanent employees	0.36	1	1.2	1.3
Number of part-time TSZ workers	0.04	0.2	0.2	0.2
Number of pensioned TSZ members	1.1	0.6	0.67	1.1
Number of family members in other occupations (e.g. industry)	0.2	0.7	1	0.5
Payments for 1977 sales transacted by TSZ and other TSZ payments (in forints)	14,207	6,102	33,312	29,533
Monthly milk payments from TSZ (in forints)	1,803	1,998	1,973	1,763
Number of livestock (cattle)	2.4	2.7	3.8	3.5

On average there were fewer working collective farm members per "úri" family, and their monthly wages were lower than those of the other local inhabitants. They kept fewer cattle, and the payments they received for their milk gathered by the collective farm were lower than those of the "competitive" and "land-focussed" families. However, their other cash transactions, mainly for the sale of livestock and apples with the mediation of the collective farm, exceeded the sums received by the "competitive" Botpaládians.

The "competitive" Botpaládians were more active than the "úri" villagers insofar as a larger number of them were working collective farm members. They received higher monthly wages, and they kept more cattle than the "úri" families. Their milk payments exceeded those of all the other Botpaládians and Kispaládians. On the other hand, their cash transactions related to the sale of livestock and apples did not measure up to those of the "úri" villagers, not to mention the "egalitarian" and "land-focussed" families.

The "egalitarian" and "land-focussed" inhabitants were the most active working collective farm members. The monthly wages of the "land-focussed" Kispaládians were lower than those of the "egalitarian" and "competitive" villagers, a fact which may be explained partly by the high proportion of unskilled female workers amongst these "land-focussed" wage-earners. The "land-focussed" families kept the most cattle, their milk payments were nearly equal to those of the "competitive" families, and their other cash transactions with the collective farm involved the highest sums from amongst all of the local inhabitants.

The "egalitarian" and "land-focussed" families had almost an equal number of working collective farm members, but the monthly wages of the "egalitarian" villagers exceeded those of the other families by far. Their payments for the sale of livestock and apples via the collective farm were only slightly lower than those

of the "land-focussed" villagers. They kept nearly as many cattle as the "land-focussed" inhabitants. However, their milk revenues were lower than those of the "competitive" and "land-focussed" families.

To summarise, the "egalitarian" and "land-focussed" villagers were the collective farm's most active wage-earners, they kept the most livestock, but instead of concentrating on milk production they obtained much of their cash from the sale of livestock and apples. The "competitive" villagers were slightly less active as wage-earners, they kept fewer cattle, and they got most of their cash from milk production. The "úri" villagers were not active wage-earners on the collective farm, and they kept the smallest number of cattle. Like the "egalitarian" and "land-focussed" villagers, they got extra money by marketing cattle and apples via the collective farm, albeit to a lesser extent, rather than by producing milk.

II.1.1.b. Local government.

There are no statistics at hand related to participation in local government which would compare to the data above on collective farm activity. I measured the villagers' involvement in government activities by finding out which families had council officials or members, which had Party members, and which people were particularly active at the general meetings held by the local and regional authorities during the time of fieldwork.

The Botpaládians' attitudes towards the council were reflected in their government involvement. According to the representative sample, the "úri" villagers were not active in council or Party affairs (see Table 26). On the other hand, the "egalitarian" and most "competitive" Botpaládians were Party or council members, or they were spokesman for local opinion at the general meetings. However, the two villages' most powerful political figures, who lived in Botpalád, were

not included in the representative sample, nor did they follow exactly the above trends. As expected, the Party secretary's view of status differentiation resembled the "egalitarian" model, but the outlooks of a member of the county council and a local council official were similar, rather, to the "úri" model.

The behaviour of the Kispaládians did not reflect their attitudes towards the council set-up as closely as in the case of the Botpaládians. Furthermore, unlike the Botpaládians, in Kispalád the "egalitarian" villagers were inactive in local government, this feature somewhat distorting the overall "egalitarian" figures in Table 26, while there was more active involvement on the part of the "land-focussed" inhabitants.

II.1.c. Education.

Table 27 gives the break-down of the children in the representative sample who were educated after 1945, according to whether they pursued a traditional occupation or acquired a technical training in industry, commerce or other recently expanded trades. Unskilled agricultural work as well as a grammar school education leading to jobs in religion, law, medicine, education and the traditional services (e.g. postmaster) were included amongst the traditional occupations. Apart from industry, the technical trades covered white-collar jobs in post-war institutions (the council, the collective farm, etc.), skilled agricultural work (e.g. tractor-drivers) and other skilled trades which became more accessible to the local inhabitants after 1945. A person could train for such a technical trade by completing a vocational secondary (szakközépiskola) or technical (technikum) school, or by training for two years at his workplace.

TABLE 26

VIEWS OF STATUS DIFFERENTIATION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT

Participation in local government	" <u>Uri</u> "	"Competitive"	"Land-focussed"	"Egalitarian"
Active	0%	60.0%	58.3%	16.7%
Inactive	100.0%	40.0%	41.6%	83.3%

TABLE 27

VIEWS OF STATUS DIFFERENTIATION AND TYPE OF EDUCATION

Type of education	" <u>Uri</u> "	"Competitive"	"Land-focussed"	"Egalitarian"
Traditional profession/ agriculture	54.5% (1.6 per family)	33.3% (1 per family)	38.5% (0.8 per family)	38.8% (1.2 per family)
Vocational, skilled training	45.5% (1.4 per family)	66.7% (2 per family)	61.5% (1.3 per family)	61.1% (1.8 per family)

The education and occupations of the local children reflected the villagers' attitudes towards the traditional occupations in comparison to the skilled trades. The "úri" families had the highest percentage of offspring in traditional occupations. The "land-focussed" and "egalitarian" villagers had fewer children in the traditional occupations, and more in the technical trades. The percentage of children in the technical trades was highest amongst the "competitive" families, but it did not greatly exceed that of the "land-focussed" and "egalitarian" villagers.

Generally, the "úri" villagers were inclined towards the traditional occupations, while the "competitive", the "egalitarian" and the "land-focussed" villagers leaned towards the technical trades. The education of their children reflected these trends.

II.1.d. The Church.

Although political and career considerations made it advantageous for some villagers to avoid the church, the overall variations in their church activity reflected their attitudes towards the church in the mid-1970s (see Table 28). In comparison to the other Botpaládians and Kispaládians, a larger proportion of the "úri" villagers attended church regularly, at least once a week, and they were more generous in their church-tax payments and voluntary donations. The "competitive" and "land-focussed" villagers were somewhat less active in the above respects. The "egalitarian" villagers were the most passive, although a few "egalitarian" Kispaládians praised the vicar at that time, and they were devout church-goers.

TABLE 28

VIEWS OF STATUS DIFFERENTIATION AND CHURCH PARTICIPATION

Church attendance	" / " <u>Uri</u>	"Competitive"	"Land-focussed"	"Egalitarian"
Regular church attendance	72.7%	40.0%	58.3%	33.3%
Attendance only on holidays, rites of passage, or no attendance	27.3%	60.0%	41.6%	66.7%

II.2. Economic activity.

As indicated in Table 29, the "land-focussed" and the "egalitarian" families had more people who were employed outside of the family than was the case amongst the "competitive" villagers. The "úri" villagers had the fewest actively employed family members. These variations reflected the prevailing types of family organisation, and similar trends were observable in other aspects of economic activity which related more closely to the family.

After 1945 the children of many formerly landed "úri" Botpaládians moved to urban areas and found jobs there, or they continued to work the land as members of the local collective farm. A number of the offspring who left the village became professionally qualified priests, doctors, lawyers or teachers, or they found other white-collar jobs in medicine, law, education or public services. In the past the ideal for these villagers was to keep the women at home, away from physical labour in the fields, and farm servants were hired if regular outside help was needed. In the mid-1970s, the women of the "úri" families who had remained in Botpalád still stayed at home, justifying this by saying that they were busy with the household tasks and livestock. If for material reasons they did not deem it necessary, they avoided becoming working members of the collective farm, and they did not seek other forms of outside employment.

TABLE 29

VIEWS OF STATUS DIFFERENTIATION AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

		"Uri"	"Competitive"	"Land-focussed"	"Egalitarian"
Employment	Husband and wife work outside family	0%	40.0%	83.3%	100.0%
	Wife or husband stays at home	100.0%	60.0%	16.7%	0%
Wages	2+ fam. members get 1,500+ forints/mo.	9.1%	40.0%	83.3%	66.7%
	Under 2 fam. members get 1,500+ forints	90.9%	60.0%	16.7%	33.3%
Family	Extended	0%	20.0%	75.0%	50.0%
	Nuclear	100.0%	80.0%	25.0%	50.0%
Utilisation of returns	Put into production	27.3%	20.0%	66.7%	66.7%
	Saved	0%	20.0%	8.3%	33.3%
	Directly consumed/spent on consumer goods	72.7%	60.0%	25.0%	0%
Pooling of incomes	Incomes of fam. members pooled	18.2%	40.0%	83.3%	66.7%
	Incomes kept separately	81.8%	60.0%	16.7%	33.3%

The "úri" Botpaládians usually lived in nuclear families which encompassed 2-3-2 generations over the developmental cycle. Apart from the husband's income, these families obtained subsidiary revenues from the sale of fruit, livestock and livestock-products. The "úri" villagers spent their returns on immediate consumer items such as food, rather than on productive capital or saving their money. Amongst the "úri" Botpaládians there was a somewhat patriarchal distribution of power, in which the husband controlled both his and his wife's purse. On the other hand, the children who worked outside the family did not pool their returns with those of their parents or other family members.

In comparison to the "úri" villagers, a larger number of "competitive" Botpaládians had jobs in light industry, roadworks, catering, hairdressing, and other such spheres of work. In the past, many of the women in these families had to work as agricultural labourers or farm servants, and in the mid-1970s more of them were employed at the nearby factories and workshops than was the case amongst the "úri" villagers. Like the "úri" villagers, most "competitive" Botpaládians lived in 2-3-2 generation nuclear families. Although the women in the "competitive" families brought in added incomes, the incomes of the family members were not pooled to the same extent as amongst the "egalitarian" and "land-focussed" villagers. Nor did any one adult exercise absolute control over his wife's and children's returns. Most "competitive" villagers were more inclined to purchase consumer items such as clothing and household appliances than were the other Botpaládians. However, they too spent large amounts on food. A few families saved most of their returns or invested them in production, for example in livestock. Nonetheless, the amounts which the "competitive" villagers spent on durable consumer goods, on productive capital or saved did not measure up to the amounts handled thusly by the "egalitarian" and "land-focussed" villagers.

The husbands and wives in the "egalitarian" families were the most active wage-earners of all of the Botpaládians and Kispaládians. However, in comparison to the "land-focussed" villagers, a smaller proportion of these families had two or more members who earned over 1,500 forints per month. Fewer of them lived in 3-4-3 generation extended families, although this proportion exceeded that for the "competitive" and "úri" villagers. Most of the "egalitarian" families invested their returns in production, but a few saved most of their cash. Most "egalitarian" families also pooled the incomes of their family members.

Apart from the villagers who were born before 1940 and were unable to acquire specialised skills, many "land-focussed" Kispaládians had jobs which required a skilled training - either at the collective farm or elsewhere in the area. This trend was reflected in the large number of families with two or more members who earned over 1,500 forints per month in the mid-1970s. Even the middle-aged women had not remained tied to the house, and many had joined the collective farm as independent working members. They carried on the women's traditionally active role as workers in the fields.

In comparison to the other local families, the extended, 3-4-3 generation family was the most common amongst the "land-focussed" villagers. In more cases their family members worked cooperatively, and they pooled their resources and returns. The "land-focussed" villagers who had many wage-earners per family and who also invested in fruit or livestock-production were able to accumulate large amounts of cash. Much of this cash was spent on boosting production - for instance on modern farm machinery, seeds and livestock. A few families saved most of their returns in order to finance the establishment of an independent household for their children, or to purchase an expensive gravestone for themselves. Finally, some families spent a lot of their

money on durable goods such as jewellery, homes, furniture, appliances, vehicles and clothing.

II.3. Interaction and group formation.

II.3.a. Kinship, friendship and neighbourhood ties.

In Botpalád, the extent to which the villagers acknowledged kinship and maintained friendship and neighbourhood ties at the time of fieldwork was closely related to how they viewed status differentiation (see Table 30). The Botpaládians used descent terms more frequently in everyday life than the Kispaládians. They were familiar with a broader range of expressions which allowed them to make subtle distinctions amongst living kin on the basis of descent (see endnote 3 of this chapter). Indeed, most Botpaládians recognised kinship by reference to one's descent.

The "úri" Botpaládians believed that rank and descent were closely connected. When encountering other villagers they emphasised those lines of descent which in their own eyes would increase their rank. The lines of descent which might detract from their rank were hushed up by them and their friends, but capitalised on by their rivals. Therefore, descent and kinship ties were restricted and channelled into certain directions. Some "competitive" villagers who had recently become prosperous and who for that reason believed themselves to be of high rank tried to reinforce such claims by manipulating their descent and kinship ties. They too stressed those consanguineal, affinal and fictive kinship, as well as descent links, which they believed would be to their own advantage. In contrast to the above, the "egalitarian" Botpaládians were indiscriminate in their acknowledgement of kinship.

TABLE 30

VIEWS OF STATUS DIFFERENTIATION AND KINSHIP, FRIENDSHIP AND
NEIGHBOURHOOD TIES

		" <u>Uri</u> "	"Competitive"	"Land-focussed"	"Egalitarian"
Acknow- ledge- ment of kinship	Restrict- ed on basis of alleged rank	81.8%	20.0%	16.7%	0%
	Indis- crimi- nately extended to limit of know- ledge	18.2%	80.0%	83.3%	100.0%
Selec- tion of friends	Restrict- ed on basis of alleged rank	81.8%	20.0%	16.7%	0%
	Indis- crimi- nate	18.2%	80.0%	83.3%	100.0%
Exten- sion of neigh- bourhood ties	Restrict- ed on basis of alleged rank	72.7%	20.0%	16.7%	0%
	Indis- crimi- nate	27.3%	80.0%	83.3%	100.0%

Until recently the "úri" Botpaládians were especially careful to choose their friends from families of similar rank. This selectivity also restricted the available villagers whom the "competitive" and "egalitarian" Botpaládians could befriend, although these latter villagers did not consciously choose according to rank. Particularly amongst the girls, rank-restricted groups of friends held separate spinning-bees and other get-togethers. On the other hand, military service had an integrating effect on the friendship ties of the Botpaládian youths. After the 1960s, education locally and outside the village helped to break down the traditional restrictions on making friends. Nonetheless, friendships amongst most Botpaládians who were born before 1960 followed traditional patterns.

As mentioned earlier, the "úri" Botpaládians at the time of fieldwork were more withdrawn than the "competitive" and "egalitarian" villagers, and their neighbourhood ties were more restricted. The "competitive" and "egalitarian" villagers who were neighbours visited one another more regularly, they knew more about one another's affairs, and often they were bound to one another by loans or other exchange arrangements.⁴

There was no such clear-cut connection between the Kispaládians' views of status differentiation and their maintenance of kinship, friendship and neighbourhood ties. Amongst the Kispaládians, descent and rank did not figure to such an extent in the recognition of kinship. The Kispaládians did not manipulate kinship ties and, to the extent of their knowledge, recognised all of their kinship connections. Nor did the considerations of rank restrict their friendship or neighbourhood ties (see case study of T. Tóth).

II.3.b. Other relations.

Ranking considerations affected the streetside behaviour of many Botpaládians, and their behaviour

towards villagers who were neither kin, nor friends or neighbours. In particular, the "úri" villagers who considered themselves rangos at the time of fieldwork expected the allegedly lower ranking villagers to address them as sir or Mr. (urazás) and in the formal third person (magazás). They expected even the children of so-called rangos families to be addressed in this manner. They also demanded other signs of respect, for instance touching one's hat when meeting on the street and being given the right of way. The "úri" Botpaládians expected conversations between the villagers of different rang to be limited to the bare formalities, and they paid close attention to who spoke with whom on the street. In the mid-1970s, the "úri" Botpaládians did not voice these expectations as explicitly as they may have in the past. Nevertheless, when they met other villagers their behaviour continued to conform to these norms.

The "competitive" and "egalitarian" Botpaládians admitted that in the past they had addressed the large landowners as sir or Mr. (urazás) and that they had otherwise conformed to the behavioural norms described above. At the time of fieldwork, however, many of them were reluctant, and some openly refused, to display their respect to the former landowners who in the mid-1970s were no wealthier than the remaining villagers. Although they did not openly acknowledge an interest in who spoke with whom on the street, in fact they too took careful note of such encounters. Furthermore, the "competitive" and "egalitarian" Botpaládians' actual range of interaction was limited by the avoidance of the "úri" villagers who considered themselves rangos.

Streetside behaviour in Kispalád was not governed by norms which would compare with those in Botpalád. With the exception of the local officials and the largest landowner of the pre-1945 period, the Kispaládians did not use special formalities to distinguish the villagers of different rank (or mód) from one another. At the time of fieldwork, as well, apart from some local officials no

Kispaládian expected to be addressed as sir (úr) or to be accorded especially deferential treatment because of his current or former economic status. The informal second person form of address prevailed amongst all villagers of similar age. The Kispaládians were generally outgoing, and they conversed indiscriminately with one another.

Finally, unlike Botpalád, where attendance at most group work occasions and invitations to weddings and most celebrations were affected by considerations of alleged rank, in Kispalád such restrictions were non-existent. In Kispalád half of the village sometimes turned out to help with the preparations for a wedding and then participated in the festivities. The helpers and guests at most weddings in Botpalád were likely to include only those kin and friends who were believed to be of similar rank as the bride and groom, or other high-ranking villagers whose attendance was allegedly to the hosts' advantage.

II.4. Marriage.

Until recently all of the villagers married according to their alleged rank, whether they measured rank on the basis of rang or mód. At the time of fieldwork they still contracted such marriages, although less frequently than in the past (see Table 31).

TABLE 31

VIEWS OF STATUS DIFFERENTIATION AND MARRIAGE

		<u>Uri</u>	"Competitive"	"Land-focussed"	"Egalitarian"
Selection of spouse	On basis of alleged rank	81.8%	40.0%	83.3%	0%
	On basis of "love" or other factors	18.2%	60.0%	16.7%	100.0%
Influence of parents or kin on selection of spouse	Strong	81.8%	20.0%	83.3%	0%
	Weak	18.2%	80.0%	16.7%	100.0%
Wedding	Showy; church rituals important	81.8%	40.0%	100.0%	33.3%
	Not showy; church ritual not important	18.2%	60.0%	0%	66.7%

The "úri" Botpaládians selected their spouses mainly on the basis of rang, after which they took the spouses' family landholdings into account. These considerations led to more restricted groups of intermarrying families than would have been the case had only landholdings governed the selection of their spouses. The family trees of the "úri" villagers in the mid-1970s contained a large number of names such as Thury, Tasnády, Pinkóczy, Szikszó, Fülöp, Kánya, Forizs, Varga, Papp and Fürtös. On the other hand, they excluded the names of allegedly rang-less families, for instance Kocsis, Barta, Liszák, Bandics, Kövér, Veres, Oláh, Diószegi, Incze and Kalucza. The few connections between people of the former and the latter group had involved common-law unions or affairs which led to the birth of illegitimate children.

The parents and kin of the "úri" villagers decided whom their children were to marry (see case studies of G. Tasnády and E. Thury). Many of these marriages were unhappy ones and extra-marital affairs were a common occurrence. The weddings of the "úri" Botpaládians were usually showy, and for them the church and legal ritual were an important part of this ceremony.

Some "competitive" and most "land-focussed" villagers also tried to stage showy weddings, and these ceremonies included a legal and church ritual (see case study of I. Kövér). Parents and other kin often influenced their children's choice of a spouse. However, for some "competitive" villagers the most important consideration in marriage was the current wealth of the spouse's family. The "land-focussed" villagers were more concerned about the former landholdings of the spouse's family, but they tolerated the increasingly frequent marriages between villagers of landless and landed descent. In fact, the marriages of the "land-focussed" Kispaládians encompassed a wide range of local families, due to this tolerant attitude and also due to the

changeable and unpolarised distribution of land before 1945.

For the "egalitarian" and some "competitive" Botpaládians, "love" was the overriding factor in choosing one's spouse. The "úri" and some "competitive" villagers did not marry into the allegedly low-ranking, local "egalitarian" families, so the latter had only a limited range of Botpaládians from whom to choose their spouses. The Kispaládians' greater tolerance and frequency of inter-rank marriage allowed the "egalitarian" villagers to marry into a wider range of Kispaládian families.

The "egalitarian" and some "competitive" villagers reacted to common-law unions, extra-marital affairs and illegitimate births with humour and tolerance (see case study of I. Kövér). For them, the legal and ritual formalities of marriage were not of overriding importance. Although they sometimes tried to stage a showy wedding, they often did without the church ritual and had a "social" or civil wedding (társadalmi esküvő) only (see case study of Mrs. B. Bandics).

II.5. Life-style.

Finally, I shall discuss some living habits in relation to how the villagers view status differentiation. The villagers' levels of consumption have depended most directly on their material means and occupational status, while the connection between consumption and outlook on society has only been tenuous. In the past the vicars, teachers, doctors and other professionals, and the villagers with abundant crop yields ate and dressed more extravagantly than the other local inhabitants. At the time of fieldwork, the local officials, some white-collar workers and the wealthier villagers also maintained a slightly higher level of consumption. Nonetheless, the local inhabitants with different views of status differentiation did vary in their eating habits and possession of modern appliances

(see Table 32). These variations generally corresponded to how the villagers allocated their economic returns.

"Eating well" in the past meant the regular consumption of meats and fats, white bread, brioches known as kalács, and other delicacies. In the mid-1970s, most Botpaládian and Kispaládian families ate such foods at least once weekly.

The "úri" and some "competitive" Botpaládians attributed particular importance to the foods they ate. They felt that they needed freshly cooked food every day, although they did not always eat meat. The women cooked these meals, and this task was one of the alleged reasons for the wives' staying at home (see case study of G. Tasnády). Many of the Botpaládians ate what they wished without regard for future supplies. They had been known to hold pig-stickings before the weather had turned cold enough to avoid meat spoilage. They often ran out of essential food items, they bought out their local shop and then turned to the shops in Kispalád and other nearby villages in order to make the necessary purchases.

The "egalitarian", most "land-focussed" and some "competitive" villagers were not as concerned as the above with their culinary desires. Many of them were known to "save on their stomachs" (hasukon spórolnak). They cooked one large pot of hot food on Monday and ate its contents through the week. They prepared no new meals until there was nothing left of the original pot, and these villagers otherwise ate cold foods (bread, bacon known as szalonna, sausage known as kolbász, etc.) or easily prepared dishes such as fried eggs, creamed rice and semolina. They usually served fresh poultry or pork on Sunday, and sometimes on Thursday.

TABLE 32

VIEWS OF STATUS DIFFERENTIATION AND LIFE-STYLE

		" <u>Uri</u> "	"Competitive"	"Land-focussed"	"Egalitarian"
Diet	Varied (fresh food cooked daily; meat 3+ times/week)	63.6%	40.0%	8.3%	0%
	Unvaried	36.4%	60.0%	91.7%	100.0%
Possession of modern appliances, vehicles, furnishings (fridge, car, milking machine, gas cooker, oil heater, vacuum cleaner, spin drier, etc.)	Many	18.2%	60.0%	91.7%	50.0%
	Few or none	81.8%	40.0%	8.3%	50.0%

The above variations in consumption were closely related to the villagers' general attitudes towards saving and productive investment. Furthermore, most "land-focussed" and "egalitarian" villagers had refrigerators. Therefore, it was easier for them to store pre-cooked foods than it was for the local inhabitants who lacked such storage facilities.

Most of the Botpaládian and Kispaládian families had a washing machine, a radio and a television set. Nonetheless, in comparison to the other local inhabitants, the "úri" villagers possessed few modern appliances and vehicles such as oil heaters, gas stoves, vacuum cleaners, spin-driers, refrigerators, bathrooms, milking machines and cars or motorcycles. Some "egalitarian" and many "competitive" families had gas stoves, oil burners and motorcycles and other household appliances. Apart from these items, many "land-focussed" and some "egalitarian" villagers possessed refrigerators, a few had colour televisions and cars, and some of them had bathrooms installed.

Similar variations seemed to prevail with regard to the wardrobes of the Botpaládians and Kispaládians. The "land-focussed", and some "egalitarian" and "competitive" villagers appeared to possess a wider range of clothes than the "úri" Botpaládians. However, I did not examine the villagers' wardrobes systematically, and the above impressions can only be supported by the dress I observed on everyday and festive occasions.

The cleanliness and hygiene of the villagers' living conditions in the past depended more on their prosperity and living arrangements than on other factors. Most large landowners before 1945 tried to disassociate themselves from manual farmwork by keeping at a distance from the dirt and smells of the fields and livestock. In most cases they were able to maintain a higher level of hygiene.

On the other hand, the crowded living conditions on common farmyards, which were more widespread in

Kispalád than in Botpalád, were unhealthy and resulted in a high frequency of tuberculosis. Over recent years the phasing out of common farmyards and the improvements in drainage and in the water supply have improved the overall level of hygiene. Amongst the non-gipsy villagers at the time of fieldwork, there were no clear-cut variations in the tidiness and cleanliness of their living conditions.

Nonetheless, the "úri" and "land-focussed" villagers, as compared to other inhabitants, made more of a fuss over "cleanliness". They consciously emphasised conventions such as the use of separate wash basins for different chores, sweeping the porch and entry to the farmyard, and keeping the farmyard tidy. They moreover condemned the residents who did not adhere to such practices.

III. Summary.

This chapter has consisted so far of a description of the attitudinal and behavioural inclinations of the villagers whose views of status differentiation resemble the previously described ranking models. Although the differences between the villagers with varying outlooks on society are not absolute, certain distinctions are apparent. I shall now summarise such distinctive attributes. Firstly I shall deal with the characteristics of the "úri" and the "egalitarian" villagers, who represent two extremes, and then turn to the other types of villagers.

III.1. The "úri" villager.

The "úri" villager viewed life in the mid-1970s negatively in comparison to the situation before 1945. He believed that an awareness of one's history was important, and he took pride in his historical knowledge, whether or not his accounts concurred with those of qualified historians. He had a strong national consciousness, as expressed in his concern for the

Magyars as a nation, distinctive Magyar qualities, and Magyar identity in everyday life.

The "úri" villager did not have a high opinion of the local collective farm, nor was he enthusiastic about the local council. In comparison to the past, he believed that the local school and church had deteriorated, although his general attitude toward the local church in the mid-1970s was positive.

He was quite easy-going about work, and often declared that extreme diligence was not worthwhile, since everyone would end up in the grave anyway. This "enjoy life while you can" attitude dampened any desire on his part to save his material returns. The "úri" villager was openly reluctant to adopt or adjust to technological innovations. He associated an education in the traditional professions, i.e. the church, medicine, law or teaching, with the positive quality of being "refined", and he preferred this type of schooling to a technical training. Many local inhabitants believed that piety was an important quality, but this opinion was held the most unanimously amongst the "úri" villagers.

The "úri" villager had a strong sense of local pride. He felt that being a "true" Botpaládian was an exclusive qualification which was closed to the local residents who were newcomers or reputedly of low rank. He admitted that he did not like to socialise, he preferred to be on his own, and he avoided group occasions. He did not approve of envious or quarrelsome behaviour, and when he attributed these characteristics to the allegedly low-ranking villagers his disapproval was all the more apparent. For the "úri" villager the maintenance of a front of moral propriety was important. He strongly condemned common-law unions, illegitimacy and extra-marital affairs, although he himself might be involved in such entanglements.

Although there were exceptions, the family of the "úri" villager usually did not participate actively in the collective farm or local government. He and his

children either remained in agriculture or acquired a training in the traditional professions. He attended church services regularly, at least once a week.

Only the husband in the "úri" family worked away from home, and therefore only he brought in an outside income. The wife stayed at home in order to cook and see to the children, the household chores and the livestock. They lived in a 2-3-2 generation nuclear family, and during most of the developmental cycle the wife was the only female adult who could be held responsible for the above tasks.

Before 1945, the "úri" villagers, or their predecessors, hired permanent farm servants so that the wives and daughters were not needed in the fields and could stay at home. In the mid-1970s, since the wives remained at home, their wage-earning capacities were not taken advantage of. Even the adult offspring who held jobs and resided locally were preoccupied with setting up their own households rather than pooling their incomes with that of their father. The "úri" villager spent his returns which remained after expenditures on the livestock, services from the collective farm and the house, etc., on non-durable consumer items, mainly food, rather than saving or investing them in increased production.

The "úri" villagers maintained their kinship, friendship and neighbourhood ties in accordance with how they viewed rank, although individual encounters were also influenced by whether or not the kin, friend or neighbour viewed rank similarly. When meeting other residents who were not kin, friends or neighbours, the "úri" villager insisted on the formalities of streetside behaviour, for instance the use of greetings which emphasised the distance between residents of different rank, or conversing intimately only with the residents who were of similar rank. The "úri" villager invited people who were neither kin nor friends or neighbours to his group work occasions or rites of passage, provided he

believed such villagers to be of a high enough rank to enhance his reputation.

The "úri" villager's spouse was selected according to whether or not the partners were of similar rank. The opinions of parents and kin of the "úri" villager in the past had been decisive in making this choice, a factor which led to forced and unhappy marriages, separation and occasionally divorce. The "úri" villager at the time of fieldwork held the religious and legal rituals which were associated with a traditional wedding, if his occupation and political position allowed him to do so. His family also tried to make his wedding a showy one.

Certain aspects of the "úri" villager's lifestyle reflected his patterns of consumption. Every day he ate fresh two or three-course meals, and he ate meat more than three times weekly. Although the "úri" villagers possessed at least one set apiece of work and best clothes, their wardrobes did not usually extend beyond three extra sets, and neither in quantity nor in quality did their clothes measure up to those of many other local residents.

The "úri" villager did not own many household appliances, modern farm machinery or vehicles. For him, such durable goods were not markers of prestige, so instead of accumulating and displaying them he gave food priority.

The "úri" villagers attributed importance to the cleanliness of a person's appearance and living quarters. They associated slovenliness with poverty and with the gipsies. However, in spite of their assertions, some of these "úri" villagers were poorly groomed, and their homes and farmyards were untidy - ironies which were the subject of comment by other local residents.

III.2. The "egalitarian" villager.

The "egalitarian" villager contrasts sharply to the "úri" villager described above. The "egalitarian" villager at the time of fieldwork considered life in the mid-1970s a vast improvement over the situation before 1945. He did not believe that it was important to have a strong historical awareness nor was his sense of nationalism strongly developed unless he had fought or worked abroad. In comparison to the pre-1945 situation he saw the collective farm, the council and the school to be institutional improvements, but he had a low opinion of the church.

The "egalitarian" villager believed that diligence was an important quality which one should develop. He approved of economising and was inclined to save some of his returns for future use in accounts at the National Savings Bank. He was willing to accept and adapt to technological and organisational innovations. The "egalitarian" villager did not particularly respect the traditional professions and leaned, rather, towards the technical trades. Neither did he believe religious fervour to be a positive characteristic.

The "egalitarian" villager did not display a local pride that was exclusive in nature and would compare to that of the "úri" villager. He was outgoing, he enjoyed being in groups of people, and he strongly condemned any manifestations of envy which he believed worked against communal interests. The "egalitarian" villager was matter-of-fact about moral propriety, and he did not condemn inhabitants who had lived in common-law union or otherwise incurred the scorn of the "úri" villagers.

The family of the "egalitarian" villager participated actively in the collective farm. On the other hand, while in Botpalád the "egalitarian" villager was active in local government, this was not the case in Kispalád. The offspring of the "egalitarian" villagers acquired technical trainings, rather than qualifications

in a traditional profession. The "egalitarian" villager and his family were not regular church-goers.

The wife of the "egalitarian" villager had a job away from home. Half of the "egalitarian" villagers lived in extended 3-4-3 generation families. In such cases the incomes of at least two family members were likely to exceed 1,500 forints per month in the mid-1970s, even if the wife earned less than that amount. The individual incomes were pooled. The "egalitarian" family members invested their net income in production or saved it, rather than spending it on immediate consumption, as amongst the "úri" villagers.

The "egalitarian" villagers did not consciously maintain their kinship, friendship and neighbourhood ties in accordance with their definitions of rank. Nonetheless, in Botpalád such relationships were restricted by the reluctance of the "úri" inhabitants to associate with them as kin, friends or neighbours. When meeting other inhabitants who believed themselves to be of higher rank, the "egalitarian" villager did not observe the traditional conventions. He did not show his respect by using the formal third person or calling the other person sir or Mr. (úr), or maintaining the distance which was deemed appropriate by the other party. Nor did he invite guests to his rites of passage or other celebrations on the basis of their alleged rank.

The "egalitarian" villager chose his spouse on the basis of emotional attachment and personal characteristics, rather than alleged rank. Nonetheless, in Botpalád, this choice was limited once more by the reluctance of the "úri" inhabitants to inter-marry with the "egalitarian" villagers. In deciding whom to marry the parents and kin of the "egalitarian" villagers were not as influential as in the case of the "úri" inhabitants. Although the marriages of the "egalitarian" inhabitants were not always harmonious, their disputes did not lead to official divorce proceedings. The "egalitarian" villager did not strive to provide his

children with the most lavish and showy weddings possible, and he left the church ritual and many traditional customs out of the festivities.

The "egalitarian" villagers gave gastronomic considerations less priority than the "úri" inhabitants. The "egalitarian" villager's unmarried, working children may have acquired sizeable wardrobes for themselves, but he himself had no more than a few changes of work and best clothes. In comparison to the "úri" villagers he displayed no overt concern over the tidiness of one's external appearance or the cleanliness of one's farmyard and home. On the other hand, he possessed more household appliances, modern farm equipment and vehicles.

III.3. The "competitive" and "land-focussed" villagers.

The "competitive" and "land-focussed" villagers fall between the two extremes described above. Although the "competitive" villager at the time of fieldwork inclined towards the "egalitarian" type, he resembled the "úri" villager in that he had a developed sense of national identity. His attitudes towards the collective farm and school of the mid-1970s were negative, but he respected the church and religious sentiment. He had a strong sense of local pride. He resembled the "egalitarian" villager regarding his activity as a working member of the collective farm and his milk-payments, but his other cash transactions amounted to less than those of the "úri" villager. There was similarity to the "úri" pattern in that only the husband of the "competitive" family worked away from home, and fewer than two family members had a regular income exceeding 1,500 forints per month. The "competitive" villager lived in a nuclear, 2-3-2 generation family, the family members did not pool their incomes, and they spent their returns mainly on eating or on consumer items. Otherwise, the "competitive" villager resembled the "egalitarian" type.

The "land-focussed" villager showed an even greater similarity to the "egalitarian" type. He differed from the latter in his somewhat stronger sense of national identity, in his negative attitude towards the council of the mid-1970s, and in his positive appraisal of both the church and piety. Unlike the "egalitarian" villager, he considered one's moral propriety to be an important quality. He attended church regularly. Ranking considerations and parental influence affected his choice of spouse, and his wedding was a showy one which included a church ritual. However, he resembled the "egalitarian" villager regarding most attitudinal and behavioural traits.

In short, the "competitive" villager differed from the "egalitarian" type on more points than did the "land-focussed" villager, and the points of variation included economic activity and family organisation, as well as attitudes. Apart from attitudinal variations, the "land-focussed" villagers differed from the "egalitarian" villagers only with regard to marriage and spouse-selection, activities which in the mid-1970s no longer had the same economic impact, in relationship to landholdings, as was the case before collectivisation.

IV. Views of status differentiation in relation to other attitudinal-behavioural patterns: the village level.

I shall now deal at the village level with some aspects of the local inhabitants' views of status differentiation and associated attitudinal-behavioural traits. As I mentioned earlier, while the "úri", and the "competitive" models illustrate outlooks which prevail in Botpalád, views of society along the lines of the "land-focussed" model occur only amongst the Kispaládians. The "egalitarian" model depicts a social outlook which occurs in both villages, although it is more common in Kispalád, particularly amongst its younger

inhabitants. This distribution between the two villages will underlie the discussion which follows.

In earlier chapters on family organisation and inheritance and marriages patterns, as well as earlier in this chapter, variations had already emerged between the two villages which bore a relationship to the local inhabitants' social outlooks. I refer, for example, to the higher proportion of nuclear families amongst "úri" and "competitive" Botpaládians and the compatibility of this with their negative view of women who worked manually away from home as well as the importance they attributed to eating "well" at midday. Such attitudes contrasted to those held by "land-focussed" and "egalitarian" Kispaládians who were more likely to live in extended, 3-4-3 generation families, who had high regard for the qualities of diligence and willingness to work manually in the fields, but who did not attribute such importance to consuming hot food at midday.

I have already mentioned the conscious restriction of marriage ties along lines of alleged rank amongst "úri" Botpaládians, this leading, de facto, to a more limited range from which "competitive" and "egalitarian" villagers could choose their spouses, and a development of bounded groups of intermarrying families in the village. This situation contrasted to the Kispaládians' increased tolerance, even on the part of "land-focussed" villagers, of intermarriage between families of former landed and landless descent; this factor, together with the variability of former landownership patterns, contributed to the wide-ranging nature of marriage ties which linked a large number of the local families.

I shall deal below with two aspects of local life which have not been covered in detail from this perspective: intra-village relations and social influence and power. I shall also discuss the impact of the villagers' varying outlooks and attitudes on the functioning of the collective farm.

IV.1. Informal intra-village relations.

Relations amongst the Botpaládians at the time of fieldwork were divisive, the villagers tried to distance themselves from one another and there was a general emphasis on the formalities of conduct. In contrast, the Kispaládians showed solidarity and interacted more intimately with one another.

As indicated earlier in this chapter, the "úri" Botpaládians consciously restricted their kinship, friendship and neighbourhood ties in accordance with ranking considerations, and although the "competitive" and "egalitarian" inhabitants of the same village tried to maintain such ties indiscriminately, their actual choice was limited.

In Botpalád in the mid-1970s, kinship was "kept" (tartani a rokonságot), i.e. it was recognised, in accordance with one's alleged rank. For the "úri" Botpaládians the range of acknowledged kin was limited by whether or not the villagers were of similar rang, while the choice of biologically related villagers with whom the "egalitarian" and "competitive" Botpaládians might recognise kinship was for this same reason restricted to the rang-less residents. The Botpaládians who tried to increase their alleged rank also manipulated kinship ties.

The Botpaládians' elaboration of specific kinship categories, for instance "near" vs. "distant" kin (közeli vs. távoli rokon), "genuine" kin (vérbeli rokon) and collateral kin (oldalági rokon) (see endnote 3 of this chapter), further suggested a local concern with establishing boundaries between different sets of relations. Although the use of these kinship categories could vary contextually, they set one group of kin apart from the others. An inhabitant of Botpalád was bound by various kinship obligations only to this closer, more exclusive group of relatives.

Botpalád's settlement pattern both enhanced and reflected the neighbourhood-bounded character of the

village. Most of the introverted, "úri" inhabitants lived at the "old end" (régi vég) or in the traditional centre of Botpalád. The more outgoing, "competitive" and "egalitarian" villagers, many of whom received claimed land after the 1945 land reform, lived in Botpalád's new extensions - Petöfi Street and the "new row".

Separate, bounded friendship groups had coexisted in Botpalád before 1945 and subsequent demographic trends helped to perpetuate this boundedness, in spite of the school's integrating role. The movement of many "úri" inhabitants away from the village led to an increase in the relative number of "competitive" and "egalitarian" offspring; the "competitive" and "egalitarian" Botpaládians, owing to their greater numbers and neighbourhood proximity, in the mid-1970s were still likely to befriend one another rather than the "úri" villagers.

Even the streetside behaviour of the Botpaládians who were neither kin, nor neighbours, nor friends of one another, depended on their alleged rank. If the two villagers who met one another acknowledged a large difference in rank between one another, they usually addressed one another in the formal third-person (magázódás), the allegedly higher-ranking person was called sir or Mr. (úr), and they did little more than exchange greetings. Botpaládians who believed themselves to be of disparate rank did not sit and converse on one another's streetside benches.⁵

As regards kinship, neighbourhood ties, friendship and streetside behaviour, the solidarity and intimacy linking the Kispaládians in the mid-1970s contrasted to the situation in Botpalád, a difference due in part to the lack of any clear-cut connection between how the Kispaládians viewed status differentiation and their informal relations with one another.

The "land-focussed" and "egalitarian" Kispaládians used the general expression for kin (rokon) to refer to relatives who were designated by more specific kinship

categories by the Botpaládians. Kinship in Kispalád was not acknowledged according to one's rank, nor was it manipulated as in Botpalád. Whether or not a "land-focussed" or "egalitarian" Kispaládian recognised someone to be his kin depended on his genealogical knowledge rather than ranking considerations. A large number of the local inhabitants could trace a kinship link with one another. They themselves claimed that most of the villagers were kin of one another, and if major festivities, for example a wedding or funeral, were held, at least half of the village attended.

Kispalád was divided into three general areas. A larger proportion of the "land-focussed" villagers lived in the centre, while the "egalitarian" villagers tended to inhabit the upper and lower ends of the village. Nonetheless, there was much movement and social interaction between the Kispaládians of the centre, the upper and the lower ends, and these areas did not constitute bounded neighbourhoods.

Over previous years the authorities had difficulty in persuading the "land-focussed" and "egalitarian" Kispaládians to break up their common farmyards. This reluctance amongst the Kispaládians to live apart from one another further contrasted to the situation in Botpalád. Ranking considerations had not restricted the Kispaládians' friendship ties. Whether their social outlooks resembled the "land-focussed" or "egalitarian" model, Kispaládians of landed and landless descent had befriended one another, and villagers of varying prosperity in the mid-1970s had also become pals. This solidarity amongst all of Kispalád's youth had given rise to comment in both Botpalád and Kispalád.

In Kispalád, streetside behaviour between villagers of different mód was informal and intimate. Whether two "land-focussed", two "egalitarian" or a "land-focussed" and an "egalitarian" villager met one another, the Kispaládians of similar age spoke in the

informal second-person (tegezödés). Only rarely was a local inhabitant addressed as sir or Mr. (úr).

The "land-focussed" and "egalitarian" Kispaládians openly welcomed and incorporated newly settled residents within a generation, however the "úri" and "competitive" Botpaládians required at least three generations before acknowledging that a recently settled family "belonged" to the village. (See earlier in this chapter and case studies of G. Tasnády, E. Thury, P. and L. Gyurkó, and T. Tóth). In particular, the "úri" Botpaládians made a fuss over the duration of a given family's local residence. The "competitive" villagers also reacted in this manner towards newly settled families or spouses who had married into the village.

While the most of the non-gipsy Botpaládians in the mid-1970s did not willingly accept outsiders and the non-gipsy Kispaládians freely welcomed new residents or visitors, paradoxically opposite trends characterised the extent to which gipsies were incorporated into each village's non-gipsy community.

In the eyes of the "úri" Botpaládians, any acknowledged kinship tie with a gipsy inevitably lowered a person's rang, but nevertheless there had been common-law unions between Botpaládian gipsies and non-gipsies. These unofficial marriages had resulted in the birth of villagers with "mixed blood". Apart from common-law unions with non-gipsies, some Botpaládian gipsy families had Magyarised their names. A number of them had settled down, built homes, and taken jobs that involved weekly commuting to Budapest. Even the local non-gipsies admitted that some Botpaládian gipsies appeared well-groomed and dressed fashionably. Ten-fifteen local gipsy families regularly attended the Calvinist church service which was held separately for them, as they could not attend the normal Sunday service which was held at the time that their men had to leave for Budapest.

Botpalád's gipsy settlement blended into the "new row", where the homes of the gipsies and non-gipsies were

interspersed with one another. Regardless of what the inhabitants of the "new row" said, the gipsies met non-gipsies during their everyday activities, and they sometimes maintained neighbourhood ties with one another.

In Kispalád there had been no comparable assimilation of the gipsies into the non-gipsy community. Spatially, the gipsy settlement was several hundred yards removed and it was distinct from the rest of the village. Apart from meeting in the local shop, school or other establishments, doing odd-jobs in return for payment in kind or cash, or selling wares, the gipsies led separate lives from the non-gipsies.

Kispalád's gipsies had been Magyarised to a lesser extent than the gipsies of Botpalád. There had been no common-law union with non-gipsies resulting in illegitimate births and most of them had retained their gipsy names. More of them were nomadic. Their untidy outward appearance and unclean living conditions were in line with the non-gipsies' stereotype of gipsies in general. Only one or two gipsy families regularly attended the Calvinist church service.

Thus, the lack of solidarity amongst the non-gipsy Botpaládians had facilitated their incorporation of the local gipsies, in spite of their reluctance to accept "outsiders". For the "úri" Botpaládians, being Magyar, and not gipsy, was a criterion of rang. However, this did not prevent the gipsies from being assimilated and also feeling the effects of the prevailing views of status differentiation. In Botpalád ethnic and racial distinctiveness was subordinate to differentiation conceptualised along the lines of alleged rank. In contrast, in Kispalád solidarity amongst the non-gipsy villagers had reinforced their sense of ethnic and racial distinctiveness vis-a-vis the gipsies.

IV.2. Social influence and power.

The criteria of rang, as used by the "úri" Botpaládians in the mid-1970s, were compatible with factors which contributed to political power before 1945. These villagers' views of status differentiation generally reflected the pre-war local political power structure. In contrast, the ranking criteria and outlooks of the "egalitarian" Botpaládians were compatible with the tenets of the socialist regime as of the mid-1970s, and they were reinforced by official policy of the time. In spite of such disagreement regarding the allegedly valid bases of social influence, the nature of power relations in Botpalád had not changed greatly since 1945, and these power relations affected all of the villagers, no matter how they viewed status differentiation.

Relations amongst the people of Botpalád had tended to be hierarchical. Before 1945, the alleged importance of being called and treated like a gentleman (úr), the polarised distribution of local land, and the rigidity of the structure of local government contributed to this hierarchical trend. Together with the prevalence of the nuclear family and the restriction of kinship and friendship ties along the lines of rank, these factors led to the establishment of patronage ties (protekció) amongst the local inhabitants. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, some of the large landowners were office-holders at the regional level. By virtue of these links, the villagers were familiar with manipulating hierarchical ties both inside and outside the local area.

At the time of fieldwork the Botpaládians' divergent views of status differentiation contributed to the distancing and hierarchical nature of their relationships. Patronage (protekció) therefore continued to play a role in bridging these gaps. After 1945 the villagers who provided such crucial patronage links had changed, but the Botpaládians' adeptness at using such

ties was nonetheless reflected in the extent to which they had been incorporated into the regional political structure.

On the other hand, relations amongst the Kispaládians tended to be egalitarian and intimate. There was a more widespread acknowledgement of kinship and greater solidarity amongst these villagers. Patronage (protekció) did not play such a part in relations amongst the local inhabitants. The Kispaládians' views of status differentiation reflected economic wealth either before or after 1945. However Kispalád's political power structure before 1945 had not coincided with the structure of economic power, and furthermore it had been more open to new incumbents than in Botpalád. Kispalád had not been tightly incorporated into the regional political structure, and the inhabitants had little experience with taking advantage of patronage ties either within or outside the village.

The situation in Kispalád in the mid-1970s from the above viewpoint was similar to that previously, and the difference between Botpalád and Kispalád became particularly apparent when their institutions were merged or new facilities provided. The Kispaládians who wished to defend their interests did not have the local connections which they would have needed to manipulate. They had to establish patronage ties (protekció) with strategically placed party or administrative officials from elsewhere, or even from Botpalád. The Botpaládians were more successful at getting their way when there was a conflict of interests between the two villages. Thus, Botpalád's school, its medical and council facilities were expanded and improved to the detriment of those in Kispalád.

The continued prevalence of hierarchical relations in Botpalád was also reflected in the church seating arrangements. Beyond spatial separation on the basis of age and sex, to be described below, in Botpalád the right to sit in some of the men's and women's church pews was

held by only certain families, and the arrangement of such family pews in the mid-1970s closely reflected the gradations of rang as viewed by the "úri" villagers. The villagers occupied the pews to which they believed themselves entitled via patrilineal inheritance, with the exception of some church-goers who manipulated kinship or name-kinship (névrokonság) ties in order to sit in a family pew above their alleged rang. The "úri" Botpaládians, who constituted the bulk of church-goers in the village and also made the greatest show of the fact that they attended services, refused to change their former seating arrangements in spite of prompting from the vicar to do so, and this generally demonstrated their opposition to his attempts at innovation. Their reluctance to accept the vicar's reforms also extended to opposition to the election of church officials from amongst allegedly low-ranking villagers.

On the other hand, in Kispalád, the factors of age and sex, which before 1945 had determined who was to sit where, by the mid-1970s were increasingly negligible in deciding the seating arrangement. According to the pre-1945 arrangement, women and confirmed girls sat to the left of the pulpit with the most elderly women in the back, adult married men sat to the right of the pulpit, unconfirmed schoolchildren sat in the gallery next to the organ beside or facing the confirmed single boys and men, pews directly opposite the pulpit were set aside for children who were about to be confirmed, while the vicar's wife, the school-master and his wife occupied special pews next to the pulpit. In the mid-1970s, the adult men still sat only to the right of the pulpit, unconfirmed schoolchildren invariably sat in the gallery together with teenage boys, but a considerable number of women sat together with adult men. The pre-1945 seating arrangement had reflected the more egalitarian nature of relations in Kispalád and its breakdown also reflected the Kispaládians' willingness to accommodate to changes in the church which were promoted by the vicar.⁶

IV.3. The collective farm.

The local collective farm was not productive enough between 1968 and 1978 to pay back its state loans and give its working members all of the wages they had earned. A combination of ecological, organisational and attitudinal problems, further aggravated by the villagers' varying views of status differentiation, contributed to this shortfall.

The villagers drew on informal kinship, friendship and neighbourhood ties both within and outside the collective farm. People who had strong links of this type with power-holders in the collective farm were likely to gain priority regarding the use of collective farm services and equipment, and the distribution of raw materials. This factor alone strengthened the sense of competition amongst the collective farm members. The "land-focussed" and "egalitarian" Kispaládians had extended kinship, friendship and neighbourhood ties, and together with some "egalitarian" Botpaládians, they had more direct family links to the collective farm's power structure. Therefore, these villagers benefited the most from the collective farm's services and materials.

The villagers' varying attitudes towards power and education also accounted for the problems the collective farm's officials encountered in enforcing decisions and encouraging the local inhabitants to work on the collectivised lands. Although the "úri" Botpaládians had a high regard for the traditional professions, they did not consider technically qualified professionals, for example agronomists, plant or tree specialists, to belong to the same category. They stubbornly believed that a person could farm successfully in Botpalád and Kispalád only by gaining experience and familiarity with the local conditions. A person supposedly could acquire such skills via working the lands with his own two hands and running a farm enterprise. These villagers adopted a defeatist attitude towards the collective farm because of

its leaders and trained specialists. They claimed that such officials, who were not born locally, lacked commitment towards the well-being of the Botpaládians and Kispaládians.

The "land-focussed" and "egalitarian" Kispaládians and some "egalitarian" Botpaládians showed more respect for the decisions made by the collective farm's specialists and leaders, and they were more eager to carry out these instructions. As a result, their work load was proportionally larger than that of the less active "úri" Botpaládians. For this reason, many Kispaládians were resentful towards the Botpaládians.

Many dissatisfied "úri" and "competitive" Botpaládians voiced their opinions, but they did not organise themselves for the purpose of changing the collective farm's power structure or policies.⁷ Nor did they try to rid themselves of the collective farm's president, which in theory fell within their rights. They believed that any attempts to act in this manner would be to no avail. As a result, the only effective checks on the collective farm's leadership came from the higher authorities.

The relationship between how the villagers viewed status differentiation and power relations in the collective farm ultimately affected the implementation of decisions which were taken by the leaders of the collective farm. An "úri" Botpaládian was unlikely to respect the demands of a brigade leader from his own village who was a farm servant before 1945. This issue particularly came to the forefront after 1977-78, because the collective farm's president who was elected at that time was the son of a landless farm servant. His lack of support amongst many Botpaládians and their unwillingness to follow his instructions were detrimental to the interests of the collective farm.

Antagonism between the Botpaládians and the Kispaládians in general also hindered the collective farm's performance. The Kispaládians placed the blame

for the collective farm's difficulties on the dissension of the Botpaládians and their reluctance to pull their weight. The Botpaládians felt that when the two villages' collective farms were merged in 1962 Botpalád contributed more than its fair share of land to the collective venture. They resented the fact that the collective farm members from Kispalád worked on what they still considered to be Botpalád's territory. Until 1978, when organisational changes were introduced, the collective farm's work brigades and work groups consisted largely of members from either one or the other village. For example, the construction brigade was composed of Botpaládians, mainly, while the so-called "women's" brigade was made up of women from Kispalád. This organisational separation along the lines of village identity intensified, rather than bridged over, the antagonism between the Botpaládians and the Kispaládians.

Thus, beyond ecological factors, the villagers' differing views of status differentiation, their varying attitudes towards education and power, and their continued awareness of village identity explain, in part, the collective farm's overall difficulties. Competition over access to collective farm services also accounts for the lack of collective spirit amongst the collective farm members. Moreover, the villagers were not equally active in the collective farm, and this was once more related to their economic strategies, family organisation and definitions of rank.

8. BOTPALAD AND KISPALAD: VIEWS OF STATUS DIFFERENTIATION AND PEASANT-NOBILITY, A PERSPECTIVE OVER TIME AND SPACE.

In this chapter I shall deal with the historical background underlying the views of status differentiation which the inhabitants of Botpalád and Kispalád adopted at the time of fieldwork. In doing so I shall take into account material and political differentiation before 1945, so the earlier chapter on differentiation is crucial and on occasion will be cited.

Two factors of importance regarding material and political differentiation will be singled out: legal status before 1848 and landholdings at the turn of the 20th century. Both legal and economic status were recognised factors according to which the population was differentiated before the abolition of serfdom in Hungary in 1848. Economic status became the primary, officially acknowledged differentiating factor after 1848. I already noted in the chapter on differentiation that before 1945 a combination of factors affected the unequal possession of material goods by the families of Botpalád and Kispalád. Landholdings, however, were of major importance in this regard. Since, owing to the availability of written data, a thorough examination can be made by using the information on the villagers' legal status during the late 18th-early 19th centuries and on landholdings at the turn of the 20th century, these two factors at the stated points in time will constitute the frame of analysis.¹

After examining whether or not there is any connection between the legal ancestry and former economic status of the villagers' families, and the views of status differentiation the villagers adopted at the time of fieldwork, I shall attempt an historical reconstruction which describes the local views of status differentiation and their effects on village life before 1848 and at the turn of the 20th century. A discussion of the local views of status differentiation in relation

to changes in the actual patterns of politico-economic differentiation will follow. The final section of this chapter will consist of a presentation of material on parallel phenomena elsewhere in Hungary and Eastern Europe.

I. The villagers' family backgrounds.

In this section I shall discuss the relationship between how the villagers viewed status differentiation at the time of fieldwork and their ancestral legal and economic status. The landowning categories to be used in this analysis are based on the work relations and economic activities which characterised certain property sizes before 1945 - a subject already covered in the chapter on local patterns of politico-economic differentiation.²

The information on Table 33 is based on the representative sample which also was used when analysing the villagers' views of status differentiation in relation to other values. Table 33 presents the villagers with different views of status differentiation, according to whether they are of noble or serf descent. Within this binary division the villagers are further subdivided according to their ancestors' landholdings at the turn of the 20th century. In this manner, an overall picture emerges of the significance of the villagers' ancestral legal and economic status, in relation to their outlooks in the mid-1970s.

TABLE 33 : VIEWS OF STATUS DIFFERENTIATION AND NOBLE/SERF DESCENT, FORMER LANDHOLDINGS

Noble/Serf, Land in kh. (kh.=cadastral hold)	NOBLE DESCENT				SERF DESCENT								
	under 1 kh.	5-10 kh.	10-20 kh.	20-40 kh.	40-80 kh.	over 80 kh.	under 1 kh.	1-5 kh.	5-10 kh.	10-20 kh.	20-40 kh.	40-80 kh.	over 80 kh.
"Uri"	18.2%	9.1%	9.1%	27.2%	9.1%	9.1%				9.1%	9.1%		
Total	81.8%												
"Competitive"							60.0%	20.0%					
Total	20.0%												
"Land-focussed"			8.3%		8.3%				16.7%				8.3%
Total	75.0%												
"Egalitarian"							83.3%	16.7%					
Total	100.0%												

Most of the "úri" villagers were of noble descent, and many - those who defined rangos only as meaning a "true status" - came from families with over 20 kh. at the turn of the 20th century. Most of the "úri" villagers who defined rangos as referring both to "true status" and behaviour were of noble descent but with family properties which amounted to under 20 kh, or they were of serf descent but from families which owned over 10 kh. Most of the "competitive" villagers were of serf descent, and the family properties of the latter were under 5 kh. A majority of the "land-focussed" villagers were also of serf descent, but their family properties at the turn of the 20th century exceeded 5 kh. The family lands of the "land-focussed" villagers who were of noble descent covered, generally, the same range - i.e. they exceeded 5 kh. On the other hand, all of the "egalitarian" villagers were of serf descent, and their predecessors were landless or virtually so.

In short, many "úri" villagers, those who defined rang as a "true status", were people of noble descent whose family lands were more than enough to maintain the family; the "úri" villagers who defined rang as both "true status" and mode of behaviour were either of noble descent but had less land at the turn of the 20th century, or they were of serf descent with larger family properties. With the odd exception, the "competitive" villagers were of serf and landless, or nearly landless, descent. The "land-focussed" villagers were all from families with over 5 kh. at the turn of the century, and the majority of them were of serf descent. All of the "egalitarian" villagers were of serf descent, and the predecessors of most of them were landless.

When discussing the attitudes and behaviour of the villagers with different views of status differentiation I noted that the "úri" and "egalitarian" villagers inclined towards two extremes. I can now extend this argument to say that the "úri" villager was of noble descent and in the most clear-cut cases his ancestors owned over 20 kh.

at the turn of the century. In contrast, the "egalitarian" villager was of landless serf descent. Some "úri", the "competitive" and the "land-focussed" villagers varied from the above extremes regarding their ancestry. They could be people of landed serf descent or people of noble ancestry but whose landholdings were less than 20 kh. Not only may these latter types be called intermediary from the viewpoint of attitudes and behaviour; as regards ancestry they also fell between the two extremes of landed noble vs. landless serf descent.

To return to the relationship between the villagers' ancestral legal and economic status and how they viewed status differentiation in the mid-1970s, while also bearing in mind the prevalence of "úri" and "competitive" villagers in Botpalád and the large number of "land-focussed" and "egalitarian" villagers in Kispalád, the following conclusions may be drawn. In Botpalád there was a strong connection between how the villagers viewed status differentiation and their ancestral legal status. Most of the "úri" villagers were of noble descent, no matter what their predecessors' economic status may have been, while the "competitive" and "egalitarian" inhabitants were mainly of serf descent. There was also a connection, although less clear-cut, between the Botpaládians' outlooks and their forebears' economic status; the outlooks of even the villagers of serf descent with formerly large family properties resembled the "úri" model while many "competitive" or "egalitarian" Botpaládians were of almost landless ancestry.

In contrast to the situation in Botpalád, a clear-cut connection emerged in Kispalád only between the ancestral landholdings and outlooks of the elderly villagers. Whether they were of serf or noble descent, all of these Kispaládians whose ancestral landholdings exceeded 5 kh. viewed status differentiation along the lines of the "land-focussed" model. The local

inhabitants whose predecessors were landless or nearly landless had outlooks resembling the "egalitarian" model.

The variations in Botpalád between the locals' outlooks appear to be related to factors of past importance which differ from those in Kispalád. I shall attempt to explain these divergences between the two villages in the following section.

II. Views of status differentiation before 1848 and in the early 20th century: an historical reconstruction.

I shall address myself in this section to the question of why there is a connection between the Botpaládians' ancestral legal status and their views of status differentiation, while in Kispalád there is no such apparent relationship. I shall consider the local patterns of material and political differentiation before and after the abolition of serfdom, i.e. before 1848 and in the early 20th century, when tentatively reconstructing the villagers' views of status differentiation during these times. Where possible, I shall propose the kind of impact these outlooks might have had on village life. I shall also pinpoint the factors which have contributed to the persisting views of status differentiation.

Max Weber's treatment of "status groups" in relation to the concept "status honour" should be useful, given my interest in the villagers' subjective evaluations of rank in relation to material and political differentiation, and my concern with the effects of these evaluations on village life. Weber (1970: 186-187) defines "status-situation" to be "every typical component of the life fate of men that is determined by a specific, positive or negative, social estimation of honor." He therefore suggests that subjective evaluations of prestige or rank underlie one's "status-situation". Weber goes on to describe how status groups may form out

of amorphous sets of people who share the same status-situation:

Status honor is normally expressed by the fact that above all else a specific style of life can be expected from all those who wish to belong to the circle. Linked with this expectation are restrictions on 'social' intercourse (intercourse which is not subservient to economic or any other business's 'functional' purposes). These restrictions may confine normal marriages to within the status circle and may lead to complete endogamous closure. As soon as there is not a mere individual and socially irrelevant imitation of another style of life, but an agreed upon communal action of this closing character, the 'status' development is under way . . . The development of status is essentially a question of stratification resting upon usurpation. Such usurpation is the normal origin of almost all status honor. But the road from this purely conventional situation to legal privilege, positive or negative, is easily travelled as soon as a certain stratification of the social order has in fact been 'lived in' and has achieved stability by virtue of a stable distribution of economic power . . . Where the consequences have been realized to their full extent, the status group evolves into a closed 'caste'. Status distinctions are then guaranteed not merely by conventions and laws, but also by rituals. (Weber 1970: 187-188)

According to this depiction of status group formation there is a one-directional development from the mere conventional backing of claims to status honour to its legal, economic and ritual reinforcement as well. A status group develops from existence by means of "usurpation", i.e. by copying another lifestyle, to the acquisition of "legal privilege". Restrictions on social intercourse and on marriage are two factors which lead to the formation of a closed status group.

This type of development appears, at first glance, to be applicable to status groups in Botpalád and Kispalád before 1945. Restrictions on social intercourse and marriage which were based on the villagers' evaluations of rank may well have led to the crystallisation of status groups. These status groups had legal backing before 1848, and after that time they were reinforced economically. However, such legally or

economically based advantages have ceased to exist since 1945.

The question now arises of what happens next? With the loss of their former legal and economic advantages, do the status groups continue to exist, and what factors contribute to or detract from their continued presence? Such questions are not answered by Weber's developmental scheme outlined above, and I shall address myself to such issues. A discussion of the historical condition of peasant-nobility, as it existed in Botpalád and Kispalád, is essential to my analysis.³

II.1. Peasant-nobles in Botpalád and Kispalád.

The local parish records and other historical documents⁴ indicate that Botpalád's inhabitants were of mixed legal status before 1848. Nobles, serfs and other non-nobles lived in this village. However, there is no evidence which would establish definitively the origins of Botpalád's resident nobles. The most comprehensive book which is available on the history of the Szatmár region, Ferenc Maksai's A középkori Szatmár megye (1940: 75-76, 188-189), dates Palád's first appearance to the 12th-13th centuries. Maksai (1940: 188-189) states that the names of the 15th-16th century inhabitants of Botpalád, Kispalád and their sister village, Nagypalád, were all Magyar. However he says nothing about whether these people were nobles or serfs. There is no indication of either Botpalád or Kispalád belonging directly to the king during the Middle Ages. It is therefore unlikely that the nobles in Botpalád of the 18th-19th century were direct descendants of serviens, people who lived on royal property and acquired privileged status in return for their special services to the king.⁵

On the other hand, Botpalád's nobles may have acquired this status in return for their services to large landowners in the region. In this event, they would have been the so-called familiaris of such

landowners, who mediated on their behalf vis-a-vis the king.⁶ Some local oral traditions indeed suggest that Botpalád's first settlers originally were serfs who were offered land by the large landowners to whom the king had originally granted this territory.⁷ By implication, these first settlers were given some privileges, and possibly the title of nobility. The possibility also remains that Botpalád's nobles were the impoverished descendants of ancient, aristocratic clans which had been granted large expanses of land in the region.⁸ However, neither this nor the above hypothesis can answer conclusively how the Botpaládian nobles attained their status, owing to the lack of evidence.

A large proportion of the Botpaládians of the late 18th to early 19th century, nevertheless, were nobles. In the earlier chapter on patterns of politico-economic differentiation I estimated this proportion on the basis of church records between 1782 and 1853. During this time, 53.1 per cent of the villagers who married were nobles, while 46.9 per cent were serfs and other non-nobles.

Other documents add further insight into the social composition of Botpalád's inhabitants. The 1775 serf inventories list some of the serfs as örökös jobbágy ("perpetual serf"), and other people are listed as házzal bíró zsellér ("cotter with a house").⁹ Finally, these sources mention some szabadmenetelü ember ("persons with the freedom to move"), who conceivably were szabados ("freemen") of a type. According to these sources, these villagers were obligated yearly to provide their landlords with corvée labour and the ninth tenth of their crop yields.

The serf inventories mentioned above do not include nobles, but information on the latter are contained in the 1809 military conscription lists.¹⁰ These lists describe one Botpaládian noble as doing corvée labour, and because of his age and family situation, he is excused from military service after

paying a redemption fee of ten forints. This and possibly other local nobles appear to have owed certain services to landlords in the area, although the official documents did not specify such serf obligations. Furthermore, the nobles from Botpalád who appeared on these military conscription lists were not prosperous enough to provide or finance the acquisition of their own military equipment. If they did not redeem themselves from military service by paying between five and fifteen forints, they or a son or younger brother were equipped at the expense of the treasury (called kassza). All of the above information suggests that Botpalád's nobles were not very wealthy, they lived off of and worked the land, and may be called peasant-nobles.

Before collectivisation in 1960, the records at the land registry office in Fehérgyarmat still classified Botpalád's lands as either "noble" (nemes) or "serf" (úrbéri). This fact, together with the large size of some of Botpalád's internal house plots and the information from oral traditions, indicates that before 1848 both noble land and serf tenancies covered Botpalád's territory. Therefore, it is likely that some of Botpalád's peasant-nobles also owned noble land.

Nonetheless, these peasant-nobles were not prosperous, and they could not be clearly distinguished, as regards their way of life, from the serfs and other non-nobles amongst whom they lived. In order to assert their distinctiveness, these peasant-nobles had to prove that they were indeed nobles. A court hearing which took place in the town of Nagykároly in 1797 provides one such example. According to a document which describes this case,¹¹ witnesses from Botpalád testified in order to prove the relationship between a Botpaláedian family and a family from nearby Tiszabecs, and also to confirm the indisputable nobility of this family. The fact that such a case reached court suggests that in the village context the status distinctions were neither clear-cut nor unchallenged. Lacking the necessary noble documents, the

people who claimed to be of the nobility tried to prove these claims by tracing their descent links to other noble families.

Botpalád's peasant-nobles did not always marry other people of similar legal status. According to the church records, some 55 per cent of the local nobles who married between 1782 and 1853 espoused other nobles, while 45 per cent married non-nobles. Some of these non-nobles may have been szabados (freemen), who enjoyed certain privileges such as the freedom to move (the szabadmenetelü ember) and whom the less prosperous peasant-nobles considered to be appropriate partners. Whatever the case, the offspring of these mixed marriages were of an ambiguous legal status.¹² This ambiguity may have contributed to the local importance of "proving" one's nobility.

Before 1848, Botpalád's peasant-nobles did not constitute a status group which was completely closed by marriage restrictions in the manner described by Weber. Nor did the local peasant-nobles have an economic monopoly over Botpalád's resources. Their ways of life and even their marriage ties did not distinguish them decisively from their neighbouring non-nobles, so the local peasant-nobles may have asserted their exclusive status-situation all the more by referring to their nobility.

Kispalád differed from Botpalád regarding its inhabitants' legal status before 1848. In the earlier chapter on differentiation I calculated that serfs made up 84.8 per cent of Kispalád's marrying population between 1777 and 1851, while only 15.2 per cent of the villagers were nobles. The military conscription lists of 1809 mention only 16 nobles from Kispalád, in contrast to Botpalád's 36 nobles. Kispalád is likely to have been a serf village in the Middle Ages. However, according to Borovszky (1910: 99), some noble families, such as Török, Angyalossy and Bakos, acquired land here during the 18th century, and the Kispaládians themselves also say that

these nobles moved into the village quite "recently". The generally small size of the internal house plots and the cultivated properties suggests that Kispalád's lands consisted of serf tenancies. It is therefore likely that the few nobles who moved into the village during the 18th century lived on serf tenancies. They probably were peasant-nobles who farmed these tenancies, just like the Kispaládians of serf status.

Not only was there a numerical predominance of serfs in Kispalád but they also had usufruct rights to more property than the serfs of Botpalád. Serf inventories from the late 18th century record 19 serf families from Kispalád, and each family had an average of 11 units¹³ of land. These figures compare with the nine families from Botpalád, out of which four are labelled libertini manumissi (szabados or freemen). Each non-noble Botpaládian family possessed an average of seven units of land.

There also are indications that the Kispaládians lived in extended families. The 1809 military conscription lists describe the members of a noble family from Kispalád, in which three married sons and their father are "on one bread" (egy kenyeren vannak), i.e. they live in a common household. On the other hand, amongst the Botpaládians a father and his sons are noted at the most to belong to one familia, which is a descent category rather than a form of family organisation.

Finally, the peasant-nobles of Kispalád intermarried with serfs to a greater extent than in Botpalád. Between 1777 and 1851 only 31% of Kispalád's nobles married other nobles - in comparison to the 55% from Botpalád - and the remaining 69% married people of a different legal status.

In conclusion, vis-a-vis the peasant-nobles, who settled locally at a later date, the Kispaládian serfs were more numerous and possessed more property than the serfs of Botpalád. The marriage statistics indicate that the Kispaládian peasant-nobles contracted more marriages

with the serfs, and therefore they were assimilated by the serfs around them to a greater extent than was the case in Botpalád. Instead of asserting their exclusive status-situation by referring to their nobility, the Kispaládian peasant-nobles adopted the values of the local serfs. For instance, they lived in the extended family which was the type of family organisation that made effective use of the family labour and material assets.

They also appear to have attributed importance to their economic status. Therefore, all Kispaládians, whether nobles or serfs, may well have measured one another's rank in terms of their material possessions, even if they were not the owners of the lands which they cultivated. Furthermore, a sense of community solidarity may have encouraged the assimilation of new settlers, whether or not they were of a different legal status from the bulk of the Kispaládians.

The above situation contrasts to Botpalád, where the peasant-nobles tried to maintain themselves as a status group, although in actuality they did not constitute a closed set of people sharing the same status-situation. As mentioned earlier, here the officially backed legal status-distinctions prevailed. However, being of a higher legal status did not necessarily entail greater prosperity, and in practice economic criteria may have been used to challenge the validity of some of the villagers' claims to nobility.

II.2. Views of status differentiation in the early 20th century.

Apart from the written documents on landholdings and marriage patterns, the villagers who remember life during the early 20th century offer useful information which is relevant to views of status differentiation and status group formation at that time. However, before referring to these data I shall initially summarise some

previously discussed points which pertain to material and political differentiation.

After the abolition of serfdom in 1848 the former serfs throughout the country either redeemed the lands which had been classified as úrbéri, and included in the serf inventories, or these properties were otherwise redistributed. The separation of manorial from peasant property and the consolidation of locally owned land often accompanied this procedure. The process of redemption and consolidation took a long time and left many unsettled issues regarding the use of the land.¹⁴ Only at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century were Botpalád's and Kispalád's lands consolidated. It is unlikely that during the second half of the 19th century serf obligations and taxes were actually imposed on the former serfs. Nonetheless, these villagers probably found it difficult to consolidate their interests vis-a-vis the non-resident large landowners, and to farm or manage their affairs according to their own wishes.

The importance of possessing land in order to obtain other social advantages in rural areas during the early 20th century has already been mentioned. Such advantages included the acquisition of a secondary or higher education, voting for or holding political office and becoming a church official or presbyter. The possession - or lack - of land also affected family organisation. The villagers with under 10 kh. and those with over 40 kh. formed less cohesive family units due to the subsistence or occupational opportunities and associated living arrangements which were open to them. This was particularly true in the case of farm servants or agricultural labourers who worked for different landowners or landowning families in which the children were given a professional training. Finally, irrespective of the local norms regarding whom to marry, marriage and inheritance patterns in the two villages, especially Kispalád, reflected the influence of the landowning status of the people involved.

In the light of the above observations, the villagers in the early 20th century can be expected to have ranked one another increasingly on the basis of landholdings. A review of the actual distribution of land in each village at that time shows that in comparison to Kispalád, Botpalád had a larger proportion of landless inhabitants, and its lands were distributed more unevenly amongst the landed villagers. With each increase in land category, the proportion of landowners of noble descent also increased. On the other hand, a larger proportion of Kispaládians owned between 1 and 40 kh., and most of these villagers were of serf descent. In contrast to the economic dominance of a few Botpaládian landowners who were of noble descent, in Kispalád there was no such dominating group, and the landowning, self-sufficient peasants of serf descent were stronger economically. Kispalád's landowning hierarchy was also more flexible than that of Botpalád, and some families moved considerably up or down the scale within a generation.

II.2.a. Botpalád.

The Botpaládians who were of noble descent and retained their lands or accumulated new property considered landownership to be an increasingly important criterion of rank. They believed landownership to be a contributing factor to rank or rang, one which thereby bolstered their own claims to being rangos. Botpalád's farm servants and agricultural labourers of serf descent measured rank on the basis of land. However, instead of envisaging a hierarchy of families which were linked by patronage ties, they viewed the local situation as one of conflict and the exploitation of the poor by the wealthy.

The Botpaládians of noble descent who either possessed under 20 kh. or were landless tried to make the most of their descent-based claims to rang. In doing so, they minimised the importance of landownership. On the other hand, the large landowners of serf descent

emphasised the importance of landownership as a criterion of rang. They also tried to establish or manipulate their descent-based qualifications for being called rangos, for instance by intermarrying with families of noble descent or highlighting tenuous genealogical connections to such families.

Many of the Botpaládians during the early 20th century viewed status differentiation similarly to the "úri" model. On the other hand, the "competitive" model more aptly illustrates how the landless farm servants and labourers of serf descent envisaged society. When the Botpaládians with different outlooks interacted, their behaviour conformed to the "úri" villager's expectations.

The attitudes and behaviour of the "úri" Botpaládians during the early 20th century left their mark on local life. These villagers tried to distance themselves from the other local inhabitants, and they manipulated kinship and friendship ties in accordance with their alleged rank. They respected erudition and piety, and they looked down on manual work in the fields. These tendencies reinforced their attempts to prove their exclusiveness and separate themselves from the other villagers. Such attitudes also influenced their type of family organisation and economic strategy.

Prestige considerations encouraged the "úri" Botpaládians to organise their family activities and use their resources in an unproductive manner. For instance, they hired permanent farm servants and sent their children to school elsewhere, even when they lacked the money for such purposes. Such villagers were prone to falling into debt and losing their lands. These Botpaládians married in accordance with their alleged rank. Therefore, apart from landholdings, descent-associated criteria such as noble ancestry, "name", and being "gentlemanlike" (úri) also limited the circle of villagers from whom they could choose their spouses. The church records for this period indicate that there was a

high rate of intermarriage amongst the Botpaládians with an allegedly good name.

The above developments suggest that after the abolition of serfdom, as a small number of local landowners accumulated property and landholdings became increasingly important in measuring rank, or in Weber's words, status-honour, the status groups in Botpalád become more closed and exclusive. Although the "úri" villagers evaluated status-honour on the basis of legal status before 1848, this concept was also modified to include criteria which gained importance after that time. Therefore, the Botpaládians with the highest and most indisputable status-honour were also those who owned the largest properties and held a monopoly over this economic resource in the locality.

Nonetheless, there still were villagers who were considered rangos because of their descent qualifications, but whose landholdings were small. Such people were not very powerful locally, but they are likely to have been more conscious of their claims to rank and to have made more of a fuss over these claims than many of the other Botpaládians.

The negatively privileged¹⁵, landless Botpaládians of serf descent formed a separate status group. They were excluded from the circle of allegedly rangos families regarding their marriage, friendship and kinship ties. They measured rank on the basis of landholdings alone and also viewed status differentiation differently from the "úri" villagers. However, they did not openly express these judgements unless they interacted amongst one another.

II.2.b. Kispalád.

Landholdings became the primary criterion for measuring material wealth (mód), and therefore rank, in Kispalád after the abolition of serfdom. In theory privately owned land could be accumulated without restriction, and a family could expand its productive

capacity in this manner. For this reason, landed property became an increasingly coveted asset.

The Kispaládians did not look down on physical farm work. They made effective use of their family labour by organising their activities in the framework of the extended family. Apart from considering personal qualities, they selected their marriage partners solely on the basis of their family landholdings. Kispalád's lands were distributed amongst its inhabitants more evenly than was the case in Botpalád, and in Kispalád there was greater variability over time in the patterns of landownership. For this reason, no comparable hierarchy of endogamous groups of landowners came into being.

In comparison to the Botpaládians, the Kispaládians displayed greater solidarity with one another. They did not restrict their kinship, friendship and other ties with the local inhabitation in accordance with their alleged rank. The criteria which the Kispaládians used in measuring rank (or status-honour) resembled more closely the factors which contributed to what Weber might call one's "class-situation"¹⁶. Furthermore, status-honour in Kispalád was not associated with the formation of distinct status groups. These trends account in part for the greater cohesiveness amongst Kispalád's inhabitants and their greater motivation for making the most of their material resources, as compared to the Botpaládians.

III. Views of status differentiation and status group formation in the mid-1970s in the light of past trends.

In the chapter on differentiation I already dealt with developments after 1945 regarding land distribution and material assets which could be differentially accumulated. I found that landholdings became less important in determining one's economic status. On the other hand, variables such as the availability of labour

and time, cash, wage-earning capacity, consumer items, livestock and farming equipment gained significance. In comparison to earlier periods, differences between the villagers in their standards of living had levelled out. Furthermore, contemporary economic factors in theory did not restrict the opportunities for young people to advance economically, politically and socially.

In earlier chapters I focussed on how the local inhabitants viewed status differentiation at the time of fieldwork. I discussed these outlooks in relation to the villagers' attitudes and behaviour, and I also paid due attention to their more general effects on village life in the mid-1970s.

I found that compared to its previous use, some villagers had modified the meaning of the ranking category módos. By mód, they referred to material wealth on the basis of current assets rather than past landholdings. The term rangos had also changed semantically, and this word was sometimes used in reference to the newly prosperous Botpaládians. Such villagers themselves used rangos as a ranking category, and rangos could also be heard in its "behavioural" sense in the mid-1970s. The outlooks of the inhabitants of Botpalád varied considerably, these differing views of status differentiation following the lines of the "úri" model, the "competitive" and the "egalitarian" models. While I had constructed the "úri" model on the basis of the "true status" meaning of rangos, the "competitive" and "egalitarian" models were based on the concept of mód, or current wealth. The villagers' views of status differentiation varied in accordance with their ancestral legal and economic status, rather than following differences of generation.

There was a close relationship between how the Botpaládians viewed status differentiation and their more general attitudes and behaviour. Activities at the village and institutional level reflected this connection. Relations amongst the Botpaládians were

divisive and hierarchical, and certain sets of people distanced themselves from one another. In comparison to the Kispaládians, the Botpaládians had been more reluctant and unable to adjust to socialist change, particularly after 1960.

Status groups continued to exist in Botpalád in the mid-1970s, although they lacked a legal basis, and the highest ranking status group did not possess the economic monopoly it had before 1945. These status groups were ultimately based on a concept of social honour which was measured according to descent. One component of this concept was one's ancestral status, while another component was one's former family landholdings. This meaning of status honour was founded on past patterns of material and political differentiation, and it formerly had legal or economic backing. However, such reinforcement was lacking in the mid-1970s. Nevertheless, the newly prosperous villagers had picked up and reinterpreted the same term, rang, in order to denote status honour. Even the villagers who openly supported the socialist policies of the mid-1970s and denied any familiarity with the term rang formed a separate status group due to their social exclusion from the other Botpaládians.

Botpalád's developments do not follow Weber's one-directional model regarding the evolution of status groups into ritually, economically and legally backed castes. After 1848 the local status groups lost their legal foundations, but the polarisation of landholdings and the economic monopoly of a few Botpaládians led to the increased closure of these status groups. Weber does not explicitly draw such conclusions, but following his logic, land reform and collectivisation might have been expected to contribute to the disintegration of distinct status groups. However, Botpalád's status groups persisted at the time of fieldwork. In order to explain Botpalád's developments I shall turn away from Weber and

look for variables which are not immediately connected to contemporary patterns of differentiation.

The way many villagers measured status honour in itself sheds light on the continued validity of this concept as a basis for forming status groups. These villagers ranked one another according to descent criteria, rather than their current material wealth or power. Changes in the patterns of differentiation did not disprove the villagers' claims to being of "good" descent, and therefore high status honour. Other, newly prosperous and powerful villagers reinterpreted definitions of ranking terms, or they manipulated their families' descent qualifications in order to validate their own claims to status honour in the above sense.

Finally, some villagers who were negatively privileged before 1945 continued to measure status honour by means of criteria which also contributed to one's current class situation. Beyond envisaging status honour differently from the other Botpaládians, these latter villagers were socially excluded and therefore constituted a separate status group. The villagers' different views of status honour and status differentiation in themselves detracted from any overall solidarity amongst them, and these different outlooks also facilitated the continued existence of the mutually exclusive status groups.

The developments in Kispalád contrasted to those discussed above. The Kispaládians in the mid-1970s viewed status differentiation on the basis of two meanings of mód, and the variations in the older villagers' outlooks generally corresponded to economic status before 1945. However, the outlooks of most of Kispalád's young people followed the lines of the "egalitarian" model, regardless of their former family landholdings. Generation differences were more important in Kispalád than in Botpalád, with regard to the villagers' views of status differentiation.

Kispalád's inhabitants had not formed separate, bounded status groups before 1945. All of the villagers had shown solidarity with one another, and they were strongly aware of their common peasant identity. The Kispaládians measured status honour on the basis of contemporary economic status, i.e. landholdings before collectivisation and other factors such as livestock, consumer items and monetary wealth in the mid-1970s. The fact that the villagers' views of status differentiation varied according to generation at the time of fieldwork also reflects this orientation towards the present-day.

Contemporary wealth has been important in the Kispaládians' assessment of status honour. Therefore, changes in the distribution and nature of goods which may be acquired differentially have gone hand-in-hand with changes in how these villagers rank one another. Given this correspondence between their evaluation of status honour and the patterns of material differentiation, it is not surprising that the Kispaládians have tried to make the most of their material resources. As a result, they adjusted their economic strategies in order to benefit materially under socialism.

IV. Views of status differentiation and peasant-nobility: Hungarian and East European Parallels.

IV.1. Peasant-nobles elsewhere in Hungary.

Most works written in Hungarian on peasant-nobles and ranking patterns treat these issues in an historical context. Although some descriptions and discussions pertain to post-Second World War phenomena from the 1950s and 1960s, a majority of them focus on pre-1945 situations. Few broad analyses are attempted, and in most cases there is an assumption that the "consciousness of being a peasant-noble" (kisnemesi öntudat) is a cultural survival from the past which will die out over time.

In the past a high proportion of peasant-nobles inhabited historical Szatmár and its neighbouring

counties (e.g. Bereg, Ugocsa). The authors of monographs on the history of Szatmár and Ugocsa counties (see Maksai 1940; Szabó 1937) have been able to establish how different villages were originally settled, sometimes as early as the 11th-12th centuries, and they have traced changes in the social composition of such villages over time. They frequently have discussed peasant-nobles who are believed to have acquired their privileged status in a variety of ways.

The king originally settled a number of peasant-noble villages in this area in the 11th-12th centuries, and he granted the inhabitants of these villages privileged status in return for protecting his land from the increasingly powerful Magyar clans. Other villagers claimed nobility by virtue of their affinal connections, some gained nobility as a reward for vassalage service, and a few peasant-noble families were the impoverished descendants of formerly prestigious, aristocratic clans (Maksai 1940: 62-63). The authors also mention the variability over time in the economic statuses of these peasant-nobles. However, useful as they are, these historical monographs cover developments only until the 15th and 18th centuries respectively, they focus on demographic developments, and thus they offer little information on views of status differentiation at the local level in more recent times.

On the other hand, the archives of the Hungarian Ethnographic Museum contain ethnographic and folkloric data which were collected in Szatmár and the surrounding areas in the 1930s, the 1940s and later. Some of these collections, which deal with the social organisation or the "historical consciousness"¹⁷ of the inhabitants of certain villages, reveal tantalising insights into the local conceptualisations of rank.

One such report¹⁸ discusses two neighbouring Hungarian villages in Ugocsa county, which has been part of the Soviet Union since 1945. In 1943-44, the population of one of the villages, Tiszapéterfalva, was

of mixed legal ancestry, and its families' landholdings ranged from 0-320 kh. (0-183.3 ha.). Apart from the numerically dominant Calvinists, amongst the nearly landless and landless there was a large number of Greek Catholics. Many of the phenomena observed in Tiszapéterfalva seem to resemble my observations pertaining to Botpalád. Whether or not their ancestors' names appeared in the parish or historical records as such, all of the Calvinist inhabitants of Tiszapéterfalva claimed to be of noble descent, and they associated being a native of Tiszapéterfalva with nobility. "Socially, a family which is poor but is proud of its nobility, has its children educated and maintains kinship connections leading upwards, stands in a relatively higher position than a family which is better off, but with a lower morality or less noble descent."¹⁹

The ethnographer says that the consciousness of being of noble descent affected the attitudes of all of the Calvinist villagers; they claimed to be self-respecting, they never stole anything, and they had úri (gentleman-like) mannerisms. They wrote their surnames with a -y, they refused to hoe other peoples' fields on a shares basis because their rang would not allow it, and they took offence at being called a "peasant" (paraszt), since they associated peasants with serfs.²⁰ Apparently the Calvinists preferred to take life more leisurely, however they were more educated than the Greek Catholics, who were "dirtier, more immoral and less educated".²¹ The inhabitants of Tiszapéterfalva kept themselves apart from and did not intermarry with people from serf villages.²²

Tiszapéterfalva contrasts to another village, Tivadar, whose inhabitants were mainly of noble origin. The lands of Tivadar were not distributed amongst its inhabitants as unevenly as in Tiszapéterfalva, and the people of Tivadar were working peasants. Tivadar's inhabitants were very conscious of their noble ancestry, they showed a desire to have their children educated, and

they apparently led a "clean, moral life". There was no internal divisiveness which might have compared to the situation in Tiszapéterfalva. The people from Tivadar did not mix with inhabitants from other villages, even less so with those from Tiszapéterfalva, in spite of the two communities' territorial proximity.²³ On the other hand, the inhabitants of Tiszapéterfalva accused those of Tivadar of "chasing material wealth, spending all their time in the summer in the fields, being very selfish, uneducated and peasant" (apparently the people from Tivadar were more parsimonious).²⁴

As regards the importance of descent in measuring rank, the divisiveness and distance amongst the villagers and their other general attitudes, the people of Tiszapéterfalva in the early 1940s resembled the Botpaládians in the 1970s. The relations between Tiszapéterfalva and Tivadar paralleled those between Botpalád and Kispalád. Tivadar's internal solidarity as well as its inhabitants' endeavours to gain material wealth were characteristics which were similar to those of Kispalád.

However, together with their other attributes such as a strong consciousness of nobility and positive attitudes towards a traditional education and religion, the similarities between the inhabitants of Tivadar and those of a formerly noble but less economically differentiated village near to Botpalád were even more striking.²⁵ In the late 1970s the inhabitants of this latter village, called Mánd, were still strongly aware of their common noble ancestry. However, they did not use this knowledge to distinguish themselves from one another or rank one another. They did not use the term rangos in everyday life, but instead ranked the local families in relation to one another on the basis of mód. Although the people of Mánd had a strong sense of their past, this awareness was not associated with a general conservatism and reluctance to accommodate to the regime of the 1970s. They also were more concerned with accumulating material

wealth than the Botpaládians, although less so than the Kispaládians.

Other data gathered in the same region during the late 1940s were not as explicitly "sociographic" as the information above which pertains to Tiszapéterfalva and Tivadar. Nevertheless, these reports mention that some of the people in other villages of the Szatmár region were still aware and proud of their noble origins, while people from mainly serf villages bitterly remembered that their predecessors were treated cruelly by even the poorest peasant nobles (bocskoros nemes).²⁶ Passages such as the following indicate the persistence of descent-based status distinctions which prevailed in many mixed noble-serf villages of this region in the early 1900s:

Even at the turn of the century, in villages of the upper Tisza region where people of poor peasant-noble descent and prosperous serf descent lived together, the former peasant-noble sometimes undertook wage labour for the former serf. The latter would say to the former: 'Honourable sir (tekintetes uram), I have some grass which needs cutting, will you do it?' (in the past the term tekintetes was used in addressing the noble, as were the words egregius and vitézlő used in his title).²⁷

Hungarian ethnographers who have contrasted the upper Tisza region to Hungary's more central and western areas have noted that a mixture of both stand-offish arrogance and servile humility have characterised the attitudes and social relations in the upper Tisza (Takács 1964; Morvay, Judit: verbal communication). The high proportion of families of peasant-noble origin and the prevalence of Calvinism in Hungary's northeastern corner are likely to have contributed to the salience of these characteristics.

The inhabitants of a number of villages in historical Hungary's northern, northwestern and western regions can also claim peasant-noble ancestry. Some of these villages now fall in Czechoslovakia and Austria, and in the past centuries they have been acculturated and assimilated to varying extents by the surrounding Slovaks

or Austrians (see Révay 1942; Kocsis 1977, manuscript; Ethey 1941; Kovács 1942). In the 16th-17th centuries the Hungarians of Transylvania, which now lies in Romania, also included a large number of peasant-nobles, as well as non-nobles with certain noble privileges (see Szentgyörgyi 1972; Szentgyörgyi 1962). However, the existing accounts of these peasant-noble areas are mainly historical, and they do not cover 20th century developments.

The accounts which have appeared about the peasant-nobles of Hungary's current northern and western areas are also historical for the most part (see Maksai 1973; Degré 1978). Nevertheless, one village monograph, on a mixed serf and peasant-noble village of Borsod county in northern Hungary, does discuss local life until 1945 (Lajos n.d., manuscript: 1, 18, 23-28, 31, 45-47). In this village, called Szuhafő, the author observed patterns of interaction and other phenomena which resembled those observed in Botpalád.

The villagers of noble descent (called the derékiak) lived in a separate area from the villagers of serf descent (called the partiak). The "noble" families had fewer, one or two, children than the "serfs", who often raised five or six, or even as many as eight to ten offspring. The "nobles" did not like to work in the fields, and for the harder tasks they employed the "serfs" who were capable of more diligent, productive labour. The two different sets of families hunted and ate differently from one another. The "nobles" hunted with guns, while the "serfs" used snares, and the latter preferred more liquid, "peasant" foods than the former. Only the "nobles" were presbyters, and they occupied special family pews. Only the "nobles" held local government office. The "nobles" distinguished themselves from the others by using noble titles. Until the age of 50 the "nobles" used the tegeződés (informal second person) when addressing the "serfs", while the latter addressed the former in the formal third person, and by

using the title úr (sir) or the pronoun kegyelmed (your worship).

Descent and economic status precluded the acknowledgement of kinship between the members of "noble" and "serf" families. The young people from "noble" and "serf" families socialised and courted separately from one another. At funerals the villagers of noble descent showed their grief more openly than those of serf descent.

The author of the monograph summarised as follows:

Both strata want to progress. The partiak regret the fact that until liberation [in 1945] they remained as they had been previously, as a result of their social and economic circumstances. They try to gain prosperity (módosodni) via hard work and thriftiness. In their lifestyle and customs they attempt to approach them (the derékiak). However, because regarding their means of production they are at an incomparable disadvantage, only in the sphere of customs does this endeavour meet with partial success. They cannot establish deep kinship relations with them (the derékiak), this succeeding only insofar as one-sided komaság (godparenthood) takes place.

The nobles (derékiak) want to remain úrs in relation to them (partiak). They adhere rigorously to their land, and treat the partiak as employees. Seeing the partiak's attempts to ape them, one after the other they throw aside their mannerisms and customs which have become common to both strata. In public life, they (derékiak) cling to those forms of distinctiveness which symbolise the class distinctions of past feudalism (the distinctive forms of church life, holding village offices). If they do approach the partiak, this is no more than úri condescension.²⁸

A strong awareness of noble descent binds the derékiak to the past. Their lifestyle still ties them to the land, their speech reflects the region, but in their customs, and in their love of pleasure which is manifested in family life (there are many families with few children), they display increasingly bourgeois attitudes. Although in population they are declining, they are healthy, strong people who are useful for productive work.

The humiliation and bitterness of the past still remain in the partiak. They cannot yet free themselves from their submission to servility. They regard the derékiak with respect, and they lack self-confidence. They try to attach their lives to that of the derékiak as much as possible. On the other hand, they are more clever, in work capacity they supercede the latter, and

their family life is more vigorous, more populous. Their folk traditions are of more value than those of the derékiak.²⁹

Disregarding their evaluative tone, the above conclusions do not differ greatly from my historical reconstruction of the Botpaládians' social outlooks and their associated attitudes and behaviour during the early 1900s. In both villages status groups coexisted, each group being made up of families of similar descent, albeit with perhaps slight variations in their economic status. The polarised distribution of the local lands heightened the awareness of distinction between the members of the two different groups. Although the members of the different status groups are likely to have measured rank differently from one another, the views of status differentiation and associated values of the villagers of noble descent prevailed, while the outlooks of the serfs' descendants remained latent. These variations affected other spheres of village life. Thus, in Hungary,³⁰ internal divisiveness and attempts by the villagers to distance themselves from one another in mixed, noble-serf villages can be found outside of the Szatmár region.³¹

IV.2. Peasant-nobles in other countries of Eastern Europe.

Social scientists have noted the existence of peasant-nobles in Eastern Europe outside of areas inhabited by people speaking the Hungarian language. In Poland they constituted a higher proportion of the population than in Hungary, while in Bohemia they existed in smaller numbers. The Hungarian historian, István Szabó (1976b: 244), has given the ratios of nobles to non-nobles in the first half of the 19th century as follows: Hungary - 1 to 20; Poland - 1 to 10; Bohemia - 1 to 828. In his book Social Change in a Peripheral Society, Daniel Chirot (1976: 50, 72) mentions the social fluidity between commoners and nobles in Wallachia of the

late 16th and 17th century, and he discusses the proliferation of petty nobles in the early 19th century.³² In a footnote taken from Henri H. Stahl's Les anciennes communautés villageoises roumaines, Chirot (1976: 52, footnote 45) says the following: "Even in the period after the Second World War, the distinction between formerly free and serf peasants (legally abolished in 1864) was still very much alive in certain parts of Romania, and collectivized peasants of one village would sneeringly refer to the equally collectivized peasants of another village as 'serfs'."

A monograph by a Polish ethnographer offers even more insightful information on contemporary awareness of being of peasant-noble descent. In her study of the peasant-noble villages of the Mazovia and Podlasie regions in Poland, Maria Biernacka traced the history of what she called the petty gentry in that area, from the Middle Ages onwards. She discussed their culture after the abolition of serfdom, and finally she described the traditional elements in their "modern" culture. Much of Biernacka's information derived from her own fieldwork between 1958 and 1961 (Biernacka 1966: 246).

Biernacka wrote that at the time of fieldwork, the levelling between peasants and nobles occurred the most slowly in the sphere of social consciousness. The petty (or as I have called them, peasant) nobles took offence at being called peasants, and this issue caused conflict between them and the other peasants. The peasant-nobles tried to prove their status by bringing forth noble documents. By adhering to their descent traditions they had convinced themselves of their own superiority. These peasant-noble villages were introverted and closed to non-nobles, Belorussians and other Poles. Biernacka believed the reasons for this exclusiveness to be "the tradition of distinctiveness and social superiority, and their everyday proximity to the peasants." (Biernacka 1966: 216-218)

Apparently this closure was most apparent in the selection of marriage partners, the peasant-nobles believing that mixed, noble-peasant marriages were treason to their stratum (Biernacka 1966: 218). The criterion of descent played an important part in the opinions the groups of villagers formed of one another; the gentility and finesse of the peasant-nobles were contrasted to the more intimate, natural "commonness" of the peasants (Biernacka 1966: 218).

The peasant-nobles emphasised their religious piety. They tried to show off their erudition in the traditional areas of knowledge, but they did not boast about specialised skills in current vocational trades (Biernacka 1966: 214-216). The peasant-nobles' surnames had the distinctive endings of -ski, -cki, -icz, or -czal, and the forms of address amongst the nobles differed from those amongst the peasants (Biernacka 1966: 222, 225). The author concluded that although the region appeared homogeneous, from the viewpoint of attitudes and social consciousness this was not the case - for example a female member of the collective farm who was of noble descent was unwilling to work together with a peasant woman. These prejudices persisted because the nobles clung to their false illusions of superiority, and the peasants, who were not familiar with the historical background, were unable to explain such behaviour (Biernacka 1966: 226).

According to Biernacka, researchers from Kiev had also found traces of peasant-noble traditions in Belorussia, and they had described these peasant-nobles as being proud, arrogant and argumentive (Biernacka 1966: 152). Apart from mentioning parallels in Hungary and the Vranca area of Romania, the author also referred to the existence of peasant-noble traditions in the Croatian region of present-day Yugoslavia (Biernacka 1966: 226, footnote 171).

The regional, national and East European parallels to my observations in Botpalád and Kispalád do not give

conclusive reasons for the persistence of certain views of status-differentiation and values in given contexts. In order to explain such continuity, the dynamics of status group formation within each individual village should also be considered. Variable external, economic, political or other factors may also affect the manner in which the villagers express their consciousness of status-distinctions and their views of status differentiation. Nonetheless, I have just presented comparative material which suggests that the regularities observed in Botpalád and Kispalád have not been isolated phenomena. Furthermore, an awareness of being of peasant-noble descent has usually involved other, conservative and isolationist attitudes. These attitudes have been the most salient and affected behaviour the most overtly in rural areas where people of different historical backgrounds have interacted on an everyday basis. Hence, there has been greater likelihood of internal divisiveness in villages with inhabitants of mixed, serf and peasant-noble descent.

9. CONCLUSIONS.

In this thesis I have addressed the question of what impact infrastructural change may have on people's outlooks, and whether there is continuity between views of status differentiation and past patterns of differentiation in two Hungarian villages whose lands had been collectivised and whose other institutions had also gone through socialist transformation after the Second World War.

The first, general chapter was devoted to a description of some ecological and institutional features which were common to both fieldwork villages in the early 20th century, and which were also characteristic of the two settlements in the mid-1970s. In this connection, I described the surroundings geographically and ecologically, and then discussed how the local inhabitants subsisted materially. I also described local economic, government, church and cultural-educational institutions.

Then followed a chapter in which I discussed patterns of politico-economic differentiation. I concluded that Botpalád's inhabitants were more heterogeneous as regards legal status before 1848: they included nobles, serfs and intermediate categories, while the Kispaládians were primarily serfs. Botpalád's lands at the turn of the 20th century were distributed in a more polarised manner. Compared to Kispalád, Botpalád had more villagers in the upper and lower landholding categories, and landless inhabitants, and more of Botpalád's territory was in the hands of the large landowners.

Botpalád's more polarised land distribution went hand in hand with intra-village power relations which were hierarchical and thereby more conducive to establishing patronage ties, thus incorporating the

village into the regional-national network of government institutions. The possession by an individual of political and economic power also facilitated his cultural and educational advancement.

I also discovered that in the mid-1970s Botpalád's more hierarchical internal power relations still facilitated the village's incorporation into the network of council institutions, yet the village was less active in the local collective farm than were the Kispaládians. While the Kispaládians had tended to remain local residents and had combined jobs in local industry with active collective farm participation, alongside utilising household-plot and private farming possibilities to the utmost, the young Botpaládians had either moved to more central parts of Hungary, or they had remained resident locally, but not combined effectively the local income-yielding activities in the manner of the Kispaládians.

These differences between the two villages were inseparable from the greater prevalence of the extended family in Kispalád, in which more family labour was released for productive work, as opposed to the nuclear family in Botpalád.

I went on to examine the categories the villagers commonly used in ranking one another. The two concepts of central importance were rang and mód, rang being construed either as a "true status" associated with past descent attributes, or as a kind of "behaviour", and mód being associated with either current or past material prosperity.

On the basis of the categories, I constructed some ranking models in order to illustrate the locally prevailing views of status differentiation. Thus, I found that in Botpalád the villagers viewed local society along the lines of the "úri", the "competitive" and "egalitarian" models, while in Kispalád the "land-focussed" and "egalitarian" models better depicted the local views of status differentiation. These views of status differentiation were associated with other, more

general attitudes and behaviour: thus, the "úri" villagers tended to view the current situation in a negative light as compared to life in the past, they were unenthusiastic about the collective farm and were not actively involved in it, they were quite lax about doing productive work since they saw no point in overly exerting themselves physically, they had a strong sense of local pride but looked down on newcomers into the village and did not socialise much, and they restricted their kinship, friendship and neighbourhood ties in accordance with how they viewed rank.

On the other hand, the "egalitarian" and "land-focussed" villagers were more future-orientated: they had a more positive outlook on contemporary life, as compared to the past, they believed that diligence was an important quality which should be developed, they approved of exercising thrift, they did not display a local pride which might have been exclusive in nature but instead were outgoing, readily accepted newcomers and enjoyed being in groups of people.

At the village level, in Botpalád the locally prevailing incompatible views of status differentiation and associated attitudes and behavioural patterns had contributed to divisiveness and discord amongst the local inhabitants, the prevalence of the nuclear family and economic activities based on day-to-day requirements. The Botpaládians also had closed, intermarrying groups of families, and hierarchical relations which were conducive to patronage.

In contrast, the Kispaládians, whose variations in definitions of rank were associated, rather, with differences in generation, showed greater solidarity with one another, a large number of them lived in the extended family and based their economic activities on long-range plans, most of the local families intermarried and the villagers were interlinked by non-hierarchical, cooperative "help" relations which were not conducive to patronage. These differences also helped to explain the

internal discord and mismanagement which hindered the progress of the collective farm that served both villages at the time of fieldwork.

Examining these phenomena in a historical perspective, I discovered a strong connection in Botpalád between how the locals viewed status differentiation and their ancestral legal status, and also a somewhat more tenuous relationship between their outlooks and their forebears' economic status. In Kispalád, I found a connection only between the ancestral landholdings and outlooks of the elderly villagers.

When attempting a historical reconstruction of past views of status differentiation, and status group formation in the village context, I proposed that before 1848 Botpalád's peasant-nobles did not constitute a status group which was completely closed by marriage restrictions, nor did they have an economic monopoly over the village's resources; their ways of life and marriage ties did not distinguish them decisively from neighbouring non-nobles, so the local peasant-nobles may have referred all the more to their nobility in order to assert their exclusive situation.

Kispalád had a higher proportion of serfs as opposed to peasant-nobles, and the latter were assimilated by the serf population. After the abolition of serfdom, landholdings became increasingly important in measuring rank amongst the Botpaládians, and local status groups became more closed and exclusive - the positively privileged Botpaládians were those of noble descent who also owned the largest properties, and they formed a separate status group as opposed to the landless Botpaládians of serf descent. Landholdings similarly became the main criterion for measuring rank in Kispalád, but with the greater variability in local landownership patterns, no hierarchy of endogamous groups of landowners came into being which would have compared to the situation in Botpalád, and status-honour in Kispalád was

not associated with the formation of distinct status groups.

The historical conditions of each individual village had an impact on the extent to which the inhabitants' views of status differentiation, outlooks and values themselves subsumed infrastructural and stratificatory change. Hence the descent-based criteria of rang as used by "úri" villagers were intangible, difficult to disprove and more likely to survive stratificational change. Mechanisms of status group formation and the question of whether different status groups did or did not coexist locally, could serve to perpetuate, or indeed eliminate the differences in the villagers' outlooks, thereby consequently having an indirect effect on activities influencing material prosperity.

I surveyed some parallel phenomena in the Szabolcs-Szatmár region, in other parts of Hungary and in some other East European countries. Not only did I discover that the peculiarly characteristic historical category of peasant-nobility existed in a more widespread region of Eastern Europe; I found that people of this intermediary status, in which economic situation was incompatible with an ancestral legal status that in theory allowed for some privileges, also had conservative attitudes, an orientation to the past and a dislike of manual, productive agricultural work. Furthermore, the extent to which such individual attitudes led to status group formation and discord at the village level depended on the local patterns of politico-economic differentiation as well as the population's religious and ethnic composition.

Looking at developments in Hungary, generally, it is clear that infrastructural change has not led to systematic concurrent changes in outlooks and behaviour patterns. The attitudes and adaptability to new ideas of people who once belonged to different strata in a country

which before 1945 had a semi-feudal hierarchy depend on intricate factors which are partly rooted in the past.

A potentially limiting factor to the outlooks on society and related attitudinal-behavioural attributes which I observed in Botpalád and Kispalád in the mid-1970s was the propensity for some young "úri" Botpaládians to seek professional jobs in traditional fields, often making it necessary for them to move away from the region. The temptation to move to more central, urban areas of Hungary existed all the more for young professionals, inasmuch as the Szabolcs-Szatmár region remained an economic, social and cultural backwater. As noted earlier, the "land-focussed" and "egalitarian" villagers were more likely to live in 3-4-3 generation families and take on locally available jobs requiring technical qualifications. Thus they were less likely to move away from the region.

Viewing future developments at the village level if conditions had remained as they were in the 1970s, I would have nonetheless expected the continued existence in Botpalád of distinct status groups based on divergent definitions of rank. The outlooks of the "competitive" villagers, who defined rank on the basis of current wealth, would have still contended with those of "egalitarian" villagers who denied the existence of major status distinctions on such material grounds. At the same time, the "úri" villagers might have diminished in number but not all the families adopting this outlook would have died out locally, and the possibility would have existed for other villagers, who perhaps were not prospering materially, to lay claims to rang and view local status differentiation along lines of the "úri" model.¹ In Kispalád, on the other hand, as the older generation died out, I would have expected the younger people to view status differentiation solely according to the "egalitarian" model.

However, the scenario outlined above is likely to have altered in the light of recent developments in

Hungary, overall. Discontent with country's leadership grew during the 1980s in spite of the introduction of limited economic reforms,² as it became clear that the country's apparent prosperity was based on credits from the West, that the country was falling increasingly into debt and this process could not continue.³ Leadership changes were implemented in the summer of 1987, with Károly Grósz being elected Hungary's new Premier. Parliamentary debate became more lively as from September of the same year (Jónás 1990: 105), new opposition groupings were formed in late 1988-1989,⁴ and political demonstrations were held with growing frequency.⁵ In the wake of intensified dissatisfaction both within and outside the Party, János Kádár was replaced by Károly Grósz as HSWP General Secretary at the Party conference in May 1988, and the reformers Imre Pozsgay (previously active from a power base he had formed as Secretary-General of the Patriotic People's Front) and Rezső Nyers (architect of the 1968 economic reform) got into the Politburo. In the ensuing power struggle between Pozsgay and Grósz, Pozsgay tried to steer Party policy at first so that an imminent political and economic crisis could be averted through a reform of the socialist system, and later, when it became apparent that the system could not survive, so that the Party could win over as much popular support as possible. Thus, Pozsgay publicly called 1956 a popular uprising, instead of describing it by the officially accepted label of counter-revolution, and as a result of this statement the HSWP Central Committee held a closed session at which, after heated debate, a position was taken in favour of introducing a multi-party system (Jónás 1990: 108). The Kádár era ended once and for all when the former HSWP General Secretary was removed from his titular position as Party Chairman in May 1989, followed by his death two months later, which ironically took place in the wake of the reburial of Imre Nagy and his associates in a ceremony at which tribute was paid nation-wide to the martyrs of 1956.

The HSWP reorganised its leadership structure in the summer of 1989, and in October it held its final Congress, at which it was transformed into the Hungarian Socialist Party. However, in spite of endeavours to win over popular support⁶, its membership figures declined, as compared to the number of people who had belonged to the HSWP. Eventually the HSP only managed to come in fourth place in the first multi-party parliamentary elections in 43 years, which were held in two rounds in March and April of 1990.

I had the good fortune to pay a two-day visit to Botpalád and Kispalád in early September of 1989, and I found the situation there in a state of flux. The collective farm had just been officially dissolved. According to local accounts, the TSZ had continued to sustain losses and it had fallen into such debt over the previous years that the Budapest Court had asked a bank to arrange the sale of the farm's assets. A group of some 50-60 people from Botpalád and Kispalád, former TSZ members, had purchased the assets with considerable state support, and they were forming a specialist cooperative (szakszövetkezet), while the remaining villagers had the opportunity to reclaim their former lands and cultivate these privately with the help of "restart loans" (újrakezdési kölcsön) provided at that time for people setting up small ventures. According to one account, the members of the specialist cooperative would be able to rent land from the cooperative and to use the cooperative's equipment for the purpose of farming such rented fields (called gebines föld). I was also told that the private farmers would receive assistance from the specialist cooperative. There was some confusion and uncertainty amongst the villagers in September 1989 regarding the outcome of the new cooperative, not to mention the future of property relations in general, and a number of inhabitants were reluctant to take definitive steps until they had a clearer picture of what was in the offing.

Restrictions on travel across the border to the USSR had been temporarily eased, and shops in Kölcse and Fehérgyarmat were inundated with Soviet citizens on day-trips in search of food. People from Botpalád and Kispalád had paid visits to the USSR, where the food shops were reportedly empty but where it was possible to obtain machinery and components at a relatively cheap price. Many villagers bemoaned the price rises of the past months and the increasing difficulty they had in making ends meet. A number of houses in both villages stood empty since the former occupants had either died or moved away.

On the other hand, the villagers in general seemed more politically active than had been the case in the mid-1970s. I was told that many local inhabitants had watched on television the reburial of Imre Nagy and associates, that two combine-harvesters and a lorry had been driven to Fehérgyarmat to represent the villages in a nation-wide protest that summer against the low purchase price of grain, and that a local grouping of the Smallholders' Party was being formed by men - young and old alike - from both villages. No longer was there one HSWP Secretary, attached to the TSZ, as had been the case in the 1970s, but instead each village had its own Party Secretary. Thus, the local Party organisation was associated with a residential unit rather than the workplace, an issue which had been a bone of contention nationally between the HSWP and opposition organisations in the summer of 1989.

The local Party Secretary for Kispalád was the son-in-law of T. Tóth, who was cited earlier in the thesis as a case study (see Case Study Five, Chapter Six), in order to illustrate a family from Kispalád whose members viewed society along the lines of both the "land-focussed" and the "egalitarian" model. Otherwise, the daughter and son-in-law of T. Tóth were founder members of the new specialist cooperative, from which they planned to rent 40 kh. The Tóth family kept two

bullocks, as well as pigs and poultry; the extended family now lived under one roof, and they themselves had installed plumbing and running water the previous year. Another family, from Botpalád, whose members in the mid-1970s had in many regards adopted an "úri" outlook on society, had by 1989 left the collective farm and focussed their energies on private farming. They kept 20 cows, 10 bullocks, two horses (I knew of no privately kept horses in the mid-1970s), sheep and poultry. They had a tractor, two cars and several houses in the village. They took advantage of the easier travel opportunities to the USSR for the purpose of buying cheap machinery, and one of the four sons was courting a girl in a village on the far side of the border.

Since my visit to the villages in September 1989, multi-party parliamentary elections have been held in Hungary in which the Hungarian Democratic Forum was victorious over its main rival, the Alliance of Free Democrats, with the Independent Smallholders' Party in third place and, as mentioned above, the Hungarian Socialist Party coming in fourth. The Hungarian Democratic Forum in May 1990 formed a coalition government with the Independent Smallholders' Party and the Christian Democratic People's Party, and in its programme statement the Government expressed its resolve to implement measures to bring about a switch over from what was basically a planned economy to a "social" market economy.⁷ In the summer of 1990 the new parliament adopted a law instituting a new system of local government, and local elections were held in two rounds in September and October 1990. The new system of local government gives greater autonomy and power to local government bodies, and organisationally resembles the pre-council set-up.⁸ For example small villages again have a "representative body" (képviselőtestület) and a mayor. In the local elections the Independents performed strongly in the countryside⁹; many such Independents had been in the former council apparatus, and their re-

election might indicate that in rural areas votes were cast on a basis of personal familiarity with the candidates and confidence in them on the grounds of their previous performance, rather than on the basis of party affiliation or party policy.

In the course of national developments over the past few years, attitudes from the pre-socialist era have surfaced which have been reflected, for example, in the emergence of the so-called "historical parties", the Independent Hungarian Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Party, the Hungarian Independence Party, and the Social Democratic Party (see Jónás 1990: 115). So-called "reborn" parties which profess to be the successors of pre-1948 parties, or which pledge similar ideals, for example the Independent Smallholders' Party and the Hungarian Radical Party, have also resurfaced. The split between the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Alliance of Free Democrats is said by some pundits to reflect the pre-1945 populist vs. urban, nationalist "Magyar" vs. Jewish divide.¹⁰ The reported surfacing of anti-Semitism has provoked an outcry, for example in the September 1990 affair in which it was alleged that someone shouted out during a session of Parliament, when a leading member of the Alliance of Free Democrats was about to take the floor to speak, "A soap-box for the Jew!".¹¹ Even pre-socialist mannerisms have been resuscitated, for example as early as in the autumn of 1988 parliamentary deputies began, in National Assembly sessions, to adopt the convention of urazás (addressing one another as Mr.) rather than calling one another "comrade". Károly Grósz, shortly before being removed from the position of General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in the summer of 1989, was paradoxically addressed in one radio interview as főtítkár úr ("Mr. General Secretary").

The issue of land reform and property relations has been a bone of contention both within and outside the new government. The Smallholders' Party, which was given

the agriculture portfolio, has insisted on a restoration of land relations as they were in 1947, a position adopted in part by the Government in its programme statement of May 1990¹², but later referred to the Constitutional Court which deemed any such measure to be unconstitutional (SWB Third Series EE/0888 B/3 item 9). Government has put forward an alternative proposal pertaining to all forms of private property whereby all people would be issued compensation coupons to a proportion of the value of landed or other property which was "unjustly" damaged after 8th June 1949; in the case of land, the property's gold crown value would serve as a basis for calculating compensation and the sum of reimbursement would be debited to the "concerned" agricultural cooperative or legal successor thereof (SWB Third Series EE/0942 B/2 item 5). However certain groups and leaders of the Independent Smallholders' Party periodically declare that they adhere to their original position favouring a reprivatisation of land, and they call for a rapid enactment of a land law.¹³ So, as of early January 1991, the long-term solution of landownership in Hungary is an unresolved issue.

Viewing future developments in Botpalád and Kispalád, and the question of whether the views of status differentiation described in this thesis will persist, I believe that there are two issues which are of central importance. One is the question of land reform and whether, as the Independent Smallholders' Party wishes, the 1947 property relations will be restored. The other is whether or not Hungary's borders with the USSR will indeed, as envisaged by Government leaders¹⁴, become mental concepts rather than physical barriers, thereby leading to greater movement to and from neighbouring regions, which could possibly inject renewed vigour into the economic-social-cultural life of County Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg (the county's new name).

A restoration of 1947 property relations would provide economic backing and thereby strengthen the local

validity of the "úri" model, inasmuch as past landholdings are believed to contribute to rang, and it would also support the validity of the "land-focussed" model as professed by elderly Kispaládians in the mid-1970s whereby rank was measured on the basis of mód, meaning former landholdings. Hence, it is not surprising that already in September 1989, the Smallholders' Party was organising itself locally, and that a handbook listing the deputies in Hungary's newly elected Parliament separately mentions that a member of the national list of the Independent Smallholders' Party was the founder of the Botpalád organisation of this party.¹⁵ On the other hand, a solution whereby land is freely marketable but the pre-1947 situation is not restored would give economic backing to the ranking categories used by the "competitive" villagers, since for them mód, and thus rank, is based on current wealth.

If the specialist cooperative survived or was replaced by another form of cooperative, this would introduce a further potentially complicating factor to the above scenario, in that I would expect the villagers whom I identified as "egalitarian" in the mid-1970s to be more actively involved in this economic unit than other local inhabitants. On the other hand, the ideological basis for the "egalitarian" model has been removed in that, with the introduction of a market economy and growing differences in wealth at both a national and local level, no longer does the theory hold that people should be of equal material standing. I would expect the outlooks of formerly "egalitarian" Kispaládians eventually to merge with those of the "land-focussed" villagers and for them to measure rank on the basis of current material wealth, whether or not this is tantamount to a return to 1947 property relations and whether or not they belong to the specialist cooperative. In Botpalád the formerly "egalitarian" villagers would adopt an outlook resembling the "competitive" model, which is based on current wealth but does not recognise

rang as being a "true" status; however, as people in Botpalád grow increasingly impoverished in the tougher economic conditions besetting the area and country overall in 1991,¹⁶ it is also possible that some villagers will resort increasingly to intangible descent-related attributes, such as noble ancestry, belonging to a "good", autochthonous family, and being genuinely Magyar, in order to assert their higher standing vis-a-vis other local inhabitants.

The prospect of an open border with the USSR is increasingly unlikely, as apprehension grows at the possibility of an unmanageable influx of refugees from the USSR when Soviet citizens are granted passports for international travel (SWB Third Series EE/0946 A2/2 item 3). If, however, the Hungarian-Soviet border was to become a conceptual rather than physical barrier, the ensuing greater flow of traffic to and from the neighbouring regions would invigorate economic, social and cultural life in the Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg area and help to counteract the temptation for young professionals to move away to Hungary's more central urban areas. This in the long term would benefit the position of the "úri" villagers. I would furthermore expect statements appealing to national consciousness and awareness of being Magyar, such as those voiced by leaders of the Hungarian Democratic Forum,¹⁷ to meet with a response amongst all of the inhabitants of Botpalád and Kispalád, but perhaps mostly amongst the "úri" villagers.

At the village level, I would expect Botpalád to be characterised by even greater divisiveness and mutually exclusive status groups, in which the "úri" villagers, whose claims to rank rested on intangible descent-related attributes as well as former lands, disputed other villagers' claims to rank which were based solely on current wealth. On the other hand, in Kispalád the inhabitants would all measure rank according to the same criterion - current material wealth (whether or not this meant a restoration of 1947 property relations);

relationships between the villagers would consist ideally of communal solidarity and an open acceptance of newcomers, although in the tougher economic climate a competitive spirit might gain ground. Definite predictions at this point cannot be made, since so many specific aspects of Hungary's economic programme and the resulting patterns of material differentiation in the coming years remain unclear. However, the attitudes and adaptability of the Botpaládians and Kispaládians, as analysed in this thesis, are rooted in past patterns of politico-economic differentiation, and this factor is likely to have an impact on the local course of future developments.

1. These works include the following, in geographical order:

- Chayanov, A. V. 1966. On the Theory of Peasant Economy. Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin Inc.
- Dunn, Ethel - Dunn, Stephen P. 1967. The Peasants of Central Russia. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc.
- Smith, R. E. F. (ed). 1977. The Russian Peasant 1920 and 1984. London: Frank Cass & Co.Ltd.
- Kula, Witold. 1976. An Economic Theory of the Feudal System. Towards a Model of the Polish Economy 1500-1800. London: NLB.
- Wesolowski, W. 1976. "The Notions of Strata and Class in Socialist Society" In The Social Structure of Eastern Europe (ed.) Bernard Lewis Faber. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Galeski, Boguslaw. 1976. "Determinants of Rural Social Change: Sociological Problems of the Contemporary Polish Village". In The Social Structure of Eastern Europe (ed.) Bernard Lewis Faber. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Salzman, Zdenek. 1970. "A Contribution to the Study of Value Orientations Among the Czechs and Slovaks". Amherst: University of Massachusetts Department of Anthropology Research Reports No.4.
- Chirot, Daniel. 1976. Social Change in a Peripheral Society. The Creation of a Balkan Colony. London: Academic Press.
- Cernea, Mihail. 1976. "Cooperative Farming and Family Change in Romania". In The Social Structure of Eastern Europe (ed.) Bernard Lewis Faber. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Verdery, Katherine. 1983. Transylvanian Villagers. Three Centuries of Political, Economic and Ethnic Change. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Sanders, Irwin. 1949. Balkan Village. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.
- Winner, Irene. 1979. A Slovenian Village. Zerovnica. Providence: Brown University Press.
- Byrnes, Robert F. (ed.). 1976. Communal Families in the Balkans: the Zadruga. Essays by Philip E. Mosely and Essays in his Honor. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.

2. He writes (Halpern - Halpern 1972: 146):

Orasaac represents for Yugoslavia an example not only of the slowly modernizing productive resources of agriculture but also of an ethnic heartland from which the modern state derives. In Yugoslavia, social evolution in a technological context is occurring in terms of vigorous interaction with the still existing although greatly modified traditional rural subculture. It is out of this dynamic and reciprocal interaction, where urban-derived ideologies and technologies affect

rural life, and where village values temper the ways in which towns grow, that the future is being shaped.

3. For example: "Current innovations in the society frequently reach the hinterland almost as rapidly as the city, and the principal cultural differences lie not so much between urban and rural peoples, as between professionals and intellectuals on the one hand, and the working class and peasants on the other." (Simic 1973: 127)

4. The following list includes only a few of the many Hungarian works which describe values or rank among peasants of certain areas or types:

Balogh, Istvan. 1947. A civisek társadalma. Debrecen.

Erdei, Ferenc. 1974. Emberül élni. Egy életút mérföldkövei. Budapest: Gondolat.

Erdei, Ferenc. 1941. Magyar paraszt társadalom. Budapest.

Fél, Edit. 1944. "Egy kisalföldi nagycsalád társadalom-gazdasági vázlatja (A marcelházai Rancsó-Czibor család élete)". Ersekújvár: Kisalföldi Közlemények I/3.

Györffy, István. 1928. A szilaj pásztorok. Karcag.

Kiss, Lajos. 1955. A szegény emberek élete. Budapest: "Művelt Nép" Kiadó.

Luby Margit. n.d. Fogyó legelőkön. Budapest.

Luby, Margit. 1939. "Népünk történeti tudása". Budapest: Bethlen Gábor Irodalmi és Nyomdai Részvénytársaság nyomása.

Luby, Margit. n.d. A paraszt életrendje. Népi szokások, illendő magatartás, babonák Szatmár vármegyében (Szamoshat, Tiszahat, Nyírség). Budapest.

Morvay, Judit. 1956. Asszonyok a nagycsaládban. Mátraaljai palócasszonyok élete a múlt század második felében. Budapest: Magvető.

Ortutay, Gyula. 1978. Fedics Mihály mesél. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Papp, Zoltán Sándor. 1975. A beregdaróci emberek élete a századfordulón. Budapest.

Tálasai, István. 1977. A kiskunság. Budapest: Gondolat.

5. The study was conducted as part of a joint investigation undertaken by the Ethnographic Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences between 1971 and 1973.

6. In this thesis I shall use the abbreviation kh. to denote a unit of land measurement commonly used by Hungarians before the Second World War. The Hungarian expression is katasztrális hold, meaning "cadastral hold", and it is equivalent to .573 hectares or 1.42 English acres.

7. The "peasant" type clings more to his independence, he is unable to adjust to the rhythm of industrial work, in the past he tried to accumulate land and now he saves and lives in moderation. The "transitional" type is unable to take advantage of the collective farm in the manner of the "peasant" type, he is more used to working in a large enterprise for fixed wages, he has in the past spent his income more freely, and he is more likely to belong to the Party (Jávor 1978: 317-325).

8. Hann (1980: 148) writes:

There is a continuity here with the pre-war pattern of stratification. Most of the larger hirers of labour today are farmers in their fifties and sixties who belong to the traditional middle and well-to-do families of the community . . . Even in villages characterised by production co-operatives, this stratum of middle peasants retained its identity over a long period (cf. Juhász, 1975) . . . In Tázlár the persistence of this differentiation is stronger, and it is still associated with the ownership of property and of the means of production . . . there remains a stratum of prosperous (jómódú) families whose higher status is beyond question within the farming population.

9. Thus Hann (1980: 149-150) notes:

The perceptions and judgements of the farming population still dominate in the community. Even the basic yardstick of class and social status in the old system, the ownership of land, has not been as effectively eroded as in the villages which formed production co-operatives . . . There is no idealisation of the life-style of the few fully intellectual households which are not active in farming, and sometimes a rueful cynicism is expressed when such households seek means to supplement their fixed incomes . . .

10. Vászary (1987: 21) writes:

. . . I was intrigued by the frequency with which local informants referred to their own and others' descent from serfs and nobles . . . This is not to say that distinctions of serf and noble have retained much significance - they are no more than echoes from the past - but just as on the material level the villages' layout preserves the historical heritage, so these concepts reflect its vestiges in people's minds.

11. Vásáry (1987: 264) notes:

Many elements of the socialist paradigm have been incorporated into the life of the villagers, which coexist with the surviving elements of the traditional system.

Another recent work which deserves mention is Peter Bell's perceptive study of collectivisation in a village of north-central Hungary, published under the pseudonym Kislapos (Bell 1984). Bell, who draws frequent comparisons with the nearby village of Atány which was studied by Edit Fél and Tamás Hófer in their monograph Proper Peasants (1969), points out the following when turning to the subject of social ranking and social perception (Bell 1984: 258):

The degree of continuity between past and present is significant. The past three and a half decades have seen enormous social and economic upheavals in this rural community. The socioeconomic basis of village life has been profoundly altered, yet in fundamental ways villagers think about their fellow men in much the same terms as their parents and grandparents did.

12. Zsuzsa Ferge (1979: 307) writes the following:

. . . the reasons which delayed the emergence of social and societal policy in general also acted in the case of the way of life. It was assumed that once certain basic relations - ownership of the means of production first and foremost - were changed and economic progress was on its way, a socialist way of life, whatever this means, would automatically take shape . . . This assumption was built on a simplified conception of the relation of the material conditions and social consciousness, neglecting the role of traditional attitudes, folk customs, ideals and also the impact of the models presented by Western consumerism.

András Hegedüs and Mária Márkus (Hegedüs - Márkus 1972: 56) write along similar lines:

The 'social production' of needs is above all determined by factors such as technological progress . . . the growth in productivity of labour . . . the proportions and levels of distribution . . . The role of traditions, habits, norms and value systems accepted by the society as a whole or by some groups in it, is also far from being insignificant. They determine to a greater or lesser extent the pattern of consumption which is considered socially desirable, and in this way they affect the needs too.

13. It is worthwhile to familiarise the reader with the history of the area by noting the periods into which scholars in the mid-1970s, such as Mátyás Unger and Ottó Szabolcs (Unger - Szabolcs 1976; Erdei (ed.) 1968: 175-288), divided up Hungary's pre-Second World War past. They are as follows:

a) The occupation of the Carpathian Basin until the destructive Tatar invasion (896-1242), in which the state was founded, and later the feudal order was established.

b) The mid-13th century to the defeat by the Turks at Mohács (1526), in which the country was rebuilt, the feudal state reorganised under the Anjou dynasty, peasant uprisings broke out, and later King Matthias ruled and introduced Renaissance culture as well as a strong central rule.

c) A period of fighting against the Turks and Habsburgs (1526-1711), in which Hungary was divided into three parts, one occupied by the Turks, another under Habsburg control and a third under the control of the independent Transylvanian principality; concluding with the expulsion of the Turks by the end of the 17th century and the Rákóczi uprising against Habsburg rule (1703-1711).

d) 1711-1790, in which Hungary's fate, its resettlement, economic development and internal relations were determined by its being a part of the Habsburg empire and subordinate to the Habsburgs, and the serfs were burdened by ever-increasing obligations, albeit Maria Theresa and Joseph II tried to regulate feudal, serf-landlord relations.

e) A period in which Hungarian nobles increasingly embraced the ideal of independence from the Habsburgs and a reform movement took shape (late 1700s to 1848).

f) The 1848-49 War of Independence against the Habsburgs, which was eventually crushed.

g) A period of absolute rule by the Habsburgs (1848-67).

h) The Dual Monarchy, in which capitalism started to take root in Hungary, nationalism and the formation of national movements by other nationalities living in Hungary became an important issue, and the workers' movement began to take shape.

i) The First World War, followed by a "bourgeois democratic republic" led by Mihály Károlyi, and then the Communist Party-led ("revolutionary") Hungarian Republic of Councils, headed by Béla Kun (1919).

j) A period from 1920 until the end of the Second World War, in which Hungary was ruled by a "counter-revolutionary" regime headed by Regent Miklós Horthy.

14. The Golden Bull (Aranybulla), signed by King Endre II in 1222, guaranteed the so-called serviens - who were later to become the kisnemes or peasant-nobles - the rights to personal freedom, exemption from property taxes, the freedom to deal unrestrictedly with their own property, and participation in the dealing of justice. In the event the king broke its conditions, the Golden Bull gave the more powerful barons the right to protest without being convicted of treason (Unger - Szabolcs 1976: 32).

The Decree of 1351 (1351.évi dekrétum) was also significant in that it guaranteed the same freedoms to all nobles. It also established the law of entailment (ösiségi törvény) which applied to the nobles' inherited property, and therefore ensured that this property would remain in the hands of the landowning, noble family (Unger - Szabolcs 1976: 45-46).

15. István Szabó, in his article "A jobbágyok megnemesítése" (1941: 11-12), points out the social importance of the noble documents per se.

16. In most cases where the nobles had their own hadnagy ("lieutenant"), an overwhelming proportion of the village's population was of noble status. Examples of such situations include Szabadszentkirály (in County Baranya) after 1836, and noble villages in the archepiscopal seat of Verebély (Verebélyi érseki szék). (Degré 1978: 62; Ethey 1941: 22)

1. These compare as follows with the distances from former marketing and cultural centres now in Romania and the USSR:

- Nagykároly (Carei, in Romania) - ca. 42 kilometers.
- Szatmárnémeti (Satu Mare, in Romania) - ca. 29 kilometers.
- Beregszász (Beregovo, in the USSR) - ca. 25 kilometers.
- Munkács (Munkachevo, in the USSR) - ca. 40 kilometers.
- Nagyszöllös (Vinogradov, in the USSR) - ca. 29 kilometers.

2. Other major geographical areas of Hungary include:

- a) The Kisalföld, or Little Plain, flatlands in northeastern Hungary, surrounding the northern stretches of the Danube.
- b) Transdanubia, to the west and south of Budapest, and west of the central and southern stretches of the Danube.
- c) The Duna-Tisza köze, or the region between the Danube and the Tisza rivers.
- d) A northern mountainous area, east of the Danube, which also follows and extends south of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak border.

3. Judit Morvay (1966: 255-307) lists the following villages as definitely belonging to Erdöhát: Méhtelek, Garbolc, Túrricse, Kishódos, Nagyhódos, Kispalád, Nagypalád, Botpalád, Tisztaberek. Villages which possibly fall in Erdöhát are: Fertösalmás, Csedreg, Kőkényesd, Túrterebes, Bikkszád, Csaholc, Vámosoroszi.

Tiszahát includes: Tiszabecs, Milota, Tiszacsécse, Tizsakórod, Uszka, Mezövári, Badaló, Csetfalva, Csoma, Halász, Gát, Makkosjános, Bulcsu, Tarpa, Márok, Csaroda, Gulács.

Szamoshát includes: Csenger, Szamosszeg, Tatárfalva, Gyügye, Sályi, Tunyog, Matolcs, Cégénydányád, Pátyod, Angyalos.

Rétoldal includes: Györtelek, Oköritó, Porcsalma, Tyukod, Ura, Csengerújfalu, Kaplony, Domahida, Nagyecséd, Börvely, Mérk.

4. The averages of measurements made by the regional meteorological stations in Mátészalka (Berényi 1939: 111) in January, April, July and October, between 1901 and 1930 were: minus 2.3 degrees Celsius (January); 10.3 degrees Celsius (April); 20.4 degrees Celsius (July); 10.3 degrees Celsius (October). Frosts have been known to occur during the months of October, March and April; 21 such days were recorded in Mátészalka in 1936 and 1937. The average precipitation recorded in Sonkád, a village 8 kilometers northwest of Botpalád, between 1901 and 1930 was: 36 mm (January), 50 mm (April), 71 mm (July) and 53 mm (October).

5. One hill in the outskirts of Botpalád, known as Klastrom domb, was supposedly the site of a cloisters, the monks of which kidnapped the daughter of the most prominent and wealthy landowner in the region, who in turn took revenge by having the cloisters attacked and demolished. The "red monks" motif is a wandering folklore motif which appears throughout Hungary; on the other hand, the actual ruins on Klastrom domb add authenticity to and help to localise the legend.

Before they were partially levelled down in order to build the collective farm's buildings nearby, there were two hills facing one another at the entrance to Kispalád, one called Török domb, and the other called Magyar domb. Tradition holds that years ago the Turks fought the Hungarians from these respective hills; according to another variant the Turks buried their dead in the area that was later to become Török domb, and the graves of the Hungarians later became Magyar domb.

6. On the other hand, the consistency of these clays make them useful building material, in the form of a type of adobe brick. The casting of these dried, unburnt vályog mud bricks has been a gipsy occupation, and most villages in the area have had a brick-casting ditch (vályogvető gödör) set aside for such purposes.

7. Between 1900 and 1938 five major floods caused widespread destruction, on top of the yearly, smaller floods (Schick 1939: 217).

8. More than once the wheat crop was harvested from boat (Schick 1939: 218).

9. Villagers who lived like "gentlemen", or úrs, including the wealthiest landowners and professionals such as doctors, lawyers, teachers and notaries, hunted deer with guns from horseback. On the other hand, peasant farmers, regardless of their status, caught foxes and smaller game. Methods have ranged from smoking out the prey to the use of wooden handmade traps.

10. The traditional types of livestock were indigenous magyar cattle, half-breed (hybrid) English and Arab horses, mangalica pigs and fésüs sheep (cf. Zsarolyáni 1939: 150-162). The magyar cattle were hearty and strong, useful for draught, and they have been replaced since then by the pirostarka or red-pied type, which is a better milk- and meat-producer. However, new types have not replaced the mangalica pig, a good fat-producer, the fésüs sheep, a good wool-producer, and the horses.

11. The collective farm in the mid-1970s kept horses for draught, however the mechanisation of farming within the collective farm framework had led to their widespread replacement by equipment such as tractors and combine-harvesters. The farm also had two flocks of sheep, but this branch of animal husbandry was only secondary to cattle-raising.

12. In Botpalád and Kispalád fishing and crayfish-catching have been a secondary activity pursued for immediate consumption, but in nearby villages csik were caught regularly in large amounts for marketing in regional centres such as Beregszász.

13. These orsósutcáju villages closely follow the contour of slight rises which are out of the range of seasonal floods, be these topographical features, rivers' backs or háts, islands cut off from the mainland by swamps or doubled-over meanders, or peninsulas surrounded by water on three sides. The road widens near the centre of the village, in order to make room for the church which it skirts on both sides. If the church square is very elongated the single village road may bifurcate into two for that stretch. In other variants, the church itself may be separated from the rest of the village by water on one or two sides.

There are indications that the roads are secondary outgrowths of settlement patterns shaped originally by hydrographic factors and extensive animal-herding, whereby some of the livestock spent the night under the open sky in the centre of the village, and during the day were driven to pasture through the village gate, or falukapu which stood at each end of the village. These gates protected the crops from being trampled at night by the cattle (Morvay 1968).

14. Owing to the mobile lifestyle of many of the gypsies, accurate figures were not available on their numbers in Botpalád and Kispalád in the mid-1970s. I visited the head of the most populous gypsy family in Botpalád, who traced his family tree; on the basis of his account and a calculation of the local gypsy households, my rough estimate would put the number of gypsies at 250 at the minimum per village. This would constitute some 25% of the local population.

15. The hauling mechanism of the gémeskút consists of a long shaft balanced on a base, with one end attached to the chain holding the water bucket, and the other end bearing a stone which is heavy enough to keep the empty bucket high above the ground, thereby facilitating the process of hauling up the bucket.

16. In her article "Erdöháti kettősudvarok" (1968: 51-65), Judit Morvay discusses a traditional type of farmyard in the area which existed as late as the end of the 19th century, and which was organised according to the practicalities of keeping livestock, rather than agriculture. The animal sheds were next to the street, and often there was no barrier between the street - which was used mainly for driving cattle - and the farmyard. The houses and moveable property were located away from the street, in the back of the farmyard, and life generally was focussed on the farmyard rather than on the street.

17. The houses built in a traditional manner, usually before the mid-1900s, consist of three rooms, the two larger ones at each end and between them the smaller one, into which the outdoor entrance from the farmyard opens. In the past, two families often occupied one such house, one in each end room, with the centre room serving as a kitchen. Since more houses have been built and growing numbers of local people have left the village, more space is available and single families may sometimes have at their disposal as many as two such houses. In such cases a maximum of one or two rooms are inhabited on a daily basis. The room next to the street is furnished with the occupants' finest belongings and set aside as a tiszta szoba, or best room, for guests; the other rooms are used for storing items such as equipment and food.

18. In many Erdöhát villages the church-tower is a separate wooden structure, known as haran gláb, located next to the church.

The graveyard in both villages is in the outskirts, set off from the road and accessible by footpaths and dirt wagon-tracks. The most common forms of gravemarker have been hand-carved burnt-wood headposts bearing identifying information and epitaphs, which over the years have weathered beyond recognition and sunk into the ground at various angles. Over the past 15 years, stone gravemarkers have become more frequent phenomena in Kispalád, and owing to their expense they have turned into objects that both express and boost prestige.

19. Although people from Botpalád and Kispalád sold their livestock and farm products at nearby markets, local inhabitants did not depend on middle-man activities per se as a primary income-yielding activity, apart from the one or two local shopkeepers and the occasional women who bought up, and then sold, locally raised poultry, eggs, vegetables and textiles. In this manner, Botpalád and Kispalád differed from some other villages of the area. One such village was Mánd, whose inhabitants involved themselves in middle-man trade as a primary pursuit, partly owing to a shortage of local arable land,

and partly owing to its location on direct trade routes between regional markets.

20. In the early 1900s Kispalád had three cobblers, two blacksmiths, two joiners (asztalos), one tinker, one general carpenter, and one carver of headposts to mark graves.

21. Many of the local shopkeepers and craftsmen in Botpalád and Kispalád were Jews. The total number of Jews in the villages were as follows:

1881: Botpalád - 44; Kispalád - 42 (From the census for 1881, A Magyar Korona országában az 1881. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás főbb eredményei, megyék és községek szerint részletezve. 1882).

1938: Botpalád - 26; Kispalád - 22 (From: Fóris-Kertész 1939: 551, 558).

22. In winter, the men passed the short days feeding, caring for and sometimes milking the cattle and horses, repairing tools and other objects, chopping wood, selecting and preparing seeds for sowing, and doing other jobs around the house. If needed they gathered firewood in the forests; they also carted manure out to the fields on sleds or wagons, and deposited it in scattered heaps so it later could be spread out and ploughed into the soil.

Once the frosts let up, the most urgent jobs were to plough the manure into the soil, and also to allow for the slush and rain, which had collected in large surface puddles, to drain. The fields were ploughed to form hills called bakhát or bogárhát, and the water drained off the soil naturally via the furrows on the sides. Other side activities included pruning the fruit trees and digging up the kitchen gardens behind the villagers' homes.

If the drained and ploughed fields were too rough for the immediate planting of spring crops, the clumps were broken up by hoe or harrow. The seeds were then hand- or machine-sown. The chances for the crops to take root improved if the seeds were pressed in firmly by a cylindrical, horse-drawn roller (hengerelő), and the topsoil loosened by harrow. Assuming the land was being used according to a three-field system, to be described later, different types of grain were planted in the spring fields, one after the other, in a given sequence, so that their harvests would not coincide: oats, barley, maize. Hemp, potatoes, poppies, carrots and sunflowers were planted during the intervals between the sowing of oats and the other grains. Ideally, planting of the spring crops and kitchen gardens was completed by mid-May. The milch and breeding cattle which had been stabled at home during winter were pastured daily between 24th April (St. George's Day) and 25th October (St. Michael's Day), and the pigs were pastured during the

daytime between the last sign of snow in the spring and the first autumn snowfall; therefore, the men's tasks in caring for the livestock diminished at this time.

At this time of year, the women looked after the poultry, prepared and planted the small vegetable gardens, and whitewashed and cleaned out the house. They spun and wove the hemp into hemp cloth, which they then washed with lye (szapulás).

By the time all the grain and vegetable crops were planted, it was time to hoe and weed the young seedlings - a task done by both men and women. Depending on the rainfall and the rate of the vegetation's growth, the men would cut the hay by scythe, and then everyone would pitch in to gather the hay into haystacks, then haul it into the farmyard for storage, from late May through September.

By the end of June, the autumn wheat that had been planted the previous year in the autumn fields (őszi vetés) by villagers tilling their land according to the "three field" system was ready for harvesting. (Villagers who tilled their land according to a "two-field" system or on fields that had been consolidated, and who planted the wheat crop in the spring, normally harvested the wheat crop only after the barley had been cut and stacked. In such cases, the harvest began in July and continued into early August.) Harvest time was a very busy period of the year, demanding much labour. Some families cooperated in groups, first pooling all the workforce to harvest the crops on the fields of one family, and then moving on to those of the other families. Other local inhabitants employed help for purposes of seasonal work on a day wage (napszámós) or részes basis, from amongst other people living locally or nearby, or, before 1920, from amongst migrant workers, Ruthenians, who came from the foothills of the Carpathians, to the east of the fieldwork area.

The harvesting tasks were divided strictly according to sex and according to the equipment used. The Hungarians wielded heavy scythes which cut the stalks of grain close to the ground, and it was men who did this task. The newly cut grain fell either onto the unharvested crop or onto the previously harvested stubble, forming long, elongated piles called rend. Handfuls of the harvested grain were gathered by the marokszedő, usually a woman, into sheaves, which were then tied by a rope made out of stalks of the same kind of grain. The sheaves eventually were piled into keresztés, or crosses, from which they would be gathered and transported to the threshing site after the completion of harvest. The Ruthenians normally harvested with the more light-weight sickles, which allowed the stalks to be cut farther above the ground and closer to the grain-heads; handfuls of the crop were then dropped onto the stubble, to be gathered and bound into sheaves, and then into keresztés. When this technique was used, women could function both as sarlós ("sickle-wielder")

and as marokszedő ("sheaf-gatherer"). On the other hand, whether the harvesting technique involved the use of scythes or sickles, the sheaf-binders were always men. When the harvest was at its peak, villagers were in the fields from before dawn, since the sheaf-binding ropes had to be made out of twisted grain-stalks before the sun rose and dried off the night dew, until the final kereszt was stacked, as late as nine to ten o'clock in the evening.

The period between mid-July and mid-August was also spent transporting the grain into the village and threshing it, collecting vegetables and fruit from the gardens and trees and canning them, preparing hordós káposzta (barrelled sauerkraut), gleaning the stubble-fields from which the autumn wheat had been harvested, driving the livestock to pasture there, and ploughing the ugar. The villagers harvested the hemp crop by hand in late August and September, after which the hemp was processed by being soaked in nearby streams, dried, softened, rubbed (dörzsölés) and combed. The maize harvest began in late September and the sunflower harvest continued into October. During this time potatoes, carrots, other vegetables, apples, plums and nuts were gathered and stored in pits for the winter. The plums were cooked into jam, the threshed grain taken to mills for grinding into flour. Firewood was collected and stored. The ugar was ploughed three times and planted with the oncoming year's crop of autumn wheat. After 29th September the milch cattle were stabled in the village at day and chores around the stables multiplied after the pigs and gulya were driven in from pasture following the first snows.

Final winter preparations were made during October and November. Inside activities, such as group gatherings for purposes of spinning, corn-husking, sunflower-threshing, nut- and poppy-cracking, came to the fore. November was also an opportune period for holding weddings, since the villagers had more time for the preparations involved. The first pig-killings of the season began after the frosts set in, and they were timed so as to supply fresh pork for weddings and approaching Christmas holidays. If a local family fattened two or more pigs for consumption, the subsequent victims were slaughtered during the mid- and late winter months, before the frosts let up. The villagers otherwise were kept busy at winter with tasks such as spinning, weaving, hauling and chopping wood, transporting manure to the fields, repairing equipment, and tending to the livestock.

23. The second consolidation, in 1942, led to all of the local lands in both villages being separated and consolidated into privately owned tags.

24. Tagos villagers were free to cultivate their lands intensively. They frequently were the first to use inorganic fertiliser as a substitute for the organic fertiliser previously provided as part of the natural cycle of the two or three-field system.

25. The livestock in the gulya and pig-herds were usually bred for their meat, and spent day and night in the fields, from early spring, often when the snows melted in March-April, until the first snowfall in November. During the winter they were stabled in the village by their owners.

26. These milch cows were pastured in the csorda; they spent their days in pasture from 25 April until ca. 29 September only, and even then they were stabled in the village each night.

27. Men's chores included: transporting and shovelling manure onto the fields, ploughing and preparing the soil for tilling, reaping the grain with scythes, binding the sheaves, cutting the hay or fodder with scythes, feeding and cleaning the cattle and horses, milking the cows, chopping and hauling wood, carrying water from the well, leading the teams if sowing machines or ekekapa were used, and so forth.

Women sowed the fields by hand; other tasks not restricted to one sex included: hand-hoeing, hand-harvesting maize, potatoes, hemp, cabbage, marrow (tök), carrots (takarmányrépa), apples, plums, walnuts, and other fruits and vegetables; gathering in the hay or fodder; weeding and guarding the young crops from dangers such as jackdaws; feeding and caring for pigs; and gleaning the stubble-fields after harvest. Threshing machines were run under the guidance of both male and female peasant workers although the specific tasks were differentiated, the fütös (fuelers) and zsákoló (baggers)-adogató being men, the etető (feeders) being women. In contrast to the primarily male interest in hunting and fishing as side activities, wild berries, fruits and nuts, herbs, mushrooms and other natural products were sought and collected by males and females alike.

Women alone did tasks such as cooking, baking bread, washing all clothing and textiles, cleaning and whitewashing the house and farm-buildings, feeding and caring for poultry, dealing with eggs and feathers, looking after babies and young children, canning fruits-vegetables, most stages of refining hemp, spinning and weaving, and cooking soap. Leather- and metal-workers, woodcarvers, herdsmen of cattle, sheep and pigs were frequently men, albeit aided by their wives; nevertheless, women such as the local midwife or the goose girl were also entrusted with special tasks. Group work occasions such as house-building, pig-killing, jam-

cooking, hemp-softening, corn-husking, sunflower-threshing, nut-poppy cracking, apart from serving as social occasions, also involved the work of both men and women.

28. Kaláka differed from other group work occasions at which participants worked on their own separate tasks-spinning, embroidery, wood-carving, etc. - and the range of people involved in kaláka often exceeded the range of villagers bound to one family unit by segítség ties. Houses were built and some spinning bees were held on a kaláka basis. Wedding preparations also were made on a kaláka basis, and the participants here were rewarded by attendance at the festivities, as well. Other group work occasions which were not kaláka included: hemp-softening, corn-husking, washing with lye, cooking jam, plucking feathers (tollfosztó) and pulling wool (gyapjútépő).

29. Farm servants' chores ranged from caring for their employer's private sheep-flock, to working in the fields as their employer's right-hand, or from cooking and baby-sitting to washing, spinning and being goose-girl. Parents having difficulty in scraping together their daily food sometimes sent their young offspring to work as farm servants in the hope that they would be clothed and fed by the employer more adequately than in their home surroundings.

30. Részes work often was done by migrant labourers, such as the Ruthenians who came to the area from the Carpathian foothills, and stayed for a month to harvest crops on large estates. Landless Botpaládians and Kispaládians in turn travelled east, between 1920 and 1940 crossing the border, as set by the Trianon treaty, into what was then Czechoslovakia, and they undertook daywage or seasonal work for a time-period ranging from several weeks to months.

31. For each head of cattle he pastured, the animal-herder was paid as follows:

csordás: a milking, $2/8$ bushel (véka) wheat and $2/8$ bushel of corn, bocskorpénz (money amounting to 20 fillérs), gifts of food (bacon, braised meat, pasta or tészta) several times a year. Part of the grain was given as kenyérbér ("bread-wages", to live on) when the cattle were first sent to pasture.

gulyás: same as above, except instead of a milking he was given $3/8$ bushel wheat and $2/8$ bushel corn.

swineherd: he too received payment in kind, in money (bocskorpénz), presents (kiscsomag) and "bread-wages" (kenyérbér).

goose-herd: he or she was fed in turn by the people whose geese he or she looked after; payment in kind (grain), bacon and gifts (kiscsomag) were also provided.

32. Occupational statuses bearing the imprint of mechanisation at this time also deserve mention: the agricultural proletariat (agrárproletár) who ran large farm machines, employees in transport (train and bus drivers), and people working for the water authority.

33. It was at regional fairs that contacts were made and information exchanged with inhabitants of other areas. Broadside leaflets and booklets were disseminated, other special attractions included puppet shows, and the availability of treats such as flat honey-cakes in special shapes (mézes kalács) contributed to the popularity of fairs in the eyes of young and old alike.

34. Before the turn of the century, most peasant families wore and used homespun and woven clothing and textiles, they used home-produced soap, locally grown and ground grains, wooden nails for building and making furniture and tools, and they consumed honey as a sweetener.

35. Local subsistence activities were affected by factors outside of the villages in several ways. The state taxation agency was in charge of taxes payable by owners of land exceeding an established minimum size and by industrial-commercial enterprises with official operating permits, and these taxes were collected directly by the local tax notary. Landholdings were officially documented at the land offices, and legal restrictions regarding inheritance limited the range of people with rights to alienate permanently such property. Local officials such as the village mayor (bíró) handled other regulations concerning the registration of privately owned cattle (passus). Moreover, savings banks and credit associations sprang up in the towns of County Szatmár in the late 19th-early 20th centuries, potentially facilitating investments in economic ventures.

36. The land reform was one of the most immediate issues to come to the forefront following the Soviet attack on German forces in 1944; ad hoc népi bizottság, or "people's committees", were formed nation-wide to deal with this, and other issues, and földigénylő bizottság, or land-distribution committees, dealt with the implementation of land-redistribution, as well as with the associated practical problems. The first phase of land reform involved the confiscation of all property exceeding the limits set by governmental provisions, either with or without the payment of a redemption fee. The second phase entailed the redistribution of this land amongst villagers whose material situation entitled them to amounts set by governmental regulations. Much of the land reform was carried out in one year, and by 1949 the nationwide proportion of small and middle landowners had

increased considerably relative to the landless and people with over 50 kh.. On the other hand, it took many more years for collectivisation to take place nationwide. In mid-1956 still only 20.5 per cent of all farmed land was cultivated in the framework of a cooperative, and out of these 16.7 per cent were agricultural producers' cooperatives. More detailed information on the effects of the 1945 land reform in Botpalád and Kispalád will be given in a later chapter on local patterns on differentiation. Ferenc Donáth's book Reform és forradalom (1977: 58,61,69,76,97,144) contains abundant information on the land reform and collectivisation in Hungary on a national scale after the Second World War.

37. Hungary's first post-War cooperatives differed from current agricultural producers' cooperatives, both as regards organisational principles and their relations to the state. Through the early 1950s a large proportion of the cooperatives were known as termelőszövetkezet csoport (abbreviated as TSZCS, and meaning producers' cooperative groups). The members of such groups retained private ownership of their own land, livestock and equipment, but restricted one another's individual agricultural pursuits in certain cooperatively undertaken activities. The szakszövetkezet (specialist cooperative) specialised on cultivating certain crops such as grapes or fruit, and they pooled the returns from the individually produced goods in order to buy machinery or agricultural necessities to be controlled and used cooperatively (See Donáth 1977: 126). The proportion of TSZCS's declined in the mid-1950s, but many specialist cooperatives have remained active through to the present (See Hann 1980).

In theory only state farms were controlled directly by the state, but in practice the first cooperatives were also subordinated to central demands, in that a large proportion of their returns were to be handed into the state. The cooperatives depended on state machine stations for obtaining essential farm machines which they were not allowed to purchase individually, and in practice the cooperatives' leaders were chosen by Party and state or council organs until 1967 (Donáth 1977: 118, 120-121, 129).

38. The information on Botpalád's first collective farm is based on a paper written by one of the local school-teachers, Mrs. József Varga, which she wrote before completing her teacher's training course, and kindly allowed me to read while I was staying in the village. The paper is a manuscript, currently in her possession.

39. In many parts of the Hungarian countryside the 1956 uprising was accompanied by mass withdrawals from the local collective farms. Obligatory deliveries to the state of agricultural produce were abolished at roughly this time, and the uprising was crushed; however, the

situation of collective farms between 1957 and 1959 was chaotic, some having been deserted, some having been reorganised, others having been formed anew yet having retained only a very small membership.

The collectivisation movement which ultimately succeeded in collectivising most of Hungary's land that had not yet belonged to the state sector lasted from 1959-1961. So-called "agitators" were active in bringing this collectivisation about, yet, according to Ferenc Donáth, their means of persuasion did not involve the degree of coercion used in the early 1950s. Donáth says that the halt to obligatory state deliveries had a positive effect on the peasants' attitudes to collectivisation, and villagers also were prone to follow the example of fellow-villagers who had already joined the collective farm. The collective farms formed at the beginning of the 1960s had, overall, remained in existence through to the time of fieldwork, although after 1961, and especially after a major reform in the mid-1960s, there had been modifications with regard to their organisational principles, framework and relations to the state (See Donáth 1977: 166-171).

40. To give an idea of these differences, the Rákóczi TSZ is reported to have used 40 teams of oxen, 17 teams of horses, and one "bad machine", nicknamed kormos, or sooty, and the latter is reported to have been far less efficient than the oxen and horses. There were few trained specialists amongst these collective farms' employees; for example, 1958 is the first time a trained agronomist is said to have inspected the situation in Botpalád. The collective farm leaders were local inhabitants, for the most part, whose training did not extend beyond the completion of elementary school and short supplementary courses in agriculture. Only one member of each family could join the collective farm; the other family members who worked on the communal land were called besegető, or helpers. Recompense for work done on communal land was partly in kind, partly in currency. Villagers at that time still baked their own bread, and some of their needs in accomplishing this task were met by recompense in kind, in the form of wheat, as well as by collective farm services such as transporting the wheat to an electric mill in Fehérgyarmat, where it was ground. Otherwise, the collective farm cultivated crops such as potatoes, sugar beets, hemp (kender) and rice.

41. When organisationally independent, Kispalád's farm was said to be quite prosperous; inhabitants of Kispalád, when comparing their farm to that of Botpalád, felt that by merging the two farms they were giving the people of Botpalád a free crutch. On the other hand, the people of Botpalád thought they were giving the Kispaládians all their land.

42. Ferenc Donáth (1977: 242-254) regards the general trends amongst Hungary's collective farms from the mid-1960s to the late 1970s to be as follows:

- a) Increased self-control and autonomy of the TSZ.
- b) The opening of opportunities for the TSZs to form associations with either one another or a variety of state-owned farming or industrial enterprises for production or other purposes.
- c) The amalgamation of TSZs, thereby forming new TSZs of larger area.
- d) The increased State support of, and relaxing of former restrictions on, the cultivation of individual household plots.
- e) The increased modernisation of agricultural methods and mechanisation of equipment.
- f) The increased specialisation of TSZ members and employees.
- g) The increased prosperity of most TSZ.

43. When the work unit (munkaegység) had been the measurement of work, labour was assessed on the basis of a gradation of different kinds of tasks, according to their importance, their complexity and the physical strength necessary for their completion. The work "norms" were scaled, then compared with the calculated labour required to complete a task which was considered to be "average" from the above points of view. This calculated amount was called a work unit. Recompense for the different tasks depended on the relationships between the work norms of the given tasks and the work unit itself. However, collective farm members were recompensed largely in kind for work done on TSZ lands, and furthermore it was only after the state had been given its share of the TSZs' final returns that the recompense for working members could be distributed; for this reason, such collective farm members had no guaranteed, regular income. Returns varied from year to year, and members enjoyed their benefits only at the end of the farming year and the TSZs' financial year (See Donáth 1977: 118-119).

After the obligatory deliveries of produce to the state were halted, some of the TSZs began to recompense their members in currency rather than kind for the work they did, and advance payments were given during the course of the year. However, it was only in 1967 that these two practices were legally instituted. Instead of the work unit, the system of work days was introduced, and later changed to work hours. Exact monetary figures

were given for the returns forthcoming upon the completion of different kinds of task per unit time. On top of this guaranteed periodic pay, the TSZ members were entitled to a proportion of the TSZs' profits, calculated and distributed at the end of the year. In theory, 80% of the individual's total pay would be distributed regularly during the year, usually monthly, and the remaining 20% received after the year's financial completion. If the TSZ suffered losses, the 20% would be held back (Donáth 1977: 222-223).

The State provided general support for the TSZ, so that monetary returns could be distributed during the year without damaging the TSZ financially before the year ended. The Ministry of Finance and the Hungarian National Bank were turned to for loans if the TSZ ended the year with deficits, and if debts increased from year to year the TSZ was "financially rehabilitated" (szanálás). A supervisory committee consisting of representatives of the Hungarian National Bank, the Ministry of Finance, the councils and other bodies was also formed to check up on and try to solve the TSZs' problems.

Before 1968 half of the Botpalád-Kispalád collective farm workers' incomes were received in kind, half in money; after this period the incomes were distributed in monetary form. In the late 1960s-1970s the Ujbarázda TSZ continued to withhold 20% of the members' income until the year's finances were accounted for; moreover, during most of these years the collective farm was unable to give the members the 20% of their income which had been held back. From 1970-73 the 20% that had been withheld was, in fact, handed out at the end of the year, reportedly enabled by State support, but the farm's indebtedness further into the 1970s caused difficulties in meeting this payment obligation. In 1978, the Botpalád-Kispalád collective farm finally followed the nation-wide trend and reduced the automatic deductions from monthly payments down to ten per cent.

44. According to an earlier system, the collective farm members in Botpalád and Kispalád were allocated meadow plots, which they were to cut for the farm on a half-shares basis; half of the fodder was kept by the member, the other half by the Ujbarázda TSZ. Then followed a period in which the TSZ members were expected to buy the fodder out of the money they had received as pay. A new system was introduced in the mid-1970s whereby the harvested fodder was distributed on the basis of the members' numbers of work hours, however, irrespective of this, the members had to cut fodder for the TSZ on plots determined in size by the members' work hours, and situated locationally by a process of drawing straws.

45. The roads the local collective farm must make constant use of in order to transport products such as the twice-daily milk collections, and in order to obtain regularly needed materials such as machine-fuel, seeds and fertiliser, are bumpy and very often muddy, and the main means of transport are lorry and wagon. The inaccessibility of the collective farm impedes any close supervision of its activities by central authorities and officials.

The introduction of large farm machines and land cultivation in the form of large, consolidated fields known as tábla, instead of the traditional small fields, introduced new problems. The tractors used in the mid-1970s for breaking up the soil did not leave furrows, so water drainage was inadequate and if there was a wet spring the fields became large pools of mud. The machines used to work and sow the fields were too heavy to be supported by the mud, and therefore became useless; they also became inoperable for long time-periods when they broke down and spare parts were unobtainable. The paths leading to the fields were usually so churned up by the heavy machinery that not even horse- or cow-driven carts or ploughs could approach fields lying beyond the ones directly bordering the village-centre. Such conditions led to such delays that the collective farm's farming schedule was set back drastically; when the fields once again became accessible, demand for collective farm services was so great that methods such as fertilising the fields by aircraft were resorted to, at what for locals was an enormous cost (4,000 forints per hour in the mid-1970s).

The Ujbarázda TSZ in the mid-1970s was linked to other collective farms in the region by virtue of a regional federation known as the Szatmár-Beregi TSZ-ek Területi Szövetsége, which represented collective farm interests at a regional level; the national council of producers' cooperatives (Termelőszövetkezetek Országos Tanácsa) represented the TSZ's interests at a national level. Otherwise, the Ujbarázda TSZ had ties with other nearby collective farms in the form of contractual agreements over the lending and borrowing of equipment, the sale or purchase of goods, and cooperation of TSZ specialists. The local farm had links with other TSZ outside of the immediate area in the form of contracts regarding the wholesale marketing of their crops or purchase of raw materials.

46. This and further information on the rights and obligations of members of the Botpalád-Kispalád TSZ, and on the TSZ leadership structure and organisation, are based on the Collective Farm's Charter (1972).

47. Anyone over the age of 14, who had finished the eight-year general school and fulfilled entrance requirements, i.e. filled in the necessary forms, could join the TSZ. Within four years 70% of the value of the moveable property the new member took into the TSZ, depending on the TSZ's losses, was paid back in money; 30% was used to increase either the TSZ's so-called fixed funds (állóalap) or working funds (forgóalap).

48. The value of the land was calculated in terms of "gold crowns" (aranykorona); each aranykorona was considered to be equivalent to five kilogrammes of wheat, and the forint equivalent of this was paid to the member yearly according to state prices (Collective Farm's Charter 1972: 4).

49. Such benefits included: marriage and funeral allowance, attendance at programmes organised by the TSZ, payments to be received by a family member for injuries or death incurred while working for the TSZ, educational benefits for TSZ members who had been designated by the farm or other authorities to undergo further training, and free holidays for outstanding workers. Collective farm members who had been called up for military service also received a small benefit - in the mid-1970s this amounted to 450 forints.

50. Collective farm membership could be severed by either the member leaving the farm, by being excluded from it, by being taken off TSZ membership records, or by death. A decision by the TSZ general assembly was necessary for exclusion or deletion from the records, and such measures usually ensued from the ex-member having undertaken activities harmful or threatening to TSZ interests.

51. The TSZ employees in the mid-1970s were: the agricultural specialists, including agronomist, mechanical engineer, horticulturalist and forest-specialist; the office-workers, including secretary, head-clerk, clerks, cashier, pay-roll clerk (bérelszámoló) and cleaning-woman.

52. The collective farm could be involved in all phases of farming the member's household plot, as well as private gardens, including: ploughing and breaking up the topsoil, fertilising, hoeing the maize with ekekapa and transporting the harvested maize from the household plot to the home, trimming fruit trees and spraying them with pesticides, and providing crates for the storage and transport of harvested fruit.

53. Other TSZ services included: transporting fuel and building materials, such as wood, coal, oil, gas and cement bricks; hiring out TSZ lorries for the transport

of wedding guests to or from nearby villages; and the hire, normally by Botpaládians, of TSZ horse-teams and carts for the transport of coffins to the graveyard during funerals.

Such TSZ services were also available to locals who were not TSZ members, for example the local teachers who wanted their fuel to be transported; however members had to pay only one-half to three-quarters the amount payable by non-members.

54. In practice, these official payments were only part of the costs incurred in making use of TSZ services. The tips and hospitality offered to workers who handled the equipment necessary for such services influenced their decision of where to go first. Villagers competing with one another in this respect on occasion raised tips to over three-fold the established charge, and hospitality was measured by the amount of alcoholic drink, usually brandy, on offer. The TSZ ban on alcohol consumption by workers who were doing services for household plots had little effect.

55. The system whereby fodder - usually hay - was distributed changed several times over the three years of my fieldwork. Originally, the meadow plots were allocated to the members via a process of drawing straws, the amount of land to be allocated depending on the work units or days fulfilled by the TSZ member, and the standing hay was then cut on a half-shares basis by each member on his own plot. Half of the crop belonged to the TSZ.

In 1976-77 a new system was instituted in which meadow plots were not allocated to individual TSZ members, but instead the hay was cut communally, a task which was paid for in the form of monthly wages, and irrespective of this the harvested hay was distributed among TSZ members on the basis of the days they had worked on communal lands. However, collective farm members were also expected to pay for the hay thusly harvested. This system caused local controversy and the following year modifications were made. Separate meadow plots were allocated via a process of drawing straws, the amount of land determined by the work hours put in by the TSZ member, and the standing hay was harvested individually. However, the harvested hay was collected by the TSZ, and then redistributed from the common pool to TSZ members on the basis of their work hours. The objective of this new system was to allay the villagers' resentment at having to "pay" for the hay which they themselves had harvested, and also to quell their protests over unfairness at being saddled with a poor meadow plot.

Grains such as wheat and barley were harvested communally and distributed on the basis of work hours, usually involving a small payment by TSZ members as well. However, the TSZ members could withdraw their claims to

these crops and instead receive the equivalent values in the form of monthly cash payments.

56. Such TSZ committees included the control committee (ellenőrző bizottság), responsible for checking up on and supervising the TSZ's activities, the adjudicating committee (döntő bizottság), responsible for deciding the outcome of controversial issues and arguments between TSZ members or employees, the women's committee (nőbizottság), concerned with the protection and specialised and theoretical training of female TSZ members, the household plot committee, the social-cultural committee, the work-protection committee, the competition committee and the fire-protection committee.

57. It was the TSZ president, and not the leadership body, who came into daily contact with the TSZ specialists, the office workers, the leaders of the agricultural branches and the brigade leaders. He had to take daily decisions regarding the allocation of finances, labour and equipment, and he also was responsible for the TSZ's business affairs and deals with other collective farms, enterprises and state bodies.

58. The president was elected for a four-year term and was chosen from between two-three candidates, previously put forward by a nominating committee - itself elected by the general assembly - on the basis of local opinion surveys.

59. The specialists in theory made the rounds of the lands or equipment for which they were responsible, they checked up on the condition of the crops, trees, soil or equipment, and on the progress and quality of work. Within the framework of the TSZ president's directions,, they instructed brigade leaders more specifically about how to tackle a task at a given moment and in a given situation.

As a matter of fact, many of the specialists had not been brought up in the Botpalád-Kispalád region, and although they had specialist training, they did not have the experience of older villagers, which came with years of farming, nor did they have the same familiarity with local ecological conditions. The discord at this level was manifested by the claim by local inhabitants that these specialists had not spent enough time inspecting the crops, pastures, forests and livestock, and that they had ignored the advice of the long-standing TSZ members they were supposed to direct, thereby leading to miscalculations and errors.

Subject to the general assembly's approval, one brigade leader was appointed to head each work brigade. The Botpalád-Kispalád TSZ in the mid-1970s had three plant production (növénytermesztő) brigade leaders, and one leader each for the livestock breeding

(állattenyésztő), the horticultural (kertész), the machine (gépcsoport) and the construction (építő) brigades. Such brigade leaders, who had a fixed pay like other TSZ officials and specialists, did the necessary leg-work in recruiting TSZ members to work on communal lands, they organised the actual work groups, they gave directions and served as mediators between the TSZ members in the fields and the officials or specialists. They also were supposed to check up on the quality of work and the amount of time put in. The individual brigades' productivity and efficiency depended in part on the motivation of the brigade leaders and their social networks amongst other villagers.

In 1977-1978 the collective farm's lands were used as follows: sunflower (269 hectares - to be abbreviated as ha.); maize (266 ha.); wheat (250 ha.); "silo" maize (180 ha.); perennial so-called pillangós fodder (papilionaceae - 490 ha.); rape-seed (115 ha.); oats (64 ha.); "meadow" (réti) hay (50 ha.); pasture (450 ha.); forest (250 ha.); and apple and plum trees. Sunflower was the most noteworthy new crop to be grown on a large scale. A portion of the grain, hay and fodder crop was recirculated amongst the villages, and used mainly for feeding livestock; the plums and apples were grown mainly for export.

60. In theory, the household plots were ploughed in early spring, prepared for sowing and sown by mid-April. The maize had to be hoed several times and thinned during the summer, and it had to be ready for harvest by late August. Other farm tasks on the household plot and private gardens in spring included trimming fruit trees, and digging up and planting vegetable and flower gardens. In late May-early June the hay was cut and collected, and this job continued through the summer. The vegetables and fruit required periodic care; the harvest of such crops began as early as late June (in the case of meggy, or sour cherries), and lasted until as late as mid-October (in the case of apples). The villagers usually stored or packaged these crops immediately after harvest, for purposes of home-consumption or marketing.

The work involved in caring for livestock had changed little since the days before collectivisation. In the mid-1970s, of course, there were no privately owned horses to look after, and the "store-bought" chickens required closer care than the exclusively home-hatched poultry of previously. Between late October and mid-April the men were tied down to feeding and cleaning the cows and calves during daytime, since the csorda was not sent out to pasture then. In January and February especially, the women had to keep a constant eye on the young frail chicks and on the pigs which were also kept home during these months.

On the other hand, the increased availability of consumer items had relieved the men, and especially

women, of time-consuming tasks such as bread making, refining and spinning hemp and weaving most of their cloth, hand-washing clothes, cooking and heating with wood and straw, and so forth.

The collective farm members often did not know from one day to the next whether their services were needed on communal lands for tasks such as preparing these fields for sowing (draining the fields, transporting and loading or unloading fertiliser), planting certain crops (trees, tomatoes, potatoes), loading, transporting and unloading the harvested crops, and then selecting and packaging the crops to be marketed (such as apples). On the other hand, the grain harvest had been mechanised, so at this time there was a lull in demand for TSZ members' services, as compared to earlier times when harvest was one of the busiest periods of the year. The locals had adjusted to this lull in farming activity in July-August by timing wedding celebrations for these months, in contrast to the past when young couples were usually married after the completion of harvest, in November.

61. The introduction of large agricultural machines had made it necessary to cultivate the land in large consolidated tábla instead of the traditional small plots. The tractors used in the mid-1970s for breaking up the soil did not leave furrows, so water drainage was inadequate, and if there was a wet spring the fields became large pools of mud. The fields could not support the machines for working and sowing the land; indeed, the paths leading to the fields often were so churned up by the heavy machines that not even horse- or cow-driven carts or ploughs could approach fields lying beyond land bordering the villages.

62. Milk in the mid-1970s was collected twice daily, mornings and evenings, and it was transported immediately to Mátészalka 50 kilometers away for processing and packaging. Records were kept about the quantities and fat content of the collected milk, and the milk contributors were paid accordingly. Each village had a tejes (milk collector) whose job was to collect and record the milk at the collecting point every day, and at the end of the month to calculate the money each person was due.

63. No such financial support was received from the state for investing in bullocks or raising vegetables for purposes other than family consumption. However, these activities were facilitated by the TSZ's háztáji services, and together with the TSZ, the general consumers' and marketing cooperative (AFESZ) also played a role in feeding such products into wider distribution networks. The AFESZ also gave credit to villagers who had signed contracts to grow vegetables and fruit.

64. Such benefits in the mid-1970s included assistance forthcoming if one was ill (betegségi segély) or had a baby (szülési segély), and if one had an accident at work (baleseti segély), as well as funeral assistance and widow's pension in the event of death if the widow was left with children to support. Other such benefits included family supplement (családi pótlék), child care assistance (gyermekgondozási segély), a pension for the physically incapacitated (rokkantsági nyugdíj), and a special pension of 680 forints monthly in the mid-1970s for TSZ members who had reached retirement age - 65 for men and 60 for women - without having been a member for long enough to get a regular pension (öregségi járadék). A spouse's supplement (házastársi pótlék) accrued to women who had never been TSZ members and whose husbands received either of the latter two pensions.

65. The minimum qualifications for holding such jobs were a secondary school education and the possession of a matriculation diploma (érettségi).

66. A large proportion of the villagers' cattle, i.e. calves, bullocks, and cows, were bought up by collective farms from outside the region, for instance from Miskolc, Kondoros and Magyarhomorog, as well as by the Livestock Distribution Enterprise (Allatforgalmi Vállalat).

67. The AFESZ in the mid-1970s was the continuation of the Hangya consumers' and marketing cooperative which had functioned already in the 1930s. The Hangya was renamed Földműves szövetkezet (land-tillers' cooperative), before being given its current name. The AFESZ's headquarters were in Kölcse, 10-12 kilometers away, until 1975, when it was transferred to Fehérgyarmat. AFESZ was able to give advance credit to any villager with whom a contract had been made for the wholesale purchase of the villager's fruit or vegetable crop that year.

68. Offspring living in towns, who helped their parents by marketing such village-grown fruit and vegetables, were usually sent food parcels for their own consumption as well, via the post office. In this manner, the parents saved the offspring money which otherwise would have had to be spent on purchasing food, and the offspring in return reciprocated by sending back to their parents items such as stale bread and crusts, to be fed to the pigs and poultry, or salami which was more available in towns and cities.

69. I am distinguishing this kind of segítség-based work occasion, which occurs at least once yearly, from so-called kaláka. Kaláka are special, non-periodically occurring occasions, such as weddings, for which help is summoned from outside the family and contributing to the endeavour also extends beyond segítség connections; such

help is reciprocated by partaking in the festivities and eventually by returning the help in the same form of services.

70. Villagers with distant kin or friends (cimbora) who in the mid-1970s exercised control over the allocation of or had easy access to TSZ resources were able to receive favourable treatment on a segitség basis. In return for having had his household plot ploughed, sowed or fertilised ahead of other villagers, a person helped his kin or friend with tasks such as gathering hay, hoeing by hand, milking and feeding cattle, and picking maize. Most services and materials offered and distributed by the TSZ were affected in this manner by segitség relations between villagers and people responsible for TSZ resources, whether they were TSZ officials, brigade leaders or TSZ workers who were in charge of horse-teams and machines.

Beyond using segitség relations to gain access to TSZ resources, owing to time limitations on the use of such equipment and the urgency of the farming task at hand the villager usually made use of segitség relations to recruit enough labour so as to complete the task quickly. Thus, distant kin, friends and neighbours worked together in groups of three or four, at first completing the jobs on the háztáji of one of their group, and then proceeding to the háztáji of the others. On such occasions the villagers who worked together in this manner offered one another drinks, the "host" being the one whose land was being worked. If one member of the group had special segitség-based connections within the TSZ, the priorities he enjoyed could be extended to the group's other members. Thus, the functioning of the TSZ in practice was affected by networks of economic ties which were based on pre-collectivisation forms of co-operation, and which also involved relations of kinship, neighbourhood or friendship between co-operating parties.

Segitség relations were used to recruit help on the household and garden plots even when TSZ equipment and services did not exert a time pressure on the tasks to be completed. Any available kin, friends or neighbours were called over to help pick maize, shovel coal from the farmyard into the shed, assist with the livestock when they gave birth, or help with other farm tasks.

71. The people who sought such cash-recompensed work were usually those who needed money and who were not tied down by the responsibilities of having their own háztáji, livestock and household. They usually were young lads, elderly villagers who were capable of such tasks and who lived on their own, and gipsies.

72. Before 1945, government administration at the county level was headed by the so-called lord-lieutenant (főispán). Together with subordinate officials such as the deputy-lieutenant (alispán) and county recorder (vármegyei főjegyző), in County Szatmár-Ugocsa-Bereg of the early 1930s these officials were responsible for tasks such as roadbuilding, providing drinking water, hospital facilities and taking measures to combat epidemics, work opportunities, distributing hybridised seeds and breeding materials, and attending to the county's cultural-educational matters (See Kaas 1939).

County Szatmár-Bereg-Ugocsa of the 1930s consisted of five districts (járás), each headed by a chief administrative officer known as főszolgabíró. There also were six electoral districts whose voters elected one deputy per district to the National Assembly (two large landowning members of the high aristocracy also belonged to the National Assembly's upper house between the two World Wars by virtue of hereditary privilege).

In the early 20th century, each village had a 12-member "representative body" (képviselőtestület), to be described in greater detail in a later chapter, and also a parish council (elöljáróság), which consisted of the village mayor, the deputy mayor and four-five counsellors. The village mayor (községi bíró), assisted by the deputy mayor (helyettes- or törvénybíró), was the official who gave verdicts in disputes between villagers which were not considered worthwhile to appeal to higher courts. Such disputes included rows over property boundaries, trespassing, theft of poultry or other moveable goods, marital and family discord which could not be contained within the families involved - for example certain extramarital affairs, bride-theft or violent beating, even slander and major infringements of local etiquette. The village mayor's decisions were subject to revision by a group of four-five village elders known as counsellors (esküdt), who were also appealed to occasionally in order to mediate in disputes, and who helped the village mayor in administrative duties by, for example, acting as legal witnesses or helping to arrange and stage elections.

The notary (jegyző) was responsible for keeping records - a sphere of tasks which expanded with the late 19th century enactment of a law requiring that birth, marriage and death records be kept nation-wide and that people get married by means of civil ceremony. The notary drew up permits necessary for registering and legally transferring livestock, he did the paperwork involved in tax collecting, and he kept records of the villagers' general meetings (Weis 1931: 58-61; Csizmadia-Kovács - Asztalos 1972: 70).

Botpalád and Kispalád at this time did not have separate notaries; together with a third, nearby village, they shared one so-called körjegyző, who was based in Kispalád.

Finally, there was the village drummer (kisbíró), who also served as errand boy for the village mayor. He carried messages, drummed out public announcements, cleaned the village hall, and saw to other odd chores.

73. At the national level, the councils in the mid-1970s came under the jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers, whose council bureau had the right to supervise and advise the county councils. The lower levels of the rural council network at this time included the district councils (járási tanács), and the village councils. The villages were classified as "small" (kisközség) or "large" (nagyközség), depending on size, populations, settlement density and other such factors. In the 1970s there was a trend to merge these village councils into joint village councils, which usually served four-five villages. Moreover, the district councils were undergoing a phasing out process at this time.

The country's paramount legislative body, the National Assembly, in the 1970s met four times yearly primarily to approve decisions determined by HSWP policy; the villages' main link to this national body was their constituency's deputy, who was usually elected in general elections every five years.

74. As regards affiliation with political parties in the past, the fieldwork area in the 19th century appears to have been strongly nationalistic; local inhabitants are remembered as having taken physical part in the 1848 War of Independence, many of whom later clung to their ideals of independence from the Hapsburgs. Such people for the remainder of their lives belonged to the so-called Party of '48, which later became known as the Independence Party (Függetlenségi Párt), and which was more extreme in its nationalism and demands for a break from the Austrians than was the other major party. This other party, Kálmán Tisza's Liberal (Szabadelvű) Party, enjoyed widespread support amongst middle and small landowners, and it is likely that he had some followers in Botpalád and Kispalád as well. Otherwise, the agrarian and industrial workers' movements in parts of the Great Plain, the region between the Danube and Tisza, and in Transdanubia during the late 19th-early 20th century appear for the most part to have by-passed Botpalád and Kispalád. On the other hand, the Smallholders' Party (Kisgazdák Pártja) operated under various names as from the first decade of the 20th century, and seems to have recruited a strong following from amongst landowning villagers in the fieldwork area.

75. There was an HSWP hierarchy extending from the national to local level, and the basis of Party affiliation was either unit of production or territorial unit. The highest forums in the mid-1970s were the HSWP Central Committee, with its Secretariat and First Secretary, the Politburo and the Central Control Committee. In theory these bodies coordinated, implemented and supervised decisions made at the five-yearly Party congresses, between the times they were in session. Delegates to the Congress were elected by members of lower-level Party units. The permanent HSWP bodies were in theory answerable to the five-yearly Congress, which in turn was answerable to low-level Party units.

76. In Botpalád the positions of vicar and teacher were separated only in 1787, and the same is probably true of Kispalád. Although from this time on the villages had a separate teacher and Kispalád, as well as probably Botpalád, had their own schoolbuildings, the close connection between church and schooling continued. The functioning of the schools was subject to the church district authorities, in accordance with the National Calvinist Curriculum, and only indirectly did it come under the jurisdiction of the state legislature (Juhász 1939). The curriculum, teaching and examination methods all showed the influence of the church.

By the beginning of the 20th century, each village had two schools, one for grades one and two, the other for grades three through six, and at least two schoolteachers. Although some teachers were born locally or married into one of the villages, many of them were mobile and changed their place of residence as many as five times in the course of their career. Most of them seem to have come from the other traditionally Calvinist areas of north-northeastern Hungary and Transylvania. Teachers before 1893 were given a salary of 400 korona yearly (Juhász 1939: 272), and also were granted the right to inhabit the teacher's quarters and cultivate 16 kh. of land while they taught in the village. The teachers were treated with deference; they were expected to behave like gentlemen, thus they were not to dirty their hands by doing manual work in the fields. Women-teachers, teachers' daughters and wives were called kalapos kisasszony or kalapos asszony ("hatted young ladies" or "hatted ladies"), and they wore hats like other women from wealthy, leading local families. In church, the teachers occupied a special pew, next to that of the pulpit and the vicar's wife.

The school subjects consisted of grammar, reading, history-geography, arithmetic, singing and religion, and these were further subdivided into, e.g. composition, penmanship, spelling and grammar. Apart from these, religion and morals, civics, drawing, sports and practical subjects such as farming (gazdasági ismeretek)

and needlework were also part of the curriculum. Exams were held in church, in front of the congregation.

After elementary school, local children were expected to attend continuation school (ismétlő iskola) for three years, although attendance was not strictly enforced. The subjects which were taught at continuation school consisted exclusively of practical skills such as farming and needlework; classes were held twice weekly, on Wednesday and Sunday afternoons. A few, although not many, local children continued their education at grammar schools (gimnázium) at towns in the region. Before 1920 and briefly in the early 1940s, many of them went east to Szatmárnémeti (now Satu Mare in Romania). After the Trianon Treaty growing numbers of them turned west to Debrecen; a few locals even continued their studies at the theological college in Debrecen, the teachers' training college in Szatmárnémeti (before 1920 and in the early 1940s) and at other higher level schools.

77. The qualified teachers at the local elementary schools were required to have completed successfully a three-year teachers' training school subsequent to a grammar school secondary education. The general problem in Hungary of attracting teachers away from towns to village schools was especially exacerbated in the Botpalád-Kispalád region owing to its inaccessibility and isolation. Most of the local teachers had previous connections to the region and therefore did not have to move great distances. Most of them also had attended secondary schools within a 150-200 kilometre radius of the two villages (e.g. in Fehérgyarmat, Nyírbátor, Kiszvárd, Mátészalka and Nyíregyháza), and had completed training at the teachers' training school in Nyíregyháza.

Means of attracting teachers to the area included offering higher salaries than for teaching in towns and also offering to employ secondary school graduates before they had become fully qualified as teachers, under the condition they would complete their training as correspondence students. Between 1976 and 1978 three of the 12 teachers working in Botpalád were born locally (during this time one moved away and one retired), two were married into the village, one was born in Kispalád (during this time she moved to Budapest and within months returned to teach in Kispalád), and the remainder were from villages and towns in the Szabolcs-Szatmár region.

The proliferation of Botpalád's teaching positions after the early 1960s gave rise to a number of positions of equivalent status. The headmaster (iskolai igazgató) was appointed by higher authorities. He, alongside having teaching duties, was responsible for directing school activities, representing the school vis-a-vis outside interests and bodies, and doing the administrative-financial paperwork. He was assisted in his administrative tasks by another teacher who held the position of deputy headmaster.

Similarly to before 1945, the villagers - the Botpaládians especially - expected the teachers to keep themselves aloof from physical work in the fields or livestock chores. They were expected to dress elegantly in clothing not associated with farm tasks, and a more extravagant level of consumption - e.g. subscribing to numerous newspapers and magazines, possessing many books, modern household appliances, fine furniture and clothing etc - was taken for granted.

The school curriculum, which was decided by the Ministry of Culture and Education and was standardised throughout Hungary, included the following subjects for grades 1-8 in 1968 (Erdei (ed) 1968: 574): In grades 1-4 reading, writing, spelling, grammar and physical science were taught. The subjects in grades 5-8 were Hungarian language and literature, Russian, history, geography, physics, chemistry, botany and zoology. Throughout the eight years mathematics was taught regularly, and a few hours were spent weekly in practical occupation, drawing, singing and physical education. In the mid-1970s the local vicar gave weekly classes in religion for students who signed up for it. In addition, extracurricular activities known as szakkör were held periodically, so that schoolchildren could develop their skills in crafts such as needlework and carpentry.

78. Botpalád's kitchen in the mid-1970s had three regular employees, two cooks and a person to get raw materials, while Kispalád had only one such person to do these tasks. In Kispalád hot meals were served irregularly, owing, it was reported, to the fluctuations in nursery school attendance by gipsy children who would have to be fed.

79. Church documents indicate that Botpalád and Kispalád had been converted from Catholicism to Calvinism already by the end of the 16th century. Records from the Calvinist church diocese of Bereg contain entries dating from 1593, 1606, 1608 and throughout the 17th century on, i.a., an incident involving a woman from Botpalád who had lax morals, and sundry marriage-divorce cases. Church historians suggest that at regional markets the village's inhabitants came into contact with Calvinism as it initially spread from the north (Kiss, Kálmán 1878: 370). Other documents refer to conflicts between Botpalád's vicar and teacher over their respective income rights, as the posts were separated from one another in 1787, and there is also mention of conflicts between inhabitants of Botpalád over rights to church pews.

80. In the mid-1970s the vicar was paid the monthly sum of some 600 forints by the state and he had the right to inhabit and use the parish house and garden (up to one kh.in area). He also was supported by the villagers' "church tax" payments, usually amounting to 100-150 forints annually. The bell ringer was paid 25-50 forints annually. According to church lists, there were 520 families from both villages who paid church tax, of which 120 gipsy families were said to be unreliable in their payments. Nonetheless, the vicar's monthly returns during this period could be calculated at 4,300 - 6,500 and those of the bell-ringer at 1,083 - 2,166 forints.

Before 1945 the local vicar was also entitled to the benefits of the 20 kh. of land owned by the church in each village. In Kispalád the members of the congregation harvested these lands free of charge, a service known as eklézsia dolga (church work), and the yield was shared by the vicar and the organist.

81. After his family had perished in a concentration camp, one Jewish man did return to Kispalád, where he remarried a local Calvinist and set up a new life.

82. These gipsy women were engaged on Sundays in preparing their husbands for the journey back to Budapest or to other central towns, where they would spend the week working. Plans were also underway in 1978 to hold similarly a separate service for the members of the one or two gipsy families of Kispalád who showed an interest in Calvinism.

1. In his book Puszták népe, Gyula Illyés in particular describes the settlement pattern in Transdanubia at this time (Illyés 1968: 5-6).

2. Nowadays, Botpalád and Kispalád also differ from more centrally located settlements in that both villages are cut off from major cities. The local inhabitants have difficulty in marketing their agricultural produce privately, and their cash returns from such activities do not measure up to those of people who live closer to urban markets.

3. Such sources include:

Szabolcs-Szatmár County Archives in Nyíregyháza. 1775 serf inventories from Botpalád (1775-ös Urbárium), Box 247, IV.A.; 501.

----- Lists of nobles from district of Szamosköz for military conscription (Szamosközi Lustra Nobilium). A.I.1809. Botpalád-Kispalád, Box 290.

Hungarian National Archives (Magyar Országos Levéltár), Regnicolaris levéltár, Archivum palatinale. 1828 land conscription from the community of Botpalád (Conscriptio regnicolaris art.VII. 1827 ordinata (N26) 1828). Comitatus Szathmáriensis, 27. Botpalád.

Szirmai, Szirmay Antal 1819: 227, 266-267.

4. In a later chapter pertaining to peasant-nobility, I shall describe in greater detail such non-nobles who were not serfs.

5. Please consult Appendix 4 for detailed information on the sources used for the tables in this and subsequent chapters.

6. The serf registers which date from 1715 and 1720, and the serf inventories from 1775, do not indicate the presence of non-nobles who were exempted from villein obligations (libertini manumissi) in Kispalád, as they do in Botpalád. Therefore, it is likely that the Kispaládians who were unlabelled in the parish records were tax-paying serfs, and that there was a negligible number of freemen among them.

7. The 1809 military conscription lists record Botpalád as having 36 nobles, in contrast to the 16 from Kispalád. The late 18th century serf inventories record 19 serf families from Kispalád, and only nine - out of which four were libertini manumissi - from Botpalád. The above variations between the two villages are not as marked as those indicated by the data from the church records; however, the conscription lists and serf inventories are less comprehensive than the church records and therefore a less reliable basis for comparison.

8. Urambátyám országa, by János Makkai, vividly describes the attitudes and behaviour of Hungary's white-collar workers in the early 20th century, and it also deals with relationships of this type which prevailed among people of this stratum (Makkai n.d.: 131, 212-215).

9. I have omitted from my analysis the internal plots-farmyards and gardens which rarely exceeded 1 kh. (.573 ha.) in area. These internal plots often were jointly owned by as many as six-seven people, and they would have complicated considerably the data calculations.

10. These categories are based on the equivalence of 10 kh. equalling 5.73 hectares.

11. An approximation based on this assumption does, of course, leave room for error. However, although the proportion of working villagers in the total population may have varied between 1900 and 1941 due to the emigration of a number of adult inhabitants to America in order to find work, many of these people had returned to Botpalád and Kispalád by the 1930s. Furthermore, deaths suffered by young men in the Second World War are unlikely to have been reflected yet in the census data for 1941. Therefore, albeit there remains a possibility of slight variations, between 1900 and 1941, in the proportion of working villagers out of the total population, these are unlikely to have been large enough to invalidate rough approximations based on an assumption of little change. This, indeed, is my only means of calculating the proportion of working villagers in the total population in 1900, owing to lack of other data on the number of working villagers at that time.

12. One Botpaládian listed the following local inhabitants who in the early 1900s had lands in other villages:

Şándor Pinkóczy: 100 kh. in the fields of Hódos.

Bálint N. Szikszó: 100 kh. in the fields of Hódos.

180 kh. in the fields of Tisztaberek.

János Kozák: 100 kh. in the fields of Tiszabecs.

Lajos Kánya: 100 kh. in the fields of Tiszabecs.

Lajos Filep: 10-15 kh. in the fields of Tiszabecs.

Gáspár Angyalossy: 15 kh. in the fields of Kispalád.

13. Property size and the degree to which a villager's enterprise was directed towards selling products on the market affected the nature of the institutions with which the venture was interlinked; these institutions in turn affected the outcome of the villager's farming activities. The villagers who farmed with primarily consumption by the family in mind, rather than market sale, were capable of near self-sufficiency. Landowning villagers at the turn of the century were able to produce their own food, clothing, fuel, and with the help of local craftsmen and other villagers, they were able to

provide their own equipment and shelter. In contrast, the landowners who sold produce at regional markets, who wore clothing made out of manufactured material, who used modern machinery and other such goods, who sent their children away to school and who made use of other central institutions, depended upon returns in cash and kind from activities at these regional markets.

14. The two-field system, known locally as két fordulós, resembled what Hungarian history books have called két nyomásos (cf. Történelem a gimnáziumok II. osztálya számára: 9-10); half of the land was cultivated each year and the other half was left as pasture. This contrasts to the three-field system (known locally as három fordulós, and more generally as három nyomásos - cf. Történelem a gimnáziumok II. osztálya számára: 27-28), which utilised two-thirds of the land for cultivation and left one-third fallow. The two-field system was more compatible with extensive animal breeding, and it required more land than the three-field system. Although, as already described in the chapter on the ecological-institutional context, the villagers using the two-field system had to alternate the lands to be farmed each year so that the fallow would be free entirely for pasture, they were able to plant what they wanted according to their own yearly schedules. The more intensive three-field system involved a complicated yearly schedule which necessitated the cooperation of all local landowners who farmed in this manner. It is likely that Botpalád's slightly larger land area and the greater polarisation of its land distribution made the two-field system a more viable way of farming for its large landowners - although less viable for its small landowners - than in Kispalád. In Kispalád, with its larger proportion of landowners in the 1-20 kh. range, the villagers found the three-field system the most productive way of farming in order to supply basic provisions for each family.

15. At the time of fieldwork the Botpaládians and Kispaládians indicated that virtually all landless villagers resorted to this form of work in order to subsist before 1945.

16. Table 6 indicates that during this time the number of Botpaládians who were landless or owned under 10 kh. decreased; these people could only have purchased their property from larger landowners. The villagers with 10-20 kh. could not have sold large areas of land without falling into a lower category - although the loss of several holds among them is not precluded. On the other hand, the greatest likelihood is that the landowners with over 20 kh. sold off some of their property, and nevertheless remained in the same landowning category in 1941. Some villagers describe the process of land accumulation in Botpalád at this time as having been a

cycle; at any one point in time in such a cycle there could have been an increase in the number of landowners with 10-20 kh. and over 20 kh.

"Tasnádi András nevü nagyapám nem dolgozott, halászott szórakozásból. Ivott. Ahelyett hogy disznósóderért kenyeret adott volna, földet adott az éhezö szegényeknek. A szegények nem tudtak megélni a darab földből, aztán a gazdagoknak eladták kenyerért, disznóoldalért..."

("My grandfather András Tasnádi did not work, he went fishing to have a good time. He drank. Instead of giving bread in exchange for pork gammon, he gave land to the hungry poor. The poor were unable to subsist off of the piece of land, then they sold it to the rich for bread, a flank of pork...")

17. One villager described the role of the Botpalád village mayor as "travelling away" periodically in order to sort out affairs involving the local inhabitants:

"Községi biro - kb. egyszer utazott el évente, ha valakinek panasza volt, perlekedni akart . . . Ha például tudtam hogy a mezőről vagy udvarról valaki elvitte a fát vagy takarmányomat, és nem volt hajlandó ezt visszadni, akkor feljelentettem a községi bírónál . . ."

("Village mayor - he travelled away about once a year, to sort out complaints people had, if they wanted to take legal action . . . If, for example, I knew that someone had taken any wood or fodder from the fields or my farmyard, and he was not willing to give it back, I reported this to the village mayor . . .")

Yet another inhabitant of Botpalád recalled that the pre-Second World War village mayor, who at the same time was one of the largest local landowners, was "popular", because he "helped people who were in trouble" ("kisegitette az embereket ha bajban voltak").

18. Statements such as the following, which refers to work ties, indicate the greater importance in Botpalád of hierarchical power relations which were compatible with ties involving protekció, as compared to Kispalád.

"Kispaládon a nők jobban összetartottak mint Botpaládon; istápolták egymást, segítségbe mentek egymáshoz és majd később visszaadták, megkinálták étellel - szalonna, hagyma, kenyér, főtt étellel. Botpaládon napszámost kellett fogadni."

("In Kispalád the women kept together more than in Botpalád; they supported one another, went to help one another and then later reciprocated, they offered one

another food - bacon, onion, bread, cooked food. In Botpalád it was necessary to hire day-wage labourers.")

A man from Botpalád recalls a situation which serves as an example of hierarchical relations in which a prosperous villager offered favourable treatment to an inhabitant who was less well-off. A local landowner who had kept some 15 head of cattle in the mid-1930s and for whom this villager had worked for 14 years had promised him the eventual recipience of a house, and 8 kh. of land if his wife undertook domestic tasks for this landowner.

19. Normally, when villagers whose lands were not protected became insolvent, the state intervened and publicly auctioned off their immoveable and moveable property. The returns of the auction were then handed over to the authorities or creditors, which could be individuals, or institutions such as credit associations and banks.

20. In contrast to this measure and the "protected" property of peasants, the institution of entailed estates (hitbizomány) in Hungary had roots reaching back to feudal law, and such estates remained a significant factor in the maintenance of large latifundia until 1945. However, there were only a limited number of entailed estates in Hungary; in 1928, 58 entailed estates covered 984,068 kh. (563,871 ha.). There were no such entailed estates in Botpalád or Kispalád (Uj Magyar Lexikon, Volume 3 1960: 287).

21. One Botpaládian described protected property as follows:

"A védett birtoknak sok terhe volt. Például kénytelen voltam 5 kh.-ra 880 pengőt kölcsönvenni. Erre kamat volt. A Nyíregyházi bank 6%-os kamatot ajánlott. Törlesztéskor 16%-os kamat volt. Mondtam hogy nem birom tovább. Kijött a védettségi törvény, aminek alapján az eladósodott birtokot nem lehetett elérverezni . . . Vissza kellett fizetni az adósságot, hosszabb idők folyamán. Botpaládon nagyon sok volt a védett birtok."

("There were large liabilities on protected property. For example, I had to borrow 880 pengő for 5 kh. I had to pay interest. The bank in Nyíregyháza demanded 6%. At the time of repayment the interest was 16%. I said I could not do this any more. The law on protection was enacted, on whose basis the insolvent property could not be auctioned off . . . The debt had to be repaid over a long time. There were very many protected properties in Botpalád.")

22. In the introduction to this thesis I briefly outlined some rights of nobles before 1848, and I shall deal later with peasant-nobility in greater detail. Nonetheless, it is worthwhile mentioning at this point that only nobles could participate in the work of the Diet before 1848, they also could represent themselves before the law and their cases were dealt with by county courts.

23. Both Botpalád and Kispalád were so-called small communities (kisközség), so their representative body could consist of no fewer than ten and no more than 20 members. This condition was set down by Act XXII of 1886 (Magyar törvénytár. 1884-1886. évi törvényczikkek 1897: 413-414, clause 32).

The képviselőtestület was defined in the Hungarian corpus juris as that body via which the community practiced its right to self-government. It was responsible for holding general meetings at which decisions were taken; it discussed the previous year's accounts and the following year's budget at its spring and autumn general meetings (Magyar törvénytár. 1884-1886. évi törvényczikkek 1897: 413 clause 32, 419 clause 56, 420 clause 57).

24. Upon gaining his position, the notary often moved into the locality from elsewhere and established affinal ties with the villagers by marrying the daughter of a local landowner or by arranging such a marriage for his own daughter. He was paid by the district, but for his material subsistence he also relied upon the products of his or his wife's lands. His professional status barred him from directly cultivating the property himself, so he relied upon the villagers to provide the necessary labour and cooperate economically. In the locality he represented the more central government authorities, and this contributed to the ambivalence of his relationship with the villagers.

István Weis discusses the ambivalence of relationships between the notaries and local village inhabitants generally during Hungary's inter-War period (Weis 1931: 58-61; Weis 1942: 36-37).

25. According to Act XXII of 1886, the village mayor was to be elected by the voters in the village from among three people nominated by the chief district administrator or district administrator (Magyar törvénytár. 1884-1886. évi törvényczikkek 1897: 423 clause 68, 424 clause 72, 425 clause 77).

26. The surnames of Kispalád's village mayors included the following: Angyalossy, Barta, Oláh, Rozsályi and Tóth. Except for Angyalossy, they were of serf descent, and their landholdings ranged from the lower to the upper reaches of the 20-80 kh. range. Botpalád's two village mayors, with the surnames Pinkóczy and Szikszó, were of noble descent.

27. According to the Hungarian Explanatory Dictionary (A magyar nyelv értelmező szótára 1972: 631), the folk variant of the word Judas means a person who ungratefully betrays someone or something. The Botpaládians may have suggested, with the expression "clan of Judas", that these educated families had betrayed the peasant life-style. Thus, although erudite traditions may have been the ideal of many local families (see earlier in this chapter), and other inhabitants expressed respect for such traditions, there also may have been an associated undercurrent of resentment among the latter villagers.

28. The government of Mihály Károlyi in 1919 introduced a land reform bill according to which some 500 kh. (288 ha.) of the largest landlords' property, and 200 kh. (115 ha.) of Church property were expropriated. Mihály Károlyi himself distributed some of his own property among the landless. This reform is reported to have affected only very small segments of the landless population. Hungarian historians in the 1960s-1970s referred to it as an unsuccessful gesture on the part of liberal interests in order to quell the demands of the large poverty-stricken masses (Erdei (ed.) 1968: 267; Pamlényi 1975: 430-431). Sándor Orbán (1972: 16) refers to a land reform which took place in the first decade between the two World Wars, which, he says, did not even affect 7% of the country's territory. These reforms undoubtedly were of a scope incomparable to the reforms after the Second World War.

29. This distinction between úri and peasant owners was ambiguous and allowed for varying interpretations at the local level. Ferenc Donáth (1977: 61, 62) points out that in practice many local committees for land claims recognised only those landowners to have been peasant who themselves had worked manually on the land and had not regularly used hired labour. It also is likely that this distinction was modified locally in accordance with the antipathy or goodwill felt towards landowners in the village.

30. Sándor Orbán (1972: 30) notes that the land reform decree promised owners of so-called földesúri land that, apart from receiving a redemption fee, they could retain 100 kh. if their original property had not exceeded 1,000 kh.

31. On the basis of this information it can be estimated that if, as according to the provisions of the land reform decree, the landowners who were affected by the reform were allowed to keep up to 100 kh. of their property, a minimum of 700 kh. of land owned by Botpaládians, most of it in Botpalád, was redistributed in the course of the 1945 land reform, while the land reform caused the redistribution of a minimum of 300 kh. of property owned by Kispaládians.

According to the 1949 census, out of the total population, slightly more Kispaládians (25.1%) than Botpaládians (19.4%) ran farms and owned land at the time the census was taken.

32. Some of these villagers took home as much as 200 forints for each day's work of harvesting rice, and they also were given bags of rice or barley as a bonus.

33. Three examples are given in Appendix 1 in order to indicate the local extremes in material prosperity as of the time of fieldwork in the mid-1970s. The family of F. Cserepes is at the upper end of the scale, while the families of G. Szikszó and L. Oláh are at the lower end.

34. In 1978 the amount held back from the monthly wages was reduced to 10% but I have no information whether or not this 10% was paid back at the end of the year. This situation differed from that of many other collective farms in Hungary, where the proportion withheld from monthly payments was reduced to 10% during the early 1970s, and the 10% was given out at the end of each year.

35. The 1970 census gives only 0.3% of the Kispaládians as having jobs in commerce; therefore their interest in jobs in retail trade appears to have developed after the time the census was taken.

36. Some of the unskilled, manual workers in construction may have been gypsies who commuted weekly to Budapest or other central areas. However, the census data do not indicate how many gypsies were questioned and indeed, it is likely that the people who collected the census data failed to cover all of the gipsy families. However, according to my estimate the proportion of gypsies appeared to amount to about 25% of the local population in each of the two villages at the time of fieldwork. Assuming a similar room for error in data collection in both villages, the figures for Botpalád still indicate a higher percentage of unskilled manual workers, as compared to Kispalád.

37. The difference between the average monthly payments in the two villages would have been greater had not the July figures pulled down Kispalád's milk contributions. July was an exceptional month in Kispalád; four large weddings were held then and much of the milk which otherwise would have been collected for money was used up at these festivities.

38. Twenty-one such cow-teams were counted during one midsummer day, as they transported hay and grain along Kispalád's main street. Not once were such cow-teams observed in Botpalád.

39. The book Information Hungary (Erdei (ed.) 1968: 336) describes the role of the Patriotic People's Front as follows:

The Patriotic People's Front plays a constitutionally defined role in setting up the organs of state power. Thus, it fulfils important tasks drawn up in the electoral law and rules by selecting candidates for Parliament and for the local councils, in preparing and organising elections, and subsequently in promoting relations between the elected members and the electorate. The People's Front organs take part in organising the work of the parliamentary groups in the counties, and also in preparing the reports of the councillors. Its competent bodies have the right to submit a motion of recall. There are statutory rules providing for the participation of the People's Front organs in the elaboration of city and communal development plans. The competent bodies of the People's Front have authority to make recommendations to meetings of the supreme and local organs of executive power.

40. During one summer, the schoolteacher and her husband spent three weeks in such holiday accommodation on the Black Sea and then the schoolteacher went to Lake Balaton, in western Hungary, for another two weeks; no other local teachers enjoyed such discount holidays at this time. Between the two of them, this couple had also received as much as 6,600 forints in bonuses from the county, for teaching gipsies.

41. In a later chapter, I shall describe in greater detail the hierarchical nature of relations among the Botpaládians, in connection with the villagers' views of status differentiation, and in this context I shall compare the situation in Botpalád with that in Kispalád.

42. The relationship between the local teachers and the villagers in fact was potentially two-sided, because the teachers were subject to the state, county and district authorities to which any dissatisfied villager could

lodge complaints. The villager depended on the teacher in order to further his child's educational chances, but the teacher could not use his or her power arbitrarily, and villagers were known to complain to the authorities about the teachers' extreme disciplinary measures.

43. The 1961 Education Act increased the duration of compulsory education to ten years, and it made secondary education free of charge (Erdei (ed.) 1968: 563).

44. Graduates of vocational secondary schools could also become office workers.

45. In 1976, one such Botpaládian completed grammar school and entered a theological college in order to be trained as a Calvinist vicar.

46. At this point it should be mentioned that, whereas in both villages the church officials during the early 20th century were mainly political office holders as well as the most prosperous inhabitants (see earlier in this chapter), this was not the case at the time of fieldwork. The structure of power within the local church at this time was divorced from the secular political and administrative structure. Holding a church office or being a presbyter precluded Party membership. Although in principle church officials and clergymen could serve as council members and wives of clergymen could become teachers, in practice overt church affiliation reduced one's chances of obtaining a secular administrative or teaching position.

Neither were the church officials and presbyters necessarily the wealthiest local inhabitants. As in the past, the Botpaládian church members continued to select their presbyters and church officers on the basis of descent and religious heritage, while for the Kispaládians former, and to some extent, current, prosperity were primary considerations. However, a number of well-off families in both villages had no connection whatsoever with the church.

1. Család is a commonly used expression amongst present-day rural and urban Hungarians alike, and the word has many semantic variants, however it usually denotes the unit described in the text - one which lives, runs economic activities, pools savings and eats jointly.

The people of Botpalád and Kispalád sometimes use the expression család by accompanying it with a modifier, for example by referring to a jó család ("good family"), or a rangos or módos család (family with rank or wealth-concepts to be dealt with later on this thesis). Some villagers have defined család as being synonymous with nemzetség ("clan"), which they say refers to all local inhabitants who share a common name but who are not connected by vérbeli rokonság, or "genuine", "blood" kinship. All people who fall into this category are believed to be linked by common ancestry, in which case the term család suggests descent rather than a unit based on joint economic activities. Család occasionally is defined as being synonymous with other descent expressions, and when villagers refer to családi ág ("family-branch") or családi törzs ("family-trunk"), they use the word to trace the ancestral links of local inhabitants.

2. The other family types which existed in Botpalád and Kispalád at the time of fieldwork involved the maintenance of common households and cooperative ties between a widowed or unmarried sibling and the nuclear family of his/her brother or sister, as well as other, miscellaneous arrangements. The latter included, for example, two unmarried siblings who lived together as a family, and elderly, childless couples who lived in a family unit with distant kin or unrelated villagers of a younger generation.

The 1970 census conducted by the Hungarian Central Statistics Office gave the proportion of households comprising two families or one family plus kin as 22% for Botpalád and 29% for Kispalád. Although, according to these data the variations between the two villages were far from extreme, they too indicated a greater frequency of extended families in Kispalád than in Botpalád.

3. The possibilities at the time of fieldwork were:
- a) Both husband and wife work on the collective farm.
 - b) Husband works on the collective farm; wife stays at home.
 - c) Husband works elsewhere (usually industry); wife stays at home.
 - d) Husband works elsewhere; wife works on collective farm.
 - e) Husband works on collective farm; wife works elsewhere.
 - f) Both husband and wife work elsewhere.
 - g) Husband stays at home; wife works elsewhere.
 - h) Husband stays at home; wife works on the collective farm.

4. The large-scale decline in the birthrate of the non-gipsy villagers has also helped to slow down the process of parcellisation. Families with six or seven children were common before the Second World War; since then, three-children families have become more frequent.

5. The inverse situation of the wife working and the husband staying at home to my knowledge occurred occasionally, but only in Kispalád, among the second-generation members of an extended family in which the eldest woman was still physically active, thereby freeing the second-generation adult woman from the household chores.

6. In both villages the birthrate of gipsies far exceeded that of non-gipsies at the time of fieldwork; one gipsy couple had 10 children, and three of these children had each fathered or given birth to seven offspring.

1. I did not hear of early 20th-century occurrences locally of the so-called leánynegyed, a practice based on feudal noble rights whereby daughters were given one-quarter of what otherwise was the patrilineally inherited landed or immoveable inheritance. The institution of leánynegyed was abolished in 1848 in Hungary, but reportedly lived on for decades in the form of local customs (cf. Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon, Volume 3 1980: 698).

2. Certain occupations, such as herdsmanship, also were passed down from parents to offspring. If there were no sons, the daughter, who also was taught how to look after the cows, sheep and pigs at pasture, was in a position either to marry another herdsman, or to teach her husband the tricks of herdsmanship.

3. Faj and fajta often are used interchangeably in the two villages and they cover a range of concepts, for example type, sort, race or species. If a son inherits his father's weakness for alcohol, or a girl her mother's weakness for men, or if a granddaughter walks with an air of superiority as did her grandmother, he or she are said to be of the same fajta as his father or her mother, or he/she takes after that same fajta (olyan fajta mint az apja or anyja; ugyanarra fajtára üt). The members of a local family may be said to descend from a purely gipsy faj. Such attributions may also be based on one's physical features, for example the one child taking after his mother's fajta, the other after his father's.

In some cases the implications of fajta, as a descent-based category, are more explicit. Membership of a common fajta suggests kinship between the members based on agnatic ties of descent. The villagers who belong to the same faj or fajta cannot intermarry. Whereas in some cases the faj, fajta may extend only as far as one's first cousins, in other cases the faj, fajta may include one's more distant kin. This use of the expression is prevalent in Kispalád. The villagers who are névrokon, who bear the same surname but who are not connected by acknowledged, close kinship links are distinguished clearly from one another by means of their different faj, fajta membership, and implicitly they are allowed to marry one another.

The use of this expression in Botpalád is complicated by the fact that according to context, the villagers add modifiers which imply rank. A faj or fajta may have rank (rangos), it may be well-off (módos), poor (szegény), etc. A Botpaládian, in order to find a suitable spouse, must marry outside of his own faj, fajta and in accordance with his rank, so it is in his interest to widen his choice by narrowing the range of his own faj or fajta.

4. These church records provide the most comprehensive data which can serve as a basis for tracing statistically such trends in an historical perspective. However, a few limitations of these sources must be noted. These records do not list all of the marriages which have involved at least one local inhabitant. Until recently, the stated custom in the case of exogamous marriage has been for the religious ceremony to be held and recorded in the bride's village, but in practice this does not always seem to have been the case. A number of the entries indicate that the groom's village of origin was Botpalád or Kispalád, and that the bride came from elsewhere. The question of whether these entries represent all of the exogamous marriages involving a male from the locality, and why these marriages in particular were recorded thusly is a puzzle. Such variations might be connected with local customs and the inadequacy of the religious facilities of the village into which the inhabitant of Botpalád or Kispalád married. Furthermore, after about 1949 some villagers, such as teachers, Party members or other officials, were married in a civil, but not religious ceremony. They are also missing from the records.

5. The data on the relative percentages of exogamous marriages involving a man from the village show similar long-term trends in the two villages: a sudden decrease after 1853, and then a slow rise until 1977. The decrease in Kispalád was more extreme than in Botpalád after 1853, but it otherwise appears that, apart from the 1854-1919 period, Kispalád had a higher proportion of exogamous marriages involving a man, than Botpalád. On the other hand, the data for the time period after collectivisation suggest a reversal of this relationship. Whereas the percentage of male exogamy from Botpalád continued to increase (to 39%), that from Kispalád decreased (to 19%).

I mentioned earlier in this chapter that a course of action adopted by some Kispaládian men who were unlikely to inherit enough land to support a family was for them to marry exogamously into a village where land was more readily available. Perhaps further light can be shed on these data if we assume nonetheless that the majority of marriages were virilocal before 1960, which marks the commencement of increased prosperity, the movement of the young away from the village and the increased availability of living quarters, and that after this time, the relative frequencies of virilocality, uxorilocality and neolocality evened out. The percentages for before 1960 indicated the men whose wives moved into the village (apart from some Kispaládian men who married exogamously and uxorilocally), and the women who left the village upon marriage. Accordingly, except for the 1854-1919 time period, the proportion of Kispaládian men to "import" wives into the village and also to marry out, rather than marrying out their own

women, exceeded that of "wife-importing" Botpaládians. This also helps to account for the apparently crowded conditions in Kispalád during the first half of the 20th century.

On the other hand, the post-1960 data suggest a sudden jump in the proportion of exogamous marriages involving Kispaládian women, which also indicates an increase in the marrying in of men from other villagers or towns, both uxori locally and neol locally. In contrast, the increase in the frequency of uxori local and neolocal marriages has affected, rather, the men from Botpalád who have married exogamously.

1. László Országh's Hungarian-English dictionary (1969: 1651) gives the following definitions in English for rang: rank, grade, degree, rating, place, standing, status, state, station, position, dignities, honours, estate.

2. Appendix 2 gives the English equivalents to the words discussed in the text. Most urban dwellers are acquainted with these expressions. Some of the labels, for example törzsökös, tösgyökeres, have become anachronistic. City dwellers use other terms only insofar as they pertain to recent historical statuses (kulák, birtokos, cseléd, nincstelen) or contemporary social categories of rural areas (paraszt, gulyás, csordás, juhász, kondás). The semantic variants of the labels gazda (rich person) and paraszt (crude, uncouth) have become more common in urban parlance, and the remaining terms still occur regularly, although perhaps not as frequently as before 1945.

Expressions which refer to other ethnic groups such as tót (Slovak), oláh (Romanian, Wallachian), sváb (Swabian, German) and zsidó (Jew) crop up in other parts of Hungary. With the exception of one Jew, there were no inhabitants of such ethnicity in Botpalád and Kispalád in the mid-1970s. Apart from referring to the nearby Ruthenians (ruszin) or Jews of the past, or to people elsewhere of different ethnicity, the villagers in the mid-1970s did not use these terms on an everyday basis, and they were of little local relevance. Therefore, the list in the appendix does not include these terms.

3. "Esetleg elődjeik nemesek voltak. Ugy viselkedtek mintha nemesek lettek volna . . . úgy, hogy különb tartották magukat. Nem álltak szóba mással, nem beszéltek velük mintha emberek lettek volna."
4. "Rangos család azt jelenti hogy valaki nemesebb családból származik. Elődjei nemesek voltak. Ez még mindig nagyon fontos, számon tartják . . ."
5. "Mária Terézia idejében a nemesi levelet megadták. Amiután ezt felszámolták, azok a családok amelyek nemesek voltak vagy amelyeknek nemesi levelük volt, ezek rangosnak tartották magukat. Kossuth volt az aki az egyenlőséget megteremtette . . ."
6. "Azt tartják hogy a nevek amelyek i-vel vagy y-nal végződnek magyarosak. Ez azt is jelenti hogy valaki jó családból származik."
7. "Nem számít a név. Például van egy cigány, Nádasdi nevű, jobb magyar név nem kell. A név nem számít. A jónév nem azt jelenti hogy jó család."

8. "Tasnády, Thury, Pinkóczy. Tudják hogy kicsodák, hogy milyen elődjeik voltak, nemesi neveknek tartják. Például Tasnády Gusztáv kifogásolta hogy az egyik veje Varga nevü, nem Tasnády."
9. "A név után ment a rang. Ez mind most is fennáll."
10. "Még mindig számon tartják a faluban hogy kinek milyen a neve. Például Papp Babica rangon alulhoz ment férjhez. Ez régebben nem történt volna."
11. "Pinkóczyék is nemesek voltak . . . Ezek elődjei akkor lehettek (itt) amikor Bot Pál először letelepedett 1100-ban, 1200-ban. Bot Pál volt az első földesura a falunak, akkor körülbelül 100 lelke lehetett, ezek közül a Pinkóczyék . . . Akkor toborozták a népet, mondták jöjjenek ide jobbágyok, adnak nekik ingyen földet . . . Kánya Gábor, Kánya Endre rokonfélének tartották magukat, ezek is törzsökösök voltak, biztosan az elődjeik lakhattak itt Bot Pál idejében."
12. "Inkább a törzsökösebb családok voltak a rangosak, nemesek akiknek ötágú koronás címerük volt."
13. "A rang megállapításánál . . . számít (hogy) mennyire tősgyökeres a család, sokkal jobb ha régi a család, ha nemes volt . . . Rangtalanak akik olyan családból származnak amelyek bekerültek a faluba . . . "
14. "Nagyobb tekintély jár azzal hogy egy-egy család tősgyökeres."
15. "Ha máshonnan jött ide Botpaládra valaki, nem volt olyan rangja mint azoknak akik itt születtek."
16. "A törzsökösök mindig a faluban laktak, lenézték a bekerülteket, ha összevesztek már rávágták nekik hogy 'te bekerült'. A közvetlenül bekerültek gyerekeire, unokáira is ugyanezt mondták, az elődjeik származását . . . A törzsökösök rangosabbnak tartják magukat a bekerülteknél, ez még mindig is így van."
17. " . . . a rangosak régebben büszkélkedtek a nemesi levelükkel. Mondták hogy van, úgy is viselkedtek. Fennhájztak, megkövetelték az urazást, hogy úramnak szolitsák őket."

18. "Nem jó gazdák . . . könnyelműen, urasan éltek. Kölcsönöztek a zsidóktól kamatra, arra ment a termény java része . . . Urasan élők jobban és másképpen öltözködtek mint a parasztok, például úgy ahogy ma öltözködnek, pedig akkor nem lehetett. Urazni kellett őket."
19. "Falusi lányok felkerülnek Budapestre, már csak két, három hónap múlva visszajönnek faluba és kalapot, arc- és körömfestéket hordanak . . . akarják hogy úrilánynak kezeljék, már nem is tudnak rendesen beszélni, például az egyik szomszédnak a lánya aki olyan kényes volt hogy köll-et mondta . . . Ha az utcára lépett a luxus táskáját a kezével csüngette."
20. "Irmanéni és mások Szikszó úrnak szólitják Szikszó Gergélyt. Boriska Gergély-bácsinak szólitja, mert tanulatlan. A főszolgabíró más volt, doktor volt."

The villagers use néni and bácsi when addressing and referring to unrelated but more elderly people of supposedly similar rank.

21. "A középparasztok, például Thury úr, a nagy urak megkivánták a tiszteletet, azt hogy úrnak szólítsák. Most is elvárják, inkább azok akik hivatalból magasabb pozícióba kerültek, például tanítók, meg Papp Irmus is . . . Bodor Gyula is középparaszt volt, ő is ezt az urazást elvárná. Dobos Endre nem. Papp Lacibácsi sem mert ő is paraszt volt, dolgozó ember mint mi . . . Ezt (az urazást) a párttitkár és a felesége is megkivánná . . . de (a párttitkár) idegenből jött, bekerült a faluba."
22. "Papp Sándor tanítónőt szeretne feleségül venni, de azért nem venné el Kaluczka Katót, aki tanítónő és szomszédja, mert a Kaluczák nem rangosak. Sanyibácsi nagy családból származik. A nagyapja a nagy Papp udvarra való . . . Kocsis Idát vehetné feleségül mert Idanéni rangos az anyja által."
23. "Ha valaki kitanul papnak, tanítónak, és magasabb hivatalt tölt be, felemelkedik a rangja. Nagyobb tiszteletet adnak ilyen tanítónak, papnak, az egész család is nagyobb rangot kap érte."
24. "Inkább a művelt emberek voltak rangosak . . . Most ha valaki magasabb iskolába jár, nem tartják őt úgy rangosnak."
25. "Szikszó Gergely buta nagy paraszt volt. Nem volt felsőbb iskolája, nem volt finom lelkü."

26. "En az úri címet annak adtam aki iskolába járt és a tiszteletet így megkapta . . . de azok akik faluban paraszti módon éltek, parasztok azok magam előtt is."
27. "Az első család volt Sonkádön, csak ott tegeződtek ezek az emberek is. Nem urfiztak vagy uraztak úgy mint Botpaládon . . . A Kónya család népes volt, módos is volt, de parasztosak is voltak. Ertettek a gazdálkodáshoz és meg volt mindenük."
- The tegeződés is the informal way of addressing people, which involves the pronoun te (the informal "you") and the second-person verb form. Urfizás means addressing someone as an úrfi (young gentleman).
28. "En nem engedtem a lányaimat kalapban járni Botpaládon, hogy így a paraszt származásukat letagadják, bár nekik kalapjaik vannak Budapesten, ezeket hordják is ott . . . városban."
29. "Középparasztok egyszerű emberek voltak . . . Persze voltak . . . akik kalapot tettek a fejükre amikor divat lett . . . mindig távolságot jelentett a néptől."
30. "E nagy urakon, nagygazdákon kívül csak cselédek, szegények voltak. Például Thury Gábor középparaszt volt, úgy nevezik."
31. "Az urak közé számolják a papot, a szakmunkást nem így tartják. Aki papnak vagy tanítónak tanul, az már nem paraszt. A szakmunkás, az még mindig paraszt . . . "
32. "Rákóczi Ferencről is beszéltek az öregek. Tiszbeccsen átkelt a Tiszán . . . onnan is indult amikor fejedelemmé választották . . . Büszke fejedelem volt Rákóczi . . . Kossuth Lajosról és a Szabadságharcról is hallottam sokat . . . A községből is harcoltak . . . Tasnádi Dániel, Györi József, Oláh János, Györi Gedeon. Ezek odavoltak az 1848-as háborúban, hősiesen harcoltak. Beszélnek róluk a faluban."
33. "Nagyapámnak nagyapja Rákóczi oldalán harcolt, Kuruc volt. Beszorult Szatmárnémetibe amikor a németek körülvették. Károlyi Sándor leadta őket, Rákóczi Ferenc, Lengyelben, nem jött vissza."

The soldiers who fought in Rákóczi's army during this uprising against the Germans were called Kuruc.

34. "Nemzetségek, például románok, oláhok, csehek, nem voltak a faluban."
35. "Komáromy Julianna kulák lány volt, Balogh Sárának meg az apja cigányasszonnyal is élt."
36. "Kánya Lajos a volt cselédjével összeállt és gyermekeket szültek. Kánya Lajos rangjához nem illik. Csak rá kell nézni a feleségére és meglátszik milyen cigány kinézésü."
37. "Páva Magda . . . csunya szavajárású . . . hiába rázza a rongyot, látszik alóla a cigány . . . A Páva név tiszta cigány."
38. "A Botpaládiak . . . a cigányokkal összerokonosodtak . . . korcs a fél falu . . . az öregek emlékeznek arra hogy kinek milyen volt az elődje. Például Tomcsisé, Lendvaié - mind cigány volt. A cigányok magyarok is lesznek."
39. "Ha egy család módos, nem szükölködik semmiben. Ugyanazt jelenti mint gazdag, nem a földet jelenti mert mostanában földje senkinek nincs."
40. "Rangos család, az volt a gazdag család, amelyik módos volt. Amelyik rangos volt, annak azt mondták hogy úr . . . Ha szegény volt az a család, nem tartotta magát rangosnak."
41. "Aki szegény volt, annak nem volt mit ennie, szegényes rongyos ruhája volt . . . Most szegény ember nincs, az állam mindenkiről gondoskodik."
42. "Ha régen sok földjük volt de eladosódtak, és nem tudtak ruházkodni vagy cselédeket kifizetni már nem gazdagnak tartották őket, hanem szegénynek..."
43. Apart from referring to a landowning category the word gazda (farmer), when qualified by jó (good) or rossz (bad), may describe a villager's farming skills. A jó gazda (good farmer) knows how to work the land and organise the farm tasks so as to make the undertaking profitable. A rossz gazda (bad farmer) is the opposite.
44. The Botpaládians sometimes use kulák in reference to the families with over 25 kh. (14.32 ha.) who were officially classified as kulaks during the 1950s (see the chapter on politico-economic differentiation). The members of such kulak families do not use the word kulák nowadays, except when they describe the actual events of these "kulak times". On the other hand, the Botpaládians who had less or no landed property use the expression kulák derogatorily. In the example given earlier in this chapter, the villager denounced her daughter-in-law for befriending a woman with gipsy blood, by calling the

former a kulak girl. Similarly, some villagers have described the local council secretary as friendly, "despite the fact that she is a kulak girl".

45. Hungarian historians use categories of birtokos (landowner) which differ from the categories in Botpalád. By nagybirtokos (large landowner) the historians usually mean landowners with over 1000 kh. (573 ha.), while the kisbirtokos (small landowner) owned 5-20 kh. (2.86-11.46 ha.), and the középbirtokos (middle landowner) had holdings ranging between 20 and 1000 kh. (11.46 and 573 ha.) (cf. Történelem a gimnáziumok IV. osztálya számára: 191-193).

46. The Hungarian historian István Szabó (1976a) bases his classification of paraszt (peasants) between 1848 and 1945 on the degree of market-orientation of the peasant enterprise, and the employment of extra-familial labour. The so-called nagyparaszt (large peasant) ran a capitalistic enterprise, while the középparaszt (middle peasant) used family labour and resources and his enterprise was directed towards domestic needs rather than to the market. The szegényparaszt (poor peasant) could barely maintain his family on family resources, and often he or his family members had to seek outside work.

47. "Rangtalanak akik olyan családból származnak amelyek bekerültek a faluba, cselédsorsban éltek ház és egyéb ingatlan nélkül . . . Gyermekük már nem annyira rangtalanak mint az elődjük . . . de még mindig lejjebb állnak mint mások."

48. "Ha valaki . . . rangosnak tartotta magát ez nem jelentette azt hogy sok volt a földje. Ez inkább modora, magatartásának kérdése volt. Másokunk tanácsot tudott adni, de magának nem, nem tudott gazdálkodni."

49. "Volt itt olyan aki rangosnak tartotta magát mert nemesnek mondta az elődjét."

50. "Rangos inkább magatartásra vonatkozik, éreztetik hogy rangosak."

51. "Még mindig vannak a faluban akik rangoznak . . . érzik hogy rangosak."

52. "Thury Erzsi rangol . . . úgy hogy érzi magát, hogy . . . kétszer Thury, hogy . . . nagy rangos volt az elődje, vagy ő maga is."

53. ". . . falusiasan rangkóruságnak nevezik, más szóval nagyravágyás, (amikor) tekintélyt, rangot akarnak maguknak szerezni, fel akarnak emelkedni szegény vagy paraszt sorsból."
54. "Rangos azt jelentette hogy nemesi származásuak voltak régen, előnevük volt, volt nemesi levelük és ezzel hencegtek hogy ők nagyok."
55. "Apjának nem volt földje . . . de a névre adtak, feszítettek . . . rangosnak tartották magukat."
56. "Voltak sokan a faluban akik nemességgel rendelkeztek, rangosnak tartották magukat . . . mai napig áll fenn ez a 'ki vagyok mi vagyok', verik a mellüket . . . pedig nincs nagy anyagi alapjuk . . ."
57. "Thuryak névrangosak voltak, de nem módosak, nem nagygazdák."
58. "Még mindig nagynak, rangosnak, tartja magát, azt szeretné hogy Szikszó úrnak szólítsák . . . vannak akik verik a mellüket, milyen nagyok, rangosak voltak . . ."
59. "Volt ezelőtt nemesi világ. Ezek a nemesek jobbnak tartották magukat mint a jobbágyok . . . Rangos (azt jelenti hogy) elődjeik milyenek voltak, ezután jobbnak tartják magukat, gögösködnek . . . Ha valaki a mostani rendszerben feszíti magát, henceg . . . ugyanaz."
60. ". . . amikor például alacsonyabb rangú ember új ruhát vesz fel . . . a faluban azt mondják hogy 'rázza a rongyot, tudjuk hogy kik voltak az elődjei'."
61. "Régebben módos volt a nagygazda. Akinek sok földje volt, arra mondták hogy nagygazda."
62. "Itt azt tartották módosnak akinek sok volt a birtoka . . ."
63. "Módos család - amelynek volt földje és jószága. A mostani rendszerben is van ilyen, olyan család amelynek több jószága, gépezete, ruházata van mint más . . . De a mostani rendszerben történtek a változások. Aki iparkodik és (akinek) nagyobb a családja, megbecsüli a pénzt, annak lesz módja."
64. "Módos azt jelenti hogy gazdag, mindene van . . . A pénz jelenti a módot, az OTP betétkönyv, a jószág is . . ."

65. "Mód - valakinek földje van, de most nem mondják, csak a szakma számít."
66. "Most az megyen a faluban hogy kinek mennyije van, például ház berendezése, állatja, ruhája, háztartási gépe. A föld nem számít már. Ebből azt veszik hogy az egyik ember szorgalmasabb a másikinál. Nagyobbra becsülik annak a tudását aki gimnáziumba, egyetemre járt."
67. "Régen a mód számított leginkább. Nagy különbség nem volt a rang és a mód között. A földnek is volt rangja . . ."
68. "A rang ugyanazt jelentette mint a mód, a sok birtok . . ."
69. "Angyalossy család első volt a faluban, módos is, jónév is, arról hogy módos."
70. "Akinak taxija van - az úr."
71. "Módosabb - az, hogy kinek milyene, mennyije van. Most ez a dolog után megy, ki mennyit dolgozik. Régebben a mód a földbirtoktól is függött, meg attól hogy hogyan házasodtak össze."
72. "Kispaládon nem volt urhatnámság, urizálás, legfeljebb Tóth Ferencet, Angyalossy Gyulát és Angyalossy Ferencet urazták. De ezek rangosak, módosak voltak."
73. "Nemesség - nem látta a nemzetséggel (nemességgel) töltött káposztát. Ezt mondta nagyanyám . . . Nemességgel nem lehet káposztát tölteni, csak hússal."
74. "Ha nemes a familiád, az meg címet nem ruház rád. Kinél az ész, erkölcs nemes, e címre csak ez érdekes."
75. "Rangos Ida volt a libapásztor. Apja, cigány, Imre nevű volt. Ráfogták gúnyból, viccből hogy rangos, mert apja csordás volt, jól ment a dolga."
76. "Kispaládon nem volt olyan nagyméretű birtok mint például . . . Botpaládon . . . Kispaládon egyöntetőbb volt a lakosság mód, származás szempontjából - paraszt lakosságú, földművelő."
77. "Máma kulákok lettek a parasztok . . . Régen ilyen mód, ilyen lakodalmak nem voltak."
78. "Névre adtak, feszítettek, rangosnak tartották magukat."

79. The number of people to bring "food for the mother in childbed" when a woman has borne her first child far exceeds the number upon subsequent births, and it usually includes all of the villagers who attended the woman's wedding.

1. I chose to study closely families of varying sizes and at different stages of the developmental cycle, and some recent settlers in the villages, as well.

I gathered the information on attitudes and behaviour during repeated visits to the families in the representative sample. I prepared detailed questionnaires in advance, and recorded the responses and reactions as near to verbatim as possible. Other comments or actions on these and other occasions also gave insights into the villagers' general outlooks. Data on family organisation, economic activity, living arrangements, participation in local institutions and other activities were collected in this manner and supplemented by documentary evidence when possible.

While I tried to cover attitudinal and behavioural tendencies which extended into all aspects of local life at the time of fieldwork, the actual points according to which these attributes were examined represented a subjective selection of those perspectives which potentially appeared to be of greatest social, economic and political relevance. In view of this consideration and also the inevitable subjectivity of any assessment of attitudinal and behavioural patterns, the results of my examination of such attributes amongst inhabitants in the two fieldwork villages should be construed as being indicative, rather than offering hard statistical proof, of local trends and correlations.

2. All local inhabitants' attitudes towards local government were further complicated by planned centralisation. This process had favoured Botpalád over Kispalád, but in the long run it had by-passed the two villages in order to develop other earmarked communities in the area, such as Kölcse and Fehérgyarmat. The Kispaládians in particular resented being left out. They nostalgically reflected upon the past, when the district notary (körjegyző) for Kispalád, Botpalád and Magosliget, a village 5 kilometers away, was located in Kispalád, and when Kispalád also had its own village mayor (községi bíró) and other officials.

3. Some locally used kinship and descent expressions merit explanation:

a. tartani a rokonságot: to "maintain" or "recognise kinship". This involves the acknowledgement of a kinship tie by both parties in such a relationship. It may be manifested by special forms of address, such as báty ("uncle", "cousin"), néne ("aunt", "cousin"), öccs ("nephew", "cousin") or húg ("niece", "cousin"). The parties involved may maintain kinship ties by helping one another regularly with demanding farming and household tasks, or by attending one another's rites of passage such as weddings and funerals. The word rokon on its own means kin, and it may refer either to one's siblings, one's cousins - first, second or third

cousins - or even to more distantly related kin. According to the people of Kispalád, who use the word more frequently on its own without modifiers, the rokonság or kindred are people who are invited to weddings, who attend funerals, they are on mutually good terms and help one another with farm work.

b. közeli rokon, távoli rokon: "close kin", "distant kin". This distinction is drawn primarily by the people of Botpalád, and where exactly the boundary between the two categories lies may vary situationally.

c. vérbeli rokon: "genuine kin", "kin of the blood". This expression is used more frequently by the inhabitants of Botpalád, and while some villagers limit this set of kin to one's immediate siblings, others claim that the category includes matrilaterally and patrilaterally related first cousins. Other villagers contrast vérbeli rokon to mostoha, or step-kin.

d. oldalági rokon (vs. egyenesági rokon): "collateral" (vs. "lineal") kin. The inhabitants of Botpalád are familiar, primarily, with this distinction; some informants suggested that such oldalági rokon were linked either matrilaterally or patrilaterally, and they did not include vérbeli rokon.

e. iz, iziglen: "generation". This is an archaic expression which was more familiar to the people of Botpalád, who used this term to trace descent. For example: három, négy, öt iziglen leszármazott rokon ("kinship through common descent traced back three, four, five generations").

f. névrokon: "name-kin" - local inhabitants who share an identical surname but who are not consanguineally related. The people of Kispalád say that name-kin belong to separate faj, or sets of non-intermarrying agnatically related kin. Thus, névrokon implicitly are allowed to intermarry. The expression faj, fajta can also mean "type", "sort", "race", "species", and as such can be value-laden, thus being derogatory when used, for example, to brand someone as being of gipsy fajta, or complimentary when praising one of being from a "good" faj.

g. familia: "family", an archaic term used by some Botpaládians to refer selectively to "good", rangos, or módos families. The word család, described already in the chapter on family organisation, may be used in the same sense.

h. nemzetség: "clan", as used most frequently in Botpalád. It is said to consist of all local inhabitants who fall under one surname. The nemzetség is traced agnatically; villagers say that if only daughters are born a nemzetség megszűnik mert lányágra száll ("the nemzetség ceases to exist because it is transferred to the female branch"). The nemzetség is also said to be an ancient family whose local members are descended from a common ancestor who settled into the village at some point of time in the indefinite past. The expression may sometimes be confused in both villages with expressions such as nemzet ("nation") and nemzetiség ("nationality").

i. ágazat: a group of kin who are related by descent going back three generations at the most. The children of third cousins who belong to the same ágazat are said to külön ágra szállni ("become members of separate ág", or branches of the family tree).

Appendix 3 contains the kinship terms of reference and address which were commonly heard in Botpalád and Kispalád in the mid-1970s, side-by-side with urban usage at the time.

4. Such arrangements may involve the exchange of one type of item for another, the provision of services for a fee or items, or the purchase of goods for cash.

5. However, such conventions were not always kept if an "úri" villager met an "egalitarian" or "competitive" Botpaládian. The "egalitarian" villager in particular sometimes tried to use the informal, second-person forms of address (tegeződés) and avoided calling the other person "sir". He behaved in this manner because in his own eyes he was at least of equivalent - if not higher-rank to the person with whom he spoke. This reluctance to observe the traditional conventions contributed to the divisive nature of relations amongst the Botpaládians.

6. Another manifestation of their willingness to adapt to new practices was their support for transferring the venue of the winter services to the parsonage.

7. A factor which may have contributed to this was that the collective farm's leaders in the mid-1970s adopted what such "úri" and "competitive" Botpaládians considered to be the life-style of a "gentleman". Ingrained respect for people living in this manner, regardless of whether or not they believed the TSZ leaders had grounds for doing so, inhibited such "úri" and "competitive" Botpaládians from acting against the collective farm's leadership.

1. A focus on legal status before 1848 and landholdings at the turn of the 20th century is all the more merited because some villagers referred at the time of fieldwork to legal status and landholdings as the criteria or causes of rang and mód respectively.

2. The villagers with under 1 kh. (.57 ha.) were virtually landless. The members of such families had to seek outside employment in order to survive. Either they worked as farm servants and occupied farm servants' quarters as a family unit, or they were employed individually by different landowners.

The villagers with 1-5 kh. (.57-2.86 ha.) had some land, although rarely was this enough to support a family with over four members. Therefore, these villagers looked for work as seasonal or daywage (napszámos) labourers. If the family was large, a few members were sent to work elsewhere as permanent farm servants. The landowners with 5-10 kh. (2.86-5.73 ha.) were more self-sufficient than those with 1-5 kh., but they too usually sought seasonal or daywage work in order to see themselves and their families through the year. Depending on their family size and available livestock and farming equipment, the 1-10 kh. villagers occasionally cultivated some of the larger landowners' fields on a share-cropping basis.

A four to six member family in possession of 10-20 kh. (5.73-11.46 ha.) could maintain itself without revenues from external sources if its members made effective use of the family labour and assets. Economic cooperation and an extended network of "help" relations with other villagers of similar landowning status allowed such families to farm their own property profitably without hiring labour or renting equipment from outside the family.

A person with 20-40 kh. (11.46-22.92 ha.) possessed more than enough property for the material sustenance of a four to six member family. If the male and female family members made effective use of their labour, they too could farm their property without employing a permanent farm servant. However, they needed seasonal labourers to help with the farm work at harvest time, and they drew upon "help" relations at other times with villagers of a similar landowning status.

The landowners with 40-80 kh. (22.92-45.84 ha.) nearly always had to employ at least one permanent farm servant. They also hired seasonal and daywage labourers at busy times of the year.

The scale of the farming enterprise of villagers with more than 80 kh. (45.84 ha.) far exceeded that of the other landowners. These people employed at least four or five permanent domestic and farm servants, not to mention the seasonal and daywage workers in their service. Occasionally they also leased some of their property to the other villagers on a share-cropping basis, as did a few landowners with between 20 and 80 kh.

3. In the introduction to this thesis I already discussed the privileges and obligations of nobles and serfs, as well as the types of peasant-nobles in Hungary, so a general description of this type is no longer necessary.

4. These documents include serf inventories, military conscription lists and books:

Szabolcs-Szatmár County Archives in Nyíregyháza. 1775 serf inventories from Botpalád (1775-ös Urbárium), Box 247, IV.A.; 501.

Szabolcs-Szatmár County Archives in Nyíregyháza. Lists of nobles from district of Szamosköz for military conscription (Szamosközi Lustra Nobilium). A.I.1809. Botpalád-Kispalád, Box 290.

Magyar Országos Levéltár, Regnicolaris Levéltár, Archivum palatinale; Conscriptio regnicolaris art.VII.1827; ordinata (N26) 1828.Comitatus Szathmáriensis. 27. Botpalád.(Land-inventory for 1828. Botpalád).

Magyar Országos Levéltár, Regnicolaris Levéltár, Archivum Regni; Országos összeírások; 1715.évi összeírás (N78); Lad.GG Nr.4 fr.12 Comitatus Szathmáriensis; Possessio Kis Palád; Possessio Bot Palád. (National land-inventory for 1715. Kispalád, Botpalád).

Magyar Országos Levéltár, Regnicolaris Levéltár, Archivum Regni; Országos összeírások; 1720.évi összeírás (N79); Lad.JJ Nr.7 fr. 11 Comitatus Szathmáriensis; Possessio Bot Palád; Possessio Kis Palád.(National land-inventory for 1720. Botpalád, Kispalád).

Szirmai 1819: 266-267, 227.

5. Some villages near to Botpalád, for example Mánd and Szekeres, were originally settled by serviens, and later most of the residents of these villages were peasant-nobles (Maksai 1940: 56, 62-63, 65-66, 212-213).

6. Jármí was another nearby village whose inhabitants became peasant-nobles in this manner (Maksai 1940: 62-63).

7. For example:

"The Pinkóczys also were nobles . . . Their ancestors may have been here when Bot Pál first settled in 1100, 1200. Bot Pál was the village's first landlord, then it may have had about 100 inhabitants, among them were the Pinkóczys . . . In those days they gathered the people, they said that the serfs should come here, they would grant them free land . . . Gábor Kánya and Endre Kánya considered themselves kin of one another, they too were pure-blooded, certainly their ancestors lived here during the time of Bot Pál."

8. Descendants of such aristocratic clans inhabited the villages of Samelyi and Ovári, in the Szatmár region (Maksai 1940: 62-63).

9. 1775 serf inventories from Botpalád. Szabolcs-Szatmár County Archives in Nyíregyháza, Box 247, IV.A.; 501.

10. Lists of nobles from the district of Szamosköz (for military conscription). AI. 1809. Botpalád. Szabolcs-Szatmár County Archives in Nyíregyháza, Box 290.

11. Manuscript in the possession of Gergely Szikszó, Ella Szikszó and Bertalan Pinkóczy, Botpalád.

12. Although my sources do not designate the Botpaládians as such, in other parts of Hungary the children of noble mothers and serf fathers were called agilis, and they acquired certain noble privileges by virtue of this half-noble status (see Kovács 1942: 36-37).

13. The units by which the lands were measured are unclear on the available copies of the archival documents which provided this information. However, the units which were used for both Botpalád and Kispalád are the same, so a valid comparison can be made between the two villages on the basis of them.

See: Magyar Országos Levéltár, Regnicolaris Levéltár, Archivum Regni; Országos összeírások, 1720. évi összeírás (N79); Lad.JJ Nr.7 fr.11 Comitatus Szathmariensis; Possessio Bot Palád; Possessio Kis Palád.

14. Lajos Für (1965: 33-154) and Emil Simonffy (1965: 207-267) discuss the many complications and controversies which were related to this process of redemption and consolidation.

15. Weber (1970: 190-191) contrasts the negatively privileged to the positively privileged status groups, a distinction which applies particularly to Botpalád in the early 20th century:

For all practical purposes, stratification by status goes hand in hand with a monopolization of ideal and material goods or opportunities . . . Besides the specific status honour, which always rests upon distance and exclusiveness, we find all sorts of material monopolies . . . This monopolization occurs positively when the status group is exclusively entitled to own and manage them; and negatively, when in order to maintain its way of life, a status group must not own and manage them . . . Quite generally, among privileged status groups there is a status disqualification that operates against the performance

of common physical labor.

16. When defining status situation, Weber contrasts it to class situation, which he says is "purely economically determined". He later writes (Weber 1970: 193): "'classes' are stratified according to their relations to the production and acquisition of goods; whereas status groups are stratified according to the principles of their consumption of goods as represented by special 'styles of life'".

17. Some data collections resulted from a nation-wide endeavour amongst Hungarian ethnographers and folklorists to find out how much the peasants remembered of the past, particularly of the 1848 Hungarian War of Independence. This endeavour was organised in 1948, the centenary of the 1848 War.

18. Ethnographic Archives of the Hungarian Museum of Ethnography: Kresz 1957, EA 4581.

19. Ethnographic Archives of the Hungarian Museum of Ethnography: Kresz 1957, EA 4581: 24.

20. Ethnographic Archives of the Hungarian Museum of Ethnography: Kresz 1957, EA 4581: 15.

21. Ethnographic Archives of the Hungarian Museum of Ethnography: Kresz 1957, EA 4581: 29.

22. Ethnographic Archives of the Hungarian Museum of Ethnography: Kresz 1957, EA 4581: 14.

23. Ethnographic Archives of the Hungarian Museum of Ethnography: Kresz 1957, EA 4581: 49-50.

24. Ethnographic Archives of the Hungarian Museum of Ethnography: Kresz 1957, EA 4581: 16.

25. My observations on Mánd are based on my own fieldwork, carried out during my stay in Botpalád and Kispalád.

26. See: Ethnographic Archives of the Hungarian Museum of Ethnography:
Maksai 1950, EA 2096: 56-57, 67.
Luby 1950, EA 2197.

27. Szabó 1976a: 49, footnote 72. The Hungarian text is as follows:

Még a századforduló táján is előfordult, hogy a felsőtiszavidéki falvakban, melyekben együtt laktak szegény kisnemesek és tehetős jobbágy-eredetű emberek, a volt jobbágnak a volt kisnemes végzett bér munkát. 'Tekintetes uram - szólt az előbbi - volna egy kis fűvem, le kellene vágni, elvállalja-e?' (A 'tekintetes' megszólítás annak idején megillette a nemest, mint a cimben az 'egregius' vagy 'vitéztlö').

28. Lajos n.d., manuscript: 14.

Haladni akar mindkét réteg. A partiaknak fáj az a helyzet melybe az idők folyamán társadalmi és gazdasági körülményeik folytán a felszabadulásig lényegileg megmaradtak. Szívós munkával, takarékossgal módosodni iparkodnak. Eletmódjuk, szokásviláguk kialakításában igyekeznek őket megközelíteni, itt is inkább az utóbbiban. Termelőeszközeikben ugyanis hasonlíthatatlanul hátrányban vannak. Rokonsági mélyebb kapcsolatot nem tudnak kiépíteni velük, ez csak az egyoldalú komaságig sikerül.

A nemesek urak akarnak maradni velük szemben. Földjeikhez mereven ragaszkodnak, a partiakkal mint alkalmazottakkal bánnak. Látva a partiak közeledését, sorról-sorra hagyják el velük megegyező szokásaikat, életformáikat s a közéletben a különélésnek olyan formáihoz ragaszkodnak, melyek a régi rendi világ osztálykülönülését jelképezik (egyházi élet megkülönböztetett formái, falusi tisztségek viselése). Ha közelednek is a partiakhoz, közeledésük nem egyéb, mint úri leereszkedés.

29. Lajos n.d., manuscript: 48-49.

A derékiakat a múlthoz a nemesi származás erős tudata köti. Eletmódjuk még a földhöz köti őket, nyelvük még a vidék ízét adja, de szokásaikban, családi életükben megnyilvánuló kényelemszeretetükben (sok a kevésgyermekes család) egyre polgáriasabb felfogást mutatnak. Bár népesség szempontjából hanyatlanak, egészséges, erőteljes emberek, kevés kivételtől eltekintve termelő, építő munkára alkalmasak.

A partiakban él a múlt sok megalázottsága és keserősége. Még nem tudnak szabadulni a szolgaságba való beletörődéstől. Tisztelettel néznek a derékiakra, nincs elég önbizalmuk. Eletüket, ahogy lehet, a derékiakhoz kötik. Pedig leleményesebbek, munkateljesítményben felülmúlják őket, családi életük erőteljesebb, népesebb. Népi hagyományaikban is több az érték mint a derékiaknál.

30. The village of Atány also merits attention. This community, described in the monograph Proper Peasants, is located in Heves county, to the west of the Szatmár region and to the northeast of Budapest. Although the area of Heves is not known to have had as high a proportion of peasant-noble inhabitants as Szatmár, in 1826 the population of Atány included 26 such families who owned altogether 13 tenements (Fél - Hófer 1969: 28). Furthermore, while the villages surrounding Atány bowed to the influence of the counter-reformation and became Catholic, Atány remained Calvinist (Fél - Hófer 1969: 26). Thus, from the viewpoints of both religion and peasant-noble ancestry there are certain similarities between Botpalád and Atány.

The authors state the following, when discussing rank and prestige in Atány:

The expression 'rank' is often heard in the conversation of the villagers. 'The village mayor had to be chosen from a family of rank, but his property counted too.' 'There is only rank, no more wealth!' (Fél - Hófer 1969: 279)

These statements suggest that rank is not identical to wealth. The authors specify rank as depending on property, way of life, age of property, kin ties between families of rank and wealth as a reaffirmation of the families' ancient and distinguished existence, noble descent, and economic independence and autonomy (Fél - Hófer 1969: 279-281).

Similarly to Botpalád, rank affects the seating arrangements at church service, and the authors state that "the first row is the 'nobles' stool'" (Fél - Hófer 1969: 74). The authors suggest that the recognition of kinship is restricted along the lines of rank: "...a 'poor relative' is not a full-fledged kinsman, since he is unable to fulfil his duties as a relative reciprocally, and does not add to the prestige of the family." (Fél - Hófer 1969: 285)

31. In this section I have not yet mentioned the fact that a number of 19th century Hungarian writers have included vivid descriptions of peasant-nobles in their novels. For example, in A köszivü ember fia (1954: 139-140), Mór Jókai writes the following about a lively election campaign:

Two hundred bare-faced public guzzlers, the discarded, picked-out dregs of the nobility of three neighbouring counties; celebrities well-versed in prisons because of their heroic deeds in scuffles, arson and horse-theft; hoarse-throated free drinkers who never sober up, seekers of goods who have squandered away their ancestral property, the degenerate, blushing mentioned descendants of honest kinsmen, narrow-minded obstinate

conservatives, arrogant cads, coats of arms dragged in the mud, amongst whom the ringleaders are the procrastinating village pettifogger and the school-shirking cantor [also serving as school-master]. This is the administrator's bodyguard which is conveyed by forspont [the peasants' obligatory horse-relay] from very circuitous areas to the county capital, in order to frighten, shout down, outvote, and if necessary beat down the noble estates and orders from the counties; he sends them ahead of himself, he takes them after himself as a ceremonial receiving crowd, a showy escort, he even goes so far as to take them to Pest and have them play torchlight music for him in the centre of the national capital . . . their daily fee was two forints a head - and úri provisions.

(Kétszáz szemenszedett országos korhely, három szomszédos vármegye nemességének kilökött, kimustrált söpredéke - verekedés, gyújtogatás, lólopás höstettei miatt börtön jártas nevezetességek; soha ki nem józanuló rekedttorkú ingyenivók, ősi birtokukat elpazarolt jószágkeresők, becsületes atyafiaknak orcapirulással emlegetett korcs ivadékaik; bornirt, csökönyös osdiak, dölyfös rongyok, sárban meghurcolt címerek, kik közt előcsahos a huza-vona falusi legulejus, s az iskolakerülő kántor. Ez az adminisztrátor úr nevezetes mobil gárdája, melyet forsponttal hordat össze nagy kerülő földről a megyei székvárosba, elrémiteni, leordítani, leszavazni, s ha kell, le is verni a megyebeli nemes karokat, rendeket; küldi őket maga előtt, viszi őket maga után, ünnepélyes elfogadó tömegnek, diszelgő kíséretnek, sőt még azt is megteszi hogy felviszi őket Pestre s fáklyazenét adat velük magának a főváros közepette . . . Két forint napidíj járta fejenként - és úri ellátás.)

32. These petty nobles apparently were descendants of nobles who themselves held no office, and were "no more than free peasants who claimed noble lineage" (Chirot 1976: 104).

1. The "úri" outlook would not have died out locally because on the one hand, in the mid-1970s not all "úri" villagers sought professional work, eventually leading them away from the village; some remained in the Botpalád as unskilled agricultural workers. Moreover, the possibility always existed in the mid-1970s for other, perhaps newly impoverished villagers, who previously had adopted for example a "competitive" outlook, to claim rang on the basis of non-existent attributes which they could never prove or disprove. For example someone named Váloci, who was seeing harder times and unable to maintain the markers of mód he had possessed earlier in the 1970s, might declare he was of noble ancestry and therefore rangos without being able to produce the legal document certifying this ancestry. Such a scenario might occur if economic conditions became tougher, and if rural inhabitants had greater difficulty in maintaining the standard of living I noted in the mid-1970s.

2. Such reform measures in the 1980s included, for example, the encouragement of small enterprise and provisions for the establishment of "economic work collectives" (gazdasági munkaközösség) within large factories, provisions for the operation of small businesses in the catering industry on a contractual basis, a decentralisation of enterprise management whereby workers could elect their own "enterprise councils" (vállalati tanács), and plans were also drawn up to reform the banking system.

The election system underwent some alteration too. In the 1985 parliamentary elections voters nominated 78 of the 873 candidates, meaning that the ballot-lists for 78 constituencies contained more than two candidates. Thirty-five deputies were elected on the newly introduced national list (Jónás 1990: 104).

3. Already in June 1985, 50 Hungarian intellectuals were reported to have conferred in the village of Monor on the country's situation, on the crisis and on how to resolve it. In April 1986, 30 Hungarian intellectuals protested by means of a paid advertisement in the Austrian newspaper Die Presse against the controversial Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros water barrage which was being built on the Danube jointly with Czechoslovakia, and alternative groupings such as the Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Society and the Peter Veres Society were formed in the same year (Jónás 1990: 105).

4. The first meeting of the Hungarian Democratic Forum in Lakitelek was held in September 1987, and a group of Hungarian intellectuals decided in December of the same year to form the New March Front. An appeal was issued in March 1988 for the creation of the Network of Free Initiatives, whose task was to unite and coordinate activities of alternative groups demanding a multiparty system; the Alliance of Free Democrats was eventually formed out of the Network of Free Initiatives (see Jónás 1990: 105, 106).

5. A demonstration was held on 15th March 1988 at which several thousand people called for democracy, several thousand demonstrated in Budapest on 27th May 1988 against the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros water barrage project, several hundred people demonstrated on 16th June 1988, the anniversary of the execution of Imre Nagy (the Premier in the 1956 uprising), and 11 days later many tens of thousands demonstrated against the demolition of villages in Romania (Jónás 1990: 106).

6. For example the Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party issued a statement on 5th January 1990 in which it dissociated itself from the "mistaken" economic policy of the Government led by György Lázár from 1975 to 1987, and it named five former leaders whom it considered most responsible politically for the mistakes of the past (Jónás 1990: 116).

7. József Antall, who then was Premier-designate, reported the following to the National Assembly on 22 May 1990 (Summary of World Broadcasts (SWB). Third Series. Part Two Eastern Europe, issue number 0773. Caversham Park, Reading: BBC Monitoring. Henceforth the system of reference will be as follows: SWB Third Series EE/0773):

Our objective is to realize the social market economy, in other words an economy in which the openness of the market is complemented by social, and, let us add, environmental protection viewpoints, the expectations of a caring society that thinks in the long term.

We also have to see that 43 years of a planned economy, described as socialist, cannot be eliminated in a matter of weeks, even if in the recent past market economy elements have already been cropping up as well.

The adherence of the new coalition Government to its "philosophy of the social market economy" was reaffirmed at a Government meeting on 17 November 1990, although the Government spokesman admitted that owing to the economic crisis and change of system it was considered "necessary to strengthen state intervention in the period of transition" (SWB Third Series EE/0929 section B/8 item 12. Henceforth to be referred to as: SWB Third Series EE/0929 B/8 item 12).

8. When presenting his Government programme on 22nd May 1990, Antall said (SWB Third Series EE/0773):

According to the Government's concepts, the self-government type of local reform builds on the historical traditions of Hungarian self-governments, and takes into consideration the basic principles of modern self-government, formulated in the Council of Europe's Charter adopted in 1985. We consider as such a basic principle the democratic exercise of local authority.

The right of local self-government appertains to the community of the population of villages, towns and counties, which they can exercise through their elected representative bodies.

9. Hungarian Radio (SWB Third Series EE/0898 C1/1 item 1) reported on 15th October 1990 that in the local elections, mayors of 2,911 settlements were elected, and 2,412 (82.9%) of the victorious candidates were Independents. The Independent Smallholders' Party obtained 108 positions, while the Hungarian Democratic Forum won 68 mayoral posts, followed by the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Christian Democratic People's Party. The Independents also came in first in the elections to the "representative bodies" of settlements with a population of under 10,000 inhabitants; 71.2% of the newly elected local government representatives were Independent, followed, in order of success, by the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Alliance of Free Democrats, and the Christian Democratic People's Party.

10. Judith Miller (1990: 74) writes at length about the division between the two major parties along these lines, and about how this issue came to the forefront in the parliamentary elections of March-April 1990:

The contest in March and April pitted two anti-Communist parties against each other: the Democratic Forum and the Alliance of Free Democrats. The latter is the more urban and intellectual party, with more Jewish members and former Communists in its ranks.

During the campaigning, the Democratic Forum deliberately played upon Hungarian resentment of Jews. The message was coded but clear. In a radio broadcast, István Csurka, a populist writer and spokesman for the Forum, urged Hungarians to 'wake up.' A 'dwarfish minority,' he said, was robbing Hungarians of their true national culture and symbols.

11. An investigation carried out by the Hungarian Chief Prosecutor concluded that the words which had been shouted out were: "A soap-box for the speaker!" The Speaker of the National Assembly reported to Parliament about these conclusions and asked that the affair be closed (SWB Third Series EE/0897 Cl/1 item 1). One National Assembly deputy, from the Hungarian Democratic Forum, subsequently took grievance at the affair, which he called a slander campaign and which he said offended the country as well as the Hungarian nation. Instead of agreeing to forget the matter, he called for an investigation into how the so-called slander campaign began.

12. Antall, when addressing the National Assembly on 22nd May 1990, said the following (SWB Third Series EE/0773):

Government declares a new agrarian policy. A market economy is inconceivable without real private proprietors, which in agriculture to a large extent means the property of natural people, and where for the most part, ownership and use coincide.

The new agriculture will be based fundamentally on the family cooperation of privately owning producers, as well as on genuine cooperatives of proprietors, and in a set narrow circle, on state farms. The basic principle of the reform of agricultural property is that the land should end up being owned by the person who is expected to till it. Our objective is to serve justice to the peasantry for the injuries it has suffered. In this regard, the year 1947 can be the decisive point of parture, when the property relations after the 1945 land reform had taken shape, and the forced collectivisation had not yet begun. However, this cannot endanger either production or the up-to-date development of the country's property system, and it cannot endanger our entire agricultural policy.

13. The leader of the parliamentary group of the Independent Smallholders' Party addressed the National Assembly on 10th December 1990 (SWB Third Series EE/0946 Cl/9 item 2), and voiced his objections to the proposed compensation law:

. . . the Chairman, the group leader and the entire group of deputies of the Independent Smallholders' Party also on this occasion affirm and proclaim their already known standpoint, according to which they continue to insist on the reprivatisation of land and other objects of property, in other words that property should be returned to citizens unlawfully robbed of their assets.

14. Antall in his Government programme statement delivered on 22 May 1990 said (SWB Third Series EE/0773):

The central and eastern European changes have given us a great opportunity to cease, or at least significantly alleviate the differences which have from way back turned the peoples living here against each other. The nations which are becoming independent must form free contacts with each other; state boundaries should not impede the free flow of individuals, information and ideas.

On more than one occasion since then, the Foreign Minister Géza Jeszenszky has expressed the Hungarian Government's wish for its borders with the neighbouring countries to be "open and accessible" (SWB Third Series EE/0850 B/13 item 48; SWB Third Series EE/0848 A2/1 item 1).

15. Szabadon választott. 1990. Budapest: Idegenforgalmi Propaganda és Kiadó Vállalat. 151.

16. According to a statistical handbook issued by the Central Statistics Office, incomes in real terms in Hungary increased by almost 13% in the ten years between 1980 and 1990, while the average price of food, clothing, energy, consumer durables and services more than doubled (SWB Third Series EE/0849 B/12 item 33).

17. Such sentiments were voiced, for example, by Foreign Minister Géza Jeszenszky at a festive meeting staged by the Hungarian Democratic Forum on 19th August 1990, when he spoke of "a third of the Magyar nation" that now "lived outside her borders" (SWB Third Series EE/0850 B/13 item 48). The responsibility felt by the Government for the Hungarian minorities beyond the country's borders was further reaffirmed in a Foreign Ministry statement reported by MTI on 6th December 1990 (SWB Third Series EE/0946 A2/1 item 2).

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----Regnicolaris Levéltár, Archivum palatinale; Conscriptio regnicolaris art.VII.1827; ordinata (N26) 1828. Comitatus Szathmáriensis. 27. Botpalád. 166. Kis-Palád. 163. Nagy-Palád. (Land-inventory for 1828. Botpalád, Kispalád, Nagypalád.)

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- Statistics from the Botpalád-Kispalád Uj Barázda Collective Farm. Work hours and wages of Collective Farm members from Kispalád and Botpalád for 1976.
- Livestock of Collective Farm members from Kispalád and Botpalád for 1976.
- Payments made to Collective Farm members, non-members and employees in 1977.
- Milk payments made to Collective Farm members, employees and non-members for 1977.
- Collective Farm's Charter. 1972.
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APPENDIX 1: RANGE OF MATERIAL PROSPERITY IN THE MID-1970s - SOME SAMPLES FROM BOTPALÁD AND KISPALÁD

Family, Adult and village dependent members	Occupation & income	Land	Livestock	Living quarters	Household equipment, appliances	Farm equip., other machines	Fruit-veg. production, other income-sources
I. Family of F. Cserepes, Kispalád, 1977	1. Former bar-keeper, now private farmer, not TSZ member 2. Helper in family's private farming venture, housekeeper. 3. Storekeeper, completed school of commerce, now taking correspondence course at vocational secondary school. Salary ca. 3000 fts/mo. 4. Schoolteacher, completed teacher training college, Salary ca. 4000 fts/mo.	5 kh., including internal garden plot and scattered external plots (ploughland and meadow). No háztáji (use-rights to household plot from collective farm)	5 cows (2 used for draught, all milked; in past they kept 6-8 cows and 10 calves, the cows yielding 80-90 liters milk daily and the calves sold at 9000-18,000 forints/head) 7 pigs (2 for fattening and domestic consumption; 2 sows; 3 for sale at 6,000-8,000 forints/pig) 80 hens and chickens (for domestic consumption)	1 internal farmyard, a house, a pig-shed, a poultry shed, a poultry equipment and vehicles. House contains 2 large central rooms, 2 bedrooms, 1 large kitchen, a glassed-in porch, a bathroom, a pantry. Half an internal farmyard, a cowshed, a pigshed, a poultry shed, a poultry house (with "upper" and "lower" rooms and kitchen)	2 gas ranges 3 wood-burning heaters 1 oil heater 1 radio 1 TV 1 washing machine 1 spin-drier 1 vacuum cleaner 1 running water 1 flush toilet electricity	1 milking-machine 1 electric saw 1 electric grinder 1 car 1 small garden "tractor" 1 motorcycle 2 bicycles	Intensive vegetable cultivation: 11,000 seedlings planted in 1977 for selling (cauliflower, red cabbage, summer cabbage, peppers). Apples grown for selling. Other vegetables grown for home consumption. Apples sold at 2.5-5 forints/kilogramme. In spare time, the 2 sons earn money by binding wire, too.

APPENDIX 1 (continued)

Family of F. Cserepes, continued		5. Storekeeper, completed vocational secondary school with training as electrician. Salary ca. 3000 fts/mo	16 ducks and geese (for home consumption; in past they kept as many as 40).				
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APPENDIX 1 (continued)

<p>II. L. Oláh, Botpalad, (1976-1977)</p>	<p>1. L. Oláh (family adult) 2. Zs. Szikszó (wife of L. Oláh)</p>	<p>1. Retired TSZ member (pension of 1040 forints/mo); former part-time shoemaker (still does occasional jobs in leatherwork). 2. Housekeeper; as wife of former TSZ member, receives pension of 120 forints/month.</p>	<p>Internal garden and 1 kh. haz-taji. Use rights to meadow obtained from local sports association or acquired otherwise (e.g. from TSZ) in order to provide fodder.</p>	<p>1 cow 26 chickens (for home consumption)</p>	<p>1 internal farmyard, with a house, a pig-shed, a poultry-shed and a dovecote. The house is straw-roofed and was built in 1852. It is divided into a kitchen and 2 rooms, one on either side of it. The so-called kisház ("litter room") is used in summer, while the felsővégi nagyház ("big room at upper end", near street) is inhabited in winter. The kitchen has an open chimney (szabad-kemény) which extends directly out of ceiling, and house walls are made of mud-and-daub.</p>	<p>2 wood-and coal-burning heaters which serve as cooking ranges 1 radio No electricity</p>	<p>Over past years L. Oláh's main expenses have been paying off his brothers in order to keep his current house (11,000 forints), buying a farmyard and materials for roofing house of his foster-daughter, and paying for burial and funeral of his foster-son (800 forints).</p>
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APPENDIX 1 (continued)

<p>III. G. Szikszó Botpalad, 1977</p>	<p>1. G. Szikszó (family head, dependent) 2. B. Pinkóczy (husband of daughter of G. Szikszó, adult) 3. E. Szikszó (daughter of G. Szikszó) 4. G. Pinkóczy (son of B. Pinkóczy, dependent)</p>	<p>1. Former owner of most landed property in Botpalad, never joined TSZ, nor worked for it or for other organisation regularly. 2. Former supervisor of hospital in region, now retired. Pension of ca. 2000-2500 forints/mo. 3. Housekeeper 4. Schoolchild</p>	<p>1 kh. internal garden and meadow behind house and farmyard. They have no <u>háztáji</u>.</p>	<p>5 pigs (1 sow, 1 for fattening and home consumption, 3 for sale, at 6000-8000 forints/head), 25-30 hens and chickens for home consumption</p>	<p>1 internal farmyard with 1 house, 1 granary, 1 pig-shed and 1 poultry-shed. House contains a vestibule, a kitchen, a pantry, and 2 big rooms. It is inhabited by the daughter, son-in-law and grandson of G. Szikszó; G. Szikszó sleeps and eats separately in the granary.</p>	<p>3 wood-coal burning heaters, which also serve as cooking ranges. 1 TV 1 radio Owing to "lack of money" they have not built a 4-sided out-house, nor had a fence built between the house-front and the street (most local houses have such a fence). Electricity</p>	<p>Occasional granting of use-rights to their land (e.g. meadow) in return for money. G. Szikszó and relatives also trying to sell old family documents for money.</p>
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APPENDIX 2

RANKING EXPRESSIONS - ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS

The English equivalents to the words discussed in the text at the beginning of Chapter 6 on Ranking Categories and Views of Status Differentiation are given below. Apart from when other references are cited, they are based on László Országh's Magyar-Angol Szótár (Volumes I and II. 1969. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó). Unless otherwise indicated, these words may be used as both adjectives and nouns; the adjectival meanings are given.

1. nemes: belonging to the nobility of feudal society; noble, well-born, of noble birth or descent; of high-grade, excellent character. This word's first written appearance dates from between 1372 and 1448, and etymologists believe it to have derived from the noun nem, which means kind, species, a collection of things of the same type. (See: Magyar Nyelv Történeti-Etimológiai Szótár, Volume II; 1970; pp. 1009-1011. Magyar Nyelv Ertelmező Szótára, Volume 5; 1966; pp. 168-169.)

2. jó (család): (noun only) good (family).

3. jónevü: (adjective only) having a good name, having a high reputation.

4.a. törzsökös: (adjective only) pure-blooded, aboriginal, thoroughbred; it is the adjectival form of törzsök, which as a noun has meant a tree-trunk, a tribe or clan of people, the ancestor of a clan or family, the origins or roots of something. As an adjective törzsök has meant ancient or stocky. Törzsök has appeared since the 13th-14th centuries, and the earliest known date for törzsökös is 1724. (See: Magyar Nyelv Történeti-Etimológiai Szótár, Volume III; 1976; pp. 975-976.) törzsökös nemes: of old nobility.

4.b. tösgyökeres: (adjective only) ancient, autochthonous, pure-blooded, genuine, deep-rooted. It is a compound formed out of the noun tő (root, base) and the adjective derived from the noun gyökér (root). (Magyar Nyelv Történeti-Etimológiai Szótár, Volume III; 1976; pp. 976-977.)

4.c. idegen: strange, foreign, alien.

4.d. bekerült: one who has succeeded in getting into somewhere, newcomer.

5.a. úri: gentlemanly, gentlemanlike, of or belonging to the upper classes. Adjectival form of úr, which means gentleman, master, sir, husband, or the Lord. Other derivatives of úr are the adjectives uras and urias, and the verbs uraz (address somebody as sir or úr), urizál and uraskodik (give oneself airs, play the gentleman, show off). Ur has appeared in written sources since the late 12th century; its first meanings were: the possessor of power and wealth, the sovereign. The verbs and other adjectives derived from úr have been found in documents dating from the early 18th century and later. (See: Magyar Nyelv Történeti-Etimológiai Szótár, Volume III; 1976; p. 1035.)

5.b. nagy: large, great, grand.

5.c. müvelt: (adjective only) educated, learned, refined.

5.d. paraszt: peasant. It may be used with the adjectives nagy(big), közép (medium) and kis (little).

6.a. magyar: Magyar.

6.b. cigány: gipsy.

6.c. korcs: half-breed, mongrel, cross-breed, degenerate, bastard.

7.a. gazdag: rich, wealthy, affluent.

7.b. szegény: poor, penniless, miserable.

7.c. nincstelen: (adj.) poverty-stricken, destitute, penniless, landless; (noun) pauper.

8.a. gazda: (noun only) landowning peasant, smallholder; employer, master, owner of something, the family head, rich person. It is usually accompanied by an adjective such as nagy (big), kis (little), jó (good), etc. Etymologists believe gazda to be of Slavic origin. It has appeared since the late 14th century, and the meaning "rich person" is the most recently documented semantic development, dating from 1960. (Magyar Nyelv Történeti-Etimológiai Szótár, Volume I; 1967; pp. 1037-1038.)

8.b. birtokos: proprietary, propertied, landed. As a noun it means owner, proprietor, occupant, tenant or possessor. When it occurs with the adjectives nagy, közép, or kis, it usually means landowner.

8.c. kulák: (noun only) kulak, wealthy peasant, large farmer. In the 1950s, a peasant who owned 25 kh. (14.33 ha.) or more of land.

8.d. cseléd: (noun only) domestic or farm servant, farm-hand; household member; child. fehércseléd: woman. Until the 19th century there was no semantic differentiation between the words család and cseléd, and cseléd is believed to be a variation, in form, of család. Család is of Slavic origin. (Magyar Nyelv Történeti-Etimológiai Szótár, Volume I; 1967; p. 493.)

8.e. gulyás: (noun only) herdsman of oxen, young bullocks, heifers and calves which are kept in herds outside of the village day and night from early spring until late autumn.

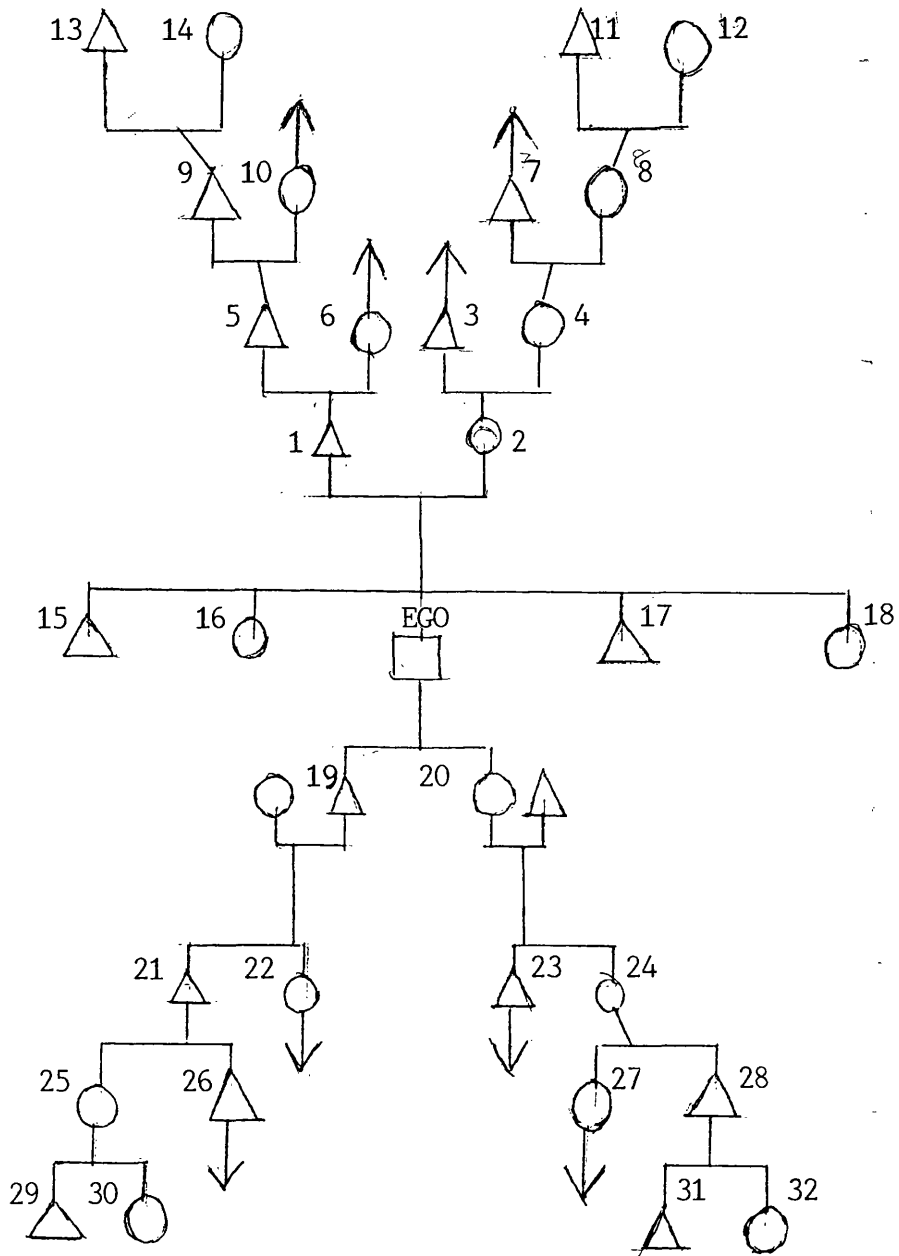
8.f. csordás: (noun only) herdsman of milch cows which are stabled every night in the summer, late spring and autumn, and stabled daily-nightly at other times.

8.g. juhász: (noun only) herdsman of sheep, shepherd.

8.h. kondás: (noun only) herdsman of pigs, swineherd.

APPENDIX 3: KINSHIP TERMS

LINEAL



APPENDIX 3: KINSHIP TERMS - LINEAL

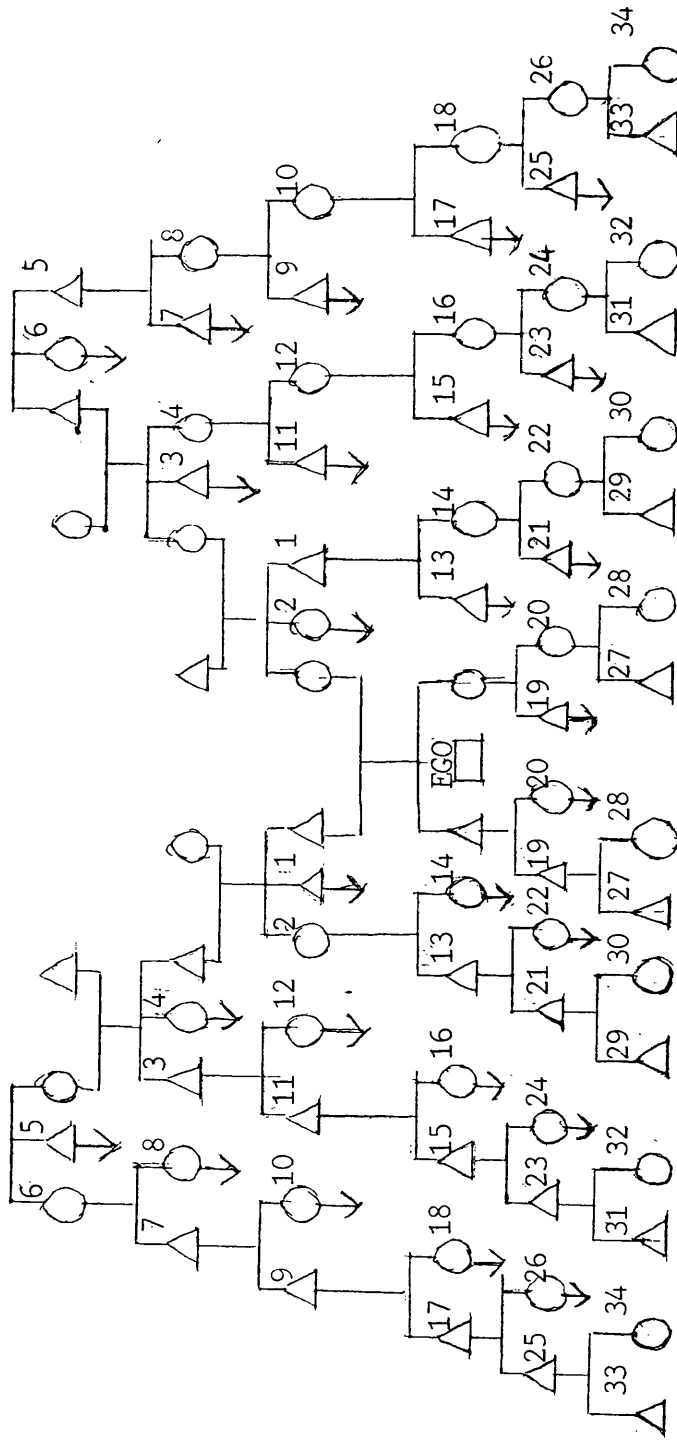
	URBAN		BOTPALÁD/KISPALÁD	
	Reference	Address	Reference	Address
1	Apám	Apu, édesapám, apja + formal 3rd or informal 2nd person	Apám	Édesapám, apja + formal 3rd person
2	Anyám	Anyu, édesanyám, anya + formal 3rd or informal 2nd person	Anyám	Édesanyám(anya), édes, anyu + formal 3rd person
3,5	Nagyapám	Nagypapa, nagy- apám(apu) + for- mal 3rd person	Nagyapám, Papám	Christian name or surname+papám, nagy- apám,+formal 3rd person
4,6	Nagyanyám	Nagymama, nagy- anyám + formal 3rd person	Nagyanyám, Mamám	Christian name or surname+mamám, nagyanyám+formal 3rd person
7,9	Déd(nagy)apám	-----	Déd(nagy)apám, szép(nagy)apám	Papó, Christian name or surname + papám+formal 3rd person
8,10	Déd(nagy)anyám	-----	Déd(nagy)anyám, szép(nagy)anyám	Mamó, Christian name or surname+ mamam + formal 3rd person
11, 13	Ükapám	-----	Ükapám	Papó, Christian name or surname+ papám+formal 3rd person
12, 14	Ükanyám	-----	Ükanyám	Mamó, Christian name or surname+ mamám + formal 3rd person
15	Bátyám	Christian name or nickname + informal 2nd person	Bátyám	Christian name+or bátyám+formal 3rd or informal 2nd person
16	Nővérem	Christian name or nickname + informal 2nd person	Néném	Christian name+or néném+formal 3rd or informal 2nd person
17	Öcsém	Christian name or nickname+ informal 2nd person*	Öcsém	Christian/nickname or öcsém + infor- mal 2nd person*

APPENDIX 3: KINSHIP TERMS - LINEAL (cont)

	URBAN		BOTPALÁD/KISPALÁD	
	Reference	Address	Reference	Address
18	Hugom	Christian name or nickname + informal 2nd person*	Hugom	Christian/nickname or hugom+ informal 2nd person*
19	Fiam	Christian name or nickname + informal 2nd person*	Fiam	Christian/nickname or fiam, pulyafiam, + informal 2nd person*
20	Lányom	Christian name or nickname + informal 2nd person*	Lányom	Christian/nickname or lányom, pulyalányom, + informal 2nd person*
21 22 23 24	Unokám	Christian name or nickname + informal 2nd person*	Unokám	Christian/nickname or pulya + informal 2nd person*
25 26 27 28	Dédunokám	Christian name or nickname + informal 2nd person*	Dédunokám	Christian/nickname or pulya + informal 2nd person*
29 30 31 32	Ükunokám	Christian name or nickname + informal 2nd person*	Ükunokám	Christian/nickname or pulya + informal 2nd person*

Note: Asterisk indicates that the diminutive "-ka", "-ke" may be added to the Christian- or nickname when the person is being addressed.

APPENDIX 3: KINSHIP TERMS - COLLATERAL



NOTE: Arrow indicates that terminology used to refer to or address members of descending generations corresponds to that used for descendants of arrowed kin's siblings.

APPENDIX 3: KINSHIP TERMS - COLLATERAL

	URBAN		BOTPALÁD/KISPALÁD	
	Reference	Address	Reference	Address
1,3, 5,7, 9,11	Nagybátyám	Christian name + bácsi + formal 3rd person	Bátyám, nagy- bátyám	*Bátyám + formal 3rd person
2,4, 6,8, 10, 12	Nagynéném	Christian name + néni + formal 3rd person	Néném, nagy- néném	*Néném + formal 3rd person
13	Első unokatest- vérem, unoka- bátyám, unoka- öcsém	Christian name + informal 2nd person	Édesunokatest- vérem, unoka- bátyám, unoka- öcsém	*Bátyám, öcsém or Christian name+informal 2nd person
14	Első unokatest- vérem, unoka- nővérem, unoka- hugom	Christian name + informal 2nd person	Édesunokatest- vérem, unoka- hugom, néném	*Néném, hugom or Christian name+informal 2nd person
15	Második unoka- testvérem, unoka- bátyám, unoka- öcsém	Christian name +informal 2nd person	(Második)unoka- testvérem, unokabátyám, unokaöcsém	*Bátyám, öcsém or Christian name+informal 2nd person
16	Második unoka- testvérem, unoka- nővérem, unoka- hugom	Christian name +informal 2nd person	(Második)unoka- testvérem, unokahugom, néném	*Néném, hugom or Christian name+informal 2nd person
17	Harmadik unoka- testvérem, unokabátyám, unokaöcsém	Christian name +informal 2nd person	(Harmadik)unoka- testvérem, unokabátyám, unokaöcsém	*Bátyám, öcsém or Christian name+informal 2nd person
18	Harmadik unoka- testvérem, unokanővérem, unokahugom	Christian name +informal 2nd person	(Harmadik)unoka- testvérem, unokahugom, néném	*Néném, hugom or Christian name+informal 2nd person
19,21, 23,25, 27,29, 31,33	Unokaöcsém	Christian name +informal 2nd person	Unokaöcsém	Öcsém or Christian name +informal 2nd person
20,22, 24,26, 28,30, 32,34	Unokahugom	Christian name +informal 2nd person	Unokahugom	Hugom or Christian name +informal 2nd person

Note 1: Asterisk indicates that the term may be preceded by Christian name.

Note 2: According to Bodrogi (1961;138) reference in an urban context to the following may be a combination of the basic kinship terms: 3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,15,16,17,18,21-34.

APPENDIX 3: KINSHIP TERMS - AFFINAL

	URBAN		BOTPALAD/KISPALAD	
	Reference	Address	Reference	Address
1	Feleségem	Christian name + informal 2nd person	Asszonyom, feleségem	Christian name+ informal 2nd person or asszonyom + formal 3rd person
2,5	Sógorom	Christian name+ informal 2nd person	Sógorom	Sógorom or Christian name +informal 2nd person
3,4	Sógornőm	Christian name+ informal 2nd person	Sógornőm	Sógornőm or Christian name +informal 2nd person
6	Apósom	Papa + formal 3rd person	Apósom	Apósom, apám, apu +formal 3rd person
7	Anyósom	Mama + formal 3rd person	Anyósom	Anyósom, anyám, mamam, anyu + formal 3rd person
8	Menyem	Christian name +informal 2nd person	Menyem	Christian name+ informal 2nd person
9	Vőm, vejem	Christian name +informal 2nd person	Vőm, vejem	Christian name+ informal 2nd person
10	Nászom (occasionally)	Christian name +informal 2nd person	Nászom	Nászom or Christian name+ informal 2nd person
11	Nászasszonyom (occasionally)	Christian name +informal 2nd person	Nászasszonyom	Nászasszonyom or Christian name+ informal 2nd person
12	-----	Christian name +informal 2nd person	Unokamenyem	Christian name+ informal 2nd person
13	-----	Christian name +informal 2nd person	Unokavőm, Unokavejem	Christian name +informal 2nd person

APPENDIX 3: KINSHIP TERMS - AFFINAL (cont)

	URBAN		BOTPALÁD/KISPALÁD	
	Reference	Address	Reference	Address
14	Nagybátyám	Christian name+ bácsi+formal 3rd person	Bátyám, nagybátyám	Bátyám, Christian name+bátyám + formal 3rd person
15	Nagynéném	Christian name+ néni+formal 3rd person	Néném, Nagynéném	Néném, Christian name+néném + formal 3rd person

Note: According to Bodrogi (1961;138), reference in the urban context to the following may be a combination of basic kinship terms: 10,11,12,13.

SOURCES FOR APPENDIX 3:

Bodrogi, Tibor. 1961. "A magyar rokonsági terminológia vizsgálatának néhány kérdése". Műveltség és Hagyomány. 3. pp129-147.

Information gathered through interviews and participant observation during my period of fieldwork in Botpalád and Kispalád.

APPENDIX 4: SOURCES FOR TABLES

- TABLES 1, 7, 8: Church records from Botpalád (from 1782 to time of fieldwork); church records from Kispalád (from 1777 to time of fieldwork).
- TABLES 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8: Szabolcs-Szatmár County Archives in Nyíregyháza. Inventory of landed property in Kispalád (1896); Inventory of landed property in Botpalád (1902).
- TABLES 5, 6: 1941. évi népszámlálás (Census for 1941), volume 1. 1975. Budapest.
- TABLE 9: Information elicited during fieldwork through interviews with local inhabitants.
- TABLES 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20: 1970. évi népszámlálás (Census for 1970), volume 17. 1972. Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal.
- TABLE 11: 1960. évi népszámlálás (Census for 1960), Szabolcs-Szatmár megye személyes család adatai. 1962. Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal.
- TABLES 16, 25: Statistics from the Botpalád-Kispalád Uj Barázda Collective Farm. Payments made to Collective Farm members, non-members and employees in 1977.
- TABLES 17, 25: Statistics from the Botpalád-Kispalád Uj Barázda Collective Farm. Work hours and wages of Collective Farm members from Kispalád and Botpalád for 1976.
- TABLE 18: Statistics from the Botpalád-Kispalád Uj Barázda Collective Farm. Livestock of Collective Farm members from Kispalád and Botpalád for 1976.
- TABLES 19, 25: Statistics from the Botpalád-Kispalád Uj Barázda Collective Farm. Milk payments made to Collective Farm members, employees and non-members for 1977.
- TABLES 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33: Information elicited during fieldwork through interviews with local inhabitants.

TABLES 22, 33: Church records from Botpalád (from 1782 to time of fieldwork); church records from Kispalád (from 1777 to time of fieldwork).