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**THE SETTLEMENT STRATIFICATION OF SĂLACEA  
A NEW VIEWPOINT AND METHOD IN SETTLEMENT RESEARCH**

**REZUME**

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## Keywords

settlement development, settlement stratum, oral tradition, cultural memory, plot, settlement tag, settlement part, place name

## Summary and theses

Compared to the starting point of my research, I have narrowed down the interpretative framework, in which I seek to introduce a new vision and an immature concept at the municipal level. In the chapter on the history of research I outline the development of Hungarian ethnographic settlement research. The founder of ethnographic settlement research is István GYÖRFFY, who established a settlement tradition research trend by focusing on the structure of the land plot. The research of the period gives priority to questions of settlement morphology, and the primacy of natural and human determinants is a recurrent issue in classical settlement research. Early ethnographic settlement research does not fully boil down. There are no comprehensive summaries of early Hungarian settlement research, but two examples of German settlement research show a change of direction. Robert MIELKE's summary is primarily morphological. In contrast, Albert HÖMBERG puts German settlement history research on a new footing in the direction of functional settlement division and settlement systems.

Two researchers stand out in the field of settlement research in Transylvania. Géza VÁMSZER's detailed, observationally recorded works provide a deep insight into the development of settlements in Szeklerland. He observes the changes that took place in the early 20th century, which for me are already vaguely coherent, and the concepts of local settlement that are currently alive provide a deeper insight into the socio-economic conditions of the time. The observations and results of Károly KÓS Károly KÓS give a sense of the formation of settlement patterns in the 20th century, and in several cases he points out the differences and peculiarities between *free settlement patterns* in line with natural determinacy and *settlement and* land allocation in line with human determinacy.

By the second half of the 20th century, urban geography was attempting to summarise its earlier achievements, to define itself and to define new directions. This approach shows the germs of a stratified vision. In parallel, I have tried to find parallels in the international, and more specifically Anglo-Saxon, literature on settlement studies in the field of *local history* and/or *historical ethnology*. Both Oliver Racham's and Alexander FENTON's research on rural change and lifestyles focus on settlements, but neither of them goes into a settlement interpretation. In the monographic accounts of settlement development in Szeklerland

published in the 2000s, the possibilities for interpreting the long, medium or short term, the relationship or contrast between historicisation and living tradition, are outlined.

I have broadened the horizon of interpretation in three readings. For the interpretation I introduce the concept of settlement stratification, with which I discussed comparable concepts in the chapter on historical stratification. In my view, it is in the chapter on ethnicity that the distinction between historical stratification and settlement stratification, used to describe the migration of cultural goods, is drawn. In Salac, I did not encounter any cultural elements that were distinctively linked to or derived from the settled Catholics. However, the local context and its settlement formation are representative of the cultural and social boundaries that developed locally. As the subtitle suggests, a layered vision may offer a new methodological alternative to the complex problems of settlement and place-name research, which have been seen as a gap in settlement research.<sup>1</sup> In contrast to the question of historicity, I draw on the theories of cultural memory by Jann ASSMANN and oral tradition by Jan VANSINA. I will draw on the concept of locality by Henry LEFEBVRE and Arjun APPADURAI in order to interpret the temporal relationships and their spatial projections.

In the methodological chapter, I start from the methodology of settlement ethnography briefly outlined by János Báth, which I complement with two methodological volumes that can be contrasted with settlement ethnography. The methodological outline and collection of texts that focus on settlement research is oriented towards spatial development perspectives. One of the findings of the summary essay of the volume on the problem of community is that the question of community is increasingly being replaced by that of locality. In the methods, emphasis has been placed on explaining them. I section participant observation and self-reflexively attempt to depict the importance of perspective and timing. I include both qualitative and quantitative methods in my methodology. In interviewing, I follow aspects of both methodological volumes and explain how my practice deviates from the ideal depending on the situation. For the other methods, I pay attention to technical issues. In the case of the village description, which forms the basic plane of my knowledge of subsequent settlement change, I will describe a method that is experimental and in need of refinement. The lesson of the method based on hard data is that without soft data it only allows for static interpretation. In photography, I find that technical restraint can be at the expense of focused study, so the researcher must exercise self-discipline if he or she is to achieve representative imaging.

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<sup>1</sup> BARABÁS 1979: 10-14, BÁRTH 1996: 149-164, 185



My vision is basically the result of my interest and energy invested in fieldwork, but also of the source analysis that is essential in settlement research. When discussing sources, I pay attention to the problems of ethnographic source research. With hindsight, I can see that the diversity of sources and the fact that they appear in unexpected places make source reading a task that requires attention. It takes a long time to interpret the written sources and maps cited during the research. Settlement stratification only works in the context of complementary local knowledge and life-world as primary data and sources as secondary analysis.

Between the methodological chapter and the analysis of the settlement, I will discuss in detail the *Érmellék*, which defines the milieu, traditional way of life and identity formation of Szalacs. I will start from the first mention of the *Érmellék* as an administrative category. After its early administrative formation, I discuss its emergence in works summarising ethnographic landscape modification. These succinct descriptions highlight the infrastructural conditions and traditional environmental embeddedness, and are constantly supplemented with new additions. Apart from the work of Gyula VARGA, the smaller part of the region that remains in Hungary is always overshadowed. The volumes of studies provide a constantly changing picture of the *Érmellék*. In the varied analyses of the volumes of studies, I pay attention to the highlighting of Szalacs. The first volume of studies shows Szalacs as central in the 19th century and 'falling behind' by the 20th century. The transformation of the traditional cultural landscape has a spectacular impact on the settlement. Natural history research makes it clear that the vineyards, which are now difficult to distinguish due to the lack of physical boundaries, were essentially on the border between the flat landscape running alongside the *Ér* and the ridge of hills continuing in the plain, so that in natural history terms they are not mountains. At the end of the discussion of the *Érmellék*, I will highlight the identity of Salac in the *Érmellék*, and then describe the status of the settlement, its position and its development by outlining the access roads to Salac.

In my approach to Szalacs, I will first outline the chronological order of the settlement's changes through sources, source works and road descriptions, and I will emphasize which stages and elements of the settlement's development appear in the historical literature, and which ones appear only on maps and other sources. Then I will describe the demographic situation of the settlement up to 1992. The statistics show that at the end of the 20th century, the denominational proportions were levelling out.

In the long and medium-term interpretation, I discuss the individual municipal members separately. So the same member long and medium term chapters follow each other.

In the long term interpretation of settlement change, place names in living use and found in historical works, manuscript maps recorded at various levels, and historical research and road descriptions are given prominence, through which a limited reconstructible stratification that can be systematically separated by medium term interpretation is drawn. The relationship between tradition and modernisation is significant in the medium-term interpretation, and there are two ways of talking about it.<sup>2</sup> Both resistance and adaptation are present in Szalacsan processes. The short-term interpretation is centred around plots, presenting cases.

For the settlement members, I start from the changes in the fragmentation of the Szalacs border and its natural environment. In discussing the outer area, I outline the traditional division of the border, its relationship to the inner area, and the experience gained from walking the border. The same basic divisions of outer and inner areas are naturally determined, but they contrast in their use and relationships. I have drawn on a number of methods and sources to explore the border in detail. Compared to my interlocutor's lists, the lesson from the repository-like lists is that overlapping current and historical names are listed in parallel and are not sensitive to changes in function, otherwise they are not separated or stratified. A sharp line can be drawn in the long-term stratification of the suburb. The maps precede some of the boundaries and the history of the wastelands, which were created at different times. Further stratifiable place-name material is limited to comparing the maps with each other. Most of the boundaries were transformed and fragmented during the 18th and 20th century boundary adjustments and demarcations, and the names became denser as a result. In the 19th century, some boundary names appear that reflect continuity, while others are fragmented and change on each map. In order to match the maps, I have tried to place as many of the boundary names as possible in chronological order, with as many hypothetical and historical origins as possible. Both from interviews with my interlocutors and from the list I obtained, it is clear that the most recent state of affairs is recorded in the names that have changed, and that the historical names, the rotation system and the tagging are covered and forgotten.

In the medium-term analysis of the periphery, I outline the structural transformation of the border, the changes in the use of members and the economic actors. With modernization, the traditional carriage road system is being transformed and the parcelization of the frontier is changing. Boundary transformation has a deeper impact on the lower boundary, where the

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<sup>2</sup> LAJOS 2013: 45. Ethnography typically contrasts the two, treating them as a binary opposition, although modernisation can also be interpreted as local adaptation. From this perspective, new means, economic habitus and aspirations are not imposed but integrated into the community.

draining of the *Ér* eliminates many traditional phenomena and ways of life. Traces and memories of traditional border use live on nostalgically in Szalac. Traditional grazing is also concentrated in the areas of the lower border around the *Ér*. Grazing should be emphasised because it is the most closely associated with the shaping of the interior.<sup>3</sup> Since the change of regime, grazing has also been steadily declining and the use of the border has been increasingly restricted to large crops and arable land. After the change of regime, transitional forms in the parcel division stand out, with the working of the house-sized parcels of the Great Moor and Benicze, the increase in the number of foliage in the gardens, and the merging and mosaicism of the vineyards into the upper boundary.

In this chapter I have tried to approach the farming system from the perspective of the actors. The economic model after the regime change goes back to the traditional one in many respects, but it is also characterised by elements similar to the rent system and the benefit system that emerged under socialism. Traditional economic relations emerge systematically from the interviews and the prominent actors are the large farmers. A more limited and nuanced picture emerges from the sources. The post-collectivisation period is systemic in my interviewees' memories. Collective work, the location of sections, reflects forms of defence against the state's violent restructuring. At the level of work, however, more specialised sectors and state colonies break down traditional local divisions and boundaries. The post-regime change period is characterised by a constant re-emergence of adaptation models and transitional solutions. A stasis is discernible during the fieldwork period, and in everyday practice, only the emerging economic model and regional and macro-market conditions are seen as an alternative.

The vineyard hills reflect the heritage of the ancient settlements, while the term *Tót Street/Kossuth Street* hill also represents the merging and subsequent release of tension. Thus, the division of the vineyard hill is in line with the traditional, even forgotten, separate settlements. This is the primary context in which no sharp boundary between the Catholic and Reformed can be drawn, apparently because of the landscape. In the use of the hill, it is interesting how traditionally the majority of *Tót Street* and the Catholics, defined as *Tót*, share a hill and the same rows of cellars. The vineyards were the prominent places of the border until the first decade of the regime change. The socialist redistribution mechanism has had an enervating effect on the vineyard culture. The traditionally distinct vineyards are increasingly merging into the arable land of the upper frontier, and perhaps the size of the plots and the

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<sup>3</sup> Figure 3.

mosaic of vineyards reflect the different milieu of the past. However, in the future, the vineyards may undergo a change of meaning.

The location of the basement rows from the scarifiers/sicators is semi-peripheral, and in the case of Burga they are connected to the streets. During the 20th century, a change in this can be seen, perpetuated by the reversal of names. The date of the change is uncertain, but it can be linked to the semi-peripheral character. Until the change of regime, certain basement rows were continuously developed and widened. Today, there are many cellars that have fallen into disrepair and there are different views on where to buy a cellar. Under socialism, the characteristic elements of traditional cellar life are gradually being eroded. After the change of regime, backyard viticulture and winemaking are being pushed into the background, and specialisation as an alternative livelihood is not yet established at the time of the research.

In the long term change of the interior and the divisibility of strata, the diversity of place names, local knowledge and oblivion, and sources are of equal importance. Without comparing them, it is not possible to form a complete picture. In the long term, plot-level interpretation is limited, as concepts derived from serfdom cannot be identified with those associated with the land organisation that emerged in the early 20th century. Place names contain underlying meanings that change with stratification. The occurrence of place names in written sources is possible. At the earliest, *Platea Tott*, and *Platea Pyachz streets* can be identified with current parts.<sup>4</sup> Subsequently, written versions of the names and their changes are known from 19th-20th century maps. Of course, from maps we can follow the spatial projection of settlement development, which may start from the core, but may also lead to the formation of new centres by merging different settlements. Ancestral names can be identified, representing a break with tradition through oblivion. With the second layer, a new tradition is formed, the normative character of which decomposes during fieldwork. In the deep layers of Salach there are ethnic and then religious boundaries wrapped in ethnic robes, which are attempted to be dissolved at the level of name changes or name variations. I suppose where there are no such unresolved problems, fixed by cultural memory. It is the latter tradition that results in name-changes representing the shedding of signifiers given by others, neutralising tensions by the 19th century. Place-names thus fade and change in relation to each other.

In this context, the suffix street in Szalacs is traditionally understood as a pejorative, diminutive adjective.<sup>5</sup> The categories of street, part of a municipality or municipality

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<sup>4</sup> Platea is Latin for street or road.

<sup>5</sup> BÁRTH 1996: 157.

referring to the same entity are interchangeable in time, evidential for the locals, and confusing for the outsider, similar to the term used for a plot of land. Ancestral parts are settlements that can be stratified into a separate road village category, then become settlement parts and are downgraded to the street category. This is represented by the names on the cadastral map, but also by the term Tót/Kossuth/Kálvin Street, which I assume replaced the former settlement of Szalacs. This is also confirmed by the names Burga and Szentgyörgy, which are the street suffixes forced into local vocabulary. Sources are indispensable for the comment on Új utca and Hajnal utca. In the case of New Street, there are two interesting changes of meaning. It is divided into two parts, Alvég and Felvég, which are also traditionally not street categories but cover parts of settlements throughout the Carpathian Basin. The term New Street remains in the Reformed (stigmatising) usage, and by broadening its meaning, it becomes a synonym for the whole Catholic part, with all its layers, and is transformed into a single formation.<sup>6</sup>

The first and second military surveys, i.e. the settlement areas established between 1783 and 1864, fill the gap between New Street and the former layer. Based on local knowledge, these are embedded under the earlier parts, and their order of formation is not known, nor have I been able to establish it. A good example of embeddedness is Vienna, which I assume, based on its name, sound and local conditions, is also conflated with the ancestral parts in the historical literature. Although the map shows that it is the result of a different settlement stratification. I see the reason for the oblivion not only in the subdivision of the earlier parts, but also in the later development of the settlement.

At present, most is known about the settlement of the last layer, which is well known to the people of Szalacs, both from the names and from the specific features of the site. The last layer also reinforces the formal conception, since most of their names refer to former pastures, thus indicating their origin through publication. These sections are made up of articulated rows of houses, knowledge of which is held by those who are familiar with these peripheral parts of the settlement. An interesting example of amalgamation applies to the later Hajnal Street, which merges into the garden of Dinnyés. In conjunction with this, the articulation can be seen in the use of the markers small and large or sub and up in different layers. In the last layer, the subdivision of each row of houses is limited, with names indicating individual specificities. At the level of the settlement as a case study, I ask the

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<sup>6</sup> Figure 2.

question: can the local distinctiveness of the last layer be a feature of settlement development, and if not, what are the temporal and spatial constraints?

Side streets, alleys and/or lanes show a different pattern. Side streets are continuously being built into the interior, which may have been preceded by bordering cart paths. Most of those on the flat part take the names of the main roads, although there may be variations (Dawn Street, Tar Alley), but the alleys going uphill are usually named after the neighbouring house owners and therefore their names are constantly changing, with several names living in parallel. Therefore, without sufficient local knowledge, they can be confused. In the Hungarian examples, I indicate that with official naming, side streets are typically upgraded to streets. So upgrading and downgrading can lead to homogenisation.

The scientific turn linked to the lifestyle paradigm that emerged in the second half of the 20th century is central to the medium-term analysis of the interior. In the context of tradition and modernisation, one possible field of interpretation of medium-term settlement stratification is the settlement image, which is shaped by external conditions and circumstances, local socio-economic relations, and uniform and innovative patterns. A precise delineation requires knowledge of the local conceptual network and a case analysis focusing on internal fragmentation. The village landscape is stratified along systemic embeddedness and generational differences, and in its physical form. Before socialism, I define three typical house forms representing social stratification, which can still be found in patches and variations. Modernisation has led to a significant transformation of the village landscape, which can be interpreted as a wave of construction. The village landscape is dominated by early trendy house types, functionally articulated. The building wave is dominated by traditional and new actors, and by the plan as a means of obtaining official approval. The process is officially supported by renovation (refurbishment), which can result in a combination of traditional and new construction techniques and materials in different parts of the dwellings. Conversion (modification) indicates a reduction of the wave. Its role culminates in the trendy design of functional spaces that emerge as gaps. The slowly changing townscape, mostly fixed at the time of the fieldwork, overrides the previous trend, and is characterised by a variety of solutions. Traditional house types, both socialist and post-regime, reflect a homogeneous image in certain parts of the street, but an eclectic one overall. Systematisation and settlement planning plans, which can be traced on the stratified cadastral maps and based on narratives, play a decisive role in homogenisation.

In the medium-term interpretation of the inner area, I have paid special attention to the centre as a public space. The practice of space production is reflected in the evolution of

public spaces. Successive eras produce institutions, other institutions are left without function, are demolished or undergo changes of function. Before socialism, denominational relations dominated public space, and then the buildings of the power structures and their remaining Romanesque names that emerged under socialism determined the face of the current centre. The change in the centre's use of the building stock reflects the intention to redefine the village community and the life world, reflecting the objectives of local power and elites. In the present, and since the change of regime, new public spaces are emerging. This is redrawing the boundaries between centre and periphery.

In connection with this, I will discuss the changes in everyday life, celebrations and marriage customs that characterise the settlement. On the pre-socialist tradition, my interlocutors highlight the forms of celebration that span the period of dictatorship and gradually disappear. Under socialism, the relationship between different work and income relations and the importance of commuting are systematically reflected. After the change of regime, there is a revitalisation of traditions at the personal level, followed by a fading away of revitalisation. At the level of the community, new festivals and traditions are taking shape, with a variety of embeddedness at the time of the research.

I move from the public sphere to a plot-level interpretation centred on the private sphere and the municipal interpretation. I begin the analysis with a general description of my knowledge of the Szalacs site. I define and reconcile with the literature two basic concepts: the homestead and the whole homestead. Between the two, I outline the local meanings of plot division based on scientific typology. The scientific and local ways of talking about plots and members differ. The local conceptual web is organised around plot size, and subdivision is a secondary consideration. In plot division, the division of the yard by a physical boundary is a recent development. In the case of a small number of wide plots, the juxtaposition of buildings can be distinguished from one part of the settlement to another; and in the case of a large number of narrow plots, the juxtaposition of buildings can be distinguished from one another. As I refer to the typology in the literature, the row and two-row courtyard order. The arrangement is closely related to the phenomena of bisection (half lots), 20th century lot sales and double lot sales. The question of width and narrowness is decisive in the division of courtyard and garden. The garden is subdivided in terms of cultivability and local interpretation relativises plot size. Relatively sized plots are historically assumed to have a free plot development according to environmental conditions and internal subdivision, providing a clear picture with a stratified cadastral map. This is a primary consideration for the delimitation of the last layer.

The relativity of land concepts emerges in the period before collectivisation. The system starts from the whole farm, which varies from one part of the settlement to another. The semi-farms, which were created to maintain family and kinship ties, and the introduction of byways, represent the massification. The last layer, which defines the terracing, is the absolute category of the 14-acre farmstead, with its unique feature of the double farmstead. In the Romanian villages, the size of the plots of land plays a significant role in the socialist private and backyard systems. The share of kitchen gardens in the outskirts area received under my interpretation of the system of undertakings and allowances depends on the size of the plots. Under socialism, commuting and outmigration initiate an internal migration towards the core of the settlement or towards plots with larger gardens. This constantly breaks down the former settlement boundaries and leads to shrinkage. Apart from the name change in the Burgas, the last layer is the most deeply affected by the shrinkage. I cannot emphasise enough the significance of the fact that in the early 20th century, three rows of houses or streets are formed on the Great Moor, uniquely beyond the Stone Bridge, which are completely eroded before the end of the 20th century, i.e. in a total of almost 60 years, making it one of the most significant indicators of stratification in the medium term. During the fieldwork, the acquisition of plots for economic purposes and the renting of gardens is typical. As a result of the shrinkage, duplicate plots start to become more and more common after the regime change, reflecting very relative sizes in terms of settlement areas. In the case of the Highlands, I have highlighted that within the 20th century, the splitting of two plots into two creates a new whole plot, which can be interpreted metaphorically as a duplicate plot. The new building types that became characteristic of the change of regime represent the adaptation of the garage and the sopron, which functioned as a machine station, and the rearrangement of the courtyard structures to accommodate ornamental gardens and the prioritisation of amenities. These processes and conceptual networks can be explored with a general typology to a limited extent.

The plot-level interpretation is preceded by a chapter on the problem of case analysis, in which I outline four directions. The research on the poultry farm plot shows how, as the body of knowledge grows, the plot form gradually disappears as public spaces are transformed or regulated and socio-economic conditions change. Presumably as a consequence, case studies are also limited. With regard to the typical two-plot form of the poultry farm, I would point out that the two-plot form in Szalacs can be associated with a specialised cattle-keeping plot organisation. In this chapter, I also highlight the work of Károly KÓS, in which a continuous development of plot description is outlined. His results



do not focus on the analysis of individual plots, but on illustrations and depictions in the context of settlement change. Another direction in settlement ethnography is case analysis in the context of the whole-part relationship, which I exemplify with the research of János BÁRTH in Varság and László NOVÁK in Hajdúság. For concrete case analyses, I found the studies of Imre Gráfik and Balázs BALOG as examples, which set up a specific set of criteria that can be abstracted from the part-whole relation. Finally, with a change of context, I turn to the installation concepts of the *Szentendre Open-Air Ethnographic Museum*, in which the time section of the presentation is emphasised. My primary finding on case studies is that a diversity of approaches and interpretations emerges. There is no single vision. I have sought to present the Szalacs case studies as a combination of some of these, for which I provide floor plans.

For the plot-level analysis, the structure of courtyards, the use and changes in the building stock, it is important to have a short-term macroeconomic and social response to everyday processes. For the plot-level interpretation, the conclusions of which I draw at the end of this chapter, I would like to add that the ever-changing building stock may undergo a spectacular transformation over time with changes in ownership and newer alternative lifestyle patterns. At present, there are lawned yards next to increasingly under-used or changing-function livestock buildings, to which my interlocutors, recalling the past, reflected: *'And Laci, what did the old folks say? [...] Don't you know? They said that 'your yard be covered by grass[...] When they wanted to curse someone. They said, well, may your yard be grassed in. [...] You have nothing if it is covered by grass. [...] Well, animals. Then the cart goes. Then it cannot be grassed in because they tread on everything. (2017 K.J., K.E., B.K.)* Looking to the future, the same applies to open gardens and new ways of tilling.

After a detailed summary, I summarise the results and conclusions of the thesis in 10 theses. As I have intuitively developed a layered vision in the course of my fieldwork, I will sketch out regularities and a more general interpretation from this point of view.

1. In settlement research, a stratified vision is emerging, but it is not well defined. Settlement stratification in a processual representation can provide a new way of seeing, whereby the stages, stations and transitions of settlement development can be given a deeper meaning in relation to the present.
2. The formation, relationship and articulation of the settlement members is based on the settlement image recorded in the present and the local knowledge that can be mapped. Due to the reconstructive nature of individual memory and collective and cultural memory, different time spans can be reconstructed, which show a certain degree of

oblivion, of overlapping in a sense of stratification. Overlapping is essentially a qualitative shift. Overlap is complete when a name becomes historical or when there is a change of function in some of its members. Transitional, when earlier and later content appears in parallel. Transition can be related to its origin from fragments of local knowledge.

3. Sources recorded at different times point to the stratification, but are limited in their data content, i.e. as a source of information. The formation of a stratum can be delineated, broadened or constrained by the interpretive framework of several sources, which makes the formation and transition of a stratum meta-metrical. However, in my view, a settlement layer is not limited to a particular transect, but can be defined in terms of time scales, along layers of accumulation. A special group of sources is the cadastral map of Szalacs, which I have rewritten as a result of the settlement changes at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries and which I have called stratified. The map aims at a settlement change representation, thus depicting two timelines, two settlement patterns as a result. Stratification is not a purely historical issue either, because the content that has fallen out of memory and been forgotten becomes a purely historical abstraction. It is thus through the spatial practices of the field, which can be understood as a specificity of ethnographic methodology, that the narrow or broad time span that shows signs of settlement stratification is drawn.
4. Stratification plays an important role in the process of inheritance. Broadly interpreted stratification reflects a long tradition. Narrowly interpreted stratification reflects external influence and influence and thus the overlaying of traditional meanings, or can be associated with more recent settlement strata. A long tradition is inherently variable, and stratification takes different forms and contents, usually in fragments. The short tradition reflects a clear picture.
5. A further aspect of historicity is that a distinctive conceptual web is built around the transitional and living layers, with an attribute at the centre of the web. This conceptual web is not, or only partially, related to scientific categorisation and typology, and thus highlights site-specific aspects of the phenomenon.
6. Stratification is intrinsically linked to fragmentation. It is perhaps not possible to say unequivocally that the more fragmented a settlement is, the more stratified it is, since it is necessary to take into account the number of times and the rate at which it is fragmented, and the effects of this fragmentation. Salac shows the variability of the relationships between the different parts of a municipality. Typically, the relationships

between the members are determined by the interior, which is adapted to the landscape. Stages in the development of a settlement may overlap and new divisions, functions and concepts may emerge. Thus, with stratification, the relationships between settlement members may be modified and boundaries may become permeable, which is also of limited interpretation in historical sections.

7. In the stratification, I separate three time horizons. In the long term stratification, the interpretability of the members is significantly related to the recurrent place names.
  - a. Complementing the settlement areas I interpreted as the first layer, the least fragmented vineyards and their names show long-term continuity, and in one case the name change reflects transience.
  - b. The long-term subdivision of the outskirts is characterised by two readings. At the level of ideas, the subdivision follows the normative system established with the second layer of the interior, but in practice it appears as an area of permeability and neutrality. In the outskirts, few ancestral or new names have an origin story attached to them. The process and extent of subdivision of the outskirts becomes historical, and current naming reflects 20th century processes of fragmentation or amalgamation of boundaries.
  - c. In the interior, four phases can be distinguished. The first layer, the most distant and therefore the broadest in time, homogenises and partially coalesces, which is then finalised by the second layer. At the same time, however, there is still a deep-seated duality in the first layer, represented by the formal widening and tripartite division of the inner area, which appears in different contexts. The relationship between the first and second layers is reflected in the street name changes of the 19th century. The original names point to the fact that in Szalacs the street suffix traditionally reflects the diminutive adjectival naming structure given by opposing parties. The renaming has a neutralizing or otherwise covering role. The renaming sticks at the level of transitivity, so that the two name variants are used in parallel in different contexts. Streets and rows of houses, which I interpret as layers of forgetting, fill these formations, resulting in centralisation and peripheralisation. In my view, the oblivion layer, in addition to its peripheral role, merges with and does not overwrite previous relations because it is a natural internal expansion. The local knowledge associated with the last layer to form in a timeline is the clearest. The names of the suburban members and pastures on which they are stratified are preserved

in the last stratum, and the nomenclature of the settlement areas consisting of several rows of houses does not undergo a process of street-classification. The last layer foreshadows the medium-term processes.

8. Layering, which can be understood in the medium term, takes material forms, sectional boundaries are outlined in a meticulous way, and linear representation is structured along thematic phenomena.
  - a. The outskirts reflect phases of rupture and reorganisation. With collectivisation, there are profound changes in the road network, in the use of boundaries, which cannot be reconstructed even in the process of restitution. It is in this process of re-creation that the spectacular changes in boundary names, which cover the current use of names, are drawn. In my view, the effect of these intermittent processes of re-generation is that stratification can be interpreted within a narrow framework.
  - b. Vineyards are transformed by collectivisation in an even less reconstructible way. Within the framework of collectivisation, the private vineyard culture is being reorganised, but in the time since the change of regime, the vineyards have gradually been merged, in terms of use, into the adjacent upper boundary, which has not been physically separated since socialism. The question is whether they will be reclassified as boundaries or more vineyards in the future, or whether they can be revitalised?
  - c. In the changes in the inner area, an overall medium-term stratification is emerging along the lines of the settlement image, social external and internal mobilisation and the processes of land structure and organisation. Projected over the whole of the inner area, this process reveals the limits of 19th century expansion and the ways in which space was used in the early 20th century in the form of a process of consolidation. With the change of impurity, the last layer is formed by the external effect of terracing, which by the end of the 20th century is crumbling as the interior shrinks and the exterior grows. An emblematic example of medium-term stratification is that the same part of a settlement is carved out of a pasture on the lower frontier at the beginning of the 20th century and then regresses back to a frontier at the end of the 20th century, when it is used as arable land after being parcelled up. Another result of shrinkage is that traditional internal boundaries are constantly being broken

down, community control is creating new rules and a process of homogenisation is taking place with a view to the future.

9. At the end of the shrinkage process, I interpret short-term settlement processes at the case level, through the analysis of plots. After the change of regime, transitional economic conditions and forms of adaptation can be represented by the growth of the building stock, its subsequent loss of function, change of function, demolition or the appearance of new buildings. The plot as an economic centre of activity that brings together the members of the settlement on a small scale is gradually relegated to the background,<sup>7</sup> and aesthetic considerations come to the fore. The settlement as an outcome, a fixed state that can be interpreted by observation, is characterised by an intense change in plot-level processes that can be investigated with new outputs, affecting the whole of the interior.
10. Finally, I will attempt to define settlement stratification. Settlement stratification is a research construct that can be used to separate and relate different, even distant, settlement units that can be classified within a settlement development stage. As we approach the present, the meaning of the settlement stratum expands spatially, but narrows in time. A stage of development creates new relationships, or merges with or overlaps previous ones. A significant factor in this overlap is any external intervention that deliberately overrides local conditions.

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<sup>7</sup> NOVÁK 1986: 40-41.