

Olga Supek

**A HUNDRED
YEARS OF
BREAD AND
WINE**

THE CULTURE, HISTORY AND ECONOMY OF
A CROATIAN VILLAGE

OLGA SUPEK: A hundred years of bread and wine



UREDNICI: Joško Čaleta, Koraljka Kuzman Šlogar, Irena Miholić

UREDнице IZDANJA: Tihana Rubić, Anamarija Starčević Štambuk

NAKLADNIK: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku

ZA NAKLADNIKA: Iva Niemčić

LEKTURA: Mihaela Blagaić Kišiček

OBLIKOVANJE I GRAFIČKA PRIPREMA: Mihaela Blagaić Kišiček

OBLIKOVANJE NASLOVNICE: Nana Sklevicky Majer

ISBN 978-953-8518-29-4

E-izdanje je slobodno dostupno pod licencom Creative Commons CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 International.

2026. Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, Zagreb, Hrvatska

Olga Supek

A hundred years of bread and wine : the culture, history and economy of a
Croatian village

Stotinu godina kruha i vina : kultura, povijest i ekonomija jednog hrvatskog sela



Zagreb, veljača 2026.

SADRŽAJ

1. Predgovor autorice
2. A hundred years of bread and wine the culture, history and economy of a Croatian village
3. Prilog – fotografije
4. Dodatak – Olga Supek: San i java Gorice Svetojanske (Uz drugu samostalnu izložbu Josipa Falice), *Etnološka tribina* 9(2), 1979: 120-122.

Predgovor autorice

Tekst koji je pred vama je moja doktorska disertacija obranjena u srpnju davne 1982. godine na Sveučilištu Michigan u Ann Arboru u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama. U dogovoru s Uredništvom nakladničkog niza Iz arhiva, kolegicama i kolegama iz Instituta za etnologiju i folkloristiku te Urednicama izdanja, odlučila sam knjigu tretirati i predstaviti kao „vremensku kapsulu“: originalni tekst neće se mijenjati, ali ću dodati kratki Predgovor u kojem čitateljima pojašnjavam nastajanje studije prije gotovo pola stoljeća i njezinu objavu danas.

Studija se bavi transformacijom tradicijske seljačke kulture. Terenski rad obavljala sam u više navrata između 1977. i 1980. godine u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj. Osim promatranja (sa sudjelovanjem), koristila sam intervju te analizu lokalnih novina, arhivskih materijala, podataka iz katastra i drugih javnih izvora kojima sam ovu studiju seljačke kulture postavila u kontekst ondašnje Hrvatske unutar jugoslavenske federacije od 1950-tih do 1970-tih godina. Kultura prema mojem najširem shvaćanju obuhvaća seljačku ekonomiju, društvenu organizaciju, načine komuniciranja i načine mišljenja. Moja analiza procesa transformacije sugerirala je dezintegraciju, odnosno, kulturnu marginalizaciju: način života koji smo tradicionalno nazivali “seljačkim” postajao je postupno marginalan, a na njegovo mjesto dolazili su novi stilovi života. Studija u tom smislu ne govori samo o nestanku “seljačkog”, nego također ispituje sadržaj i značaj novih, nadolazećih kulturnih pojava.

U vremenu nastanka studije za lokalitet sam u prezentaciji građe i u popratnim objavljenim radovima (npr. Supek-Zupan 1979a; 1979b; 1983; Supek 1988; 1989) koristila pseudonim (Vinogorje) kako bih anonimizirala sugovornike jer se u istraživanju bilo razgovaralo o mnogim političkim, ekonomskim i društvenim aspektima svakodnevnoga života te o obiteljskoj svakodnevnici. U disertaciji na engleskom jeziku te u objavljenim radovima u domaćim znanstvenim publikacijama, bilo je napisano i predstavljeno da se istraživanje odvijalo u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj, što mi se činilo dostatnim i

valjanim za kontekstualizaciju. Sada, s odmakom od više desetljeća, promjenom političkog i društvenog konteksta te smjenom generacija u okviru pola stoljeća, procjenjujem da mogu sa zahvalnošću i „otvorenije“ napisati da su se istraživanja odvijala u Gorici Svetojanskoj, Gorici ili Sv. Jani (sam lokalitet je kroz povijest mijenjao naziv). Povijest Gorice Svetojanske pratila sam od srednjeg vijeka do tada suvremenog, socijalističkog razdoblja, usredotočivši se na transformaciju obitelji, razmjene među obiteljima, na ekonomiju, politička mišljenja i na rituale (posebno svadbene običaje i Karneval). U toj cjelokupnosti, studijom koju ovdje donosim, pokušala sam ilustrirati i argumentirati kako društvena struktura koje je seljaštvo jedan dio, određuje ne samo njihov način života, nego također način njihove transformacije. U ondašnjem jugoslavenskom kontekstu u kojem su socijalne razlike bile relativno male, seljaci su preseljenjem u gradove postajali urbani radnici ili profesionalci, a oni koji bi ostali u selima postajali bi seljaci-radnici ili seljaci-poljoprivrednici (proizvođači za tržište). Snažna, često nerealna, želja seoskog stanovništva da urbaniziraju svoj život, čak i kada bi zadržavali ruralno mjesto stanovanja, smanjivalo je ruralno-urbani kulturni jaz. Ondašnja suvremena „miješana“ struktura seoskog društva nije, dakle, bila nužno korak prema nekim budućim „čistim“ kategorijama. Naprotiv, tada mi se činilo da je postajala osnovom za ostvarenje malih, postindustrijskih zajednica koje bi preuzimale materijalne pogodnosti urbanog života, ali zadržale čvrste mreže komunikacija tipične za tradicijsko selo. Današnjem čitateljstvu s vlastitim očištima i proživljenim iskustvom, prepuštam da odvagne i procijeni ove moje pretpostavke i zapažanja iz kasnih sedamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća.

Zahvaljujem kolegicama urednicama ovog izdanja, izv. prof. dr. sc. Tihani Rubić s Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu i Anamariji Starčević Štambuk, knjižničarskoj savjetnici iz Instituta za etnologiju i folkloristiku, na inicijativi i podršci u pripremi izdanja te odluci da knjigu tretiramo kao „vremensku kapsulu“. Zahvale idu i brojnim drugim kolegicama i kolegama: komisiju za obranu doktorata predvodio je moj mentor, pokojni William (Bill) Lockwood. Sa svojom suprugom Yvonne imao je iskustvo istraživanja u zapadnoj Bosni i Hercegovini i surađivao je s Institutom za etnologiju i folkloristiku, tadašnjim Institutom za narodnu umjetnost. Kao student profesora Eugene A.

Hammela iz Berkeleya, on i supruga inicirali su suradnju zanimljivu za povijest Instituta: profesor Hammel slao je i svoje druge studente da surađuju u Zagrebu, a naša etnologinja i današnja akademkinja Jasna Čapo otišla je u Berkeley na doktorski studij pod njegovim mentorstvom.

Drugi istaknuti član moje doktorske komisije bio je povjesničar John Fine koji je također imao iskustvo istraživačkog rada u Bosni, a supruga mu je bila srpskog porijekla, rodom iz Bosne. Nadalje, profesorica Norma Diamond specijalizirala se za istraživanje seljaštva u socijalističkom društvu, posebno u Kini, i ja sam joj bila zahvalna za mišljenje da je moj rad: *„a useful addition to the literature on peasantry in socialist societies and one of the very few field studies available“*. Konačno, četvrti član komisije, profesorica Sherry B. Ortner, inspirirala me je svojim golemim znanjem teorije. Pismenim i usmenim komentarima pomogla mi je u izgradnji teorijskog okvira disertacije. Za mene nije bilo većeg priznanja od njenih riječi: *„Although the thesis is written in a modest style, it seems to me to be one of the better peasant studies I have read in a long time. Theory and data are handled in a sophisticated manner, and the total effect is well integrated and holistic – cultural, social, economic, and political at one and the same time.“*

Osim doktorskoj komisiji, najveću zahvalnost dugujem kolegicama i kolegama iz Instituta za etnologiju i folkloristiku jer je u periodu od 1977. do 1981. moje istraživanje u Gorici Svetojanskoj bilo prihvaćeno i financirano kao projekt Instituta. Tadašnja direktorica, dr. sc. Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin, pomogla mi je diskusijama o teoriji socijalističkih „običaja“, a kasnija direktorica, dr. sc. Zorica Rajković, praktičnim savjetima o „Fašniku“ kojeg je upravo bila istraživala u Loboru. Neki su mi dolazili i u posjete dok sam boravila u Gorici Svetojanskoj: profesor Jerko Bezić došao je snimati fašničke vinske napitnice, a dr. sc. Nives Rittig Beljak promatrati fašničku lovačku zabavu u Vatrogasnom domu. Da ne zaboravim i kolegu dr. sc. Tomu Vinščaka koji je bio takoreći rođen u svetojanskim goricama, te kolegicu Dragicu Cvetan koja je zaista rodom iz susjednog Žumberka.

U samoj Gorici Svetojanskoj najviše trebam zahvaliti obitelji Falica kod koje sam stanovala dok sam boravila u selu. Omogućili su mi participaciju u nizu događanja, npr. u radovima u njihovom vinogradu te u jednoj fašničkoj i jednoj

pravoj svadbi. Njihov sin Joža, talentirani slikar, izlagao je svoje radove u Jastrebarskom, uključivši i u dvorcu Erdődy. Nekoliko njegovih slikarskih djela i crteža nalazi se u Dodatku, pretisku prikaza izložbe.

U originalnom tekstu disertacije navedena je i moja zahvala nekima od studenata na zajedničkom studiju antropologije u Ann Arboru, kao i tehničkoj ekipi na izradi disertacije. Ne bih željela izostaviti ih niti u ovom izdanju. Moji kolege i prijatelji Fran Markowitz i Mark Baskin dali su mi pismene i usmene komentare prve, radne verzije disertacije. Cynthia Keesan i Rita Chepulis s Yalea lektorirale su moj „sirovi stil“ u „probavljivi“ engleski jezik. Dawn Shewach je vješto ispisala konačnu verziju usprkos mojem užurbanom, gotovo kapricioznom vremenskom rasporedu. Konačno, važno mi je istaknuti dugogodišnje, gotovo životno prijateljstvo s profesoricom Susan Woodward, u zadnje vrijeme iz Graduate Center CUNY-ja. Svojim pismenim i usmenim diskusijama pomogla mi je izoštriti neke moje stavove o teorijskom okviru disertacije.

Vrlo sam zahvalna svom ocu, prof. dr. sc. Rudiju Supeku za njegovu stalnu financijsku i moralnu podršku. Lucille i Constance Ojile, moje „američke majka i sestra“, podržavale su me svojom toplinom i prijateljstvom kad sam bila daleko od svog doma. A moj tadašnji suprug, Milan Zupan, inspirirao me je svojim optimizmom i ohrabrenjem čitavo to vrijeme, kada smo bili zajedno i kada nismo.

Olga Supek

U Zagrebu, 27. lipnja 2025. godine

Objavljeni tekstovi proizašli iz disertacije:

Supek-Zupan, Olga. 1979a. „Nacrt istraživanja jednog prigorskog sela“. Narodna umjetnost, 16(1): 57-77.

Supek-Zupan, Olga. 1979b. „Simboličko ponašanje u suvremenoj kulturi. Smisao Poklada“. Sociologija, XXI (3): 291-303.

Supek-Zupan, Olga. 1983. „'Oni su stupili u svoj budući život...' - Obred vjenčanja i kulturna mijena u Vinogorju“. Narodna umjetnost, 20 (1): 25-56.

Supek, Olga. 1988. „Karneval u Vinogorju“, Narodna umjetnost, 25 (1): 67-86.

Supek, Olga. 1989. „Peasant versus Capitalist Worldview in Vinogorje of the 1930's“, Etnološki pregled, 25: 61-80.

Olga Supek

A HUNDRED YEARS OF BREAD
AND WINE:

THE CULTURE, HISTORY AND
ECONOMY OF A CROATIAN
VILLAGE

Disertacija

A HUNDRED YEARS OF BREAD AND WINE :
THE CULTURE, HISTORY AND ECONOMY OF A CROATIAN VILLAGE

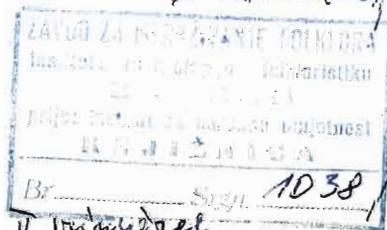
by

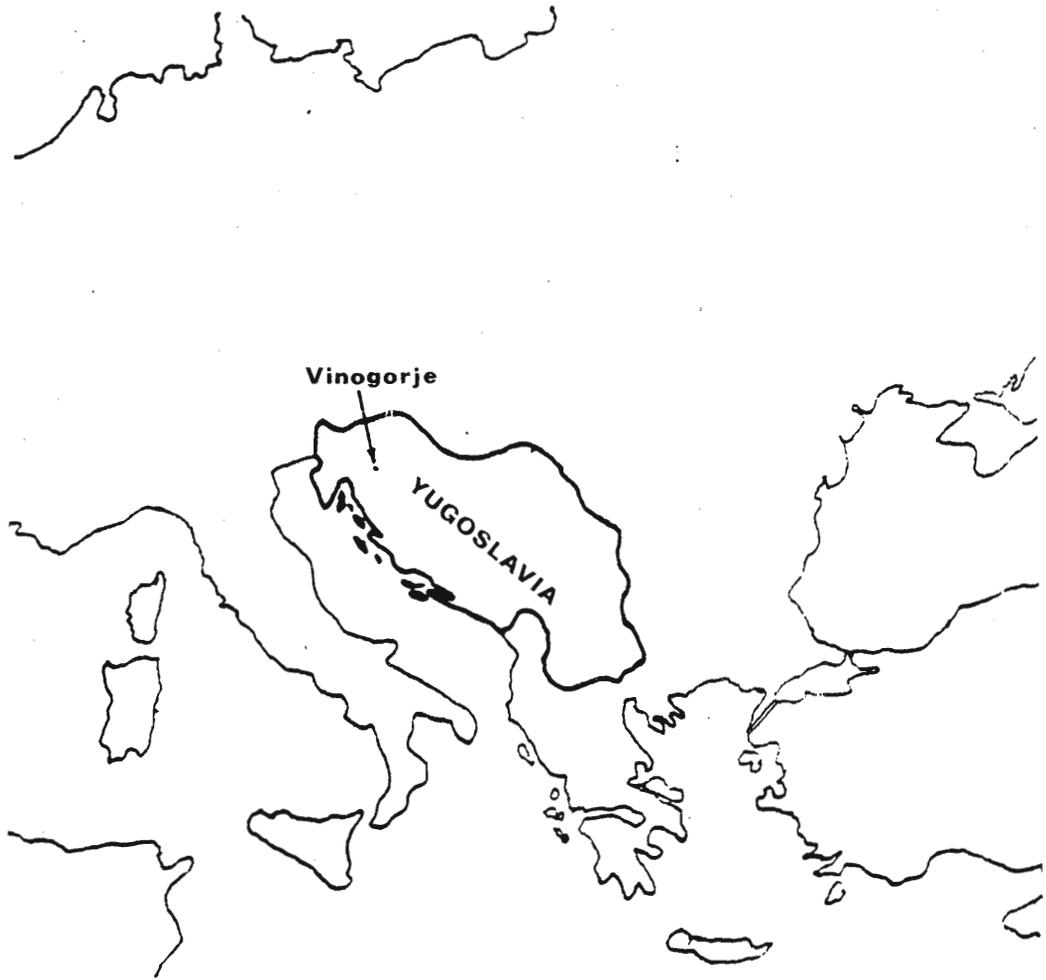
Olga Supek

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Anthropology)
in The University of Michigan
1982

Doctoral Committee:

Associate Professor William Lockwood, Chairman
Professor Norma Diamond
Professor John Fine
Associate Professor Sherry Ortner





THE LOCATION OF VINOGRJE WITHIN
YUGOSLAVIA AND EUROPE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe thanks to many people who made my studying on one continent and living on another bearable. First of all, I thank the people of Vinogorje, in whose warm homes I have spent many hours and who let me plague them with questions. I can only hope that I will somehow be able to return their kindness and that we will share more good times in the future.

My committee, especially William Lockwood, and professors at The University of Michigan guided me through the Scylla and Charybdis of issues in American cultural anthropology. Without their knowledge and experience this study would have turned out quite differently. I also thank the Department of Anthropology and the Rackham School of Graduate Studies for awarding me with several grants which allowed me to complete my studies and write this dissertation.

To my colleagues at the Zavod za istraživanje folkloru in Zagreb I owe the deepest gratitude for their help, for financial and technical assistance during the fieldwork, and for the patience with which they granted and tolerated my prolonged study leaves.

My colleagues and friends Fran Markowitz and Mark Baskin of The University of Michigan offered some mind-sharpening criticism of the first draft. Cynthia Keesan of The University of Michigan and Rita Chepulis of Yale University labored to polish my rough style into digestible English; and Dawn Shewach of The University of Michigan skillfully typed the final draft despite my capricious time schedule.

I am very grateful to my father, Dr. Rudi Supek, for his continuing moral and financial support. Lucille and Constance Ojile, my American mother and sister, have supported me with their warmth and friendship when I was away from home. And my husband, Milan Zupan, has inspired me with his optimism and assurance all along, when we were together, and when we were apart.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
LIST OF APPENDICES	v
INTRODUCTION: THE YUGOSLAV PEASANTRY--PEASANTS NO MORE?	1
THE VILLAGE AND SOCIETY	27
CHAPTER	
I: PEASANTRY WITHIN A CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURE	28
II: PEASANT-WORKERS	44
III: VINOGRJE	58
VINOGRJE IN THE PAST	75
CHAPTER	
IV: SERFDOM	76
V: CAPITALIST TRANSFORMATION	94
VI: THE PEASANT VERSUS THE CAPITALIST WORLD VIEW	127
VINOGRJE IN RECENT TIMES	161
CHAPTER	
VII: PEOPLE AND NATURE	163
VIII: PEOPLE AND THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY	190
IX: LIVING IN A SOCIALIST WORLD	235
THE CHANGING LIFESTYLE AS EXPRESSED THROUGH RITUAL	278
CHAPTER	
X: THE WEDDING	279
XI: CARNIVAL	322
CONCLUSION: THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL MARGINALIZATION OF PEASANTRY	361

	<u>Page</u>
APPENDICES	377
REFERENCES CITED	396

LIST OF APPENDICES

<u>Appendix</u>	<u>Page</u>
I. EXCERPTS FROM FIELDNOTES	378
The Weekly Cattle Market	
A Soccer Match	
St. Anne's Day Fair	
II. TABLES	391
I. Agricultural Population of Yugoslavia/Urban Population of Yugoslavia	
II. Basic Indices of Agricultural Development	
III. Average Income of Rural Households in 1978 (in dinars)	
IV. Average Expenditures of Rural Households in 1978 (in dinars)	
V. Population of Vinogorje by Hamlet	

INTRODUCTION

THE YUGOSLAV PEASANTRY--PEASANTS NO MORE?

The major theme of this study is the cultural, social and economic transformation of the peasant class. The analysis of this transformation has led me, however, to consider also the nature of cultural change in general. While the transformation of the Croatian peasantry is treated here in much detail, the theoretical implications are discussed to a lesser extent.

Until recently the greater part of Europe and the whole of Yugoslavia could be characterized as an area of peasant culture. Historically, the peasantry as a class with a specific mode of life has persisted through many centuries of European history. Its structural position within different societies has, however, been changing in parallel with developments in other spheres of these societies. Synchronically, peasants are found in many different regions of the world, integrated into a world-wide economic system, and their cultures have many traits in common. Nonetheless, the manners in which peasants have been bound to the land and the ways in which they have been exploited by other classes have varied so greatly from time to time and from country to country that the concept of a universal "peasant mode of production" is untenable.

As peasantry will be the subject of this study, I will first discuss the various existing definitions of this social group.

One can relatively easily define peasants in the feudal era, when their family economy was the basis for provisioning the whole society and their way of life predominant. One can still perceive peasantry as a distinct class, although a disintegrating one, in the period of capitalist development. But what are peasants in contemporary socialist Yugoslavia? How does the socialist transformation affect the life of the rural Yugoslavs? Are they peasants any longer?

There are three basic approaches to defining peasantry, this "awkward class." Some authors emphasize an almost mysterious, psychological bond of peasants to their land and an absolute, historically unspecified originality of peasant culture (including here the older school of Croatian ethnology). A quote from Oswald Spengler should suffice to illustrate this view:

The peasant is the eternal man, independent of every culture that ensconces itself in the cities. He precedes it, he outlives it [He is] the origin and ever-flowering source of the blood that makes world-history in the cities (in Scott 1977a:18).

Others define peasantry as belonging to part-cultures and constituting part-societies, the major criterion being the contrast and interdependence between the rural and the urban spheres of a society/culture (Redfield 1956; Foster 1967). Some other students, closer to Marxist views, define peasantry as a social class which shares with the agriculturists of stateless societies a domestic mode of production, but differs from them in that peasants do not completely control their means of production and the surpluses of their labor (Fallers 1967).

Peasants are rural cultivators whose surpluses are transferred to a dominant group of rulers that uses surpluses both to underwrite its own standard of

living and to distribute the remainder to groups in society that do not farm but must be fed for their specific goods and services in turn (Wolf 1966:4-5).

Still others emphasize the family farm as crucial for determining peasantry, since it is the basic unit of production and social livelihood. "The very existence of peasants as a specific social entity is contingent on the presence of family farms as the basic unit of economy and society" (Shanin 1979). This definition implies that when the peasant family economy is no longer the basic means for materially provisioning the society, as has been the case since the development of capitalism and industrialization, the peasants are no longer really peasants.

The last two approaches to defining peasantry are not mutually exclusive. While the first approach emphasizes the "cultural," the second points to the "economic" characteristics of a single social group. Marx himself, in the famous passage from the Eighteenth Brumaire, considered both of these aspects when explaining the ambiguity of the class character of peasantry:

In so far as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that separate their mode of life, their interests, and their culture from other classes, and put them in hostile opposition to the latter, they form a class. In so far as there is merely a local interconnection among these small-holding peasants, and the identity of their interests begets no community, no national bond and no political organization among them, they do not form a class (Marx 1963:124).

In this study I will analyze a section of Croatian peasantry as a total cultural, social and economic phenomenon. While largely accepting Wolf's and Shanin's definitions of peasantry, I will attempt to describe the gradual disintegration of the peasant

class, with regard to its social and economic organization, as well as its symbolic apprehension and presentation of the world. Thus, attention will be given to the nature of family farming and how it is affected by the changing position of the peasant class within the social whole, as well as to changes in family structure and the relationships of people to nature and of villagers with each other. I will also describe how major social processes and a reorientation of values are expressed and commented on by certain rituals, including weddings and the Mardi Gras Carnival.

My analysis suggests that the peasantry in contemporary Yugoslavia is a class which is losing its class characteristics through a process of "marginalization." Of the three types of changes which affect world peasantry today--differentiation, pauperization and marginalization--the third seems to apply here. "The significance of the peasant agriculture within the national economy decreases, while slower production growth often turns it into a backwater" (Shanin 1979). Rather than seeing marginalization as a purely economic phenomenon, however, I use this term in an extended sense to include also "cultural marginalization." This term is meant to convey the idea that current patterns of rural family life, social communication, exchange, values and self-representation are less and less in accord with the widespread concepts of the peasant way of life, either as a part-culture, or as a culture determined by class domination.

Let us now discuss the nature of cultural change, a question which presents itself as soon as one attempts to explain the transformation of rural Yugoslavia. If any particular rural settlement

is analyzed, it is immediately evident that modifications in people's lives are determined, and often initiated, by events springing from the larger community. One might, however, still ask how cultural change occurs at this higher social level. The question is much discussed in current anthropological theory which is marked by a shift in focus of interest: the former concentration on structures, rules and maintenance of cultural systems has given way to an interest in the "processual" quality of the relationship between social life and its cultural representation. But this relationship is still often viewed as connecting two distinct spheres of everyday life which are called social organization and culture, socio-economic structure and symbolic culture, or "infrastructure" and "superstructure."

The juxtaposition of these two aspects of a single social life arises from two theoretical traditions. The first is the longstanding difference between the British and the American anthropologists' understanding of social order: the former derive it from a "social structure," and the latter from a system of ideas, from a "cobweb of mental 'oughts'" (Bauman 1973:2). The second theoretical source for the juxtaposition is probably the upsurge of "Marxist-structuralist" thinking in the 1970s which views all forms of human consciousness and activity as determined by "structures." It has taken much intellectual energy and discussion to rediscover that societies do not after all resemble layer cakes, that "infrastructure" and "superstructure" are only different functions, not institutions, and that there exists a multiple relationship between them (Godelier 1978:763-771).¹ Fortunately, most recent anthro-

pological theory no longer dwells on the distinction between "social" and "cultural."

Some of the most recent anthropological literature concerned with dynamics of culture attempts to apply the "theory of practice" to the study of culture. In this theory, man becomes the central subject of anthropological research and a major creator of cultural change, intentional or unintentional. Man's practice is seen as essentially and simultaneously "symbolic" and "practical" in nature. (Bourdieu 1977; Bauman 1973; Dolgin et al. 1977).² Following this approach for the most part, I will deal with cultural change as a process resulting from different forms of human practice which may in each particular situation maintain or transform people's natural and social environment. Some major assertions of this approach should be discussed here.

1. The definition of a human being is a natural starting point for the theory of practice and, in fact, for anthropology in general. For Marx, the essential difference between man and all other biological species is that man is a being of practice who consciously transforms his life and thus himself as well. Practice determines man's existence and his very nature; hence, it has ontological-anthropological significance. There are three major aspects of human practice: the emotional-experiencing, the sensuous-concrete and the theoretical-abstract. Accordingly, each act derives from some emotional attitude and must satisfy some need; it creates sensuous changes in objects (material and spiritual), i.e., in reality; and it is not possible without being a conscious, planned, "theoretical" and free act (Vranicki 1965:43). Since these three aspects of human

practice are inseparable, it can only conditionally be asserted that human activity is "practical" and "symbolic."

Every act that every person performs has its symbolic aspects, its meanings. That we abstract these meanings in order to understand a system of meanings is true, but we must remember that we abstract them from the concrete actions of people (Dolgin et al. 1977:34).

For Bauman, the practice of ordering reality, of signifying, is innate to human beings and as such is inseparable from their biological properties (Bauman 1973:119,140).

2. Community and history are media of practice. Human beings do not exist in a vacuum; their universal qualities are always mediated and conditioned by the community in which they live and by their historical experience, that is, by past models of social life and their cultural expressions. If culture orders the world by attributing to it a certain meaning, then culture must be a social practice since "order" and "rules" are meaningful concepts only when referring to a group of people. The cultural order created by a social practice appears to be a "natural one." While some authors presume a hypothetical chaos, "sliminess" or "indeterminacy" out of which cultural order is created (Bauman 1973; Moore 1975), others think the opposite, because culture and a human being (as a being of practice) are theoretically coterminous and inconceivable one without the other. "For Marx, as for Hegel, the meaningfulness of social action for actors is part and parcel of their creation--in thought and action--of a social world" (Dolgin 1977:18).

Cultural practice also has its historical context. "[It] is not the end product of some assumed historical process: it is, in fact, the process of history" (Higgins 1980:168). Dolgin

emphasizes that the use of cultural symbols is always limited by the symbol's place in structures which pre-exist the particular situation, but that these structures are themselves recast as they are used (Dolgin 1977:36). The relationship between the current cultural practice and the inherited, traditional one is always bilateral: while tradition to some extent constrains the present, it is always reinterpreted, re-acted and used according to current needs and practice. Thus, even human repetitive (traditional) practice contains a creative dimension, and becomes a critical practice. The latter is defined by Bauman as essential for culture; he, in fact, equates culture with critical practice. Critical practice is an awareness of the limits of a certain socio-cultural system, which may be expressed through various forms of (symbolic) action. Culture is a constant "intellectual and practical critique of the existing social reality . . . it makes reality meaningful by exposing its limitations and imperfections" (Bauman 1973:173-4).

Critical practice, by which humans act to alter social and historical circumstances which condition them, is the answer to that recurrent utopian, but necessary, question of:

what counterstrategy is available for the illumination of reality that does not in some subtle way replicate its ruling ideas, its dominant passions, and its enchantment of itself? (Taussig 1980:7).

3. The relationship between expressive (symbolic) culture and social organization can be analyzed in concrete situations, despite the fact that their distinction is, according to the theory of practice, ultimately untenable. The subject has been much discussed in anthropology, centering on the question of whether forms of "sym-

bolic culture" enhance and reproduce social structure, or work against it. Sally F. Moore classified different models which deal with this problem into two groups: those that view ideology and social structure as congruent, and those that see them as incongruent (see Moore 1975). Models based on congruency consider ideology, values, religion, kinship terminology, etc. as "reflection," legitimation or reaffirmation of social structure (including those of Weber, Durkheim and Malinowski), even in cases when there is a "lag" or a "transitional phase" of imperfect fit between social organization and its ideological representation (Murdock and Morgan). Models based on incongruence include Lévi-Strauss' differentiation between socially repeated behavior ("statistical models") and culturally regulated behavior ("mechanical models"), Leach's proposition that inconsistencies in the logic of ritual expression are necessary to the functioning of the social system, as well as Murphy's thesis that social life is a series of contradictions, dissonances, under which lie nonapparent, deep orders. Moore herself proposes that social processes are the interaction of "regularization" (attempts to fix reality through rituals, regular formalities, repetitions), "situational adjustment" (redefinition of rules or the exploitation of cultural uncertainties for immediate ends) and "indeterminacy" (manipulation of "blank" areas without cultural regulation).

Clifford Geertz makes a clear distinction between the concept of culture (as a "system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic form") and society (a "pattern of social interaction"), but he also points out that an adequate analysis should include a "wide range of modes of integration with one another" (Geertz 1973:

144). On an analytical level this distinction is acceptable. One might, however, object to the suggestion that there are two different principles on which social and cultural systems are integrated-- a "causal-functional" in the former, and a "logico-meaningful" in the latter--because this interpretation sharply distinguishes people's social action from their own interpretation of this action. The suggestion ascribes different logical principles to sensuous-concrete and to theoretical-abstract practice, although they are only aspects of a single phenomenon. Rather than being two logical principles of integration of human practice, the "causal-functional" integration and the "logico-meaningful" integration must be understood as two different ways in which humans reflect on their practice, that is, they are variations within theoretical-abstract practice.

According to Victor Turner, the social structure and the symbolic structure are in an antipodal relationship: when, in the liminal or "communitas" situations, social structure (understood as an arrangement of institutions and positions) is simplified and even eliminated, the cultural system (or Lévi-Straussian structure of logical categories and relations between them) is amplified (Turner 1969:166-167). Communitas, the time of spontaneity, "total personae" and creativity, alternates in each individual's life with periods of structure, that is, of social constraint, prescribed specialized roles and routine. This succession of forms, this cyclical movement, which Turner, curiously enough, calls "dialectics," serves no other purpose than to "reaffirm the order of structure, [to] restore relations between the actual historical

individuals who occupy positions in that structure" (Turner 1969: 177). Rituals, in particular, serve this purpose.

Dolgin, Kemnitzer and Schneider agree more closely with Marx's concept of totality which implies the integration of the facts of social life, including ideology, into a totality in which they mutually influence each other. They reject the distinction between "symbolic structures" (religion, ritual, myth, art) and "concrete structures" (economics, politics, kinship, everyday life), stressing that symbols and meanings are relations, not objects, used and created by people in specific situations. Each of the above spheres of everyday life has its symbolic and meaningful aspect. Speaking of ideology, for example, they say that it is not restricted to a certain "domain of political life," but is a "system of representation whereby everyday life is produced"--because it is made to appear as "natural"--and not just "reflected" or reproduced (Dolgin et al. 1977:22,39).

The distinction between social life and people's interpretation of it through symbolic systems, and the ensuing question of whether people's performance is initiated in the "social" or in the "cultural" sphere, are irrelevant from the standpoint of the theory of practice. Yet it appears that at certain times and in certain contexts of their daily practice people of all cultures become more self-reflective and self-expressive than usual. Such situations represent, especially for outside observers, a condensation of motives, experiences, knowledge and desires into a symbolic code (Dolgin et al. 1977:6); culturally dense, relatively rich parts of a culture's "cognitive field" (Bauman 1973:142-3); or a codified

area of habitus objectified in knowledge (Bourdieu 1977:219, note 3). These situations in which theoretical-abstract practice is particularly strongly manifested vary from culture to culture, and are often associated with some crucial aspect of it (for example, rites of fertility among agriculturalists and rites of rank distinction in hierarchical societies). Abstract thought is in many concrete situations, and especially in complex societies, relatively independent of concrete-sensuous activity. It may anticipate a future concrete-sensuous practice.

The complexity and spontaneity of man's sensuous activity (in the first place his productive and historical activity) make it very difficult to produce a simultaneous theoretical view of all these processes . . . practice involves the directive moment, foresight, projecting, planning, control, etc. (Vranicki 1965:44,47).

4. A discussion of the importance of symbolic systems in cultural and social change, highly relevant to the topic of this study, will conclude this brief survey of ideas. Clifford Geertz, although he rarely deals with the issue of cultural change, asserts in his definition of symbolic systems that they play an important role in shaping human consciousness and activity. Symbolic systems are cognitive models of reality, interpretations of it, created by "the manipulation of symbolic structures so as to bring them, more or less closely, into parallel with the pre-established non-symbolic systems." But they are also models for performance, for a sensuous practice, for the "manipulation of the nonsymbolic systems in terms of the relationships expressed in the symbolic" (Geertz 1973:93). The basic idea, however, is that congruence between the symbolic and nonsymbolic systems is a normal

condition, and that "the dynamic elements in social change . . . arise from the failure of cultural patterns to be perfectly congruent with the forms of social organization" (Geertz 1973:144).

Victor Turner, as mentioned previously, views cultural change as a cyclical movement from structure to antistructure and back. "Maximization of *communitas* provokes maximization of structure, which in turn produces revolutionary strivings for renewed *communitas*" (Turner 1969:129). Sally Moore has adopted Turner's "processual" and "situational" concept of social processes, but she does not understand this concept as a diachronic one, and as an alternation of forms; rather, she proposes that processes of regularization and "indeterminacy" are simultaneous. Moreover, she locates rituals in the sphere of regularization, of fixed social reality and continuity (Moore 1975:221). Turner, in contrast, places them in the liminal sphere of social uncertainty, innovation and manipulability--i.e., in the sphere of "indeterminacy." Although ritual is an attempt to fix a moment of social reality by representing it through a patterned and often dramatic performance, it is not necessarily associated with cultural continuity, as asserted by Moore. Rituals which criticize reality and even seek to change it are not a rarity, as this study will demonstrate. Moore is right, however, in distinguishing between "process" and "change." The former does not necessarily imply the latter, because process may maintain rather than alter a social structure. She distinguishes between repetitive (cyclical) and transformative processes, and between related changes in individual roles and positions and changes in cultural and social roles. A serious disadvantage of this model--as well as of Turner's

or Geertz's, for that matter, is that it does not consider the hierarchical structure of society and resultant contradictions between the interests of various social groups and between their cultural representations of such a (contradictory) social reality.

Pierre Bourdieu's interpretation of symbolic systems is based on just this missing premise: that they serve no other purpose than to disguise social hierarchies, to present them as natural and maintain them. Symbolic structures are products of human practice, they are

practical answers to practical, historically situated problems which were forced on peasants in a determinate state of their instruments of material and symbolic appropriation of the world (Bourdieu 1977:115).

Cognitive systems are both structuring (they structure the consciousness of certain social groups) and structured (by "objective conditions" of a society)--a concept which is very reminiscent of Geertz's "models for" and "models of" performance. "Objective conditions" (which Bourdieu does not clearly define but which seem to include the economic basis of a society, statistical regularities and social hierarchies) produce habitus, a system of dispositions, cognitive structures and motivating structures (ethos) through a process of learning, of inculcation. Habitus, in turn, determines the practices and strategies of various social groups, which eventually reproduce habitus, as well as the system of "objective conditions." Thus, symbolic structures are means for the domination and hegemony of one social class and for preserving the status quo. Invention (change) is just a "buried possibility" (Bourdieu 1977:72-78,85, 96-98,115). Bourdieu does a disservice to his model when he explains

away change in a socio-cultural system as a confrontation of habitus with a "distant environment," outside "event," or "crisis" (Bourdieu 1977:78,82-83,169-170). He does so despite an otherwise excellent analysis of the conflicts among different modes of consciousness which initiate a cultural discussion: the indisputable realm of the "natural" doxa, the hegemony of a dominant cognitive system of orthodoxy, and a challenge to the latter, a competing possibility of heterodoxy. As these are in fact a form of class struggle, it should be obvious that historical, cultural changes result from continuous conflicts within a system (however wide its scope), and not from some event or crisis which is by nature external to it. Jane and Peter Schneider were, in fact, thinking along this line when they claimed, on one hand, that cultures reflect unequal positions of dominance and subordination in a world-system; and on the other hand, that a culture does not:

boil down to superstructure--a mere representation of more fundamental processes of economic production and exchange. It is, on the contrary, an integral part of these processes, in so far as they are organized and carried out by classes and interest groups. For culture assists particular groups to claim particular domains. Not being superstructure, culture cannot be said to "lag" and in this way to constitute an impediment to change. When a code appears to contradict an ongoing process of change, it is because certain interest groups have a stake in resisting that change and are, in addition, manipulating the code to do so (Schneider and Schneider 1976:228).

Dolgin et al. advance the idea that symbolic action is articulated in, by and against the established order and that new forms of social structure can be sedimented out of such social action. New meanings ("metaphors") are created by individuals, although this process is on one hand limited by pre-existing symbolic codes,

and on the other hand, shaped and determined by practices of different social groups, relationships between them, and a debate about "new meanings" among them (Dolgin et al. 1977:29-32).

"Cultural discussion" among various social groups springs from differences in their abstract-theoretical practice, that is, in symbolic systems which they create and which in turn shape their consciousness. The dominant classes strive to maintain their worldview as "natural" for all, or at least, as an "official truth," while the dominated classes constantly challenge it. The conflict has numerous, more or less active forms. It is natural for both an individual and a social group to question actual reality as it differs from what they think it ought to be. Man is driven by ought rather than by can (Bauman 1973:171). Man is also driven by imagination, which enables him to overcome the limits of the social axiom. "In its refusal to accept as final the limitations imposed upon freedom and happiness by the reality principle, in its refusal to forget what can be, lies the critical function of phantasy" (Marcuse 1955:136). This is why in so many societies marginals (individuals or groups) are felt to be potentially dangerous--be they sorcerers, priests, artists, aliens or hippies. Their special knowledge, their differing view of the world, and their imagination are threats to a "natural," established cultural order. Their critical practice is a constant motivation for cultural change. Bauman distinguishes between change resulting from critical practice of an avant-garde which is openly, actively and sometimes militantly directed against all hitherto sanctified principles of a meaningful order; and a less spectacular and inobtrusive change which,

however, deeply penetrates and gnaws at established popular habits (Bauman 1973:156). The question is, however, whether the latter type of large-scale, slow cultural change would be possible without being stimulated by the redefinition of reality by the avant-garde. This brings us to the question of the role of consciousness in social and cultural change.

According to Scott (1977b), class sub-culture and syncretic religion are functional equivalents of class consciousness in a peasant society. This consciousness is often expressed in folklore as animosity towards cities, where the exploitive classes are usually located. A similar thesis is advanced by Taussig, who holds that traditional magical rites can stimulate the vision and sustain the morale upon which contemporary class struggle in Latin America depends (1980:231). Nevertheless, the peasant value system is not a sufficient means for revolutionary practice, as is implied by Scott. He argues that there is no need for a non-peasant social group to motivate peasantry for a revolutionary change, since their sub-culture shields them in any case from the cultural hegemony of the ruling classes. This distinctiveness itself has a potential for radical changes (Scott 1977b:278). In concluding that failure of peasant revolts "has been more a failure of tactics, strategy and leadership and not an absence of motivating ideology" (Scott 1977b:290), he seems to neglect the importance of the goals and motivations of particular revolts and their historical circumstances. When movements in which peasantry was mobilized have been directed toward preserving a peasant society they have failed; when they have been future-oriented, informed by the ideology of

another class (the working class, for example) and organized by non-peasants, they have succeeded as has been demonstrated several times in recent history (Chinese, Algerian and Yugoslav revolutions, for example). In these cases, the critical consciousness which led to revolutionary changes was not purely (or any longer) peasant, neither were the newly-established social systems "peasant societies."

Lukács distinguished between a "psychological" class consciousness which develops within a (working) class, by itself, and an "imputed" or "rational" consciousness which is helped to develop by outsiders, mainly intellectual elites or an organized political party (quoted and refuted in Bottomore 1976:101-103). It seems to me that "cognitively dense" areas of daily life, as well as the social influence of people whose daily practice is more than usually abstract-theoretical, cannot be ignored in highly stratified and specialized societies. Contemporary socialist societies, in particular, are planned societies in which policies are as much derived from "situational adjustments" as from theoretical principles (although in practice, the results of policies may be other than expected or planned).

A critical practice is in its most radical form a revolutionary practice, whether it leads to cultural change or to social change in general. An awareness of restraints develops into the realization that it is possible to transcend and abolish structures. Goals, awareness and knowledge can be causes of historical change--they are, hence, both subjective and objective in nature (Marković 1966: 104-6). Historical laws are not independent of human will. In every epoch there is a contradiction between sensuous existence and

historical consciousness, simply because people are never content with their existence and because the development of new material and spiritual forces gives rise to new concepts, desires and efforts (Vranicki 1965:47).

It is indispensable that the goal should not be an external, abstract task, but rather the expression of a felt need, and a motive for the action of all members of a class . . . People, of course, cannot abolish laws while they remain within the limitations of a system. But people can abolish a whole system of conditions, when at least a minimum historical possibility exists, and when their practice possesses the qualities described above, i.e., when it is a practice above average, which far exceeds the usual structures of human behavior under the given conditions (Marković 1966:105,108).

My approach

As stated previously, this study is concerned with the "marginalization" of the peasant class, that is, with its social and cultural disintegration. In my analysis, I will not make any sharp distinction between "peasant society" and "peasant culture," but will attempt to relate and interpret both aspects. Social processes will be described side by side with their cultural expressions. Rather than emphasizing forms of congruence or incongruence between social organization and symbolic systems, I will point out contradictions within these two (analytical) spheres of life. For example, Chapter IX contains an analysis of the contemporary forms of labor exchange in the village where the study was undertaken, and it is concluded that the exchange is based simultaneously on principles of cash and non-cash exchange, and on patterns of behavior which may be conditionally labeled as "traditional village," "market" and "socialist."

The everyday practice of people in one particular Croatian village is the focus of the study. Their practice is seen neither

as mainly repetitive (traditional) and hence reproductive of a social system (as in Bourdieu's interpretation), nor as universally critical (as Bauman would have it). Their culture consists of both repetitive and critical practice. On a more general level of abstraction, though, Bauman has been accurate, since every new generation critically reinterprets, manipulates and represents its cultural heritage. Nothing is handed down from generation to generation without changing its meaning, form or both, to at least some extent. An example of the modern interpretation and use of a model of the "traditional village wedding" is offered in Chapter XI.

Despite the fact that every human act is both symbolic and practical in nature, there are certain areas of daily practice which are more "dense" in terms of emotional-experiencing and theoretical-abstract practice, such as mass gatherings (soccer match, village fair), the creation of "pure art" or various rituals. Emotional attitudes and cultural codes revealed on these occasions indicate some other dimensions of the "marginalization" process: a shift from the symbolic manipulation of nature to the symbolic manipulation of people (as in the Carnival), or from one form of exchange and mutual manipulation between people to another (as described in the Wedding chapter).

The daily practice of people from the village studied is placed in its historical and wider social context. The first three chapters offer a survey of those major social processes in contemporary Yugoslavia which affect peasantry as a class, including changes in their family structure and family economy. The disintegration of the peasant class is seen to result from an interplay of economic and ideo-

logical factors, i.e., socialist theory, which is a conscious attempt by a non-peasant class to order reality. I do not perceive peasants as passive victims of either the market economy and the bourgeois class (in the capitalist period) or bureaucracy and the working class (in the socialist period). Both in the past and more recently, their practice and world view have been shaped by interaction with other social groups. A conflict of interests, and differing concepts of the world have always been the driving force in cultural change. A collection of folk poems (included in Chapter V on capitalist transformation) shows, for example, how a strong feeling of hostility toward towns and cities, their values and the exploitive classes who live there stands in sharp contrast to the current burning desire of the rural Yugoslavs to urbanize. It gives an example not only of changed values, but also of an altered social structure in which peasants are no longer the most exploited class at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

Like all human beings, peasants have always tried to improve their lot even under unfavorable and restrictive conditions. (This is illustrated particularly clearly in Chapters V and VI.) Their cultural practice has always been a critical one. Peasants as a class, however, could not and did not, in my opinion, have a chance. Two major criteria for defining them as a class--their family economy and their exploitation by other classes--are no longer valid. The family economy is disintegrating (it is not sufficient to satisfy all the needs of family members, the production process is no longer independent of major economic trends and is no longer completely under peasant control); and exploitation by other classes is

decreasing or taking other forms (peasants are becoming a working class). As will be illustrated in Chapter VI, attempts to preserve a "peasant society" were futile because they involved political organizations with non-peasant leadership and organization, and because their goals were not in accord with historical possibilities and the development of capitalism. These attempts also involved new forms of peasant economic organizations, cooperatives, which by their very structure were a negation of the peasant mode of production.

In coldly stating that peasantry does not have a future, I am not being unemotional and neutral. As a member of Yugoslav society, I myself participate in its contemporary culture and am myself informed by the Croatian cultural heritage, which partially shapes my consciousness and world view. I am aware of the positive elements of this heritage, particularly as concerns the quality of human relationships in close-knit village communities. Yet I am careful not to generalize and romanticize these relationships as something outside of and independent of particular socio-historical circumstances. I believe that a similar quality of human relationships can be fully reproduced in a future post-peasant and post-industrial society, if only people design a social system which will permit this.

My specific position as a native anthropologist, who, however, has been trained in the American anthropological tradition, led to the establishment of a specific subject-object relationship during the course of fieldwork. I am a "native" who has shared a part of the cultural cognitive field with the people I have studied, but,

in coming from a family with no peasant background, I am still a half of a step removed from the village culture. On one hand, this has enabled me to perceive areas of village daily life which the villagers do not see--since the "normality" of this life blurs their perception of it. On the other hand, being a participant in the culture of a social group which includes this village, I could not observe it from above and from a distance; their practical activity could not be for me just an "object of observation and analysis, a representation" (Bourdieu 1977:2). I often "caught" myself identifying with the values of the young generation and their critical attitude towards their elders, and had to force myself to "sit back and think" in order to "objectively" explain differences in values and behavior between generations. Some of the young village intellectuals read and criticized my preliminary analyses of the field data (Supek-Zupan 1979), which I found particularly stimulating and encouraging. Many villagers kept questioning me about the nature and goals of my work, especially because I did not fit their concept of what an ethnologist does. Until recently, native ethnologists were perceived mainly as a sort of antiquarian, who collected old utensils and described obsolete "customs." I had to explain over and over why I was interested in everything, in the past and in the present. Others, without bothering to ask what I was doing, identified me as a "tourist," "photographer," or a "writer."

On my part, I found it difficult to stay "objective," especially because I do not believe objectivity is possible in social sciences. Thus, in several situations during the fieldwork I "forgot myself" and openly criticized the new consumerism, snobbism, conspicuous

consumption and the like. It took some reflection again to realize that the prevailing values are created and sustained by the current social system (the phenomenon is discussed in Chapter IX) and that only a thin social stratum of elite (mainly consisting of leftist intellectuals) does not live according to a belief that socialist development means accumulation of material goods.

Despite my general interest in the marginalization of the peasant class and culture, as well as in particular forms of "symbolic culture" which express and, perhaps, sustain this process, I chose to do a monograph of a single village. The main reason was that the complex task of studying peasant culture as a total social phenomenon requires an integrated approach which takes into account mutual influences of various aspects of culture. Even the analysis of this one village is not consistent and complete in all its relevant aspects. This inconsistency is partly due to the lack of data for earlier historical periods, and partly to the subjectivity of my own perception and judgement of what is relevant.

I chose the Croatian village of Vinogorje³ as a locus for my fieldwork for three reasons: first, the village has never been isolated and it has an interesting history of a developing market economy since the Middle Ages, which made it a good site for studying different types of exchange within the village and between the village and the larger social community; second, there exists an ethnographic account, published at the turn of the century by a native, resident teacher, which provided a basis for a historical analysis of the life of this village;⁴ and last but not least,

Vinogorje is situated in a beautiful natural setting which has made it attractive to me personally.

My methods of research reveal the combined influence of my Yugoslav training in ethnology and American training in anthropology. Although I studied Vinogorje in the period between September, 1977, and December, 1980, I did not reside permanently in the village during all of this period. I visited Vinogorje and participated in major agricultural activities, religious ceremonies and family events during the fall of 1977, and in the periods between February and May, 1978, and October, 1978, and December, 1980. I lived in the village and participated fully in all aspects of its life from June to October of 1978.

Participant and non-participant observation were supplemented by interviewing villagers and local officials, following local newspapers, studying archive material and cadastral records in both Jastrebarsko and Zagreb, and reading published sources about the village and the county.

In contrast to most anthropologists who study foreign cultures, I could not just disappear from Vinogorje when the work was done. I have made friends, entered exchange networks and will be held accountable for what I have done there for the rest of my life.

Footnotes to Introduction

¹In fact, it is no small wonder that Louis Althusser's theoretical anti-humanism--which is also anti-anthropological--could for such a long time influence some anthropologists.

²I do not include here Marshall Sahlins' book Culture and Practical Reason (1976) because it gives a misinterpretation of the "theory of praxis." He relates practical human activity to production (in the narrow, economic sense), to instrumental logic and material interest, and contrasts it with "symbolic" activity.

³Although this has not been the practice of Yugoslav ethnologists, I decided to use pseudonyms for the names of the village and informants, in order to protect their privacy. The only real names are of the market town and of those informants who had previously published interviews, articles or works of art. It should be relatively easy for Yugoslav ethnologists to "trace" the village, and, if they wish, to verify the data and other field records which are kept in the Zavod za istraživanje folklora (Institute of Folklore Research) in Zagreb. For foreign anthropologists the "problem" dealt with in the study will, in any case, matter more than the locality.

⁴Because the author of the monograph was a peasant intellectual, biased by the then prevalent ideas of the need to preserve and restore "peasant society," the monograph must be read with care. It is, however, an abundant source of data on all aspects of life in Vinogorje in the second half of the nineteenth century.

THE VILLAGE AND SOCIETY

CHAPTER I

PEASANTRY WITHIN A CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Vinogorje must be placed within the framework of a much larger social entity--Yugoslav society--since all aspects of village life are profoundly affected by processes, policies or ideologies of the larger society. I will not, however, discuss the diverse historical and cultural backgrounds of the ethnic mosaic which makes up modern Yugoslavia. The same agricultural policies affect people's lives in various ways, depending on the specific cultural matrices on which they operate, but there is no need to elaborate on the subject here.

Yugoslavia emerged from World War II and the Socialist Revolution as a predominantly peasant country. The peasantry was a strong political factor whose support was needed by the new government in peacetime, just as it had been the back-bone of Partisan warfare in wartime. In 1945 the government preferred, rather than waging war on the peasants by forcing them to collectivize, to stress an alliance between the peasants and the working class. Yugoslavia was to be a country of workers and peasants (zemlja radnika i seljaka). This initial attitude affected the specific direction of agrarian development in modern Yugoslavia. Many of the experiences of Yugoslav peasants are similar to those of peasants in Third World countries. Yet, the position of Yugoslav

peasants within the national social structure is distinctly different from that of both other socialist countries and of capitalist countries.

The economic policy of the post-war government emphasized industrial growth: its main intention was to develop this agrarian, underdeveloped country which was, together with Albania, one of the least industrialized of the European nations. At that time the majority of the population was peasants. The dominant value system also changed rapidly; soon, the term "peasant" came to connote someone backward and "primitive." All efforts, particularly in the early period of the post-war economy (1945-1953), were oriented toward developing basic and secondary industry; peasant youth was encouraged to leave the countryside and find jobs in the new factories. Agriculture was placed in an unfavorable position, treated almost as a step-child. Its primary function was to provide the raw materials for industry, and to feed the work force. Since 1958, however, there has been a gradual change in the official attitude towards agriculture and peasants. We can distinguish four main periods in the development of the agrarian policy of the Yugoslav government: from 1945 to 1953, from 1953 to 1958, from 1958 to the mid-seventies, and from the mid-seventies to the present.

After World War II the socialist government carried out two land reforms. The first, in 1945, accomplished expropriation of all private agricultural holdings above 45 hectares, as well as those that were owned by non-agriculturalists such as banks, merchants and clerical institutions. (A hectare, abbreviated ha, is 2.47 acres.)

The lands of those Austrian, German and Hungarian landlords who had collaborated with German occupation forces during the war (including large farms in the most fertile region, the Pannonian plain), were confiscated and became the core of the future socialized agricultural farms. The second land reform (in 1953) established the maximum size of an individual agricultural holding to be 10 hectares per household, with some flexibility allowed depending on the quality of the soil and density of the population in the area. A number of poor or landless peasants from the Dinaric Mountains to the south were given land in the fertile plains of northeastern Croatia and Serbia. The peasants themselves were under no obligation to pay the ex-landlords for the land they received.

As a result of the land reforms, the peasants of Yugoslavia became a rather homogeneous class owning small (2-5 ha) or middle-sized (5-10 ha) farms.¹ It is, however, going too far to say, as has been maintained by Franklin (1969:188), that levelling processes have since then predominated among the Yugoslav peasantry, even if regional differences are ignored. What was difficult for Franklin to assess twelve years ago is now quite clear: there are growing differences between "purely agricultural" farms and those owned by peasant-workers (as we shall see later on), and there is a trend toward the establishment of a "middle" peasantry, with holdings in the 5-10 hectare category.² The "peasant mass" has not remained stable and has been affected by changing conditions in the society as a whole.

During the period from 1945 to 1953 Yugoslav agrarian policies imitated those of the Soviet Union, especially after 1948. After

the break with the Cominform and Stalin, there was a short period of ideological confusion during which the Yugoslavs tried to prove that Stalin's accusations of revisionism were erroneous; a drive for collectivization in the countryside resulted, which often created a war-like atmosphere in the villages. Peasant Work Cooperatives (PWCs) were organized at that time. At first, their main function was buying necessary tools and goods and selling agricultural produce. Later, they attempted collective production and constructed cooperative buildings, cultural centers and the like. The early PWCs looked very much like the Soviet kolkhozes. By 1951 about 35% of the land belonging to small and medium-size peasant farms had been incorporated into about 7,000 of these cooperatives (Marković 1972:20). They soon proved to be highly unsuited to Yugoslav conditions. Productivity was low because of centralized planning and state control, low prices of agricultural products, high taxes on individual holdings, and a policy of required production. According to this policy peasants were required to plant specific crops or raise stock, which they then had to turn over to the state. PWCs could no longer be maintained when the centralized system of economic management was abandoned in the 1950s, in favor of the gradual development of self-management in industrial enterprises. The dissolution of peasant cooperatives was even more rapid than their formation. It is estimated that, because of war losses and difficulties associated with collectivization, the pre-war level of agricultural production was not attained until 1955 (Franklin 1969:190). (See also Table I.)

The second phase, from 1953 to 1958, was characterized by an absence of any definite policies toward agriculture and the peasantry. It was not clear how peasants could participate in the socialized economy nor was there any clear definition of their status and role as individual labor utilizing private means of production. The third phase started in 1958 with the Seventh Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists, which adopted a program with a new orientation. The Ninth Plenum of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People in 1959 was also devoted to the problems of agriculture. After the creation of a decentralized system of self-management for industrial enterprises, policy-makers became increasingly concerned with agriculture, which they had been neglecting. The 1959 Program stressed the principle of gradualism in socialization and the role of modern technology in agriculture:

The policy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the field of agriculture is composed of a gradual socialization process in agricultural production by means of a growth in the means of production in terms of modern, socialist, agricultural organizations and other socialist forms which would arise in the evolution of that process itself and without arbitrary tampering in the private ownership of land (quoted in Marković 1971:22).

Although this statement is quite vague and contradictory, the Program has been determining the path of development of social relations in agriculture and of the peasant family economy for the last twenty years. The bulk of land is still in individual, peasant holdings, which, because of their small size (up to 10 hectares) do not allow for the development of capitalist tendencies. A strengthening of the material base in agriculture and an increase

in the income of the private property owner are not capitalist tendencies.

At present, the individual peasant sector possesses 84% of the cultivable land.³ Despite its much smaller area of cultivation, the socialized sector produced 46% of the total marketable agricultural product in 1978 (47% in 1976 and 1977). The index of growth based on 1968 values, was 117 for the private, and 127 for the socialized sector (SGJ 1979:225). The reasons are not hard to guess: socialized farms are equipped with better machinery, they are usually consolidated and larger, the land is of higher quality, and production is better organized. Individual holdings are small, poorly equipped, and highly parcelized and scattered owing to the partible-inheritance system and often also to unfavorable natural conditions. In 1971 (when the last Yugoslav census was taken), 586,159 households (10.9% of the total) owned less than 0.50 hectares of land; 1,146,962 households (21.3%) had up to 3 hectares; 966,513 households (18%) had up to 10 hectares; and 119,275 (2.2%) had more than 10 hectares. Others (over 46%) had no land at all⁴ (SGJ 1979:114).

Until 1953 socialized farms increased in both number and size as a result of administrative measures (land reforms, nationalization, confiscation); after 1953, the expansion took place through buying and renting land, and later by swamp reclamation. Land buying has been the most important method for expanding the socialized sector, even though peasants in general do not part with their holdings easily. Factors which encourage selling land or renting it out to a socialized agricultural enterprise are: employment outside one's farm, "mixed" family income (agricultural and non-

agricultural), advanced age or small size of a family work force, small size of the holding, lack of machinery, and inability to comply with the Law of Land Use, which specifies minimal agrotechnical measures and standards for farms located in the areas of major water-regulation projects. (Mitić 1968:310-315). On the other hand, factors which promote cooperation between private and socialized farms are: a larger size of private farms, a "pure agricultural" orientation of the family, a shortage of farm equipment, crop specialization, and orientation towards production for the market.

Various agricultural organizations in the socialized sector have been given responsibility for the development of socialist relations in the village and for socialization of the peasants, as well as for the growth of modern mass production. These include farms, food-processing enterprises, experimental stations, agricultural schools and those cooperatives still in existence. These cooperatives have been reformed and are now completely voluntary and must be self-supporting. Members sell produce and use the profits to buy supplies and shared equipment; the cooperative may run a store in a nearby market town to sell such produce or supplies, or organize one in the village to provide necessary consumer goods. (The Vinogorje example is discussed in Chapter IX.)

Today, however, these cooperatives are far less important for agricultural production and for cooperation between socialized and private sectors of agriculture than are various agricultural-industrial kombinati (singular: kombinat).⁵ During the last two decades the kombinati have become the most prominent form of organization of agriculture, transport and industry. They are run and managed in

the same way as purely industrial enterprises, factories, or various tertiary service organizations, that is, on the basis of the self-management of the associated workers. In the Yugoslav decentralized economic system workers of each enterprise are made responsible for planning and organizing production, marketing the product and sharing income. They must also create a network of cooperation with other enterprises, and at the same time maintain close ties with the local community (by supporting its various services and its cultural, educational, political and other institutions). The socialized enterprise should function both as an ideological, "socializing" factor and as an economic factor, operating on the basis of a purely economic logic. It is clear that the two goals are conflicting, on the micro level of an enterprise as well as on the macro level of a society in which socialist ideology must function within a market economy.

Kombinati as distinct from both agricultural cooperatives and industrial enterprises, have not only factory and office workers, but also agricultural workers (some of them only seasonal) and cooperate with a network of peasant producers. Kombinati, or combination enterprises, combine pure agricultural production with food-processing, canning, milling, etc., in factories that are close to the fields themselves. Storage, transportation and marketing are also at least partially managed by a kombinat. Some of these enterprises are impressive to look at, especially in the northern plains: large, borderless fields extend as far as the horizon; modern, usually bright-colored, machinery moves slowly through the fields; and industrial buildings mark the border between town and fields.

People who work in kombinati have the same status as "pure" urban industrial workers, even though they frequently also own individual peasant farms which they work in the afternoon. They thus participate simultaneously in two types of economy: a peasant family economy and an industrialized, socialist economy. The first still provides most of their food, while the second provides cash for other needs, as well as social security or pension plans, health insurance and other benefits which were, until recently, enjoyed only by workers in the socialized sector and their families. In addition, by taking part in the various planning, managing and organizing activities of the kombinat, the peasant-workers are supposedly developing a new, socialist consciousness and are actively engaged in and aware of the processes in the society as a whole.

There are other ways in which socialized farms, especially kombinati, influence the peasant economy. There is a whole set of different cooperative arrangements: kombinati rent out tractors and other machinery, and give professional advice and credit to peasants; the peasants, in turn, sell their products to the kombinat for processing, or are paid for raising cattle or fodder supplied by the kombinat, thus providing a source of cash income for the household.

Recently there have been many attempts to extend these cooperative arrangements and create some new forms.⁶ In general, kombinati supply equipment and credit for investment on individual farms, and are links to the market, while peasants supply labor, working on their own land. The former can also serve as guarantors for the

latter when they are applying for bank loans. Some kombinati have decided to provide health and other benefits for peasants who are their steady cooperants as well as for those working in the enterprise itself. Others have arranged for their cooperants to become members of workers' councils, to participate in their meetings and take part in management of the enterprise, or at least decide on questions involving cooperation with "outsiders." In this way, the peasant family economy is more and more affected by and tied to the socialized sector. Losing their natural, subsistence character, peasant farms tend to become specialized when peasants are contractually tied to a kombinat.

The peasant family economy has become marginal to the system as far as its social significance and future are concerned. It is linked to the socialized sector of agriculture (as described) as well as to the socialized branches of industry, through the important social category of peasant-workers. Its access to the market is limited: peasants sell their small surpluses at local marketplaces or at public markets of large urban centers, but individual peasants are not involved with large quantities or more organized networks of trade. When they specialize in a single product, marketing is done through kombinati or cooperatives. The market has become the domain of the socialized economy, however paradoxical this might sound. The policy toward the peasant family economy is liberal, but the long-term goal is to socialize and ultimately replace it. Nevertheless, it is at present quite important for the majority of the Yugoslav agricultural population, which in fact participates in both sectors at the same time.

A fourth phase in the development of Yugoslav agrarian policy could be added to the three phases mentioned earlier. The seventies were marked by a growing concern for the rationalization of agricultural production so that food imports could be decreased and a more independent future assured. The trend has continued, and agriculture is receiving more attention than ever before. There is considerable planning and investing: large-scale water-regulation projects are being carried out (the regulation of the Sava basin, for instance, is carried out using international credit); import taxes for agricultural machinery have been abolished so that it can be brought back by workers returning from foreign countries; agricultural banks extend credit to peasants or to agricultural enterprises in order to promote cooperation between the two sectors; and there are efforts to regulate the market for agricultural products so that producers know in advance who is going to buy their product and what the price will be.⁷

One innovation which will exert a profound influence on peasant life is the introduction of retirement security for private land owners who, as we have seen, comprise most of the rural population. Health insurance was introduced for them in 1960, along with some other types of social protection, but retirement security had until recently been provided only for workers in the socialized sector of the economy. From 1977 (when it was introduced in the autonomous region of the Vojvodina) to 1980 (when it was introduced in the republic of Croatia) most of the Yugoslav constituent regions have passed this new law. Retirement security is obligatory: private agriculturists pay yearly contributions which are managed through

The Self-managing Cooperative for Retirement and Invalid Security of Agriculturists (Samoupravna interesna zajednica mirovinskog i invalidskog osiguranja poljoprivrednika).

The new law may have far-reaching consequences for village life. Old age security has been one of the main reasons prompting members of peasant families to find jobs in the socialized sector. When this becomes unnecessary, more young people may prefer to stay in the village and work the land, particularly if they are in the category of "middle" peasants and if they can specialize in a marketable crop. The numerous holdings which are already depopulated, or inhabited by elderly people who are not able to work in the fields any more, can be sold to the socialized sector in exchange for lifelong financial support. In 1977 for example, in Croatia there were about 60,000 such households with about 90,000 persons barely able to support themselves, holding about 160,000 hectares of land. This remains a great social problem, and it is perhaps more pronounced in Croatia than in other republics.⁸ If the proposed solution is accepted by peasants, it will also pave the way for the expansion of the socialized sector of agriculture and for the intensification of production. At the same time it might lead to the revival of small village communities, helping to make life in them more meaningful, and promising them a new future.

Another possible effect of the provision of retirement pensions is perhaps a change in the position of women. At present, most women are dependent, especially in their old age. If they receive monthly pensions, it is most often after the death of a husband who was employed outside of their holding.

Since men are the first to find jobs, women are the ones who must carry the major burden of agricultural work on the family farm, yet they are usually dependent on their husbands for any needs that require cash. Also, most land-owners are men. There is an obvious contradiction between the role of women as workers, organizers and, increasingly, planners of production on the family farm, and their economic dependency on their husbands. The new social law will make possible for peasant women to have their own retirement pension. In pure agricultural households it will be possible for both husband and wife to receive pensions. In this case, however, legislators seem to be ahead of the prevailing cultural situation: in order for women to take advantage of the new opportunity, there must be profound changes in the traditional patriarchal system of decision-making and in definitions of the role of women in peasant households.⁹

This short survey has, hopefully, provided the reader with a general understanding of the position of the peasantry within the Yugoslav social structure. This position has been constantly changing under the impact of direct and indirect factors. The most direct factor has been official agrarian policy, in theory and in practice, while the indirect ones--which are equally if not more powerful--are the processes of economic, cultural and social urbanization of the peasantry. The survey describes a shift from a policy of forced collectivization of the peasantry, to one of abandoning them to the effects of a specific type of market economy, and finally to an intensification of cooperation between the

socialized and individual sectors in the hope of gradually assimilating the latter into the former.

The following section deals with some of the indirect factors leading to the dissolution of the peasant class.

Footnotes to Chapter I

¹In regions such as central Serbia, Croatia south of the Sava River, and the Dalmatian coast, peasants with small and medium holdings had predominated even before the reforms. Large estates were concentrated primarily in the fertile plains of the north and the rich fluvial valleys of Macedonia.

²In Croatia, both small holdings (below 3 hectares) and larger holdings (above 5 hectares) are increasing in number. Between 1971 and 1975, the number of households which reduced their holdings was almost twice the number of those which bought land. In fact, those which have larger holdings tend to buy land, while those with small holdings and "mixed income" tend to sell. (Defilippis 1978:45).

³In 1978, the socialized sector constituted 1,580,000 hectares of cultivable land, while individual peasants owned 8,359,000 hectares. While the socialized sector had 630,000 head of cattle, the private sector had 4,884,000. Statistički godišnjak Jugoslavije 1979:225 (Statistical Yearbook of Yugoslavia. Thereafter: SGJ).

⁴For Croatia, the percentage of holdings less than three hectares in size is even higher. In 1975, 25.8% of Croatian village households had less than 1 ha of land, 38.9% had 1-3 ha, 19.8% had 3-5 ha, 12.8% had 5-8 ha, and only 2.7% had more than 8 ha. Survey of Agricultural Households, quoted in Defilippis 1978:45.

⁵While 447 cooperatives worked 213,228 hectares of land in 1978, 2,432 kombinati managed 2,090,138 hectares. The former had 32,000 head of cattle, and the latter 402,000 (SGJ 1979:237, 240).

⁶In 1978 there were 533,000 long-term cooperants (contractors) in agriculture. In animal husbandry, there were 442,000 cooperants in 1977. At the same time there were only 201,750 workers permanently employed in the socialized sector of agriculture (SGJ 1979:243, 244, 474). The figure for cooperants does not include those who cooperate on an irregular basis, though they certainly outnumber the contractors. The significance of cooperation is better understood in view of the fact that the total Yugoslav active agricultural population is about 3.5 million.

⁷Most peasants consider the instability of the prices of agricultural products the major obstacle to long-range planning of their production. Prices of agricultural products have, however, been rising constantly: if the year 1955 is taken as

index 100, by 1978 they reached a value of 1,361 for the socialized sector and 1,631 for the individual sector. The prices of industrial products reached a value of 484 in the same period (SGJ 1979:95).

⁸ Svetozar Livada, a rural sociologist from Zagreb, in a television interview of November 11, 1980, gave the following evaluation of this problem: There are in Yugoslavia, about 700,000 households consisting of elderly people, which hold between one and two million hectares of land which is cultivated inadequately or not at all. An additional million hectares of land is owned by non-agriculturalists. By the year 2000, the agricultural population of Yugoslavia is expected to drop from 30% to 7%.

⁹ See Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER II

PEASANT-WORKERS

Familiarity with the peasant-worker phenomenon is essential to an understanding of both contemporary Yugoslav society and the process whereby peasant economy becomes marginal within the society, and less important for peasant culture.

This phenomenon is neither new nor specific for Yugoslavia. Franklin (1971:99) and Lockwood (1973:91) have both pointed out that supplementation of income from off-farm sources has always been a common characteristic of peasant economy. In some regions of Yugoslavia the earnings of migrant seasonal workers, pečalbari, often from mountainous areas, were crucial to the survival of their poor communities (to which they brought home earnings in the form of wheat, or as cash to buy food). Although the criterion for defining peasant-workers is the penetration of wage-labor into the peasant village context (Lockwood 1973:93), the peasant family economy does not seem to become seriously upset until developing industries make possible large-scale employment outside peasant farms. Basic structural changes then take place at the level of the peasant household, as well as at the level of the society as a whole--i.e., a working class develops through the gradual drain of peasants from their farms to factories. Franklin (1969) describes this process for Germany in the 1920s, and for industrial areas of

France somewhat later. The rise of the peasant-worker is at least a European-wide phenomenon whereby peasants are stratified and partially assimilated by the industrial sector, be it capitalist or socialist.

In Yugoslavia, the agricultural population fell from 67.2% to 30.3% in the period from 1948 to 1978 (that is, from 10,606,000 in 1948 to 7,843,986 in 1971; SGJ 1979:113). Nevertheless, 54% of the population is still classified according to place of residence as rural. (See Table I for regional differences.) Thus, about one-quarter of Yugoslavia's rural population draws its income from non-agricultural sources.¹ This large group of peasant-workers has a major impact on social and economic life in rural areas. First, the constant flow of cash income to village households is directly visible to an outside observer since most of the money is invested primarily to construct homes, and to buy cars, machinery, and prestige goods. The affluence of the village is literally "visible."² Among the middle and small peasantry, households with "mixed income" (those which have at least one member permanently employed outside the farm) are most prosperous, and their number is steadily increasing.

In addition, the prolonged residence of new working class members in their rural homes decreases the burden on the developing industrial society: it is no longer so necessary to construct housing for peasant-workers in the urban areas; and the need to organize a large-scale, more efficient system of food production is postponed since a part of the working class is growing its own food.³

We should take a closer look at how the permanent outside employment of peasants destroys the traditional family economy. First of all, there is a change in the internal division of labor in the household. Able-bodied men are first to find jobs outside the farm, and the burden of farm work falls on women or the aged. This reorganization of family tasks is not a temporary one, and at the same time as the quality of farming is decreasing, the importance of cash-earnings is growing. The man of the house decides which goods are to be bought, what direction the "progress" of the household will take, while his wife is "just" assuring the family's subsistence in endlessly repeated daily and yearly cycles.

Secondly, employment outside of the family farm leads to a new relationship between the family and the outside world: The sons and even the wife of the head of the household may follow in his steps, attracted by relatively large and steady incomes. This causes an interruption in the traditional line of transfer of the family holding from father to son (not so much in a legal as in a practical sense, of course). This interruption has not only economic significance--its cultural and emotional implications are enormous. A growing number of farms, as mentioned earlier, are inhabited only by old peasants who see no future for the family estate after they are gone.⁴

Thirdly, a growing dependence of peasant-workers on salaries deriving from non-agricultural labor has severely undermined the subsistence character of family farming. Once new needs develop and are met using non-farm resources, it seems there is no way to return to subsistence level farming. Once trained for other occupa-

tions, young people prefer not to work their fathers' land. (Only such exceptional circumstances as war might cause a temporary retreat to the village and to subsistence farming.) The fact that most sale of land is by peasant-workers is indicative of this situation.⁵

Finally, there has been a definite shift in values from rural to urban concepts of wealth and progress. The peasant family economy cannot be maintained if peasant-workers no longer consider it as the ideal, or, at least, as the best alternative. How such a reorientation of attitudes towards agriculture occurred is an interesting subject to which we shall return later on. It should be pointed out, however, that the process is usually initiated as much "from above" (planning, ideology) as "from below" (profound socio-economic changes and corresponding changes in the behavior of the people).

Denich (1974) describes how in the immediate post-war years official policy encouraged large-scale rural-urban migration and industrial employment. Later, values shifted: urban life itself became attractive even to those who were quite well off in their native villages. Peasants came to be looked down upon as backward, and agricultural work as hard and unrewarding. Despite the difficulty of adjusting to city life, peasants continue to send their children to city schools and "away from the village mud."

Lockwood (1973) has shown how poverty forced the poorest peasants to find jobs outside of the village, and how their status gradually changed as a result of their ability to buy consumer goods. In a developing industrial society the value of industrial goods increases while traditional peasant values (land, cattle, self-sufficiency) lose their importance. Lockwood portrays a moment in

this process when, in a small Bosnian mountain village, the traditional prestige goods still retained their full value, but the rising living standard of industrial workers was creating a confusing and anomalous situation. It probably did not take long for even the wealthier peasants to acquire an appetite for a steady cash income.

The development of the worker-peasantry group is usually considered a transitional phenomenon, a stage in migration from village to town, the change from peasant to industrial worker. Peasant workers are contrasted with commercializing peasants who have decided to stay on their land and develop a specialized agriculture in cooperation with the socialized sector. In almost every village in Yugoslavia one can distinguish three categories of peasants: peasant-workers, commercializing peasants and marginal peasants (the last being households consisting of old people or families without full-time agriculturists). How greatly family farming is oriented towards subsistence depends on the region, that is, on the opportunities for industrialization both within agriculture and outside of it. (Another important factor, of course, is the size of the farm.) In general, agriculture on worker-peasant family farms is more subsistence oriented, while in "pure agricultural" family farms it is more market oriented.

Peasant-workers' ambiguous economic position within the social structure has its counterpart on the normative level. Territorial, kinship and religious ties are still strong, so that peasant-workers identify rather with their village community than with their occupational group. Even permanent emigration from the village does not immediately change this situation.

Are peasant-workers indeed a transient, temporary social group? It seems that the peasant-worker phenomenon is not as transient as some researchers maintain, at least in the sense of being only a step towards the final move to cities. Several factors are responsible for the deceleration of the mass movements to cities: increasingly limited possibilities for urban employment, housing problems in cities, the gradual spread of industry to smaller urban centers and villages, and the process which I will call "secondary urbanization." By this term, I refer to urbanization that takes place within smaller communities, even villages: outlying hamlets are being abandoned and new houses are being built, primarily along major village roads; peasants are travelling daily by bus, car or motorcycle to the nearest town offering opportunities for employment; a good network of roads is being built to facilitate this traffic; and electricity, piped water and large stores are being brought in to the village. The process of secondary urbanization has gone furthest in Slovenia, the Vojvodina and parts of Croatia.⁶

The process has several implications: social mobility is possible without spatial mobility (a situation considered very desirable by Yugoslav planners), the village itself is being "urbanized," so that at least as concerns external, physical features the gap between town and village is narrowing, and the economic status of local communities is improving because factories are being built, resulting in better services and new facilities for village residents.⁷

Secondary urbanization has altered the pattern of rural-urban migration. Thus, although over 8 million Yugoslavs moved within the country between 1946 and 1971, 68.6% of them migrating from rural to urban settlements, the volume of migration has been starting to decrease. The effects of secondary urbanization were first felt in Slovenia and the Vojvodina after 1953, while in other areas it was not until the early sixties that the migration curve reached its peak (cf. Marković 1974:37-48).

Among the non-economic reasons for peasant-workers to remain on their farms is the still strong emotional attachment to the land of one's parents, shown for example by the building of new houses, in which peasant-workers invest quite a large part of their earnings. Furthermore, peasants, observing a kind of "return to the country" by urban dwellers who construct vacation homes (vikendice) in the villages, are changing their opinions on the value of country vs. urban life (the subject is discussed in Chapter IX).

A study conducted in 1972 by the Institute for Social Research in Zagreb confirmed that the population of northwestern Croatia had negative attitudes towards migration. It was found that potential migrants to larger cities were primarily worker and white-collar families. The desire for migration was expressed least by peasants, peasant-workers and peasant-craftsmen. According to the study, "one part of them, obviously, does not have better chances in other places, another part is not ready for major changes, and the remainder is most probably economically settled and has no reason to move" (Cifrić 1977:36).⁸

As was mentioned earlier, seasonal work outside one's farm is an old form of labor migration, and it is estimated that about half a million peasants (mostly from mountainous, underdeveloped areas) still participate every year as seasonal laborers in agriculture, construction and other non-agricultural activities (Markovič 1974:69-71). A special sub-variant of worker-peasants are those who are temporarily working abroad, in the highly industrialized countries of Western Europe. By the early 1970s there were about 800,000 Yugoslavs--about half of them peasants--employed outside the country, particularly in Germany, Austria, France, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries. It is at first glance astonishing that Yugoslavia, a socialist country, allows its workers to join those of the other countries of Southern Europe who are selling their labor on the markets of Northern and Western Europe, and this apparent anomaly did provoke criticism within the country.⁹ This policy of opening up to the capitalist world is, however, more comprehensible in view of the economic reforms of the sixties, which emphasized decentralization and market laws. It provides a "safety valve" for those unable to find employment within the country and it is an important source of foreign currency (banks offer very favorable conditions and extend credit to Gastarbeiter, or workers abroad, who open savings accounts with them). Recently, however, there have been attempts to create new jobs for those who want to come back, and who are willing to invest their savings in new factories in the countryside. Moreover, the trend of seeking employment outside of Yugoslavia has been levelling off since the mid-1970s owing to growing economic recession in the West.

Employment abroad has much more of a temporary character for peasant-workers than do other forms of employment outside farms, yet it has a strong influence on the peasant family, on changes in the division of labor and on patterns of consumption. The major motivation for going to work abroad is to earn and save money, as well as to "see the world" (80% of all Gastarbeiter are under forty; Marković 1974:71). The practice is associated with change in values connected with "modernization." The money earned in this difficult way is not being spent rationally, however: in many cases it is used in conspicuous consumption, in competition among families as to who can obtain the most prestige goods. Some small-scale studies have shown that investment in agricultural machinery by Gastarbeiter is more frequent in areas with more developed agriculture and among commercializing peasants. In economically underdeveloped regions most savings are spent on family houses, cars, appliances and the like (Marković 1974:70). The free import of machinery, equipment and trucks has nevertheless allowed the development of small entrepreneurship, craft-industries and small tourist establishments (the latter especially along the coast). This so-called mala privreda (small-scale economy) has been encouraged by official policies, particularly in recent years.¹⁰ It is seen as another way to absorb surplus labor (including the returning Gastarbeiter) and to supplement crafts and services that are now insufficiently well developed.

It should be clear by now that the social structure of Yugoslav villages is not at all homogeneous. As mentioned earlier, "pure" agricultural households and the households of peasant-workers make up the largest categories, while the households of aged peasants and

non-agriculturists represent a marginal, but growing group. The number of small holdings (up to 1 hectare), which belong mostly to peasant-workers, is increasing,¹¹ while at the other extreme the number of larger holdings is decreasing while their size is increasing. In other words, there is ever greater socio-economic differentiation in relation to land ownership, but this differentiation is still limited by the 10-hectare maximum set by law. Thus, rather than creating new rural classes, the differentiation process is in fact creating a stratum of more-or-less commercialized farmers as well as a stratum of peasant-workers who are increasingly oriented toward factory jobs and an urban way of life. At present the process is still in its initial stages, but the differences between "pure agricultural" households and "mixed income" households are growing.

Peasant-worker households tend to have slightly more members than pure agricultural households, but the average for both of them for all of Yugoslavia is a little over 4 members per household. In peasant-worker households 49% of the work force is active on the farm, while 51% is employed outside of it. (For Croatia the ratio is 34%:66% but a quarter of all rural households have no full-time farmers at all.)¹²

Agricultural households invest more in agricultural machinery than do peasant-worker households, even though their cash income is lower, and this trend is becoming stronger because non-agricultural income rises faster than agricultural. (See Table III.) For example, 18% of the "pure agricultural" households surveyed had a tractor, compared to 12.7% of peasant-worker households. On the

other hand, peasant-worker households have more consumer goods (for example, 58% versus 30% have television sets, 63% versus 40% refrigerators, and 20% versus 7% cars).

Most peasant income (almost two-thirds) goes for personal consumption, while agricultural purchases account for about 12% of the income of pure agricultural households and 7% in the case of peasant-worker households. The former spend half as much money for construction of family houses as do the latter. (See Table III.) It is interesting that the percentage of family income used for subsistence is about equal in both groups. This supports the contention that family farms are retained by peasant-workers primarily to provide their own sustenance.

In Croatia personal consumption of pure agricultural households is absolutely lower than that of peasant-worker households (which might not be the case in other regions). Thus, pure agricultural households spend only 75% as much as do peasant-worker households for food, 52% as much for clothes, 52% as much for housing, 77% as much for hygiene and health, and only 43% as much for education and recreation (Defilippis 1978:53). In addition, pure agricultural households pay absolutely and proportionately higher taxes on land than do peasant-worker families, since most of their income is based on private rather than socialized means of production.

Before concluding this section it should be reemphasized that peasant-workers are the major factor for social differentiation in the Yugoslav village. On the one hand, it is their own subjective economic interests and changing values which lead them to become involved in industry or in socialized agriculture. On the other

hand, this involvement objectively, structurally, destroys their traditional, peasant, domestic economy. The new alternatives that have become available to peasants in Yugoslav society have not just been "offered" from above by makers of official policy. Rather, these new possibilities are the result of an interplay between ideological factors and the social power of peasantry. This class, it should be remembered, was a major productive power after World War II,¹³ constituted a majority of the population, and represented a dominant way of life. Once initiated, the process of social and cultural transformation of the village has proceeded at an ever quickening pace, changing the country thoroughly and irreversibly. It remains to be seen whether village life can in the future gain a new meaning based on both the material conveniences of urban life and the closeknit personal networks of communication which are typical of small communities.

Footnotes to Chapter II

¹According to Milić (1977:25), in 1960 there were 1,306,000 persons living on family farms and having permanent outside employment. By 1969, the number rose to 1,420,000. In 1977, there were about 1.5 million peasant-workers (about 17% of the working population of Yugoslavia).

²The amount of visible goods in the villages of northwestern Croatia in the summer of 1978 led a visiting colleague of mine, an anthropologist otherwise unfamiliar with Yugoslavia, to conclude that "the villages seem more affluent than the cities." This, however, is a conclusion based on superficial impressions; the average income of a peasant family is still lower than the average income of an urban family. It is the consumption patterns that produce visible differences in standard of living.

³Urbanization has nevertheless been taking place at a very high rate: the urban population more than doubled between 1953 and 1978. (See Table I.)

⁴According to some estimates, 25 to 35% of Yugoslav farm families have no younger members. Milić V. 1977: *Seljaštvo u posleratnom razdoblju našeg društva*. Sociologija sela 58:26.

⁵A. V. Chayanov, in his classic analysis of the peasant economy (1966), considered the labor-consumer balance between the satisfaction of family needs and the drudgery of labor the basic principle of the peasant family economy. The "family labor product" is determined by family size, productivity and the degree of labor effort. The degree of self-exploitation is lower if natural conditions are better or if the size of the family decreases, and vice versa. The ultimate goal of peasants is to achieve a balance between labor input and the satisfaction of needs, defined by a traditional standard of living.

Chayanov's model ignores such external factors as scarcity of land and other resources, the structure of the society of which peasantry is a part, non-agricultural economic factors, market relations, wage labor and the like. His model does, however, provide a formal understanding of the relations between work and needs in an idealized, self-sufficient family economy. Not being an anthropologist, however, Chayanov is completely unaware of the relativity of "needs defined by traditional standards of living" which he takes as rather constant. The concept of needs, changing along with the changes in society as a whole, is perhaps a good argument against notions of the "autonomy of peasant culture." If

the concept of need in Chayanov's model is challenged, its neat construction is seriously upset.

⁶ Compared to that in other republics, industry in Croatia is more concentrated in several large river basins, a fact which influences migration patterns. According to some estimates, about one-third of peasant-workers in Yugoslavia are employed in their place of residence. This includes workers in agricultural cooperatives and kombinati, as well as those in non-agricultural industries and the tertiary sector (services). In the last two decades the number of peasant-workers has been rising at a slower rate. This is caused primarily by the need for professionally trained workers rather than the unskilled labor required in the fifties. Of commuting peasant-workers, 62% come home every day, 12% on weekends, and 26% more rarely (Marković 1974:52,49,109).

⁷ Joel Halpern, who associated the peasant-worker phenomenon with a permanent move from the village (1972:142,143), described the process of "peasantization of towns" as paralleling the urbanization of villages (1972:74,75). It should be noted here that this was not happening in Yugoslavia in general, since western parts of the country have had a long history of quite distinct rural and urban traditions. Although even in Serbia the situation might be different now from what it was ten years ago, in Croatia and Slovenia urban expansion (involving modern construction of new parts of towns and simultaneous urbanization of surrounding villages) and "secondary urbanization" have long predominated.

⁸ Društveni aspekti povezanosti Zagreba i okolnih područja (Social aspects of links between Zagreb and the surrounding areas), reported by I. Cifrić (1977).

⁹ The Center for Migration Research in Zagreb publishes a series Rasprave o Migracijama (Studies in Migration) which provide data on the impact of labor migration on the Yugoslav economy and culture. Adverse economic effects of the Gastarbeiter phenomenon are discussed, for example, in Baučić, 1977, while some political consequences are analyzed in Zimmerman, 1977.

¹⁰ Bank loans are offered to help establish small businesses.

¹¹ In Croatia, for example, 35% of peasant-workers own less than 1 hectare of land each (Defilippis 1978:45).

¹² All data in this paragraph are from Anketa o seoskom domačinstvu 1978 (A Survey of Rural Households 1978), SB 1142, Savezni zavod za statistiku, Beograd 1978.

¹³ Agricultural production for the market by the socialized sector did not catch up with that of the individual sector until 1957.

CHAPTER III

VINOGORJE

I will refer to the village in which this study took place as "Vinogorje" (Winehills). The pseudonym is quite appropriate for it describes in one word the major natural and economic features of the village. It is located about 40 kilometers southwest of Zagreb, the capital city of Croatia. A good, asphalt road connects it with Jastrebarsko--the market town and the county seat--and with a major road linking continental and coastal Croatia.

The area centered on Jastrebarsko consists of three different ecological zones: the first consists of the rugged, once thickly forested mountains of Žumberak, which although they are very scenic, make up one of the poorest regions of Croatia; the second zone includes the rich, fluvial plains of the basin of the Kupa River, once covered with dense oak forests and vast swamps; the third zone consists of the sunny, rolling hills of Prigorje between the other two zones, and includes the seventeen hamlets of Vinogorje scattered among vineyards, orchards and meadows.¹ Fertile terraces underlain by schist formations, an abundance of clear water from mountain streams and a favorable southern exposure have made this area ideal for viticulture ever since the time of the first Celtic settlements.

The Vinogorje hamlets are composed of rows of houses built on the ridges of the hills, while the slopes are reserved for vineyards,

and the narrow valleys between the finger-like hills are used for pasture, scattered small cornfields or gardens, or occupied by winding, narrow village roads. The lowest hamlet, Celine, is at an altitude of 150 meters, while the highest, Grabarak, is located 672 meters above sea level. From it, trails lead Sunday hikers up to a mountain peak 871 meters above sea level where there is a mountaineer's hut and picnic area, especially popular among citizens of Zagreb.

In the geographical and social center of Vinogorje are a Catholic church, an elementary school, several stores, an inn, and a firestation building, which houses the office of the village clerk, a community hall, a post office, a self-service store and several clubs. In front of the building is a bus station. The village square is dominated by three structures that co-exist in a real and in a symbolical sense: the church, the monument to the local partisans who were killed in the last war and the Revolution, and the practical firestation building. The square is the stage for all major events, used on all occasions when Vinogorje manifests its unity.

Those who live in Gorica, the central hamlet of Vinogorje, seem to take better care of their homes than do those in the outlying hamlets. Decorative fences, flower pots and baskets, freshly painted facades, clean streets, chicken and pig-pens hidden in the back of courtyards--all this indicates an effort to appear urban. Such houses are found in the other hamlets too, but as a whole, Gorica appears the most urbanized.

There is an obvious tendency towards migration within Vinogorje. Two hamlets, Lanišče and Špigelski brijeg, which are most distant from the main, paved village road, are completely deserted, and will soon be joined by Grabarak.² It was a strange experience to walk through these silent, ghost-settlements in which houses are still standing, to see curtains on glassless windows swaying in the breeze and ivy creeping inside between the rotting wooden planks. People have moved to the center of the village, built new houses along the road, or moved to town, but they still come back to work in the fields and vineyards. Although the population of the village as a whole is dropping steadily, those hamlets which are most accessible, lose their residents at a slower rate than the peripheral ones, while in the village center the trend is reversed and the population is even slowly rising.

It is almost impossible to take an exact census of the highly mobile Vinogorje population. In some households, grown children who move to Jastrebarsko or even to Zagreb are still considered members of these households (if they still participate in agricultural work and in major family and village events) as are also the children who have gone away to school. Some families, however, do not take them into account, especially if the relationship is bad. Also, there are some older widows, who lock up their houses as soon as the grape harvest is over, and go to spend the winter months with their married children in Jastrebarsko or elsewhere. In other cases, urbanized children send their children back to the village to be raised by their grandparents until they are old enough for school. Gastarbeiter and migrant workers, some of them absent

for many years, further complicate the situation. In short, it is estimated that Vinogorje presently has about 1,900 inhabitants, making it the largest settlement in the Prigorje zone, although at its peak in the 1890s it had a population of almost 3,000.³

The basic social unit of Vinogorje is a family which is predominantly nuclear or extended lineally (three-generational). It usually consists of a married man with his wife and children and one or both of his aging parents. There are also other forms of families. Households are relatively small.⁴

The population is ethnically homogeneous: this is an area with an old Croatian population which has over the centuries remained sedentary in the villages which it had settled originally. The names of hamlets and villages in Prigorje area date from the Middle Ages and many of them in fact represent the last names of old Croatian tribes and clans. Very few people now living in Vinogorje are immigrants from other republics or even counties.⁵ This has always been an area of emigration. Many village wives do, however, come from surrounding villages of the same county. In 1978, two marriages involved girls from Bosnia.

The people of Vinogorje do have a sense of ethnic identity despite their homogeneity since they are bordered to the north and west by populations of different traditions. To the north are Gorjani mountaineers who speak a slightly different dialect and have a quite different way of life; further to the north are a different people, Slovenes. To the west and northwest are inhabitants of Žumberak, a Dinaric population of different dialect and religion who settled there after fleeing from Turkish regions in

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and have preserved their distinct dialect and customs.⁶ To the south are Poljci, that is, "people from the fields" who are ethnically the same population as that of Vinogorje, but are perceived as different mostly because of their geographical position, grain-based agriculture, and certain other cultural characteristics (much more colorful folk costume than that of Vinogorje, for example).

Vinogorje is a village with a relatively high standard of living. Electricity was introduced in 1951, and between 1965 and 1975 most of the hamlets acquired piped water. Two asphalt roads to Jastrebarsko were built in the early 1970s and bear a fairly heavy traffic of trucks, private cars, tractors and motorcycles.

Vinogorje has a rather large number of institutions including those in the village center mentioned above: an inn, a wine-cellar, five grocery stores, a small clinic (with a nurse and visiting doctors) and a spa. The Cooperative Home (Zadružni dom) is more commonly known as the firestation (Vastrogasni dom) which was its primary function when it was built in the 1930s. It houses several firefighters' clubs, a youth organization, a local government office, a hunters' club, a tourist society and a soccer club. There will be more said about these institutions later on, in connection with other relevant topics.

The ecological and economic position of Vinogorje, situated between the mountains and the fertile plains of the southeast, is beautifully illustrated by an old ritual act: a young girl catches a lady-bug and lets it fly away from her uplifted finger. The direction of the lady-bug's flight is said to predict the direction

in which the girl will marry out: uphill means to a poor village, downhill to a rich one, and to the ground means the girl will die before she marries. Besides showing the importance of marriage as the crucial moment which still usually determines a woman's future life, the act also expresses the relationship of Vinogorians to the neighboring Gorjani and Poljci. They look down upon those "backward mountaineers" as they pass through Vinogorje in horse-drawn carts, even though these Gorjani are now more likely to buy parts of Vinogorje vineyards, than to serve as a reserve pool of wage laborers for Vinogorje. In contrast, relationships with the lowland villages have always been on an equal footing: intensive trade, marriage and other ties are desirable, and often people from Vinogorje own plots of land (meadows and grain-fields) in the plains.

As we have seen, the majority of Vinogorians support themselves by agriculture and specialize in vineyard cultivation. Although a large part of the village land is used for meadows or grain-fields or is covered by forest, vineyards occupy the best land, are economically most important, and require the major part of the villagers' labor. They are the chief source of income for the local peasants.⁷

Individual holdings are quite small. The category of "middle" peasantry (by local standards, those who own about 3 to 5 hectares) is most numerous, while the extremes, households with over 10 hectares, own in fact large tracts of forest or uncultivable areas. The census of 1971 lists 29 households with no land at all. Most of these landless families live in the village center and have members employed in stores, the post office or the restaurant.

The figure also includes a few widows who live alone on pensions and have transferred their land to their children, and several retired white collar workers who have returned to live near their relatives.⁸ The sale of land among villagers, as well as to urbanites, is rather frequent, indicating a trend which has already been described for Yugoslavia in general: households with more land tend to buy, while households with little land, whose members have steady non-agricultural employment and aspire toward an urban way of life, tend to sell.

An obstacle to more intensive agriculture is the fact that peasant holdings consist of a large number of small, scattered plots: those that have between 40 and 60 separate plots are not rare, so that Jastrebarsko county holds the record for Croatia in this respect (the county average is 30 parcels per land-holding). This situation is the result of the hilly land pattern, demographic pressures and serfdom in the past, traditional subsistence farming (a vineyard, a grainfield, a meadow, a pasture, a garden and a piece of forest were all needed to sustain a household), partible inheritance and dowry practices, and the selling and buying of land. Plans for land consolidation have not yet been put into effect, and the villagers of Vinogorje are quite skeptical when the subject is brought up.

Since the villagers have been specializing in viticulture for centuries, their income is still more agriculture-based than is typical for Croatia as a whole or Yugoslavia. Another reason for this is the relative lack of industry in the vicinity. In 1971, 414 households were considered agricultural according to their

income, 112 were "mixed" and 34 were non-agricultural.⁹ Looking at the hamlets of Vinogorje, the percentage of "pure" agricultural population varies from 100% in a peripheral hamlet to 71% in the village center. Those who live in central hamlets have better access to jobs in the non-agricultural sector; conversely, those who have found jobs in the socialized sector or have started a small private business want to move to the village center. Thus, the urban phenomenon of a distinct center and periphery is gradually developing in the village as part of the process of "secondary urbanization." As we have seen, there is both a physical and a social aspect to this.

The socialized sector in agriculture in Vinogorje is represented by a wine-cellar, a branch of a winery centered in the market town. There are no socialized farms in the village, but the winery manages a large vineyard "plantation" in a neighboring village, and cooperates with an association of cultivators in another village. Most of the peasants from Vinogorje sell their grapes to the winery immediately after the harvest, receiving for them a lump sum of cash. The village wine-cellar employs five local residents, and an additional number commute to work in the winery in town.

Vinogorje has had strong ties with the local market town, since the establishment of Jastrebarsko in the thirteenth century. It has always been the closest market for the sale of wine, although not as large a one as Karlovac or Zagreb. Also, it is the place where regular cattle fairs are held and where villagers shop for everything except basic foods and farm supplies (which are available in the village stores). The market town has always been the center

of various crafts which provided necessary specialized goods and services to the peasants. Barrel-makers, photographers, metal-workers, auto-mechanics and particularly various specialists in house construction and renovation are thriving, while some traditional crafts are dying out: for example, saddlery, blacksmithing and pottery-making.

Today Jastrebarsko, the county seat, is not only the historical and economic, but also the administrative center of the area. As was already mentioned, the county consists of three different ecological zones, one of them being economically undeveloped. In general, the whole area is not well industrialized despite its excellent communications with Zagreb and Karlovac.¹⁰ The county has been on the list of underdeveloped counties of Croatia (since both its social product and employment level fall below the average for the Republic) and as such is entitled to special financial aid from republic funds. In recent years, in accordance with a general economic policy, there have been more attempts to move branches of various industrial establishments into the county, rather than giving it indirect aid in the form of republic funds.

Of the existing industrial establishments, an auto-parts plant, a textile plant, a small cement factory and the winery employ the largest number of workers. In addition, many retail and other establishments and offices provide employment for the townspeople and for commuters from neighboring villages. Several industries have branches in the villages themselves, but there are no factories in Vinogorje. A chemical plant, a branch of a Zagreb factory, is expected to open in Jastrebarsko in the near future, and there are

ambitious plans for further development of the county. Hence, the future of Vinogorje and its surrounding area is closely bound up with processes on the republic and national levels.

The plans for development of Jastrebarsko county are always oriented more towards industry than agriculture, a situation which is reflected in investment policy and, of course, in the quality of everyday life in the county. In 1978, for example, 68% of the county's total investments went for industrial development, 12% was spent on agriculture and 8% on public services.¹¹ It is openly admitted by planners that agriculture, the tourist industry and public services should receive more attention. It is no wonder that the villagers' attitudes reflect general social trends: under the influence of an ideology of "progress" and consumerism they are oriented towards those social spheres which have the most public support. As was discussed earlier, however, attitudes towards agriculture and village residence are changing, and this will probably affect future investment plans of the county. How much time will be required for such a change to occur is hard to guess. There is always a lag between the moment when people start questioning certain ideals and searching for new solutions, and the moment when a new social trend becomes strong enough to cause changes not only in individual and social planning, but also in everyday practices.

The market town of Jastrebarsko is attractive to urbanizing young families of Vinogorje, despite the fact that it does not have sufficient industry to provide jobs for all of them. Certain areas of the town consist of new single-family houses which look very

urbanized, with some visible competitive efforts at landscaping and architecture. Little of the traditional rural heritage is immediately discernible there. The construction of apartment buildings in the center of the town is in its first stage. Population figures reveal that the town grew insignificantly from 1857 to 1948 (from 1,042 to 1,541 inhabitants), while in the period from 1948 to 1971 it grew from 1,541 to 3,771 inhabitants (Korenčič 1979).

Good roads to Karlovac and Zagreb have made these cities much closer to Vinogorje than before. There is a lot of traffic between the village and these cities and children of many Vinogorje families either study or work in the cities. Weekend-visiting and summer-visiting in the village have become established patterns.

Through its contribution of Gastarbeiter, Vinogorje has become part of the larger, European community. Most peasants from this region go to work in Austria, Germany and France. A bus arrives every Friday night, carrying home villagers who work in Bavaria and Austria. They leave home Sunday night on the same bus, so that they can be back at work Monday morning. The bridge that these people establish between the village and the European economic system is visible, for example, in the amazing ease with which they convert between prices in Yu. dinars, Schillings or Marks. At a pig-slaughtering I once overheard a conversation between two peasant-butchers: while working, they were comparing the prices and quality of German versus Austrian kitchen knives.

By now it should have become clear that Vinogorje is a village with a highly mobile population, whose world extends geographically from a Yugoslav hamlet and the countries of Western Europe as far as

America, and socially from full-time farmers to doctors, engineers and television producers who have vacation homes in the village. Much of this study will be concerned with how the villagers still perceive their community and life in it as a meaningful whole, how this perception is being transformed and to what extent it conforms with general socio-economic processes, and how it is sometimes in conflict with them. It suffices here to list those factors besides cultural homogeneity and ethnicity (mentioned before), which promote village identity. An average villager, if asked what united the seventeen hamlets of Vinogorje, would list in order of importance, the church, the school and the local government.

The elementary school was once important as the center for educational and cultural activities, with the head teacher the most important village activist. At present, the school has been reduced from eight to four grades. After children complete the fourth grade, they are bused to a large, modern school in town. None of the elementary school teachers resides in the village, and none of them is there for a long enough time to familiarize himself with the local issues and problems. As soon as the last class hour is over, teachers jump into their cars and disappear from the village.

The church, on the contrary, has a resident priest and a Sunday school, and is still a center of many activities. Although the priest himself complains that his flock has become difficult to round up, especially the younger members, and that in general the number of church-goers is decreasing, the church is still strong on the local level. Going to church on Sunday mornings is still the major social event for older men and women and for younger

children, and church-sponsored festivities still attract many participants.

The local government consists of the Community Council (Mjesna zajednica), a council which in theory includes all village residents, and is represented by the office of the village clerk. The local Community Council is in practice controlled by a group of socially active and outgoing men, most of them in their thirties and forties. Several of them are delegates to the County Council in Jastrebarsko. The village clerk is a full-time employee, who rarely sits in his office full-time. He keeps basic records of births, marriages and deaths, as well as the written documents of the village council. The Mjesna zajednica has regular meetings in the Firestation hall, and the issues on the agenda are usually problems of Vinogorje. One of the major methods for collecting money or labor in order to accomplish some village-wide project (road improvement, installation of water pipelines and the like), is the so-called samodoprinos (voluntary contribution). Although it is up to the village council to decide about samodoprinos, it is often initiated on the level of county government.

There are certain occasions, like the feast day of the village church, All Saints Day (November first), Mardi Gras and local soccer games, when almost the whole village comes together and manifests its unity (through parades, processions, generalized hospitality, as will later be described in detail). It should be emphasized here, however, that these events bring together villagers and ex-villagers, Gastarbeiter and their families, urbanized grandchildren and their village grandparents--in short, those who are still in the

village and those who have left it, temporarily or permanently. The existing social entity enlarges to a "potential village," to those that still belong to it in some way and to some degree.

Finally, as another form of expression of village identity, the peasants of the Vinogorje hills sing their praises with a hymn composed by a priest born there at the turn of the century. Its text is written on a board hanging over the stage in the Firestation hall, and it is sung on all occasions when people gather together. The hymn glorifies the natural beauty of the village and the good nature of its people.

/Vinogorje/, ti prekrasno mjesto,
Svakom te je ostaviti teško,
Bio domorodac ili inostranac,
Svaki te teško zaboravlja.

/Vinogorje/, you beautiful place,
Nobody can part from you easily,
Whether a native or a foreigner,
Nobody can forget you.

Kad je Višnji ovaj svijet stvorio
Svakim te je dobrom nadijelio,
Gizdava si, lijepa, ko djevojčice
mlado
Koje imade svaki rado.

When the Lord created this world,
He presented you with every good,
You're proud and fair as a maiden
Who is loved by everyone.

Na vis'stijeni sjediš ko na tronu,
Ponosito nosiš vasionu,
A lahor te gorski mило propuhava,
Živjet'u tebi slast je prava.

Sitting high on a throne of rock,
You proudly touch the sky,
And are cooled by a mountain
breeze;
It is a joy to live in you.

Zelen-gora, kosa ti je bujna,
Vinogradi tvoja lišca rujna,
A ta gorska vrela i ta sela
bijela
Crne su oči i tijela tv'a.

Green-mountain, your hair is lush,
While vineyards--your face--blush;
And those streams and white ham-
lets
Are your dark eyes and your body.

I te tvoje /Vinogorke/ mlade,
vitke, lake kad se oparade,
kao bijele vile kad Goricom šeću,
oči na sebe sve kreću.

And your young maidens are
Light and graceful when they
dress up;
like white fairies they walk,
attracting everybody's gaze.

I ti tvoji visoki muškarcí,
U Hrvata najbolji junaci,
Sokolova oka, junačkoga kroka,

A srca dobra, plemenita.

And your handsome, tall men,
The bravest heroes of Croatia,
Have falcon's vision, heroes'
gait,
And hearts which are good and
noble.

(As sung for Mardi Gras, 1979.)

Footnotes to Chapter III

¹Throughout this study I use the term "hamlet" for small villages which are physical and social subdivisions of Vinogorje. Vinogorje as an administrative, educational and religious unit is designated as a "village."

²In 1971, Lanišće still had 16 inhabitants, of whom 8 were agriculturists, and 3 were employed abroad. Grabarak had 11 residents, 3 of whom were abroad. There are only two families living there now. Spigelski brijeg was deserted in the 1960s. See the Table of Vinogorje population (Table IV).

³The Vinogorje population rose steadily from 1857 to 1890 (from 2,473 to 2,976), but then started decreasing owing to emigration and the World Wars (2,473 in 1900, 2,597 in 1921 and 2,526 in 1948) (Korenčić 1979). In the post-war period the population was at first stable (2,536 in 1953), but then the general trend of movement to urban centers began, and it is still felt today. Natality has also decreased within the last two decades.

⁴The census of 1971 found that of 560 households in Vinogorje, 63 had only one member, 88 had two, 98 had three members, 112 had four, 92 had five, 62 had six members, 30 had seven members and 15 households had eight or more members.

⁵By 1971 there were 90 persons in Vinogorje who had moved there from other counties or republics. Most of them came before 1940, and others came between 1946 and 1952. In the hamlet of Prodin-dol, for example, where 190 people now live, only one person immigrated before 1940, and one came after the war.

⁶Zumberčani speak the stokavian (close to standard Serbo-croatian) rather than the kajkavian dialect and belong to the Greek-Catholic (Uniate) Church rather than to the Roman-Catholic. The Vinogorje hamlet of Grabarak is the only one with Greek-Catholic inhabitants (who attend the church in a neighboring village).

⁷According to cadastral records, in 1977 the total village area--5,854 cadastral yokes--was divided as follows: 1,118 yokes of fields, 83 yokes of orchards, 511 yokes of vineyards, 664 yokes of meadows, 222 yokes of pastures; 2,998 yokes were covered by forest and 255 were non-agricultural (the area occupied by houses, yards, roads and vacation homes). The village territory has not changed much in many years: it was 5,870 cadastral yokes in 1937, in 1913 and in 1892. One cadastral yoke (jutro) equals 0.58 hectares, or 1.43 acres.

⁸Of 560 Vinogorje households in 1971, 3 had over 15 hectares of land, 7 had over 10 hectares, 10 households were in the 8-10 category, 56 had 5-8 hectares, 97 had 3-5 hectares, 275 were in the 1-3 hectare group, 81 had less than 1 hectare, and 29 had no land at all.

⁹In 1971, of 1,234 working Vinogorians, 864 were employed in agriculture, 7 in transport, 25 in crafts, 13 in cultural and social activities, 17 in commerce and tourism, 18 in industry and mining, 2 in forestry and 5 were employed by local government institutions. 275 were listed as "temporarily employed abroad." The number is larger, however, since the villagers who work in France and the Benelux countries are considered, by statistical criteria, to be emigrants rather than Gastarbeiter. (The status of workers abroad depends on legal agreements and contracts between Yugoslavia and the host countries.)

¹⁰ZET, a public transportation service from Zagreb, runs 26 buses a day to Jastrebarsko. This might seem impressive, but when compared to the service to Velika Gorica, another satellite town of Zagreb which gets over 90 buses daily, the number appears quite modest. Velika Gorica is being developed as a residential area of Zagreb, while Jastrebarsko remains a separate town. Some inhabitants blame this situation on the incompetence of local administration and "political mistakes" in the past.

¹¹Službeni Vjesnik, No. 1, Vol. 12, March, 1979, p. 1.

VINOGORJE IN THE PAST

CHAPTER IV

SERFDOM

The first three sections have presented an introductory, synchronic view of the contemporary social structure of rural Yugoslavia and the processes that affect its peasantry, as well as a profile of Vinogorje as a small part of the larger social whole. It has been demonstrated that the village is neither a self-contained unit nor a small-scale model of the whole society; such models are of little validity in such a diverse country as Yugoslavia.

The diachronic dimension, which constitutes the other coordinate on the grid of Vinogorje's cultural identity--since in any moment the village is a sum of what it was and what it is and a germ of what it will be--is the topic of this section. We shall see that cultural heritage still plays a very important role in shaping the everyday lives of Vinogorians. It will be demonstrated that the village was never an isolated unit: the villagers controlled their own destiny as much as did developments at the feudal manor, in Croatia, in the Habsburg Empire or even in the outside world.

The tradition of wine growing in the Vinogorje area dates from before the first Slavic settlement, that is, at least from Roman times. Croats, organized in a series of phratries, settled here in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. There is

no evidence for the existence of a fully-developed feudal system, however, until the thirteenth century. Rather, many Slavs lived in villages which bore the name of the predominant phratry, and many of these villagers remained free owners of the plots of land which they cultivated. A number of villages made up a territorial unit, a županija, headed by an elected župan. Even though the process of social stratification was quite rapid and a stratum of wealthier župans had emerged as a potential class of feudal Lords,¹ the enserfment of free peasants did not become a widespread practice in this part of Croatia until after 1293. Vinogorje was a part of Podgorska Županija--its center, in fact--since the seat of the župan was in one of the village's hamlets. His ruined fortress is still visible, built in a narrow valley high above a stream. A local legend recounts how the villagers once escaped from the Turks to the fortress and built a dam across the valley. When the enemy was close enough, they destroyed the dam and a flood of water swept the enemy away. According to historians, however, Turkish raids never reached Vinogorje. An earlier recorded version of the legend (Rožić 1907:52), still uncontaminated by the expanding Slavic epic complex of struggles against the Turks, says that rebellious feudal vassals, owners of the fortress, created the lake and used its waters to fight the Crown's army rather than the Turks. This later version, though not necessarily true, is more closely in accord with the political atmosphere of medieval Croatia.

By the end of the thirteenth century not only had the political structure of continental Croatia become centralized and a pyramid of

feudal relations been developed, but the whole country had been made subject to the Hungarian crown (in 1102). In 1293 King Andrija III presented the whole Podgorska županija to a noble family in return for the customary military service. Most peasants of Vinogorje then became serfs, but some hamlets continued fighting for "noble" status for several more centuries. This "noble" status consisted basically of personal freedom, the privilege to pay taxes only to the king and to the Church. Their style of living did not, however, differ from that of the serfs.

The hamlets of Vinogorje fell to a number of different feudal lords. By the early 1300s Gorica and Belčiči had become the property of the masters of Podgorska županija. The peasants of Bukovac, which consisted of about ten households at the time, belonged to two different feudal manors. Celine was in the mid-fifteenth century a settlement of serfs who belonged to the Church of St. Anne in Gorica. Ivančiči was at first a part of the Podgorska županija manor; later, in the mid-fifteenth century, it passed into the hands of some vassal nobles; in the sixteenth century its residents became free peasants. Kupeč-dol and Prodin-dol, in the fifteenth century consisting of about ten households, were villages of the Podgorska županija manor. The serfs of Toplica were divided between the manor and the clergy of Jastrebarsko. Draga was a holding of a local noble, vassal to the masters of Podgorska županija.² Thus, the differing histories of hamlets which make up present-day Vinogorje have contributed to the formation of a sense of identity with the hamlet rather than with the village as a whole. This is evident especially in crisis and conflict situations.

As the example of the Vinogorje hamlets demonstrates, enserfed peasants could belong to the Catholic church, a secular master, his vassal nobility or a town. They were bound to the land and in theory could not be evicted from it. Although the basic obligations of serfs were toward their feudal lord, they also paid additional taxes to the Crown and a tithe (a tenth of all products) to the Church. The feudal master received his holding as a grant from the Hungarian crown, in exchange for his loyalty and military service. The holding could be inherited, bought or sold, or given as dowry; pieces of it could be further granted to lower nobility. Thus, the legal ownership situation in Vinogorje was highly complex: it involved a whole chain of relationships which often became a source of conflict. Furthermore, the manorial estate was divided into urbarial and alod parts, as was common in European feudal society. Urbarial lands were settled by serfs, and a series of urbars (charters) regulated relations between lord and serf; alod lands were unsettled and the lord managed them himself, using the forced (corvée) labor of serfs for the purpose.

The nearby market town of Jastrebarsko also developed in the thirteenth century and by 1259 had been granted the status of "free town" (liberae villae) in a charter from King Bela IV. The town was an important center of trade and crafts situated on the major road from continental to coastal Croatia. Being exempted from the jurisdiction of the local feudal masters, it enjoyed considerable autonomy in commercial, judicial and church matters, and its inhabitants were free "purgari" (citizens).

After the seat of the feudal domain was moved to the new castle in the town at the turn of the sixteenth century, the stage was set for a drama of quarrels, fights, court suits, false documents, raids and rebellions that continued for several centuries. The main actors in the drama were citizens of the market town, Lords from the Hungarian family Erdödy (who came in 1519 and stayed until 1922), serfs from Vinogorje and other villages from the area, and the free "noble" peasants. Just one detail from this eventful story will serve to illustrate the nature of this struggle: legend tells how at certain times burghers had to hide King Bela's charter in a hollow oak tree so that Erdödy's could not seize it; and how, during disputes and hearings, when the townsmen would show the charter to the Emperor, it was always held by two persons who would not let it out of their hands.

The position of serfs in Vinogorje is best judged from the changing character of the feudal rent which they paid to local landlords, to the Church and to the king. The changing nature of rent must have affected the peasants' way of life, but unfortunately there is little information available on this subject.

The first mention of feudal rent in Vinogorje dates from the second half of the fifteenth century. At that time, peasants were supposed to pay a rent in kind, a money rent and a labor rent.

Rent in kind consisted of various obligatory "presents" given to the landlord each year on specified days by every serf³: 12 chickens, 2 roosters, a laying hen, 4 loaves of bread, every tenth lamb, and 2 measures of oats. There were also collective presents from the village, such as "as much beef as was necessary

for the landlord's kitchen." By the second half of the fifteenth century, this category of collective presents had been transformed into money, a fixed amount being collected yearly from every household. The most important rent in kind, gornica, consisted of the main product of Vinogorje: wine. The lists of church taxes (the tithe) disclose the amount of wine production in Vinogorje--it was about five times the production of grain (by volume). The lists also show how many serfs owned vineyards and how much each individual actually produced. At the time of the grape-harvest, landlords collected wine-taxes from the serfs, including a rooster for the grape-harvest feast. (Today, each household is expected to serve a turkey on this occasion.)

Labor rent was collective in form. The regulations reveal only that serfs from the Vinogorje area had to work "as much as was necessary" in two of the landlord's vineyards. They would arrange by themselves the schedule and amounts of labor contributed by each individual. This arrangement promoted cohesion and solidarity within the hamlet since it required an organization of mutual trust or, at least, of effective mobilization and control. All the more important aspects of the relationship between serfs and lords were regulated by the village communes. The generalized character of the regulations shows that labor rent was not the most important form of exploitation of serfs in the fifteenth century.

The archives show that most of the rent was collected in the form of money (Adamček 1975:127-128). Serfs paid a tax to the lord twice a year, on St. George's Day (April 23) and on St. Martin's

Day (November 11). On these days, the traditional beginning and end of the "outside" pastoral season (when cattle are not kept in their stalls), an inventory of cattle and sheep was taken and most purchases and sales took place. Also, for viticulturists, St. Martin's is the day when must traditionally becomes wine, and when sale of the young wine begins. The other two most important days of the peasant calendar are Christmas and Mardi Gras, although they are more symbolic than practical in nature. These same four days were in the fifteenth century marked by the collection of "presents" by lords. Most of the food collected was presumably consumed in feasts held in the castle.

The money tax varied from household to household, depending on the size of the holding. The traditional tithe to the Catholic church had already been converted to a cash tax. Such taxes to the king consisted of fixed yearly dues, but were often "share-cropped" by local Lords.

The increasing importance of the money rent is related to the growth of a money economy in the countryside. Vinogorje, as part of the province of the former Podgorska županija, has, however, always been more developed in this respect than have been areas of traditional, subsistence agriculture. Early specialization in the production of wine and excellent access to the major trade routes were the main causes for this development. Serfs were relatively free to travel about as part-time traders, since their lords were more interested in the money they earned than in their permanent availability as a work-force.

The position of the peasantry worsened considerably in the sixteenth century. Feudalism in general entered a more developed stage, with an increase in population (aggravated further by immigration from areas under Turkish occupation including those who settled in Žumberak), advance in military technology, a raised standard of living of the ruling classes and more intensive trade. Serfs, of course, had to bear the burden of all this. Feudal landlords discovered that it was much more profitable for them to conduct trade in agricultural products themselves than simply to collect money from their subjects. For this reason, rent in kind became the most important form of exploitation. The Erdödys usurped the right to collect the church tithe and made it again a tax in kind (in wine). In 1605, this tax alone, which should have gone to the church, contributed 1,000 Hungarian forints to the landlord's income. The other wine tax, which was collected at harvest, brought an additional 1,640 forints after the wine was sold. For comparison, the money rent, which had constituted a major source of income in the fifteenth century, was only 76 forints (Adamček 1975:132).

Furthermore, a feudal monopoly on trade and the right of feudal lords to first purchase of peasant surpluses severely restricted the already limited economic freedom of serfs. Peasants from Vinogorje had to pay additional market taxes when they went to sell their wine in Karlovac or in other urban centers.

As a consequence, there were a number of peasant revolts and uprisings in the sixteenth century, culminating in the great peasant uprising of 1573. Villages of the Vinogorje area were devastated

many times by fire and sword; tax registers mention households which were deserted due to famine, or which were too poor to pay any tax.

Peasants at the time had little class consciousness, in the sense of having a clear understanding of the structure of their society and their exact position as a much exploited social class whose work was essential for the functioning of this society; they were, however, very much aware of the local power and class relationships. In all the uprisings the revolt was directed against the immediate feudal lords. The peasant leaders of the uprising of 1573 did advance some general ideas about how society should be re-ordered. The uprising started in northwestern Croatia, led by the peasant, Matija Gubec, and soon spread south of Sava to the Vinogorje area, as well as into neighboring Slovenian regions. There were about four or five thousand peasants mobilized and armed south of the Sava, and at least as many in the core area of the rebellion in the northwest. In the Vinogorje area, the leaders of the uprising were free peasants, but many serfs joined the movement. Peasant armies were eventually defeated by a professional cavalry of their feudal Lords (who showed remarkable unison on this occasion) in several bloody battles in which at least 6,000 peasants were reported killed (Tomasevich 1955:68). The most important troops in Podgorska županija were semi-professional soldiers from Žumberak who had recently fled from Turkish areas and been granted personal freedom by Austrian kings in exchange for military service.

Matija Gubec and his followers claimed to be fighting "for the old rights" which, however, were not clearly defined. On one hand, "the old rights" could be understood as earlier, lesser obligations

of serfs toward their lords. On the other hand, they could be taken as legitimation of some revolutionary ideas of the peasant leaders, who wanted to free peasants from serfdom, to establish a peasant government in Zagreb which would be responsible only to the Emperor, and to introduce payment of taxes and military service by all classes (sources cited in Tomasevich 1955:68). At the time they had no means for overthrowing the feudal order: all political, military and economic power was in the hands of the ruling classes. The figure of Matija Gubec has, however, become a legend, inspiring the Croatian peasantry for many centuries. Much later, in the 1930s, when the Croatian Peasant Party was at its peak, peasants often invoked Gubec, along with the Radić brothers (the Party's leaders), as their "saviors."

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the population of Vinogorje rose again. In 1598 the Erdödys had 188 serf families on their domain, while in 1691 there were 270, and in 1776, 370. (An additional number of serfs in the village belonged to the Church and to the vassal nobility.) Serfs' holdings also enlarged at this time; the average size of grain fields on Erdödy's property was about 9.9 jutro per serf household (a jutro or yoke, is 0.6 hectares). For the village of Vinogorje this average must have been lower because of the hilly landscape and because the vineyards have always occupied the best land. Manorial documentation from 1776 indicates that the value of labor put into the cultivation of vineyards in some Vinogorje hamlets was six times the value of labor invested in the cultivation of grain fields.⁴ By 1776 there were 1,200 vineyards in the Erdödys' domain. Every serf had at least

one vineyard, while some had several. Wine was the only large-scale marketable produce--just as it is at present. It was taken to Karlovac, a former military fort which had rapidly developed into a commercial center. A major part of the income of the Erdödy family came from the sale of wine collected as rent.

Money rent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not a great burden. It averaged one-half forint per household per year to the landlord, along with the old, fixed tax to the Crown. The most valuable part of the rent in kind was still the tax in wine (the tithe and the grape-harvest tax).

A major change, however, occurred in the development of labor tax. In the second half of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth century, old rents in kind were transformed into labor rent. For example, instead of taxes in grain, lowland villages were required to donate a certain number of work-days (it was still a collective tax). Peasants called this new obligation "the punishment corvée." In general, corvée averaged 3 to 4 worker-days per week per household on Erdödy's alod lands; it was assigned to peasants regardless of the size of their holdings. In this way, the manor obtained 774 worker-days per week.

Erdödy's income (in forints) from one-half of the estate in 1776 and 1778 can be broken down as follows (Adamček 1975:146):

	<u>1776</u>	<u>1778</u>
The value of corvée labor	1,461	1,534
The value of the tithe of grains, pigs and bees	72	84

<u>(continued)</u>	<u>1776</u>	<u>1778</u>
Money rent from serfs, free peasants and citizens	352	361
The value of regular rent in kind and presents	800	769
The value of wine tithe, grape-harvest wine and roosters	<u>2,160</u>	<u>3,026</u>
TOTAL	4,845	5,774

This change in the attitude toward labor rent followed a general central European trend towards a money economy and bourgeois society. Labor had become a valuable commodity, and old feudal Lords tried to adapt to the new trends as much as they could.⁵ They were continuously increasing the production of marketable crops on their manors. Peasants had not yet acquired the freedom to sell their labor; rather, their labor was exploited by the landlords who took advantage of the existing political power structure for this purpose. Nevertheless, the "marriage" of the feudal power structure and the new economic trends could not endure for very long--the whole pyramid was bound to break down soon.

While the peasant uprisings of the sixteenth and earlier centuries had been largely futile, the young and growing class of citizens, craftsmen and merchants was ever more successful in fighting the privileged aristocracy. The story of the market town of Jastrebarsko illustrates this point. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was a small town, consisting of about sixty wooden, thatch-roofed houses and the massively built castle of the Erdödy's. It had inns and regular weekly fairs. Its social structure

is clearly not that of a village.⁶ Major occupations of the citizens were trade and crafts, although many were also part-time agriculturists.

The long-term conflict between the citizens of Jastrebarsko and the Erdödy family started in 1608, when the Erdödy's men broke into the citizens' vineyards and cellars and seized their wine, claiming that the citizens had to pay wine-taxes to the lord just as the serfs did. The burghers of course denied this claim, invoking the King Bela charter of 1259. The next 120 years were characterized by raiding, fighting between the burghers and hired mercenaries, robbing of the tradesmen, and such incidents as the murder of the Jastrebarsko judge (the chief elected official) and other urban resistance leaders. Citizens complained repeatedly to the Croatian feudal parliament and to the Emperor in Vienna with varying degrees of success in gaining royal protection or, in the worst case, with reduction of their legal rights as citizens. The conflicts were economic as well as political in nature; the Erdödy's wanted to extract taxes from the citizens, to establish a monopoly on the sale of wine⁷ and to take possession of the town's meadows and forests. In order to gain increased economic control, they also attempted to deprive the citizens of their rights to have independent courts and judges, to elect their own priest and to organize professional guilds. The citizens, on the other hand, not only struggled to preserve and further extend their rights, but also demanded that the local nobility pay taxes on their large land holdings and that they help to support the local churches and the school (which had existed since the beginning of the seventeenth century). The Croatian feudal

parliament rejected their demands, which challenged the basic privileges of the nobility, but the Emperor later supported these demands.

The conflicts quieted down in the eighteenth century. The citizens succeeded in preserving their rights. The Erdödys succeeded only in gaining the right to collect the crown tax and market taxes from burghers (but even these taxes were not easily collected).

The peasants of Vinogorje were unaware of the importance of class struggles between the free citizens and the local feudal nobility, or of their own interests in this situation. As a matter of fact, their lords often employed them to fight the burghers. On one occasion in 1696, Erdödy's men occupied a town forest and later gave it to the serfs to use. The serfs cleared some of it and plowed it for grain fields. When a royal official arrived later to settle the problem, the serfs refused to return the land and later beat up some citizens who came to collect fuel wood in the forest. In 1702, peasants caught the Jastrebarsko judge there, removed all his clothes, tied him up and chased him out of his own forest (Adamček 1975:137).

The last two decades of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century were marked by the so-called Urbar regulation, which defined, for the whole empire, the relations between serfs and lords, giving them a public, legitimate character. Most important was the limitation of corvée labor to two days a week per unit of land.⁸ Viticulture, however, remained unregulated; it continued to be regulated by a private contract between serfs and landlords, which did not at all ease the obligations of Vinogorje serfs. Moreover, the Erdödys soon found a way to obtain a sufficient

number of workers: a part of cash taxes was converted into corvée obligations. In addition, they forced some free peasants and renters to contribute their labor. Thus, labor days were increased from the 35,500 a year specified by the Urbar regulation, to the 42,300 man-days a year actually needed on the manor. Nevertheless, the manor had to pay the serfs for about 4,000 work-days (9% of the total) (Adamček 1975:147). In other words, in the first part of the nineteenth century Vinogorje peasants became partial agricultural wage laborers while still being serfs. The wages for this kind of corvée labor (called "supererogatory corvée") were determined by the state, but were seldom in compliance with the regulations. Usually wages were lower than prescribed and varied from estate to estate and from year to year, depending on market conditions.

Some peasants from a Vinogorje hamlet and some other villages protested the new corvée obligations. For six months they refused to go to work, but the affair ended with a sentence from the feudal court: in the summer of 1780 they were publicly beaten as an example to others. Beating was considered in Vinogorje the most shameful form of punishment, much worse than imprisonment (Rožić 1907:296-298).

The government of Napoleon Bonaparte (1809-1813) did not bring any changes in the feudal order. For example, Napoleon's tribunal in Karlovac punished with a stiff fine sixteen free peasants who had stopped paying feudal taxes and contributing corvée labor.⁹

The feudal era in Vinogorje, as well as in all of Yugoslavia under Austro-Hungarian rule, ended in the revolutionary year 1848. Erdödy's serfs did not wait for the proclamation of the Croatian

feudal parliament: as soon as news of the revolutionary movements reached their ears, they refused to go to work on the manorial lands. A pedant bookkeeper noted that "serfs and free peasants owe 15,654 days of labor to the manor for the first four months of 1848" (Adamček 1975:148).

Footnotes to Chapter IV

¹There is still considerable controversy among historians as to the origins of the medieval Croatian state. See Tomasevich 1955:50-51.

²All historical data used in this section are from Škrabe, 1975, and Adamček, 1975.

³Obligations of serfs were, in fact, always stated in terms of a selište, i.e., of one complete homestead (an amount of land determined to be sufficient to support a family). Perhaps this encouraged clustering into large extended families, or zadruga (sing., zadruga). Furthermore, state taxes were also collected by hearth (dim), or by homestead. Many serfs, however, did not have more than a half or a quarter of a selište.

⁴In 1776 the hamlet of Ivančići, for example, contributed a labor value of 40 forints field work and 256 forints in vineyard cultivation (Manorial estimates, quoted in Adamček 1975:143).

⁵The increased involvement of landlords in trade from the sixteenth century on, and the conversion of major rents from fixed money rents to rents in kind to labor rents, indicate development of a new economy which Wallerstein has termed "agricultural capitalism" (Wallerstein, 1974). He grounds his concept, however, on the rise of world trade, i.e., single division of labor, while local economic and political structures are considered secondary. But if one inquires into the particular social-historical circumstances in Croatia of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, it is obvious that feudalism was still socially, politically and economically dominant. The culture of peasants (the majority of them serfs), which is the focus of this study, was largely determined by feudal relations of production. Thus, I prefer to talk about capitalist trends developing within a still feudal economy, rather than calling this economy "agricultural capitalism."

⁶In 1622, 74 holdings in town belonged to 57 free citizen families (20% of the families owning only a house-site and a garden), 4 holdings belonged to the three churches and to the Franciscan monastery, 3 were owned by lesser nobility (whose number rose to ten in the 1700s), and 2 holdings were settled by serfs. In the seventeenth century, many citizens owned little land but by the eighteenth century they had acquired rather large vineyards (Adamček 1975:138-140).

⁷For example, they wanted to impose the regulation that citizens could sell their wine only from St. Michael until May (the period following the harvest, when the wine is young and of inferior quality), while the Erdödys could sell their wine from May until St. Michael's Day (when the wine is mature and of better quality and sells for a higher price).

⁸The unit was the homestead (selište). It was defined as 12-20 yokes of fields (depending on land quality), and 5-9 kosac of meadows (totalling about 4-8 yokes).

⁹In other areas of Illyria (the territory under Napoleon's occupation) such as Dalmatia and Slovenia, the ideas of the French Revolution met with much greater response, mostly because the bourgeoisie was more numerous and conscious of its social role. In civil Croatia this was not the case. For example, when Napoleon's government banned guilds in Karlovac (the center of civil Croatia at the time), it encountered resistance. The only major changes that this government could introduce were the decrease in serfs' taxes by 20%, and the seizure of judicial control from the nobility (Šidak 1973:92).

CHAPTER V

CAPITALIST TRANSFORMATION

Although the feudal order was proclaimed legally dead in 1848, the transformation of the feudal social structure toward a capitalist one had started long before and continued long after this year; it was just the balance of the social scale that was tipped in favor of the new order in the 1848 revolution. The economic and political power of the bourgeois class, as well as labor rent, wage-labor and individual versus collective property in peasant households became ever more important after the abolition of feudalism. The Empire's attempt to regulate the changing class relationships through Urbar laws (a form of legal "state feudalism" comparable in some respects to contemporary state capitalism) could not halt or reverse processes which were destructive to it. The bourgeois class had become too strong economically, politically and ideologically (in the sense of having the ability to impose its own world-view).

This summary of the history of Vinogorje and its market town has shown that its earlier "social structure" was formed of hierarchical relationships between different groups of people whose actions were determined by their concepts of these relationships. Thus, "structural change" did not result from the need to confront an "objective event," or an "objective crisis" (Bourdieu 1977:83, 168). Rather, events occurred throughout the lifetime of each

individual and each generation, many of which involved physical or symbolic conflicts between dominating and dominated groups. One should not speak even of an internal "structural contradiction" as a cause of this major social transformation, unless it is understood that the contradiction was a process, not a state. (This question will be discussed further in the concluding chapter.)

The exploited peasant class did not unquestioningly accept its enserfed position, as is evidenced by numerous examples of passive and active resistance. It was, however, unable to break out of the limits of the social axiom in order to attain a radically different concept of society--even less were they able to put it into practice. Rather, it was the bourgeoisie which had, through a gradual historical process, developed its own means for the material and symbolic appropriation of the world, powerful enough for them to become socially dominant.¹

A song recorded in Vinogorje in the 1870s (Rožič 1881:no. 50) illustrates the peasants' hierarchical concept of the world and recognition that it is unjust and at the same time their passive acceptance of this fact²:

Sunašce je za sirote,
 Mjesečina za putnike,
 Godina je za zemljicu,
 Zemljica je za šenicu,
 Šenica je za pogače,
 Pogače su za devojke,
 Devojke su za junake,
 Junaki su za gospodu,
 Gospoda su za pravice,
 Već krivice neg pravice.

Sunlight is for the poor,
 Moonlight is for travellers,
 Rain is for the soil,
 The soil is for grain,
 The grain is for cakes,
 The cakes are for young girls,
 The girls are for young men,
 The young men are for lords,
 The lords are for justice,
 More for injustice than justice.

The natural and social worlds are here presented as a unity and they

were, no doubt, experienced as such by peasants whose existence depended on a chain of social and natural factors. At the top of the natural hierarchy is the symbol of well-being for these viticulturist people--the Sun, protector of the poor, and at the bottom are the lords, who are at the top of the social hierarchy, but who are also the main source of evil. They view nature as good, and society as bad but there is no actual protest against this fact, only a tone of resignation.

At the time when history was entering a new phase, the peasantry had no reason to celebrate the victories of the bourgeoisie, as we shall see shortly. One ruling class was replaced by another, but the peasants remained as powerless as before. Their inability to organize their own forms of political resistance and to develop a revolutionary consciousness results from the very nature of peasant organization of production and life in general. Peasants lived in large almost self-sufficient extended family households which competed with other similar units, submerged in the annual cycle of work. Their interests often cut across class alignments. They had little awareness of anything but the local situation and almost no knowledge of politics. Thus, they could not initiate a revolution (Wolf 1969:264). After the decline of feudalism, their position within the society as a whole started to change, quite rapidly and irreversibly. The peasant family economy was no longer society's basis of production. To be sure, the majority of the Balkan population in the second half of the nineteenth century was peasant, and this remained the case for almost another century, but the tendency to dissolution of the peasant class and its habitus originated in the

mid-nineteenth century and has continued to the present. Put in very general terms, peasants have taken one of two paths: they have either become rural wage laborers or left the village to join the urban working class, or else remained on their farms, finding some way to adjust their family economy to conform with the laws of the market. Either path has led to tremendous cultural change and the loss of "peasanthood."

For Vinogorje peasants the first decades after the abolition of serfdom in 1848 were difficult times. There were several reasons for this, specific as well as general.

For one thing, feudal obligations had not been completely abolished in 1848 since vineyards were not considered as strictly urbar lands. This led to unrest in Vinogorje in the following years. It was almost thirty years before all remaining feudal privileges were terminated. Older informants still remember stories heard from their parents about the hardships of those times. Ignorant of legal complications resulting from the radical changes in ownership relations, they offer their own interpretations of the events (in which causes are characteristically personalized and localized). As an old woman from Kupeč-dol put it:

When klaka [corvée] was abolished in 1848, Mišič [Count Erdödy's overseer] kept klaka one year longer and all the people from our hamlet had to go to work. Then somebody complained against him, and then Franz Josef [the Emperor] sent him a message to come to talk with him. Then, they say, he went to Rijeka [a mountain hamlet] and never returned. Then this [his house] came to belong to the Government. Here was the seat [of government clerks] and people went in to buy their lands, little by little. It was difficult. My mother told me they had to sell everything, even chickens and eggs; they gave everything for their grunt [holding].

Former serfs were obliged to pay in yearly installments⁴ for the land which they had been working for centuries. Although money was easier to earn here than in parts of Croatia where subsistence agriculture was predominant, many went into debt and had to sell their newly acquired holdings. This was especially true toward the end of the century when the rural economy was affected by the European agrarian crisis, and when phylloxera destroyed local vineyards. Small serf holdings, which until then had been partitioned only within family branches, became a commodity to be bought and sold ever more intensely, especially after extended family households split up.⁵

In his analysis of the agrarian crisis in Croatia between 1873 and 1895, economist Rudolf Bičanić (1937) describes the nature of developing capitalism and how it upset traditional peasant family economy. The crisis was provoked by the appearance of cheap North American, Argentinian and Russian wheat on the European market which caused the prices of agricultural products to drop by 50% or even 75%. It accelerated industrial development, but at the same time severely affected peasantry by speeding up their proletarianization. In Croatia the situation was further aggravated by the fact that taxes to the state had tripled at just about the same time, to support the growing state bureaucracy and a new system of railroads. It is little wonder that the same period was marked politically by Hungarian absolutism; only a dictatorship could enforce such burdens during an economic recession.⁶ Capitalism in Croatia was still undeveloped, having largely a colonial character (exploitation of forests and mines by British, French and Belgian

companies), and the growing towns could not absorb all of the rural poor. The number of urban wage-laborers and domestic servants in Croatia almost doubled between 1890 and 1900 (from 30,000 to 57,000) (Bičanić 1937:17), yet the period was marked by the highest rate of emigration in Croatian (and Slovenian) history. The destination of the emigrants was mostly North America. Few of them returned.⁷

The agrarian crisis also affected the landed nobility. Their social polarization became sharper: many small landlords went bankrupt, while those who had sufficient means strove to increase productivity on their estates (introducing new methods of cultivation, seeds and machinery).⁸ In 1841, the landlords established the Croatian Economic Society (Hrvatsko Gospodarsko Društvo) as a part of this effort, aspiring to "unite all forces for the development of agriculture, in such a way that first the most distinguished stratum of the peasantry would learn agricultural skills and would thus become an example to its neighbors" (quoted in Stojsavljević 1973:60). At one point, after the abolition of serfdom, the Society considered asking the government to pass a new law which would force former serfs to work for the landlords for an appropriate wage. The landlords had considerable problems securing sufficient labor for their estates, but the new relations in production apparently were not yet clearly understood. A closer look at the documents of the Society, particularly at the composition of the managing board, reveals that the influence of the landed nobility gradually diminished during the second half of the nineteenth century, while new owners of large estates and leaders of the Society increasingly derived from the bourgeois class.

Finally, another result of the agrarian crisis was the final dissolution in Croatia of the extended South Slav family household--the zadruga.⁹ It has been analyzed extensively from different points of view. Some studies are uncritical idealizations of "patriarchal" or "democratic" types of zadruga (Cvijić 1931; Tomašić 1948), some concentrate on its internal functioning, the variability of its forms and its distribution (Gavazzi 1978; Mosely 1943, 1953), and some show that the zadruga was never the only or the predominant form of South Slav family household (Bogišić 1884; Halpern 1972). Particularly useful are the approaches which interpret the zadruga as a developmental cycle of household groups which were constantly being broken up or expanded, a fluid structure subject to political and economic changes (Bogišić 1884; Hammel 1972, 1976). Most authors consider that the zadruga was a product of the feudal social structure (based perhaps on the traditional clan organization of the early Croatian settlers), or that it was perpetuated by it (Gavazzi 1978; Tomasevich 1955:87; Filipović 1976: 274), and conclude that the zadruga was bound to break down when major social and economic changes occurred. Bičanić in his 1937 study insists that the economic and demographic changes were decisive for the zadruga's dissolution, fervently arguing for something that from a contemporary perspective appears more or less self-evident.¹⁰ At the time when his analysis was published, the prevailing ideas were those of the Croatian Peasant Party, which had a romanticized picture of the zadruga as a true, original and natural form of (peasant) social organization. They felt naively that the break-up of the zadruga was to be blamed on quarrels among women, conflicts

between generations, a spirit of individualism and liberalism, on laws that permitted the division of family property, and the like. In such circumstances Bičanić had to argue, with a note of sarcasm, that capitalism was primarily responsible for eliminating the zadruga organization:

The peasant who does not buy and does not sell, who lives from the products of his own labor, who does not want to and does not need to seek wage labor--such a peasant is unnecessary in the capitalist system. Hence, money expenditures must be imposed on him (taxes!), so that he will have to sell his products. Cheap industrial goods must be brought to him, and the worse the quality the better, so that he will soon need to buy new ones. The opportunity for employment outside the zadruga must be available, so that the peasant can become a proletarian, attracted by apparently high money wages. Credit should be extended to the peasant, in order to make him produce for the world market and to trap him by interest. Such is the initial role of capitalism in the countryside, in the phase of the intrusion of a money economy (Bičanić 1937:26).

As an economist, Bičanić was primarily interested in showing how external socio-economic factors influenced the peasant family economy; he interpreted the dissolution of the zadruga as a response to a growing external pressure. It seems to me, however, that not only external factors led to the decline of the zadruga: within this complex social and biological unit itself there had been constant changes in the relationships between the family members and their understanding of their community. Flexible and open to changes in the social environment, the zadruga was a cradle in which often conflicting ideas were instilled into each new generation of peasants. A recent study by Dunja Rihtman, which is a re-interpretation of a series of older monographs, analyzes this complexity of the zadruga (Dunja Rihtman Auguštin 1976). She demonstrates that each aspect of

zadruga life had both an ideal, normative order (reflecting basically the "natural," accepted character of feudal society), and an actual order (reflecting social dynamics and a critical, evaluating position with regard to this "natural" order); neither of these was ever static. The ideal of collective ownership of the means of production contrasted with the actual development of individual ownership within the zadruga; the dominant position and public, representative role of men was undermined by covert, manipulative strategies of women; the power of the household head was checked by both outside and inside factors; the ideal of social balance was constantly challenged by conflicts within and between zadruga families.

Using Vatroslav Rožić's account of zadruga life in Vinogorje as a source of information, the following section will analyze how certain dynamic traits of the zadruga, which existed before the rise of capitalism, were germs of its later destruction.¹¹

Until the mid-nineteenth century, most villagers lived in extended, patrilineal, corporate family units which they called dimačina. Although these families grew so large that they had to divide from time to time, such division was limited by the law that serfs could not partition their homesteads without Erdödy's permission; the new units formed were in their turn usually extended families. A large household could at a particular time represent the nucleus of a hamlet, while surrounding smaller households were related to it, as is shown by a common last name. The extended family inhabited a large wooden house; nuclear families within a dimačina also had small out-buildings (komore, sing. komora) in which they

slept in the summer, received guests (especially in-laws) and where "everybody kept whatever was his own; there one also prepared meals for himself if something special was desired" (Rožić 1907:85). In winter, only the big, communal house was heated, so that family members spent most of their time there together, while only a few went to work or sleep in the komore (newly-wed couples, for example). In the summer, there was nobody in the main house except at meal times. Men went out to the fields, while women and children spent more time in their komore (Rožić 1907:210). A large dimačina could include 40 to 50 people, but most of them were smaller than this. They consisted of several brothers with their wives, their surviving parents, and their sons and sons' wives and children. The dimačina was in principle exogamous, but endogamy was known and even favored in cases when a brother had only female children: at least one daughter was often married "at home" (Rožić 1907:196).¹²

Most heavy agricultural labor was performed by men, including digging vineyards, putting up new poles, pruning and spraying the vines, plowing fields, cutting wood for fuel in the forest, transporting produce by ox-driven carts, mowing meadows with scythes, and making wine and plum brandy. Women were occupied primarily with household chores, but certain outside jobs were also considered women's tasks: harvesting wheat with sickles, taking care of vegetable gardens and milking cows. They also helped with tying the vines, digging corn fields and potato plots and gathering hay. Older children kept busy taking cows, pigs and oxen to pastures and back home to the barns every day. The whole extended family worked

together during grape harvest, which has always been considered the peak and the most festive moment of the agricultural cycle.

Fall used to be merry in these hills. If the fall was nice and the moon was shining, and people were in the hills by their isi¹³, pressing and transporting must from one place to another, you could hear from one hill to the next carts squeaking and drivers yelling "štis" and "ajs" to their oxen; you could also hear songs when someone had too much of the young wine (Rožić 1907:214).

When the wine had been sold, the money earned was divided among the male heads of the nuclear families in a dimačina; a part was retained to pay taxes and provide for other needs of the corporate family (for example, corn, wheat and other grains had to be bought from lowland villages if the family did not have enough of its own). Clothes, special food, daughters' trousseaux and all other items were strictly a nuclear family's responsibility. Basically, a dimačina provided only food for its members. In rare cases when there was a surplus of non-marketable products (nuts, fruits, vegetables), this was also divided among nuclear families, but in this case according to the number of children in a family (Rožić 1907:280-281).

Every year around Christmas time the dimačina would elect its head for the following year: he was usually an older, more experienced man, skilled at communicating with other households, organizing the zadruga's work and dealing with lords, city people and merchants. He had to have good morals (he could not be a drunkard or a wastrel) and to excel in exercising authority while at the same time maintaining the household's solidarity and retaining its support. Of course, in reality this was rare: the household head often quarreled with the family, and could even leave for a few days,

telling them to manage on their own, until some compromise was found, or until his own family split from the zadruga (Rožić 1907:196, 277). Every dimačina also had a female head, not necessarily the wife of the male head, who was in charge of organizing and coordinating women's work connected with preparing common meals and with the upkeep of the main house. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the position of the mistress of the house became an ever more frequent source of conflict. Her duty came to be seen as a burden, a task interfering with every woman's freedom to care for the needs of her own nuclear family. Instead of taking turns as the mistress every year--as was the case earlier--women had weekly shifts, but even this caused them problems.

Feudal lords had direct control over the dimačina: they could appoint the head if the family could not agree who to elect; they made the household head responsible for sending his men or women to give corvée; and the head would ask for Erdödy's overseer's help if he had problems with family discipline. "Before, when there was corvée, the family was afraid of the lords, and hence took better care of the zadruga--everyone was protecting himself from beatings" (Rožić 1907:200). Although Rožić does not stress the point, decision-making within the zadruga apparently became more democratic after the abolition of serfdom (more of the family members took part in it), but this was at the same time the beginning of the end for the zadruga.

Another important institution within Vinogorje's dimačina, which Rožić described well without fully understanding its significance, is the osebunjak (literally, "separate piece"). Every married couple

within a household had its own plot of vineyard which was either inherited from the husband's father or obtained as the wife's dowry. "No husband was without an osebunjak; for a man the is at his vineyard was his house and his komora, and everybody took more pride in it than in anything else" (Rožić 1907:211).

In this statement the author of the ethnography unintentionally contrasts the importance not only of individual versus collective property in a zadruga, but also of the male and the female spheres of the nuclear family unit within the zadruga collective. A woman would retreat to her komora, where she kept the chests containing her trousseau, mostly linen and other textiles, and where she could work on preparing a trousseau for her own daughter. On Sundays a man could retreat to his is where he was host to other men, friends and relatives, and where they would pass the time in conversation and wine-sipping.¹⁴

Even more than did a woman's komora, however, the separate nuclear family's vineyard presented a threat to the zadruga collective. Although everybody had the right to work his own vineyard after the common had been taken care of, conflicts over the primacy and schedule of work on individual plots, as well as over the use of the collective tools or materials on them, were frequent and bitter. The opposition of the categories dimaće (common) and moje (mine) had become common and natural in thinking about all aspects of zadruga life long before serfdom was abolished.¹⁵ The nuclear-family based and the collective-based household economies sometimes successfully cooperated; if the dimaćina did not have enough money, a member could lend it his own money, and the zadruga would repay the debt after the

wine was sold, with no interest (Rožič 1907:207). Two forms of labor organization which were to become dominant in the twentieth century were already employed in zadruga times in the cultivation of the osebunjak: hiring day-laborers and conducting a labor-exchange with the wife's family (that is, members of another household) (Rožič 1907:207). Needless to say, there were growing economic differences between nuclear families within a zadruga, related mostly to the number of children and the success of wedding arrangements.

It is obvious that Rožič was describing zadruga life in its final phase. It should, however, be emphasized that the zadruga, or for that matter any other form of peasant family and economy, had never been a fixed, static structure. Processes in a larger social domain had affected it fundamentally, permeating even the most intimate of the relationships, and changing its productive, power and ritual aspects. By the mid-nineteenth century former serfs, brought up in a zadruga collective, were quite ready not only to take over the land they had tilled for centuries, but to do this with a new division of labor, changed family life and altered comprehension of the natural and social world. There is no such thing as "the peasant mode of production," static and generalized beyond its cultural and historical context. While itself responding to the contradictions developing in feudal society, the zadruga nurtured a new generation of peasants who gave it the fatal blow. These same peasants often had ambiguous feelings about the profound changes occurring in their lives and caused in part by their own actions. To Rožič, a native of Vinogorje who himself was brought up in a zadruga and witnessed its end, the crumbling of this biological, economic, social, cognitive

and emotional microcosm appeared to be the end of the world, the ultimate cause of the misery experienced by his co-villagers at the turn of the century:

One rotten apple spoils the next one, and so when one zadruga broke apart, others followed in its path. Then nobody wanted any longer to be mastered by anybody else, everybody wanted to be his own master; everybody thought if he worked on his own, without anybody to command him, he would immediately be more satisfied and richer; what he would do he would do for himself, and others would not cheat him and swear at him and his children (Rožić 1907:200).

Women started quarreling over something: over children, work, food, or over the authority of the household head or mistress. They immediately threatened: "I will separate from the zadruga, you will not cheat me, you will not order me." If a child took a cob of corn or a potato and roasted it for himself, if he took a plum or a pear, and others saw that, there was an immediate outcry: "Your children are taking corn and roasting it, they'll eat up everything, no fruits will be left. What devil would tolerate this! You and your children will drive us broke!" If women got angry at each other, then it was as if the house had been set on fire, and division was near. Those who did not have children were the noisiest, while those who had children watched others' children and instructed their own: "If his children are taking food, you take some too!"

When things had gone that far, they could not quiet down again, let alone work and eat together. Somebody went to bring an engineer and they divided up the property. It was sad to watch the division: they shouted and quarreled; everybody wanted a nicer piece of land; everyone thought the others would trick him; they never divided in peace. The division of the old house and the wine-making equipment was the most difficult. It was impossible to make equal shares and nobody would give in to anybody else for anything in the world. When there was no other way out then--a half to you, a half to me--and they sawed things in halves. I will never forget when my uncles Tomac and Jankiša . . . were separating. I heard how they shouted and threatened that they would saw the barn in half, but they could not do it right away; then they got hold of an old chest and they could not agree who would take it, and they finally sawed it in half . . . (Rožić 1907:217-218).

Rožić blamed the breakdown of the zadruga not only on women and the demoralizing influence of one family on another, but also on legislators and rich city professionals (lawyers and engineers), who profited from it. As a matter of fact, the several contradictory laws concerning the zadruga created a great deal of confusion about it. After the initial law proclaiming the dissolution of the zadruga was passed in Croatia in 1853, divisions were so frequent and widespread that increasing peasant debts and pauperization became major social problems. In a vain attempt to halt too rapid transformation, a new law was passed twenty years later, banning further divisions of zadruga. No legislation could, however, stop the process: zadruga kept splitting secretly, without registering the change in land and tax books. The complicated situation was often exploited by government officials: when collecting taxes or drafting soldiers they actually went from household to household; when confiscating property for unpaid tax debts, they would take all cattle but the last cow from a former zadruga household, thus leaving several new households without this important source of food¹⁶ (Pavičević 1980:181). Finally, a law was passed in 1889 which legalized all previous, secret divisions of zadruga and appointed government officials to mediate the new ones. According to Rožić, by 1900 there was not a single zadruga left in all of Vinogorje. This is not true, however, as many zadruga in fact split into several smaller ones (following the traditional pattern), and some zadruga, consisting of, for example, two married brothers and their aged parent, still exist.¹⁷

The following discussion on the breakdown of zadruga families will summarize the tendencies that developed within its structure, in parallel with the development of capitalism in the society as a whole.

First, the extended zadruga family no longer functioned as a productive unit: with the growth in importance of individual property within it, there arose the conception that "my land" had priority over "our land" and "my interest" came before "our interest."¹⁸ The new type of ownership relation involved also a new inheritance pattern: while the collective patrimony was still considered unalienable (could not be given for a dowry and would be sold only in the case of an extreme misfortune), the individual osebunjak was transferable. It was obtained either matrilineally or patrilineally, and imperceptably introduced into the zadruga the new principle of bilateralism on which the nuclear family economy would be based in the post-zadruga era.

Second, the zadruga family as a unit of consumption was also undermined: joint consumption was constantly being reduced, and in the last phase comprised only "ordinary meals." Characteristically, the household product was distributed according to two different principles: money from wine sales was shared equally among nuclear families regardless of their actual needs while surplus food grown at home was divided "by heads," taking into account how many mouths actually had to be fed in each nuclear family. Surplus food was, however, a rarity and far less significant than the wine money.

Third, the zadruga as a symbolic, representational unit was also seriously undermined. Guests, mainly in-laws, were received and

entertained in the komora or is, that is, on the nuclear family domain, rather than in the main house. The nuclear family would cook its own food and use its own wine for guests, and could use common fuel wood to heat the komora on such occasions only "if the relationships in the zadruga were good" (Rožić 1907:210). This is evidence that the zadruga had lost most of its function as a ritual exchange unit within the village community. As we shall see in the chapter on marriage, the zadruga as a whole was at one time responsible for the marriage arrangements of its members, and as such performed a series of ceremonial exchanges and hospitality rites with other zadruga families. Although this is nowhere stated in Rožić's monograph, it can be assumed that in earlier times affinal relatives were received and honored in the communal house. As a result of internal changes in the zadruga, these hospitality functions were also relegated to the nuclear families, although the wedding ceremony itself continued for a longer time to require the formal participation of the whole zadruga.

The question of zadruga endogamy is closely related to ceremonial exchange. Endogamy might seem to strengthen zadruga unity by joining two, already quite distant branches of the family and by avoiding another "outsider wife" who might become a source of conflict. In Bourdieu's opinion, endogamous marriage within a corporate lineage (in the case of Kabylia parallel-cousin marriage) is often the cheapest and most secure solution for the poorest lines in the lineage:

because it always has the objective effect of reinforcing the integration of the minimal unit, and consequently, its distinctiveness vis-à-vis other units, it is

likely to be the tactic of groups characterized by a strong desire to assert their distinction (Bourdieu 1977:57).

Such marriage brings no alliances with other units and thus no symbolic and political prestige. According to Bourdieu, a family must choose either to integrate its own structure or to become integrated into a larger social unit.

In contrast, for Lévi-Strauss exogamy and generalized exchange are not only the skeleton of a society, but also a condition for the survival of a family.

Exogamy provides the only means of maintaining the group as a group, of avoiding the indefinite fission and segmentation which the practice of consanguineous marriages would bring about . . . the biological group can no longer stand apart, and the bond of alliance with another family ensures the dominance of the social over the biological, and of the cultural over the natural (Lévi-Strauss 1969:479).

I suspect that the endogamy of the Vinogorje zadruga was a sign of its weakness and imminent collapse, rather than an attempt to enforce its unity. There is nothing explicit on this in Rožić, but two facts suggest such a conclusion: On one hand, marriages within a zadruga were arranged when a man did not have sons, and he did not want his potential share of the zadruga holding to wither away (daughters could not inherit a part of the patrimony); by a zadruga marriage his daughter still did not inherit anything, but his grandsons could get a double share at a future division--their father's and their maternal grandfather's. Thus it was anticipating future division of the zadruga rather than the desire to unify it which motivated endogamous marriage in Vinogorje.¹⁹ On the other hand, the dowry for out-marrying girls seems to be a late development, judging both by Rožić's complaints and by the increase of osebunjak

vineyards within zadruga. One way to avoid the dowry and "being skinned by sons-in-law" (Rožić 1907:205) was to marry one's daughters "at home."

Economic conditions, which were so difficult that even daily food was scarce and even a plum or a cob of corn picked by a child could provoke a crisis in the zadruga, probably catalyzed the crystallization of new directions of thinking. It had been taken for granted that the zadruga was a natural way of life; it had belonged to the realm of the indisputable, of doxa (to use Bourdieu's term). There were no alternatives available, and, despite the fact that the same sorts of conflicts between family members must have existed earlier, the zadruga had still held together. Once the society as a whole became a turmoil of transformation, opposing ways of thinking about human life shattered the doxa. New ideas challenged the old ones, only now seen, in perspective, as a system; heterodoxy confronted orthodoxy, initiating a "cultural discussion." Now when women in a zadruga screamed at each other: "I will separate . . . You will not order me!", they really meant it, and they could put their threats into action because separate living was perceived as possible. Peasants as a class were doomed to disintegration through exploitation by the rising industrial and financial bourgeoisie. Such phrases as "working for oneself," "being one's own master," "being more satisfied and richer on one's own" show, however, that peasants had adopted the cognitive principles of the new bourgeois society. Certainly, there was no longer any place for the zadruga of serf peasants in capitalism.

At the turn of the twentieth century Vinogorje was quite different from what it had been fifty years before. While major capitalist political and economic institutions were developing outside of it, the social structure of the village was becoming more stratified. Rožič's monograph describes the appearance of marginal groups in the predominantly peasant community, groups that ranked either above or below the peasant majority on the social scale. The process was a local version of what was happening in Croatian society.

The number of craftsmen, merchants and money-lenders in the Vinogorje area increased. Rožič mentioned a number of weavers, tailors, shoe-makers, millers, smiths and carpenters; almost every hamlet had one or several craftsmen but the largest concentration was in Gorica, Vinogorje's center. Craftsmen were men from the village who had been sent to towns to learn some trade, in order to avoid the division of an already too small family holding. Most of these men returned home and attempted to earn a living by combining the craft and agricultural work on the family grunt (estate), since few had enough customers to support themselves by their craft alone (Rožič 1907:254-255).

Storekeepers were both local people and Jewish outsiders. The latter owned four large stores near the village center by the church, and were favored because they extended credit to the peasants (Rožič 1907:255). Presumably, they could do this because they operated with a larger capital than the villagers, who ran tiny penny stores in their homes (and would even buy their supplies in the Jews' stores) (Rožič 1907:194).

Money-lending took place mainly among villagers who charged each other up to 20% interest (a fact which refutes customary ideas of village solidarity). At the turn of the century a credit-union was opened in Jastrebarsko, and peasants quickly learned to make use of the institution since it demanded "only" 9 to 10% interest on loans. Rožić admits, however, that there was also money lending among friends and relatives without any interest, as a favor (Rožić 1908: 20), and that craftsmen and merchants would often give credit without interest. Debts were traditionally settled in November, after St. Martin's Day, when the new wine was sold.

Craftsmen and merchants, especially those located in the village center, came to be called gospoda, a term that had previously been reserved for the resident priest, teacher and doctor, as well as for outsiders: city people, local government officials and Count Erdödy's employees. The status of the village gospoda was clearly demonstrated by the city-style clothing they wore, as contrasted to largely home-made peasant garments. Thus, while gospoda were at first mostly outsiders, by the turn of the century there existed a stratum of village residents who had acquired gospoda status.

The following groups of people in Vinogorje were considered by Rožić to be of a lower social standing than the majority of the peasants: day-laborers, household servants, the village poor and travelling beggars. Day-laborers (težak, pl. težaci) were hired for the grape-harvest or other extensive agricultural tasks; after the dissolution of the zadruga periodic shortages of manpower in a household became regular. Težaci came mostly from the mountainous, back-land villages, but a co-villager could also work as a težak, for

example in payment for a money loan. Težaci had to work from sunrise until sunset, and were given in addition to money food (never meat) and wine. In the evening, they would sit at the supper table with the family for whom they worked, each dipping up food with a spoon from a common, single bowl (Rožić 1907:293, 1908:18).

Live-in farm-hands were employed full-time by small, well-to-do families. They contributed the labor needed after the zadruga fell apart (Rožić 1907:209). They were young boys, usually in charge of cows, oxen and pigs, who also did odd jobs around the house. They came from poor Vinogorje households with many children and little land, and their parents were happy if the children could earn their own food and clothing. Generally, however, it was considered shameful to accept such service, and thus if an older person had to work for others, a live-in position in another village or in town was preferred.

According to Rožić (1907:257) many villagers had little or no land, and lived in small or run-down houses, wore old and shabby clothes and had to work as težaci for others, sending their children to live and work elsewhere. He blames their condition mainly on mismanagement of family property or on the large number of children. If such people were physically unable to work for others, because of old age or illness, they sank to the bottom of the social ladder and became beggars. Inability to support oneself and one's family was considered very shameful; hence, beggars never went from door to door in their own village. Those who came to Vinogorje were foreign, unknown persons, and their misfortune elicited as much fear as compassion. Almost everybody would give a beggar some food (fearing

that he or she might burn down his house or barn if refused), but not everyone would let them in to spend a night. Nevertheless, begging was in practice an accepted institution. Rožić (1907:262) states that co-villagers who had been struck by a disaster (even temporarily, if for example the year's crop was destroyed) and had nothing to eat, would disappear from Vinogorje for a period, presumably to beg in other villages. But they were not perceived and labeled as beggars in the home community.

The institution of begging presents evidence for a lack of solidarity among the village families, even those who used to belong to the same zadruga. On one hand, this can be partially explained as due to a conflict between the rapid proletarianization of peasants and the traditional normative order in which peasant self-sufficiency was highly emphasized. This is why Rožić views most beggars as guilty for their own misfortunes, which are due to either bad management, personal vices or both. On the other hand, there were in Vinogorje several forms of symbolic begging, that is, collecting presents of food from door to door as a part of some regular, yearly ritual. More will be said about this in the chapter on the Carnival. In this context it can be hypothesized that the rural poor, in begging for a living, might have been adopting a traditional, accepted cultural form to help solve traumatic new problems. Rather than being a sign of lack of social solidarity, then, begging was perhaps a compromise, an acceptable form of helping fellow peasants while staying within the limits of the still strong ideal of self-sufficiency. The ambiguity of peasants' feelings toward beggars--fear and compassion--suggests that the compromise was forced on them

by a rapidly changing social environment, that the situation was not clearly comprehended by them, and that begging had not yet been interpreted by a widely accepted set of meanings. It was several decades before the villagers were able to understand their cultural, economic and political position within society as a whole, and to take action to improve their situation. By then it was too late to save "peasanthood." We shall later discuss why the attempt was futile in both its form and purpose.

Rožić defines the peasant majority in Vinogorje as opposed to these marginal social groups, which was in no way homogeneous, as those who could survive on their family farms. He differentiates between four main categories of land owners: the richest were those with about 20 yokes (a yoke equals 0.58 hectares or 1.43 acres), the middle group had about 8-10 yokes, and the poorest between 3 and 5 yokes. There were many, he says, with only 1-2 yokes, but they presumably could not support themselves only from their farms. Of this land, a part was forested or otherwise incultivable (Rožić 1907:174).²⁰

If we recall that the end of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth were times of agrarian crisis and overpopulation (see Chapter III, Footnote 3 for population figures), when vineyards were destroyed by disease, when tax burdens and debts were constantly rising, and when new households had to be established after the dissolution of the zadruga, it is no wonder that the overall standard of living of peasants in Vinogorje was rather low. For example, houses were lit by petroleum lanterns or home-made lard candles; only those "dandies" who wanted to imitate gospoda used

soap (Rožić 1907:127, 189); and in 1910 in the whole administrative area of Jastrebarsko there were only 9 bathrooms in 8,098 housing units.²¹ Of 804 houses in Vinogorje, 142 were built of brick and stone, while 662 were wooden structures, roofed with thatch.²² Very rarely would a family have enough beds for all of the children, so that children would sleep together in one bed, or during warm summer nights in barns and other outbuildings. Food was never abundant; meat was eaten only on holidays. Peasants avoided setting their tables outside, in the courtyards, lest their neighbors see what they ate (Rožić 1907:108, 258).

Emigration from Vinogorje reached its peak in the years before the outbreak of World War I.²³ Vinogorians who had gone to America sent their savings back home to help repay family debts or to help build a house or buy additional land; many returned after this goal was achieved. Some, however, did not come back, especially those without parents and without much land.

When the disastrous phylloxera hit vineyards about twenty years ago, many a Vinogorian went to America, especially to Pittsburgh and Chicago, where many of them still are . . . At first, people did not go willingly, but afterwards, when vineyards had gotten worse, they saw that life at home would be bad. They were lured mainly by stories of how much could be earned there. Whoever went there first wrote home about earning a fortune; some wrote home that they made 20 forints a week; some had already saved so much that they could send 50 forints home at once . . . My sister's son . . . was there for eight years . . . and sent his mother and father about 800 forints. Many times my sister would say: "Ay, ay, what would I do if Mikić was not sending me [the money], what would I do without him?" While her son was there, my sister's zadruga divided, and she spent a lot of money building a new house, and she planted new, American vines in her vineyards. There were few in America who did not send money home; whoever had a wife, or a father and mother, sent money and they used it at home: planted grapes, bought a cow, bought clothes, paid taxes,

and that's how they lived . . . Those who have family at home will return, but those who have nothing stay there; this is the case with a boot-maker from Volavje: his brothers gave him his share in money and he has no grunt any more. Jura Facaniv also stayed there when everything at home was sold for debt--he does not even have a house any more and thus must stay where he is (Rožić 1907:266-268).

While some peasant families succeeded through remittances from abroad in stabilizing their economic situation and could even expand their estates, others, drowning in debts, left the village forever. Thus, emigration was both an outcome of social transformation and stratification and the promoter of further stratification in Vinogorje. The outbreak of World War I in 1914 brought emigration to an end. It resumed though to a lesser extent in the late 1920s, when economic recession brought another wave of proletarianization to Croatian villages.

The previous two chapters have shown how the rural feudal society of the Vinogorje area was gradually disintegrating, and how a new, capitalist one was taking shape. The village community took part in this process--as evidenced by gradual, internal weakening of the zadruga--and was not the victim of exclusively external forces. James Scott, who hypothesized a coherent, harmonious village community, shielded and even "insulated" from the hegemony of ruling classes by its "moral economy" (1977a, 1977b), overemphasized the separation of "great" versus "little" traditions. He also implied that the village symbolic system, their "moral economy," was essentially ahistorical and omnipresent until the outside forces of the market and the state shattered it. It is certainly true that small, tightly-knit communities share a system of beliefs and values, as

well as a social organization based on reciprocal exchange; nevertheless, these communities have always interacted dynamically, in both the practical and the symbolic sense, with local groups which belonged to other classes and had other ideologies. In the European case, class separation was rarely also spatial separation. Thus, interaction with members of other classes never left the village world view intact, either before the intrusion of capitalism, or afterwards.

These same two chapters have also demonstrated how a class of burghers gradually gained strength and became more successful in competing economically and politically with the local nobility. The symbolic systems not only of the nobility, but also of the burghers, affected how peasants experienced the social world; they witnessed a gradual reversal in the pattern of domination/subordination between the two elites. Accordingly, their fear and hatred of the Count and his mercenaries was redirected towards urban gospoda. The success of the burghers against the Erdödy family in the competition over trade rights and control of town administration, and the eventual decline of the noble family--a case which is typical for much of this area of Europe--contradict Wallerstein's assertion that the market was created as a "creative leap of imagination" by the ruling nobility (Wallerstein 1976:350) in the sixteenth century and that the competition between nobility and burghers was of no importance. As we have seen, until the sixteenth century not only citizens of Jastrebarsko but also serfs had been free to take their wine to the markets of Karlovac and Zagreb. Although these markets

were not yet integrated on a large scale, they were certainly organized for the sale of cash-crops as well as for the sale of small peasant surpluses.

Scott correctly observes that the syncretic and profanized religion as well as the culture of peasants contain seeds of an alternative symbolic universe and opposition of peasantry as a class to other classes--that this symbolic system is the functional equivalent of class-consciousness (Scott 1977b:284). Whether, however, this potential opposition can be translated into revolutionary action is a completely different question. It is dealt with in the next chapter.

Footnotes to Chapter V

¹The Croatian bourgeoisie consisted at the time of a thin but powerful layer of foreign and domestic bankers, traders and ex-feudal landlords. A growing stratum of urban professionals, intelligentsia and, particularly, artists, pioneered the idea of a cultural and political emancipation which in the mid-nineteenth century led to so-called Croatian Renaissance. The movement is comparable to those of the national bourgeoisies of Germany or Italy in the nineteenth century.

²The song was sung primarily by young girls. It is recorded in several variants; this variant was sometimes sung as a part of a longer wedding song.

³The house of the Erdödy's overseer, built massively in a rustic baroque style, sits on top of a hill, halfway up the mountain. From the terrace in front of it one has a beautiful view over the Vinogorje hamlets and rolling hills, all the way down to the plains and the Kupa River. The house itself symbolized different periods that the people of this area experienced: it was originally built for the lord's supervisor; next, it was used by government clerks in charge of abolishing feudal land ownership; later it was the headquarters of the village government; finally, in the post-war socialist era it has become an inn, managed by a forestry enterprise which employs several local residents as hosts to weekend hikers and vacationists.

⁴The indemnity for land was computed per serf homestead (see Chapter IV, Footnote 8). As an illustration, a serf from Ivančiči, Tergovec Miko, held four-eighths of a homestead (selište), and had been paying 6 forints and 8 kreuzer in taxes and 26 days of corvée labor yearly to the Erdödys for it. The value of corvée labor was estimated at 4 forints and 20 kreuzer per year and thus the value of all yearly dues was 10 forints and 28 kreuzer. This amount was multiplied by twenty, then a sixth was subtracted (for bookkeeping expenses), and the resulting amount--174 forints and 26 kreuzer in this case--represented the amount to be paid to the former lord. It is interesting to note that the value of labor was quite low: about 16 kreuzer for a work-day in the year 1855. Only 13 years later, in 1869, Erdödy was paying twice as much to the wage-laborers on his estate: 33 or 40 kreuzer, depending on the season, i.e., type of agricultural work (Arhiv Hrvatske, Zemljorasteretno ravnateljstvo, Operati za urbarijalnu odštetu, box 44, vol. 324-333 (Jaska) and Vlastelinstvo Jastrebarsko, box 73.)

According to the latter source, peasants were allowed to pay indemnity for vineyards in wine instead of in money. Count Erdödy's

accounts also reveal that peasants were buying off forests as well. For instance, Petrinec Miko, a peasant from Ivančići, paid 11 forints and 30 kreuzer for the years 1865 and 1866. Although individual households were assigned shares to pay for the forest, it was later turned into a village common and was used as such according to special rules.

⁵At the time, very few Vinogorje peasants were paying taxes and indemnity for an entire homestead. According to the 1848 census of serfs (carried out in 1850), the hamlet of Prodin-dol had 13 serf families, six of which did have holdings larger than one homestead, but none more than two. The hamlet of Toplica consisted of 13 families who worked 7 28/32 homesteads (for which landlords were supposed to receive 3,150 silver forints in indemnities). For comparison, a lowland serf village in the Kupa Valley, with about three times the population, had 66 7/8 serf homesteads (Arhiv Hrvatske, Zemljorasteretno ravnateljstvo, Operati za urbarijalnu odštetu, box 44, vol. 324-333.)

⁶In 1883 widespread protests broke out in resistance to the Hungarian government, directed especially against its symbols of power: the Hungarian flag and seals and the use of Hungarian as an official language in state and railroads administration. In 1876, when the metric system was introduced, peasants revolted against it. Although this has been interpreted as "natural peasant conservatism," their revolt in fact was motivated by the belief that it was just another exploitive move by the state bureaucracy. Peasants were actually cheated by merchants when old measuring devices were converted at the market. Peasants were too poor to immediately buy new measuring vessels and scales. Also, in the metric system, taxes in natural products were rounded up (Pavičević 1980:184).

⁷From 1899 to 1913 there were a total of between 400,000 and 450,000 emigrants from Croatia. Only 41,760 returned during that same period (Tomasevich 1955:154).

⁸According to Bičanić (1937:24) in 1880 the nobility owned 24% of the cultivable land in northern Croatia. By 1890 the percentage had dropped to 19%.

⁹The term zadruga for the corporate extended family unit is not used by peasants themselves; rather, it is an academic term which in Serbo-Croatian means "co-operative," and is understood as such by peasants. The households of extended families are referred to differently in different regions of the Balkans: dim (hearth), velika kuća (a large house), krov (roof), etc. (Gavazzi 1978:89). In Vinogorje, the term dimačina is used, roughly translatable as "domestic" or "communal" homestead.

¹⁰Bičanić presents figures for Croatia by county, illustrating that the break-up of zadruga followed closely upon the development of capitalism between 1886 and 1905; also, the division of the zadruga

reached its peak frequency exactly in the worst years of the agrarian crisis (Bičanić 1937:27-28).

¹¹The problem with Rožić's monograph (Rožić 1907), as was already mentioned in the introductory chapter, is that the author was openly biased in favor of the Croatian Peasant Party's populist ideas, and actually wrote his ethnography for a cultural series edited by Antun Radić, Croatian ethnologist and brother of the Party's leader. Rožić himself witnessed Vinogorje's zadruga only in its final phase of destruction, while the description of its earlier traits is based on idealized models constructed by the author himself and by his older informants. Throughout the monograph Rožić repeatedly blames all the troubles of Vinogorje at the time of the capitalist expansion on "phylloxera which destroyed the vineyards and the rulers who introduced the law that zadruga could divide." For this reason, the monograph must be read carefully, as important facts are often stated in passing, carelessly and frequently contradictory.

¹²The Catholic church allowed marriages between second cousins.

¹³Small wooden structures by the vineyards where tools and barrels were kept and wine was made.

¹⁴The importance and symbolism of textiles as a means for delineating and determining a woman's social sphere will be treated in the next chapter. In the chapter on the transformation of wedding rituals and Carnival it will be contrasted with the symbolism of wine in man's social sphere.

¹⁵It should be remembered, though, that before 1848 the osebunjak, like the zadruga homestead, was not really the property of peasants. Thus, in the case of the osebunjak, pieces of serf homesteads were reassigned between families, and there was no actual legal transfer of property. This meant that a man's vineyard and is could be a long walk away from his house. The extreme dispersion of plots belonging to a single family holding is still characteristic for Vinogorje.

¹⁶According to laws that were meant to prevent pauperization of peasants, the last cow in a household could not be sold or confiscated.

¹⁷By 1889, 1,224 zadruga in Jastrebarsko county had been divided to form 4,045 new households. Between the years 1890 and 1910, 553 more zadruga were split, forming 11 new zadruga and 1,888 nuclear family households (Statistički godišnjak Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije, II, 1910:290). For a description of conflicts in a contemporary zadruga, see Chapter VIII, p. 192.

¹⁸When the zadruga of Nežići fell apart in 1898, they had 70 yokes of common land, and 70 yokes total of osebunjak land (Rožić 1907:221).

¹⁹The Nežići zadruga is actually said to have broken down after one brother requested his share before death, so that his two daughters (already married "at home") could inherit it. He was given a cash equivalent of his share of the land, which was then divided between the two daughters. Soon, other members of the family insisted on getting their shares too (Rožić 1907: 220-221).

²⁰Although Rožić does not give exact figures, if his categorization is compared to the contemporary pattern of land distribution (see Chapter III, Footnote 8), it appears that the polarization is now sharper: there are more holdings above 20 yokes and more of those between 2 and 5 yokes.

²¹Statistički godišnjak kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije II, 1910, p. 258. Kraljevski Zemaljski Statistički ured u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 1917.

²²Ibid.

²³Between 1906 and 1910, 2,770 people emigrated from Jastrebarsko county, most of them going to North America; 1,411 returned in the same period. Only 11 new residents immigrated to the county (Statistički godišnjak Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije II, 1910. Zagreb, 1917, pp. 204, 206, 211). The figure is not precise because many villagers left secretly, without travel papers, especially those in debt. For example, according to local government records, the number of emigrants from Croatia in the year 1913 was 13,000, but transatlantic steamship companies registered 31,345 passengers from Croatia in that same year (Stojsavljević 1965:28).

CHAPTER VI

THE PEASANT VERSUS THE CAPITALIST WORLD VIEW

Capitalist development in the second part of the nineteenth century profoundly changed many aspects of the life of Vinogorians. There was a shift from the zadruga to the nuclear family, from collective to individual ownership of land, and from communal family labor to hired labor and labor exchange. Land and money began to circulate as commodities within the village much more frequently, and Vinogorians for the first time entered the world labor market. Vinogorje's social structure became increasingly diversified and polarized. There was a growth of petty entrepreneurship among villagers, especially in crafts and trade. Nevertheless, despite stratification and the development of an entrepreneurial mentality, the village still preserved its sense of identity when dealing with the major political and economic institutions, all located in the outside world. Common experience with outside exploitation was still the basis of village solidarity, however passive and unconscious it might have been.

Vinogorians came to have a more active and conscious attitude toward the new social order and their position within it only later in the 1920s and 1930s, when many peasants in Croatia actually acquired some economic and political power through the development of peasant cooperatives and through the activity of the Croatian

Peasant Party (CPP). Two institutions established at this time in Vinogorje--a branch of the cultural organization of the CPP and a wine-cooperative--were heralds of the new phase. They will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Village solidarity in the first decade of this century can be noted in the following moral judgements regarding theft, which reflect characteristic "dual standards":

It is better to be poor than to steal; the repute of an honorable man spreads far, but the bad name of a dishonorable one goes even farther . . . If someone steals from the wealthy, it is not such a great sin as stealing from the poor; the rich man has more, so he suffers less. To steal from the dimačina is less sinful than to steal from someplace else; if someone takes something from a dimačina, he thinks: "It's mine, so why shouldn't I take it?" If others from the family also steal, then nobody considers this a theft . . . Pilfering firewood in the village forest is less of a crime than taking it from someone's courtyard. And taking firewood from the Count's forest is no crime at all; he is rich even without it, so why would this be a sin? (Rožič 1907:297).

The sanctity of private ownership was already greater than that of common ownership of a family; yet to steal from the Count, an outsider and exploiter, was not at all seen as a crime. In the village world, where most energy was directed towards merely securing one's existence, the severity of a crime was determined according to how much of a threat it posed to the victim's survival. Also, when trading, a co-villager was not cheated as were unknown peasants at market-places, since this would have led to serious conflicts within the Vinogorje community.

In their dealings with the outside world, especially with dominant social groups, villagers showed a marked solidarity. A shared irony and scorn for city life, for the gospoda there, and for urban

values is particularly apparent, in contrast with present-day peasant values. A visit to town to a lawyer, the tax-collector or the law court was a ritual of conscious self-abasement:

When Vinogorians go to see the county gospoda they do not necessarily put on their best clothes; if their regular clothing is dirty or torn, then they do change, put on a clean shirt and pants and a better vest and coat . . . When they arrive at an official's office they greet him: "Praised be the Lord!", or "Praised be Jesus!", or "Praised be Jesus and Mary!". Before they used to take chickens, turkeys, wine, eggs, grapes or something else to the gospoda, so that they would be more inclined to help; today nobody is bribing them any more. The gospoda do not always speak nicely to a peasant; some of them do have a more common (dimaće) demeanor and it is possible to talk to them. Some do not even look at the peasant when he comes up to them, but [act] as if he were going to steal something from them. Thus many a peasant man just stands by the door and waits for a long time until the official calls him and asks him what he wants. It is immediately known in villages which official is good and which one is obnoxious (Rožić 1907:195).

Rožić's statement about the disappearance of bribery is untrue. It has persisted to this very day, although its forms and significance have changed. Self-humiliation and bribery are not a general characteristic of peasant mentality. Such behavior was a strategy: Vinogorians were perfectly aware that they had to assume such a role while communicating with those in power. The strategy can be compared with the Schneiders' cultural code of astuteness (Schneider, 1976:86), being also a product of definite historical and social circumstances. In continental Croatia there was, however, a strict hierarchical structure of dominance, quite different from the loose and manipulable one described by the Schneiders for Sicily. Thus, instead of individual astuteness and displays of prowess, more obscure manipulative strategies were employed here: apparent self-degradation, bribery, and petty and inconspicuous cheating and

stealing. Open displays of bravery were (and still are) reserved for other occasions, such as ritual haggling duels at weekly cattle-fairs, but these take place exclusively among peasants of approximately the same rank from different villages. (Such occasions will be discussed in Chapter IX.)

When those in power actually came to Vinogorje in person to enforce their demands, there was little space left to maneuver in: peasants had to resist openly, to flee when possible, or to yield. For example, Rožič describes how a šekucija expedition (from Latin execution, performance), consisting of county officials and gendarmerie would come to Vinogorje to auction debtors' property or sometimes just for a "visit" and expected to be wined and dined by its "hosts" (Rožič 1907:264). At other times the gendarmerie would come to "hunt" young boys for the Emperor's army and the youths would have to run off to the mountain to hide, sleeping there even in the snow and not returning home until the gendarmerie was gone (Rožič 1907:265). In the last decades of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, however, army service became compulsory for every young man. "When someone has to go off to the army, everybody cries, thinking that he will never return home; his mother cries the most; some even lament as if their son were already dead" (Rožič 1907:265). One of the most beautiful poems in Rožič's 1881 collection expresses the grief of a young peasant who must leave home "to serve the Emperor":

Tko će tebe vince piti,
kad ja moram odlaziti?
Vince črleno!
Tko će tebe travo kositi,
kad ja moram sablju nositi?

Who will drink you, wine,
now that I must go?
Oh, red wine!
Who will mow you, meadow,
when I must carry a saber?

Travo zelena!
 Tko će tebe goro seći,
 kad ja moram zemlju leći?
 Goro visoka!
 Tko će tebe majko hranit,
 kad ja moram Cara branit?
 Majko milena!
 Tko će tebe ljubo ljubiti,
 kad ja moram Cara služiti?
 Ljubo ljubezna!

Oh, green meadow!
 Who will cut you, forest,
 when I'm dead and buried?
 Oh, lofty forest!
 Who will care for you, mother,
 when I must defend the Emperor?
 Oh, dear mother!
 Who will kiss you, my dear,
 While I'm serving the Emperor?
 Oh, dear darling!

(Rožić 1881, no. 43)

The Vinogorians' concept of history was based primarily on memories of wars in which they fought in the Austro-Hungarian army (during the second part of the nineteenth century, in Hungary, Italy, Prussia and Bosnia). World War I, when the Monarchy crumbled, was an important period of consciousness-raising for the Croatian peasantry. They noticed that especially in times of war the food they produced was the basis of society's survival; as soldiers they could observe cultural and economic traits of other European countries; above all, they came into contact with strong nationalist movements of other Slavic peoples in the Dual Monarchy.¹ It was no coincidence that a strong peasant party did not emerge in Croatia until after World War I.

The new state of Yugoslavia, founded in 1918 as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, had to deal immediately with widespread peasant unrest, directed against large landlords. The partial agrarian reform of 1919 abolished what remained of the feudal system in Bosnia, Dalmatia and Macedonia. The land reform and peasant movement had little effect in northwestern Croatia (where there were no latifundia), and none at all in Vinogorje. Neither was Erdödy's family estate touched, nor were peasants given any

additional land. Impersonal capitalist rather than administrative forces had been operating in Vinogorje for some time.² The failure of the agrarian reform is evident in the highly polarized pattern of land distribution for Yugoslavia in 1931: more than one-third of peasant households did not have enough land to support themselves.³ The situation was so much worsened by the Great Depression and concomitant decline in prices of agricultural products that a general moratorium on peasant debts had to be declared in 1932. Besides debts, all deposits in several large banks in Zagreb were also frozen, and the banks would not and could not give further credit to agriculturists. This economic hardship forced peasants to rely on mutual aid and new cooperative forms of organization. Such were the circumstances in brief at the time when the cooperative movement and the Croatian Peasant Party reached their greatest power.

The Croatian Peasant Party (CPP) was established in 1905 by the brothers Antun and Stjepan Radić, but, as already stated, it did not gain widespread popular support until World War I. While Stjepan Radić was a political organizer and a highly persuasive demagog, Antun was the creator of the Party's political and cultural principles and program. He undertook a systematic study of the Croatian village by establishing in the 1890s a series, Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena (The Journal of Folk Life and Customs of South Slavs), which is still in publication.⁴ He worked out a guide to be used by the various contributors as the basis for a projected series of village monographs. Rožić's account of Vinogorje appeared as one such monograph published in Radić's Zbornik.

The ideology of the CPP was populist, similar to that of the Russian Narodniki and to other peasant movements of Eastern Europe. It was based on the belief that peasants, the unstratified majority of the Croatian narod (people) should rule and thereby assure justice for all; that the "Croatian peasantry alone forms the Croatian nation and that it alone is the creator and repository, on a collective basis, of a genuine, autochthonous, national peasant culture" (Tomasevich 1955:255). The students of this culture, Antun Radić thought, should make every effort to identify and thereafter avoid whatever is "foreign" or "imported," and thus should teach peasants to retain their autochthonous, ancient customs (however undefinable and elusive these might be). In practice, CPP ideology took a form of a sermon against industrial goods and "luxury" which were believed to "destroy" peasants. The observation was, in fact, accurate, but the remedy recommended--abstention--was quite unrealistic. Peasant self-sufficiency, harmony, collectivity and the zadruga were idealized; in practice, however, Gospodarska sloga,⁵ the branch of the CPP concerned with the formation of peasant cooperatives, had to conform with market principles of economy.

By far the most influential organization of the CPP was its cultural arm, Seljačka sloga (Peasant Concord), "ideological purifier of the Croatian, and the nursery of the world's peasant movement," according to its president Rudolf Herceg (Tomasevich 1955: 257). It was founded in 1925, and by 1936 included 326 village branch organizations. From 1925 to 1929 it published the journal Seljačka prosvjeta (Peasant Enlightenment), and from 1936 to 1941 the monthly Seljačka sloga; articles were contributed by peasant

activists in the branch organizations and members of the urban intelligentsia who identified their interests with those of the peasantry.

A 1936 issue of Seljačka sloga (I, 3:68) contains a report stating that a branch of Seljačka sloga had been organized in Vinogorje with members from three of its hamlets; three additional branches had been organized in neighboring villages. This same year the Vinogorje branch held its annual meeting and its choir participated in a festival of peasant choirs in Jastrebarsko. In a later issue of Seljačka sloga (II, 9:216, 1937) we learn that members from the most populous hamlet had already established a new cell of Seljačka sloga with 30 "real," i.e., peasant members, who put on a play "Croats--1,000 Years." The split reflected already existing social identification with one's hamlet. The core organization continued with its activities, organizing concerts, lectures, readings of Radić's publications and stage performances of "ancient customs." Proceeds from these activities were to be used to build a cultural center, which, however, never materialized. In 1939 there were 53 members, but apparently only a small group was active.

Another activity was its "Tribunal of Good and Honorable Men" which was to mediate conflicts between villagers and thus help avoid robbery by city courts and lawyers. The success of the tribunal was not great because "people do not yet understand its value" (Seljačka sloga, III, 6:196, 1938; and IV, 4:109, 1939). According to an article in Seljačka sloga written by the secretary of the core organization, they financed their activities in a way

traditional for Vinogorje: after the harvest, they would go from door to door collecting contributions of must from the members. This always required some degree of persuasion since this was the time when the priest, organist and bellman were also taking their shares, as were the Firemen's Society and Hunter's Society and various creditors. A part of the money earned by a chapter from the sale of this wine was made available to members as emergency interest-free loans (Seljačka sloga, V, 1:18, 1940).

Quite in accordance with Radić's teachings, peasant members of Seljačka sloga believed that:

much of what is damaging to peasants could be eliminated by Seljačka sloga . . . through concord and an understanding of the village poor much evil could be eliminated, if the peasantry would take a serious and well thought-out approach. Unnecessary expenditures must be eliminated; unnecessary luxury must be halted, and the dowry, the worst peasant evil, must be annihilated. All this can be achieved by peasant harmony (Z. Restek 1939:100-101).

This puritanical attitude is expressed by Rožić in his Vinogorje monograph, where he denies that dancing, lascivious joking and women's drinking were ever common behavior in Vinogorje. This statement is contradicted by other evidence including his own passing remarks which reveal a nostalgia for an earlier age when singing and dancing were more widespread.⁶

Seljačka sloga had only limited influence on life in Vinogorje. It acted as a cultural club, led by a relatively small number of "village intelligentsia," that is, peasants who for one reason or another were inclined to read and express their views publicly. They had little effect on socio-economic conditions in Vinogorje. Much of the chapter's activity was ritualized. Thus, for instance,

the celebration of the Radić brothers' birthday on June 11 took the form of a sunrise procession to the top of a hill:

We watched the birth of the Sun, remembering a day long ago when our saviors, Antun and Stjepan Radić, saw this world for the first time . . . I remember Him very well, our leader and teacher Stjepan Radić. I still feel his mild and warm gaze with which he looked at us at the meetings, as if he wanted to look into everybody's soul and to learn whether we would be faithful to his teachings. I still hear his dear voice talking to thousands of assembled peasants. He soaked our souls with a sweet remedy. And we cried from empathy and joy. How could we help ourselves! He was the first and the only one who recognized us and remembered us, and who presented to us his great and elevated love, and at the end, even his life . . . In such thoughts I spent the day when our peasant Sun and light were born. And to make the cherished day even more human, we, the members of our branch of Seljačka sloga, remembered our village poor, and gave them small presents with the following words: "Take this, in the name of our dear peasant saviors, to their eternal and glorious memory!" (Jana Falica, 1937: 179).

Radić's ideology was experienced in the local, village milieu as something religious and mythical even among the activists: both the language of expression and the ritualized behavior illustrated by the above passage borrow heavily from institutionalized Catholicism, including the distribution of presents to the poor. Ideology was experienced as ". . . a kind of magic charm, an esoteric religious knowledge that is capable, by itself, of transforming the world" (Scott 1977a:220). The Seljačka sloga chapter in Vinogorje devoted little energy to practical achievement of political, economic or other goals. Rather, activities were limited to "cultural" performances, choral singing and ritual glorification of the "saviors." There was no attempt to discuss or fully understand the essence of their "teaching." Daily life went on while the members of Seljačka sloga engaged in rituals that were far removed from this life. This

was not the fault of those interpreting the ideology of the CPP, but rather of the ideology itself since it was based on a misapprehension of social reality.

As has been mentioned, insistence on peasant self-sufficiency and various forms of mutual aid was a significant component of the CPP's program for preserving and consolidating peasant society. Hence, it was important to keep peasant women "in their place," that is, in the peasant household where most of their work served simply for the perpetuation of family life. The women's role was to see that the family was fed, clothed, and comfortably sheltered, and that children were properly socialized. Men took care of cash crops--wine, in the case of Vinogorje. Some variation in this division was possible, but in principle it is still in effect. One unending and extremely boring task of women was to spin flax or hemp into fine thread which was then woven into rough linen cloth. (Weaving itself, done on elaborate wooden looms, was a craft in which men specialized.) Spinning was always done inside the house, usually in the evening when men were out, visiting each other. Thus, to insist that peasants should retain their traditional, linen clothing also meant that women should be at home, their hands always busy with work, and keep their noses out of men's affairs.

There were, however, other important meanings associated with folk costume. It was a clearly visible sign of identification with the peasant class and with Croatian nationalism (since costumes of different regions of Yugoslavia and different ethnic groups differ greatly). It was a symbol of the "autochthonous" culture, since silks and manufactured woolen fabrics were "foreign imports" and

"a cultural contamination"; linens were healthier because "grey and multicolored urban clothes collect more dirt and hold it, while white peasant linen betrays every speck of dust, every spot" (Jana Falica 1940:352). This rationalization ignored the fact that peasant linen clothes were more frequently dirty than not; that they were harder to take care of; that they often caused rashes and skin inflammations (when the coarse fabric rubbed the skin during long hours of work in the vineyards); and finally, that peasants had by then discovered that domestic clothes were more expensive than the cheaper ready-made ones. This was because women's labor became scarce and needed in viticulture, while elaborate appliqué leather coats, jackets and boots, made by village craftsmen, became absolutely more expensive than factory-made clothes.⁷

The significance thus attached to peasant costume by Seljačka sloga was superficial in comparison with the underlying significance of its preservation--that women should remain at home and help maintain traditional peasant society. In the zadruga a woman's personal space was the komora, where she kept her trousseau and where she spent time helping her daughter spin and sew in preparation for marriage. When the zadruga dissolved, there was even more pressure on the young girl to become a good, industrious wife. The skill of her "golden hands," highly valuable to the future husband and his family, could be judged by the amount of spinning, embroidery and sewing she had done. During a wedding ritual, major presents from wife-givers to wife-takers were scarves and towels made of domestic linen and carefully embroidered by the bride. The following two poems from Rožić's collection illustrate how spinning stood for

diligence in general, and how important textiles were in the wedding ritual complex:

IŠLE JESU JEDNE DVE

jedna drugi govori:
Sinko, prnjko, kam ti greš,

zakaj kudelj ne predeš?
"Kaj mi očes, goloritka,
kada bi ja prela:
Ponedeljak je prvi dan,
utorak je sim i tam,
sredu je sveta Štefa,

četvrtak se nis ne dela,
petak je svetak,
subotu su Sesvete,
ki po nedelju dela
on pameti nima.

(Rožić 1881: no. 122)

These two women were walking
along,

one says to the other:
"Hey, old rag, where're you
going?

Why aren't you spinning hemp?"
"What do you want, you bare ass,
when do I have time to spin?
Monday is the first day,
Tuesday I am here and there,
Wednesday is St. Stephanie's
Day,

Thursday nobody does anything,
Friday is a holiday,
Saturday is All Saint's Day,
and whoever works on Sundays,
must be out of her mind."

ČULA JESAM DA SE DRAGI ŽENI,

nek se ženi i ja ću mu doći,
ja ću doći, ljepi dar donesti:

Svakom svatu rubačicu tanku,
i dragomu sviljenu košulju
koju jesam kod majke šivala
s tankom nicom, srebrnom iglicom.

Devet dana po jen put zabala,
svaki putak suzom zalijala.

(Rožić 1881: no. 107)

I heard that my sweetheart's
getting married,
let him marry, I'll come to the
wedding,

to the wedding, bringing them
nice presents:
To each man who's there a shirt
of linen

And to my beloved one of silk
cloth

Which I sewed together at my
mother's
With a silken thread and silver
needle.

Nine times in nine days I started
sewing

And each time the cloth was wet
from crying.

Thus, the complex of symbolism associated with spinning and textiles reveals the economic importance of a woman, especially in a small household where she must take over many tasks from her aging

mother-in-law. In this patriarchal and patrilocal setting, she marries from one family in which she was dominated, into another in which she will at first be even in a worse position. A wedding ritual recorded in a mountain village in the Vinogorje backlands indicates this quite clearly: As the bride says her final good-bye to her parents in front of their house, her mother fixes a distaff with a bundle of flax at her belt. Upon arrival at her new home, the bride hands the distaff with flax to her mother-in-law, who lifts it high up in the air and says: "Let your flax and hemp grow as high, thus you will have something to dress your family in!" And the bride answers: "Amen, mother." (Jana Falica, 1940:365-366). The transference of the distaff symbolizes the transference of power over the young woman.

On another, related plane, spinning is also charged with sexual symbolism. The bundle of unprocessed, raw flax or hemp is a female sexual symbol, while the spindle, on which yarn processed through a woman's mouth winds, is a male sexual symbol. Spinning itself is equated to the sexual encounter between a man and a woman. A recently published collection of Croatian erotic folk poems opens with one on this subject:

Oj, divojko, Marice,
Crne su ti dlačice;
Ja imadem vreteno,
Ti imadeš kudilju;
Oj, divojko, Marice,
Ajmo, dušo, u goru.
Na zelenoj travici
Lipo prelo zametnut.

Oj, Marica, girl,
Black is your hair.
I have a spindle,
You have some hemp;
Oj, Marica, girl,
Let's go, honey, to the woods,
On a green meadow we shall
Start a nice spinning-bee.

(Kudilja i vreteno, Erotske narodne pjesme, 1980: no. 1)

Sexual symbolism extended to all of a married woman's body hair, so she could never be seen in public without a head scarf. On the other hand, spinning bees of neighborhood women and unmarried girls were actually occasions when women could talk about love matches and even arrange them, drink wine taken from their cellars without their husbands' knowledge, and even dance to the tamburica music of some young bachelor who would drop by to enjoy the company. (Young men customarily visited such parties.) When the head of the household returned home, the women would immediately resume proper, serious behavior (Jana Falica, 1939:70-77).

In short, the symbolism of spinning and textiles mediates the economic and sexual power of men over women. (Apparently these two forms of power always go together.) The failure of the attempt by the CPP to preserve the textile complex despite its attached ideological connotations signaled the arrival of a new era when industrial clothing would replace that made at home, and women, freed from this irksome activity, could participate more in vineyard cultivation. This does not mean that their labor became any easier. Their participation in cash-crop cultivation did, however, affect the relationship between husbands and wives; the pattern of authority changed in the direction of more equality.

Another apparent contradiction within CPP ideology was its emphasis on the need for education and enlightenment of the peasantry, while assuming that peasantry was and would remain homogeneous. Actually, education leads to the stratification of the peasant class. Events of the post-World War II period have shown that education is the strongest factor of upward social mobility, and that a "peasant"

with a school degree does not remain a peasant but explores other possibilities. Seljačka sloga insisted that women should be "conscious" and "enlightened" along with their husbands, so that they could raise children in the right spirit. This idea seems progressive, but in those rare cases when it was put into practice, the household of such an educated pair frequently did not remain peasant. A good example is that of Jana Falica of Vinogorje, a rare woman activist of Seljačka sloga, whose frequent contributions to the journal of the organization and activities as a "cultural worker" motivated me to ask her surviving peers about her family life. They informed me that she was a bright but physically rather weak person who could not work much around the house or in the fields. Excused from such work and helped by her mother and sister-in-law to raise her children, she had the time to attend meetings and write articles. In other words, a truly educated and "conscious" woman could become culturally and politically active only when she was no longer a peasant woman burdened with her peasant tasks within the peasant pattern of division of labor.

We shall now analyze the other most important institution in Vinogorje in the 1930s, the Vinarska zadruga (Wine-Cooperative). It was established for practical rather than ideological reasons. Peasant wine growers, especially those with middle-sized and small holdings, felt the economic recession ever more intensely as wine prices steadily dropped. Those with small holdings could not wait long after the harvest, and had to sell their wine in the fall when market conditions were most unfavorable. In order to alleviate the situation and decrease dependence on middlemen and merchants who

took an unfair portion of the profit, a group of peasants from one of the largest Vinogorje hamlets decided to organize a wine-cooperative. As a matter of fact, this was not their own idea; a neighboring village had organized such a cooperative, a very successful one, in 1929. The resident teacher and the county agronomist had also been suggesting such an effort for some time; they thought that a standardized wine of improved quality which could be produced only by joint effort, would help sell Vinogorje's wine on the dwindling market.⁸ Hence,

On the nice, summer Sunday of June 23rd, 1935, the county agronomist P. and our teacher Z. called a meeting in the school. The agronomist read and explained the rules for a co-operative organization, and the teacher V. from the village of P. helped him out, talking, as he had done several times before, about the need for cooperation in this area. The school was full of people, and they listened attentively to the speakers' words. But when at the end the enrollment list had to be signed, almost everybody left, and only sixteen signed up. (From the minutes of the Wine-Cooperative's bookkeeper, manuscript, Archives of the Wine-Cooperative. Names deleted by O.S.).

The initial distrust lasted until a group of peasants visited the wine-cooperative in a neighboring village and came back quite impressed by its newly built wine cellar, equipment and financial successes. They talked to their neighbors about it, and by the time of the grape harvest the number of people signed up for the cooperative had risen to 27. All the founders of the Cooperative were from the same hamlet, knew each other very well (many were in fact related) and had confidence in each other. In the beginning they were often ridiculed by people from other hamlets who considered their venture too daring. Most members were small land-owners, with only 1/4 to 1 yoke of vineyard land (0.15 to 0.6 hectares); only the

president of the cooperative had 2 yokes. At the end of 1936, about a year after its establishment, the Cooperative already had 47 members, and many more were interested in joining but could not be accepted since the capacity of the temporary wine cellar was too small.

At the start of their joint endeavor the members of the Wine-Cooperative agreed to pool their grapes and to jointly produce wine in a cellar rented from the president of the Cooperative (who was a well-off peasant with the largest cellar in the village). In other words, a joint production was undertaken, but only for part of the production process: everyone still tended his own vineyard, cultivated his own grapes, and received a share of wine money according to how many grapes he had contributed to the Cooperative. Nevertheless, the Cooperative succeeded in producing a better quality of wine and selling this wine for higher profits. Peasants also pooled their equipment: everyone contributed barrels, pipes, wooden presses and scales. Most of all, they contributed their own labor which was particularly intensive after the harvest:

You should have seen the work in the pressing room to admire the superhuman exertion of those beginner cooperants. Simple presses could not crush all the incoming grapes on time, so people worked day and night, not having time to eat, even less to sleep. By the last day of the campaign they were exhausted, but not a single complaint or curse could be heard about all that work; everybody had known the beginning would be hard but hoped it would bring a reward; by the end of the first year we realized that we had created the foundation for a better future. (Minutes of the Wine-Cooperative's bookkeeper, Archives of the Wine-Cooperative.)

When the Yugoslav economy improved in the late 1930s, the Cooperative was successful in winning several financial grants

from the Croatian and Yugoslav ministries of agriculture. While most of the money was spent on the Wine-Cooperative's greatest project--building their own wine cellar--some of it was constantly being spent on the improvement of equipment; new barrels were ordered from a craftsman in Jastrebarsko, a large hydraulic press was bought from a manufacturer in Vienna, and a special instrument for measuring the percentage of sugar in must was obtained. Finally, a member was sent to complete a special course in wine-making, and he was later employed by the Cooperative as a part-time "cellarman."

Most of the wine produced was sold at markets in Zagreb and in Slovenia. The Cooperative's executive board constantly adjusted prices to market fluctuations, but most of the time they were able to sell at better prices than non-cooperants.

In 1938, in the third year of the Wine-Cooperative's existence, a new pattern of production emerged: during the grape-harvest the Cooperative hired laborers for pressing and paid them by the hour. These included both members and non-members of the Cooperative. What is new about this was not only the use of hired labor, but also the practice of paying them by the hour rather than by the day (which is still the custom when individual peasants hire help); apparently, it reflected the practice of industry. From that time on, the Cooperative oscillated between utilizing the work of its members (a "peasant" pattern) and hiring paid labor (a "capitalist" pattern), depending entirely on the availability of money at the moment. The two forms could be combined. The third way to obtain

labor was to require members to contribute a specified amount of work for every share held in the Cooperative.¹⁰

In 1941 the Cooperative started buying grapes of good quality from non-members. Another significant step in the organization of production was taken in the war year of 1942, when the Wine-Cooperative bought a vineyard from a woman (a widow?) in Gorica. This represented not only a new form of collective ownership of land, but also of collective production, since when money was scarce, members of the Cooperative would draw up a schedule for working together in this vineyard. These arrangements were fairly informal.

The management structure of the Wine-Cooperative also evolved over the several years of its existence. At the first meeting in the summer of 1935 a president and a five-member executive board were elected. The same president and an almost identical group of executive board members were re-elected at all annual assemblies of cooperants until the Wine-Cooperative collapsed in 1947. A Supervisory Board was also elected at plenary meetings. Five out of an average of forty members were women, apparently heads of their households. During the war years female membership rose considerably, so that of 31 members present at the annual assembly in 1941, 10 were women. From the minutes of the meeting it can be seen that wives came in place of husbands who were either in the Yugoslav army, or were already German prisoners of war. This detail shows how family relations in Vinogorje had changed; some fifty years before, it would have been the father or a close male relative of an absent man, who would have attended meetings and voted in his name.

At first membership rules were quite simple. Cooperants were obliged to bring all their grapes for collective processing and could be expelled from the Cooperative if they kept some for individual marketing. They were also required to take part in cooperative work and could be punished for inactivity (according to the minutes of the Executive Board meeting in December of 1937, five members were dismissed for this reason). As time passed, however, and the state bureaucracy increased control of the Cooperative, its structure was made to resemble that of a share-holding enterprise. A report written by a legally appointed supervisor sent to the Cooperative in May, 1939, states that the operation and management of the Cooperative had been inspected in late 1938 and that some shortcomings had been found. The Assembly and the Executive and Supervisory Committees of the Cooperative were asked to discuss these criticisms and to adjust their future activities to conform with laws. First, the Cooperative must charge its members for business shares which they were required to buy (at least one share for each one-quarter yoke of cultivated vineyard); second, the Cooperative had to charge interest on credit given to its members; third, the right to vote on Assembly meetings was to be multiple, that is, each member had as many votes as he had shares in the Cooperative. Obviously, with such a rule it became hard to expel lazy members, especially if they owned several shares. Also, the initially democratic pattern would have been seriously upset since those with larger holdings would have had greater power. Nonetheless, since most cooperants were poor and differences between them were insignificant, the rule did not cause great changes.

In his report the supervisor also calculated the cash value of work which members had contributed and of the equipment which they "donated" to the Cooperative (A. Domac, 1939). The report did not have much impact on the members: nobody thought of asking compensation for his barrels (they were simply taken home when the Cooperative did not need them anymore and when it ultimately dissolved), and members still calculated the labor they contributed to the Cooperative in work-days. They did, however, change the voting rules and started paying for their shares in installments. It became evident that the first cooperative in Vinogorje had to comply with the state economic laws of the time.

The most impressive project that cooperants from Vinogorje embarked on was the construction of their own wine cellar. Building a large communal structure was an important symbol of the group's strength, in addition to having practical significance.¹¹ In 1937 the Cooperative obtained a construction site as a present from the Forest Common of the hamlet from which most of the founders came. The site is high up on a hill, at the border line between village houses and forest. It is not a very practical site because ox-carts loaded with grapes had to climb the hill, but the fact that it was given free, and that it was very close to the house of the Cooperative's president determined the choice. It took three years to build the massive, stone-and-concrete building with a tiled roof. Even today it is quite impressive and it required almost no repairs until about three years ago. Wine-cultivators of Vinogorje, with their small incomes, would never have been able to finish the work, had they not been very successful in acquiring government help

(several grants between 1937 and 1941). This help was obtained because they themselves were working extremely hard and because they were remarkably persistent. For two years the Executive Committee met on a weekly basis, sometimes even more frequently. It alone hired construction workers and an engineer, bought materials, advertised for contractors, and when there was no more money, organized members to work on the building. They found many ingenious ways to save some money and make sure that jobs would be done well and on time: stone, sand and lime were taken from local quarries, for example, and cooperants were hired to transport them; other building materials were bought from local merchants, often on credit; finally, members of the Cooperative did the digging, leveling and many other necessary jobs. It was estimated in 1947 that each member of the Wine-Cooperative contributed "96 days of physical labor, or 20 days of transport services with two draft animals, per yoke of vineyard" (Minutes of the meetings of the Wine-Cooperative in: Archives of the Wine-Cooperative).

The Wine-Cooperative survived the World War II years (1941 to 1945 in Yugoslavia) despite chronic business deficits, inflation, a limited market for wine and continuing work inside the new building. This was due partly to the members' adjustment to the hardships of war times, and partly to their obtaining a grant from Croatian agricultural authorities in the fall of 1941. This came from the fascist puppet state, the so-called Independent Croatian State (Nezavisna država Hrvatska), established after Yugoslavia was crushed by the forces of the Third Reich. This period is still a touchy matter which people do not want to discuss.¹² Between

1942 and 1945 the area of Vinogorje was a battle front: the town of Jastrebarsko was an "ustaško gniježdo" (the Croatian fascists' nest), with military units defending important roads and railroads leading to the south. Units of NOV (the People's Liberation Army) took up positions in the hills and mountains northwest of Vinogorje, from which they frequently attacked the enemy below. The Vinogorians were apparently of divided allegiance; they certainly did not support the Partisans as strongly as the neighboring mountaineers. This state of affairs greatly affected the position of the Wine-Cooperative after the war and revolution.¹³

The immediate post-World War II years were hard times: Yugoslavia had to recover from wartime losses and destruction while at the same time laying the foundations for a new, socialist society. Until 1948 the drive for collectivization of agricultural holdings was not particularly strong, especially not in Vinogorje. The major new economic measures imposed on the peasantry here involved the fixing of low prices and the requirement that grapes and wine be sold to a state marketing agency. This severely restricted the functions and activities of the Wine-Cooperative. A contract between the Cooperative and a winery in 1947 shows that the Cooperative was reduced to the role of technical mediator between individual peasant producers and the state agency, responsible only for buying up grapes, must and wine for which service it received a commission.

The peasant members of the Wine Cooperative had difficulty in adjusting to the centralist, administrative system of planning of the post-war years. For one thing, they were required to file monthly reports on sales and reserves of wine in the cellar, which

they failed to do in 1947. Only after they had received a warning from the county government, written in a military style, that they must file a report within 24 hours or else they would be sued for breaking the law against economic speculation and sabotage, did they understand how important this paperwork was. (Documents from the Archives of the Wine-Cooperative.)

At the last plenary meeting of the Wine-Cooperative in August, 1947, only fourteen of its members were present, those that had been its "active nucleus" from the beginning. The members agreed to follow the new regulations for cooperative associations, acceptable to them because they would not essentially change the internal structure of the Cooperative, except for one thing: according to one paragraph, there could be no requirements made of new, incoming members of the Cooperative other than that they buy one share in the organization (the price of which was determined according to these regulations). This did not seem fair to the cooperants and they amended the rule: "New members will have to contribute as many days of labor or transport services (when further work on the cellar is required) as the old members did . . ." And when they complete this requirement, "any further work required will continue in such a way that all members, the old and the new ones, contribute equally as much [labor] as necessary " (Minutes of the meeting, Archives of the Wine-Cooperative.)

This decision was to be expected from Vinogorje cooperants who looked at the changing world from their own, local perspective and experience. They had as yet little understanding of the importance to socialism of promoting co-operative networks, even at the expense

of "old members." They did not even know that they, in those times of centralist management, had no right to amend the rules. A conflict over the issue of the new members led to the dissolution of the Cooperative. The above record was the last item in the minutes of the Cooperative meetings (again, some pages appear to be missing). In place of the old Cooperative, an Opća poljoprivredna zadruga (General Agricultural Cooperative) was established in 1947. It was a service agency for buying up grapes and wine and selling supplies to Vinogorje peasants.

The Vinogorje Wine-Cooperative could not survive the difficult post-war years primarily because it had relatively short traditions, relatively few members and high capital investments which had not yet started to give returns--a heavy burden for the small land holders who comprised its membership. In contrast, the wine-cooperative in the neighboring village, established six years earlier than the one in Vinogorje, not only successfully weathered the stormy war and post-war periods, but has since grown and developed. If it had been possible to introduce self-management socialism (see Chapter IX) directly after the war, the Wine-Cooperative would probably have had a chance. But at that time such a development was impossible: precarious economic and political circumstances, the lack of any clear concept of how the agricultural sector should be socialized, and an emphasis on rapid industrialization, all combined to relegate the Yugoslav countryside to a position of neglect and even exploitation.

As was illustrated at the beginning of this section, during the initial stages of capitalism in Croatia the village was a social

unit, distinct from the outside world. This was the basis of its solidarity. As social differentiation progressed, however, one group of peasants began actively to struggle for political and economic power, thus abandoning the older strategies of self-abasement, cheating or running away (from gendarmerie or creditors). Vinogorje's two most important institutions of the 1930s, the Seljačka sloga chapter and the Wine-Cooperative, were run by two different groups of "peasant elite" guided by two different ideologies: Seljačka sloga advocated a conservative, populist policy of "preserving peasant society" by rejecting capitalist innovations and by returning to the "original culture"; the Wine-Cooperative was a developing capitalist enterprise, organized by "progressive" peasants in order to promote peasants' profits on the market, i.e., to adjust as well as possible to modern society rather than rejecting it. One could object that both Vinogorje institutions engaged only a small peasant "elite," while for the others life went on as usual. This is not quite the case: whenever a new form of comprehending and re-organizing social reality is introduced, this is usually the work of a creative minority--or even an individual--who is more sensitive to new possibilities or more pressured by a conflict-generating situation within a certain socio-historical context. Others, the "repetitive majority," follow their practice if it proves to be successful, thus promoting further changes and making available new opportunities. In the case of Vinogorje, just as in other small communities, most changes were related to structural changes of the larger society.

The contrasting ideologies of the CPP and the Wine-Cooperative were apparently realized on the village level by the involvement of different people,¹⁴ a lack of joint activities, and by their having differing impacts on life in Vinogorje: while the CPP's significance declined, the Wine-Cooperative and its successors affected most Vinogorians in one way or another.

Nevertheless, a closer look at the inconsistencies and contradictions in the CPP's cultural and political program, and at the actual realization of this program suggests that the contrast between the CPP's ideology and that of the cooperative movement was not so great after all. In practice, Seljačka sloga failed to convince peasant women to stay home at the spindle, failed to produce an educated and enlightened peasantry which would strive to be self-sufficient and would dress in traditional garb, and failed to accomplish peasant rule for the peasant majority. The CPP's inability to see that Croatian society of the 1930s was already highly stratified, and that the homogeneity of the peasant class was also disputable, proved to be costly: the ranks of CPP itself became so stratified that there was great ideological differentiation toward the end of its existence. The party leadership, itself hardly "peasant" anymore, had become increasingly nationalist and tended to compromise with the Croatian bourgeoisie of the late 1930s. Thus, in 1940, Jana Falica from Vinogorje could exclaim to "ladies and sisters" from Zagreb who did not come in a sufficiently large number to a meeting of Seljačka sloga:

Where are our urban sisters who did not occupy these empty seats? It is not right, it is not polite--they are ladies, but still they are women . . . If dresses keep us apart--they wear silks, wools and I don't know what else--it should not keep apart our hearts, our souls, first, because we are women, and second, because we are Croats. Our souls should be the same and in concord . . . (Falica, 1940:284-285)

Hence, in order to remain viable, the CPP had to betray its basic ideological premises of struggling for peasant rule and peasant culture. The common basis of Seljačka sloga and the peasant cooperative was their requirement for a cultural and economic depeasantization in order to realize their declared goals. This common ground, this non-peasant character, blurs the contrast between them. How is this non-peasant character manifested? On the one hand, the Wine-Cooperative, during its relatively short existence, came increasingly to resemble a share-holding enterprise; this was due as much to government regulations as to economic laws. The peasant family economy of the cooperants was undermined when a part of the production process was taken from it, and when it became dependent on the Cooperative for marketing and redistributing the results of both individual and collective labor. (The Cooperative determined and also increased profits by improving the quality of wine and equipment, and by obtaining higher prices.) The jointly owned vineyard represented yet another step toward group production, and differed as much from previous kin-based zadruga family holdings as it did from the individual family estates prevalent in Vinogorje in the 1930s and later.

On the other hand, the Croatian Peasant Party functioned like bourgeois parties (although often boycotted national elections and parliamentary activities because of disagreements over interethnic

relations and the hegemony of the Serbian bourgeoisie in royal Yugoslavia). Mass mobilization was achieved through the local branches and cells of *Seljačka sloga*, making the campaign pattern of the CPP's leaders similar to those of other, bourgeois, political parties. Above all, the social structure of the CPP's membership reveals that it was not really a peasant party (if it is at all possible to organize peasantry into a bourgeois political party).¹⁵ CPP included Croats from all walks of life, while its leadership was derived mainly from the intelligentsia (Tomasevich 1955:237).¹⁶ Such a membership structure resulted in ideological diversification within the Party shortly before World War II: the left wing eventually defected to the Communist Party which, despite its illegal status since 1921, grew into a strong political force, able to lead the country after 1941. The right wing was increasingly infiltrated by fascist elements and Croatian ultranationalists (Tomasevich 1955:237, 258). A good illustration of this point is a report (published in *Seljačka sloga* IV, 4:104, 1939) that the Central Committee in Zagreb had decided to dismiss the Odra. The reason given was that "in this chapter the workers' influence against Croatian peasant culture has become too strong, and the chapter has elected a university student . . . for its secretary." At the same session it was decided that the same treatment would be given to all branches which did not act in accordance with the goals and tasks of *Seljačka sloga*. In short, the Croatian Peasant Party could hardly be considered "peasant" in either membership or ideology, especially in the last phase of its existence.

If we now reconsider the title of this section--the peasant versus the capitalist world view--the intended irony will be apparent: at the moment of history when peasants have attained sufficiently strong political and economic means to be able to become a class-for-itself, they can no longer be referred to as peasantry.

To put this discussion in more general terms: it appears that there were two opposing movements, an economic movement with its own program, i.e., with its practical critique of a given social reality; and a political/cultural movement with its intellectual critique of the same social reality. Closer analysis reveals that the opposition between them was not in reality very pronounced, since the CPP--if it were to succeed in carrying out its cultural program--had to betray its own principles and adapt to the dominant bourgeois values and practice. The mere fact that a populist ideology could become a prevalent form of thinking in a certain socio-historical context, with which it was in conflict, confirms that a "structure" does not necessarily "produce" an appropriate form of consciousness which would help reproduce it. The mind is always freer than immediate reality and does not necessarily reflect it.

Footnotes to Chapter VI

¹As a consequence of this, Yugoslav peasants in the Austro-Hungarian army surrendered in droves, especially on the Russian front. The military tribunal in Zagreb dealt with over 100,000 cases of deserters from the Croatia-Slavonia region alone (Tomasevich 1955:230-232).

²The fate of Erdödy's estate is a good illustration of this process. After World War I some of the family lands were sold off. In 1922, when the last of the local Erdödys died, the castle in the market town and the remaining land were sold by his heirs to a Zagreb merchant; he, however, went bankrupt in 1936, when the castle again changed hands. Until 1945 it belonged to the Yugoslav royal family who had bought it for use as an orphanage. Today, the castle, badly in need of restoration, houses a museum collection.

³33% of the households had 0.01-2 hectares, 34% had 2-5 hectares, 29.3% had 5-20 hectares, 2.8% had between 20 and 100 hectares, and 0.1% of households had over 100 hectares of land (Stojsavljević 1965:247).

⁴Published by JAZU (Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti) in Zagreb.

⁵Established in 1935, Gospodarska sloga (Economic Concord) involved over 5,000 villages by 1940. It was particularly active in its efforts to increase the market prices of cattle. A group of young economists active in the organization launched a systematic study of the economic structure and needs of the Croatian village. Rudolf Bičanić was most prominent among them, although his allegiance to the ideology of the CPP was often (justly) questioned (Tomasevich 1955:616,258).

⁶According to my colleague Stjepan Sremac, a dance specialist at Zavod za istraživanje folkloru in Zagreb, regular dancing parties have always been a part of Vinogorje life. Vinogorje informants confirm this statement and add that these dances took place on Sundays and were often organized by the Firemen's Society.

⁷In Vinogorje men were the first to adopt city style clothing, and this was clearly done to increase prestige, despite the teachings of the Seljačka sloga. Women were more reluctant to change, so that at present the style of clothing is clearly three-generational: young girls in their blue jeans and dresses are indistinguishable from their city peers; middle-aged women wear simple and drab print dresses, or skirts and blouses and sweaters; older women

still wear their traditional white linen blouses and skirts, black aprons and black head scarves. The reason why traditional clothing has been preserved here for so long, longer than in lowland villages, is that it is much simpler (no multi-colored embroidery), and is thus easier to take care of. Nobody grows flax anymore, and only "old reserves" of linen are now used for making traditional cloth.

⁸ By the 1930s the agricultural cooperative movement in Croatia had become quite strong. Before the founding of *Gospodarska sloga*--the economic branch of the CPP--there had existed credit cooperatives organized by clergy and the landed aristocracy of the Croatian Economic Society and Agricultural bank (Poljodjelska banka). These were after 1910 expanded into producers' cooperatives. By the 1930s the cooperatives formed the Savez Hrvatskih Gospodarskih Zadruga (Association of Croatian Economic Cooperatives). There were 76 of them, with 1,180 business shares, mostly of producing and marketing kinds. The major concern of the Association was "to market the products of its members and secure the most favorable prices for them" (Godišnji izvještaj za III redovitu glavnu skupštinu Saveza Hrvatskih Gospodarskih zadruga. Annual Report for the IIIrd Regular Plenary Assembly of the Association of Croatian Economic Cooperatives, 1939). Tomasevich (1955:614) gives the figures for Yugoslavia for 1938: there were 10,832 cooperative societies, organized in 37 federations. Credit and consumer cooperatives were the most numerous, while producers' and marketing cooperatives comprised a little over 10% (162 of them were wine-cooperatives).

⁹ My warmest thanks are due to the bookkeeper of the Wine-Cooperative (now retired for many years) who generously lent the Archives of the Cooperative to me for an extended period of study, and patiently answered my questions during two lengthy interviews.

¹⁰ In 1938 the Wine-Cooperative of Vinogorje joined the Savez Hrvatskih Gospodarskih Zadruga (The Association of Croatian Economic Cooperatives) by buying the required ten business shares. Through this organization it bought corn for its members. Wine from Vinogorje was never marketed through the Association because it did not handle wine. The Cooperative never joined the CPP's *Gospodarska sloga* cooperatives, despite the fact that there was a cultural outlet of the Party in the village.

¹¹ Another large building in Vinogorje, the Firestation, had been completed a few years earlier, and the attempt of *Seljačka sloga* to build its own headquarters failed, as was mentioned earlier.

¹² Some pages from the minutes of the meetings of the Cooperative during the war years seem later to have been omitted.

¹³The units of NOV were in Vinogorje twice. They passed through it in the summer of 1942, after a successful attack on Jastrebarsko and the liberation of a children's concentration camp there. The second time was in the fall and winter of 1943/44, when the 13th Proletarian Brigade of NOV stayed in the village. They celebrated Christmas of 1943 with the villagers: Christmas trees were decorated with red paper stars and wine from the Cooperative cellar was offered to the Partisans. (Communication from Eva Grlić, a member of the Partisan forces.) Characteristically, there is no mention of this episode at all in the Archives of the Cooperative.

¹⁴None of the names of Seljačka sloga activists appear on the Wine-Cooperative membership lists.

¹⁵It was no accident that the most successful Balkan peasant political organization--The Bulgarian Agrarian Union--propagated the idea of supplanting the political parties by corporate "estates." The latter would be groups of people with the same occupation and common economic interests who would be represented in a network of government bodies. For this reason, Alexandar Stamboliski, the leader and the theoretician of the Union, considered a union of peasants, workers and artisans as the necessary and the only path to progress. Political parties, he thought, were by their very nature in opposition to progress, because the urban elite who led them had economic interests different from those of the membership (Bell, 1977). By its insistence on an alliance with workers, on modernization, and on the abolishment of political parties Stamboliski's Agrarian Union is radically opposed in ideology to Radić's CPP.

¹⁶Hugh Seton-Watson also mentions the practical difficulty of organizing peasants who live in scattered villages, linked by a primitive system of communication, and are largely illiterate and poorly educated. Thus, he concludes that Danubian peasant parties (the CPP included) were hardly distinguishable from bourgeois parties, were led by a city intelligentsia, failed to recognize class differentiation among peasantry and had an inconsistent attitude towards industrialization and the industrial working class (Seton-Watson 1947:54).

VINOGORJE IN RECENT TIMES

While the first part of this study considers Vinogorje as a unit within its larger social setting, and the second part traces some aspects of its "cultural history," this section will examine Vinogorje's present. The social, economic and ideological dissolution of the peasant class discussed in the previous sections will here be further analyzed. I will consider three sets of relationships within Vinogorje: people and nature, people and the village community, and people as participants in a larger society. Although I have thus broken down the presentation of contemporary Vinogorje, it should be borne in mind that all three aspects are thoroughly intertwined in each person's existence.

CHAPTER VII

PEOPLE AND NATURE

The natural setting of Vinogorje does not seem to have changed much through the centuries: the ratio between cultivated land and forests has remained about the same; the basic arrangement of houses built on the ridges of finger-like hills, of vineyards on their slopes, and of small fields and gardens in the valleys between them is unchanged. One is surprised by the strong ties between nature and people, which is the result of a close dependence on agriculture, with little protection from the elements. Yet the natural world of Vinogorje is not a fixed meaningless entity opposed to the dynamic social world of the humans. Rather, it is "culturalized" and "humanized" in the sense that Vinogorians' concepts of and actual relation with their natural surroundings vary in parallel with transformations within the village society. The fact that humans impose an "artificial" order on the natural one (the act of signifying) is basic for the understanding of cultural practice and "is indeed comprehensible only if viewed as an attribute of community, capable of transcending the natural or 'naturalized' order and creating new and different orders (Bauman 1973:118). Hence, the following account of the villagers' relationship with nature will give us yet another view of the changing character of the peasant class and its culture.

In the introductory chapter on Vinogorje it was mentioned that the village is situated in the central zone of three ecological zones, that is, between the lowland villages of the Kupa Valley and the mountain villages of Žumberak and Samoborska gora. As it has always specialized in viticulture and cannot grow sufficient quantities of staple foods (corn, wheat, barley) for its population, Vinogorje has been dependent on the agricultural and natural products of the other two zones. In the past, Vinogorje households bought corn and wheat directly from lowland villagers, while in recent decades they have been buying mainly through village stores. Certain kinds of fruits and vegetables are, however, still bought on weekly trips to Jastrebrasko, on market-day, when they buy from producers from the plains villages, or from fruit and vegetable dealers who come from as far as Macedonia. Meat and various household supplies, as well as spare parts for cars and machinery, are bought either in Jastrebarsko or in the village stores. From the mountain villages Vinogorians buy fuel wood and wooden poles on which to support their grape vines. Gorjani haul their goods to Vinogorians' homes. Vinogorians complain that the poles now cost "two litres of wine" each, and that the prices keep rising, since even the mountaineers have found other kinds of jobs and are not as much involved in forestry as they used to be.

In addition to exchanging products, peasants of Vinogorje make direct use of natural resources from the other two ecological zones: they own plots of land there. In the valley they own grain fields and meadows, and in the mountains, pastureland, meadows and forests. On the other hand, villagers from the plains own vineyards in the hills of Vinogorje. Buying land far from the village started in

the late nineteenth century, when land became a commodity, freed from feudal or zadruga ownership. In recent times (after World War II), the trend has been somewhat reversed: those Vinogorians who are leaving agriculture completely or who have become peasant-workers sell a part of their holdings, usually first the plots farthest from home, in the villey or on the mountain. Well-to-do mountaineers have started buying such pieces of vineyards in Vinogorje and producing wine for their own household consumption.¹

An interesting fact about Vinogorje is that there have never been attempts to increase its cultivable surface although this could be done by clearing some of the forest. (See Chapter III, Footnote 7). According to Rožić:

a man might cut down and burn some bushes or dig up an old vineyard in order to start a new one . . . but no one has been known to clear a section of forest or any other vegetation; neither is there any sign of such work, nor have I ever heard old men talking about it (Rožić 1907:173).

Perhaps the cause for the lack of such incentive during the period of serfdom was a special tax on all newly-cultivated land to be paid by serfs to their lords. Rather than an increase in the amount of cultivated land, a major change of another kind occurred in the second part of the nineteenth century: agricultural overpopulation, indemnities and the splitting of zadruga families forced Vinogorians to intensify production on the available land. They gradually abandoned the old system of short-term fallowing, in which summer wheat, winter wheat and maize were rotated on three fields in such a way that one field always remained fallow for one year out of three. The new system, which is still predominant, is

a yearly alternation of wheat and maize on plots selected for grain cultivation. The old variety of summer wheat has disappeared, while the cultivation of barley and oats has been greatly reduced; conversely, potato planting is on the increase. Oxen, once major draft animals, have virtually disappeared from Vinogorje in the past two decades, as have the cast-iron swing plow and horses. Tractors and power machinery are used in the fields now, although not all of the villagers own them (and must make special arrangements with the tractor owners).

After the vineyards were destroyed by a disastrous epidemic of phylloxera in the last decade of the nineteenth century, a new, American variety of grapevine was introduced, and the newly-planted vineyards started giving better crops.² Vineyard cultivation has been improved through the gradual and regular replanting of vineyards, the selection of improved varieties of grapes and more frequent spraying, but there has been little advance in mechanization. Vineyards are still arranged in the old-fashioned manner: narrow rows of vines run vertically to the slope, preventing the intensive use of machinery; few peasants have newly-planted vineyards consisting of wider, horizontal rows of plants, with concrete supports. Thus only small power cultivators can be used, and most Vinogorians still work their vineyards manually. This requires a great input of labor; some estimate it to be about 200 to 250 work-days per yoke of vineyard (0.58 hectares).

Besides vineyards and fields, meadows are considered very important for a household, since hay is used as winter fodder for cattle. There are no more oxen, but every household keeps one or

more cows for food and fertilizer and for the sale of milk and calves. In recent years some vineyards have been converted into meadowland. This reflects, on the one hand, the tendency of Vinogorians to abandon intensive agricultural work for jobs in industry, and, on the other hand, the interest of some households in increasing the number of cows in order to produce more milk for the market.³ It is quite obvious that changes in the use of available land in the village are related to a number of social factors, including relative overpopulation and recent depopulation, technological innovations, changes in family structure and the structure of society in general, industrialization, and changing housing and living styles of both urban and rural populations.

To put it in Eric Wolf's terms (Wolf 1966:30-37), the traditional peasant ecotype in Vinogorje--the system of energy transfer from environment to man--was a combination of two ecotypes: the Mediterranean subvariant of Eurasian grain farming, characterized by early specialization in a commercial crop and the use of light agricultural tools; and the transalpine ecotype, characterized by farming with a heavy plow and draft animals, and by field rotation. Since the end of the nineteenth century Vinogorje has developed in the direction of a neotechnic peasant ecotype: a system of specialized horticulture in which machinery, fertilizers and continuous intensive cultivation of plots play important roles. Growing food for a household's own consumption is a subsidiary agricultural activity; dairy farming also is not a significant enough source of income to justify labelling Vinogorje's ecotype as "mixed farming."

Those Vinogorians who have decided to stay in agriculture are increasingly becoming specialized producers.

Because of the nature of viticulture and insufficient mechanization, the yearly and daily cycles of agricultural work have not basically changed. The division of labor is different nowadays (it will be dealt with in the next section), but the work itself is still controlled by natural cycles of vegetation and by the weather. The working year starts late in February or in the beginning of March, after the Mardi Gras festivities are over, when the snow has melted and temperatures permit outside activities. At this time, one of the most important and demanding tasks is performed in the vineyards: trimming the grapevines. It takes skill, because the way vines are trimmed determines the production of grapes not only for that year, but also for the following two years. After trimming, new wooden poles are thrust into the ground and the digging and manuring of the vineyard begins. Many Vinogorians are now buying small power cultivators, which make the arduous digging much easier and faster. In March and April a visitor to Vinogorje who happens to arrive on a workday might think that the village is a ghost settlement: the houses are locked and silent, there is nobody in the streets or courtyards, there are no tractors or cars passing by. But if one looks at the hillsides, she will discover where all the life has gone: still leafless vineyards betray the presence of men and women who move between the neat, comb-like rows of plants; occasional calls and sounds of motors are heard; and red tractors or variously colored cars can be seen parked on roads or paths by the vineyards.

When the vineyards have been taken care of, it is time for other spring work: planting corn and potatoes, digging and planting vegetable gardens, weeding vineyards, gardens and fields. The intensity of work keeps increasing until it reaches its first peak of the year in June. At this time, hay is mowed for the first time, piled on meadows, and taken home when dry; grapevines must be tied to the poles, pruned and sprayed with copperas and other chemicals (spraying is repeated four or more times during the summer); hoeing in the cornfields and gardens continues; spring calves are grown enough to be taken to sell at the cattle fair in Jastrebarsko; pigs are slaughtered for meat and new piglets are bought at the fair; and finally, at the end of June or in the first part of July, the wheat is ready to be harvested. July and August are slower again. This is a period of waiting for nature, the sun in particular, to "do its part of the work" in the vineyards, to complete the vegetative cycle of the plants. In the meantime, many Vinogorians spend time working on their houses and outbuildings.

In September, the tempo of agricultural work picks up again: meadows are mowed for the second time, plums are picked, plum brandy is distilled, and wood for fuel is bought or hauled home from the forest. As a sign that the major event of the agricultural year, the grape harvest, will soon take place, large wooden barrels are taken out from cellars to be cleaned and dried in the courtyards. Grapes are traditionally harvested around Michaelmas (September 29th), but in fact, this may occur any time between mid-September and mid-October, depending on the weather and the speed of ripening of the grapes. At present, the grapes are almost

always harvested on weekends, and this takes on the average, two or three days (of course, the length of the grape harvest varies with the size of a vineyard and the number of workers who have gathered to help). Purple grapes are picked first, a week or two before the more common white varieties. After the grapes are sold, and the part used for household consumption is pressed and left to ferment, Vinogorians are busy harvesting corn, collecting squash and other vegetables, plowing fields and sowing wheat. The agricultural cycle ends in November with corn-husking bees and pig-slaughtering. St. Martin's Day (November 11th), when must turns into wine and is "baptized," is considered the end of the season for outside work.

The slow winter months bring more time for rest and for entertainment. In the past, all weddings were held in this period, that is, between St. Martin's Day and the Mardi Gras carnival, but this is no longer the case. People who are employed ^{and live} outside the village often use their summer vacations to visit Vinogorje, to help out their families and to have a wedding at home. On the contrary, village residents who are employed in industry do not use their summer vacation to go somewhere for a rest like their urban counterparts. They stay at home and do agricultural work, and rest as much as they can during the winter months. Their rhythm of work and rest is still determined by the agricultural calendar rather than by the customs of urban workers.

On one hand, because of a closer dependence on nature, human labor in Vinogorje has a cyclical, simply reproductive character. This fact is nicely expressed by the manner in which Vinogorians determine the proper time for the decantation of wine: it is

decanted the first time between Christmas and Mardi Gras; the second time when the grapevines blossom (May or June); and the third time when the grapes become soft (August or September). One agricultural cycle blends into the next one.

On the other hand, modern industrial society has in many cases interrupted the natural cycles of reproduction by providing Vinogorians with other ways of satisfying their needs. Thus, for example, hens do not sit on eggs any more; rather, women of Vinogorje buy young, one-day chicks in agricultural stores and raise them for food. Piglets are also bought and raised for meat. Many households buy industrially baked bread which is delivered daily to village stores. Industrial clothes have replaced homemade ones and made the cultivation of textile plants dispensable. Fuel wood is often ordered from a forest enterprise rather than dragged from one's own forest (or from a hamlet's forest common, in the past). As many tasks which have served for mere reproduction of life are gradually being omitted from the realm of the peasant family economy, and as market-crop related work comes to predominate, agricultural labor is becoming less reproductive and more "productive"--in the sense in which this term is used in industrial, highly specialized societies.

The close dependence of Vinogorje's viticulturists on the whims of nature was at one time expressed by a repertoire of ritual practices, ranging from individual observances of various taboos to highly structured ritual events; the latter were frequently sponsored by the Catholic Church and followed the Catholic calendar. All of the rituals expressed reciprocity between man and nature,

but some were directed toward protection from the elements, others toward soliciting an abundant return for human labor, while some glorified the specific moment when a product of both natural forces and human labor attained its final, desired form.

The complex of rituals clustered in the period from Christmas to New Year's Day is concerned with both "soliciting" and "protection." Although Christmas is a major religious holiday, rituals performed in peasant households are more concerned with uncertainties of agricultural life than with religious dogma. Here are some excerpts from Rožić on Christmas customs:

In the evening [before Christmas] the mistress of the house prepares a basket with all the things she will bring to the table . . . three or four loaves of bread made from corn or wheat are in the basket too. A young man prepares a basket of hay or straw . . . When night falls the man walks out of the house, lights a candle, and brings the basket of hay to the door. The mistress also goes outside with her basket. Others wait inside, in the darkened house. The young man and the woman knock at the door, and those inside answer: "Come in." Then the man opens the door, bows and says: "Praised be Jesus Christ and Mary! Lord, give us plenty of everything: barns full of cows and oxen; pigpens full of pigs; pens full of fowl: hens, turkeys, geese, ducks and chickens; barrels full of wine; chests full of grains: barley and wheat!" While he is reciting the mistress sits down on a low chair by the fireplace with the basket in her lap; when he is done, she takes a handful of corn from the basket, scatters it over the kitchen floor and pretends to call the chickens: "pic-pic" . . . and turkeys: "bi-bi" . . . While she is doing this, children run around, gathering the grains. When this part is done, they take hay from the other basket and spread it over the table. Different things are put in the hay on the table: a pebble, a brush, salt, garlic, corn and different grains: wheat, barley and oats; then they cover the table with a tablecloth. . . . All these things are later used for healing . . . When the table is set, a loaf of bread is placed on each corner; one of these is from the finest flour . . . it is not cut or eaten until after New Year's Day

Whoever is first to leave the house [for the midnight mass], and this must be a man, pokes a large log in the fireplace and says: "As many sparks--that many birds let me find this year." Others sit around the table and draw hay from under the tablecloth, saying: "Let the flax be as nice this year." . . . On Christmas Eve they make the sign of the cross with garlic on the entrance doors to the house, barn and wine-cellar, and then put the garlic in a keyhole, so that witches cannot come in; after the dinner is finished, a piece of garlic left over [from dinner] is placed under the tablecloth, and then in one's pocket next morning, as protection from witches. . . . Early in the morning on St. Basil's Day [January 2nd] they remove the hay and straw and clean the house . . . the hay is presented to the fruit trees so that they might be as abundant as the table was for Christmas; each tree is given a handful of hay. . . . On New Year's Eve the master takes a plate and an onion, and cuts the onion into twelve pieces--one piece for each month of the year; he puts some salt on each of them and leaves them on the plate overnight. Early in the morning the family gathers and looks: an onion shell where salt melted stands for a wet month, while one where salt did not melt represents a dry month. . . . On New Year's morning young men go from house to house. When such a guest comes to a house, he bows and says: "Praised be the Lord and Mary! May the Lord give you plenty of everything: barns full of cows and oxen; pigpens full of pigs; pens full of fowl: hens, turkeys, ducks and geese; barrels full of wine; chests full of grains: wheat, rye, corn--plenty of everything!" The family offers him some brandy and food; before leaving, he is given a bunch of flax and an apple or pear.

On New Year's Day, when a woman goes out for the first time to fetch water, she presents a gift of a kreuzer [coin] to the well.

(Rožić 1908:30-33, 104)

A concern with well-being, abundance, reproduction and protection from evil spirits motivated almost every ritual in Vinogorje, but in the Christmas-New Year complex the symbolism is unusually "concentrated" and clear. Besides the explicit greeting recitation, which is repeated for both Christmas and New Year's Day, there is also fertility symbolism, which involves the young men, who are

given flax and apples (female symbols related to reproduction); the children, who are addressed and "fed" as chickens; and bread, straw and coins presented to cattle, trees and water, to assure their continuous abundance. Through this ritual complex Vinogorians seek to protect humans, cattle and wine from evil and invoke a successful agricultural year by analogous magic and weather forecasting. They perform numerous other acts the description of which is beyond the scope of the present work.

Many ritual practices described by Rožić are now obsolete; some have persisted, but their meaning has changed. It should be noted that this is not because Vinogorians became more "rational" and now know that there is no cause-effect relationship between the rituals of reciprocity with nature and an abundant harvest; they had known this before, at least most of them, for most of the symbolic acts. Rather, rituals were a comment on a way of life in which dependency on nature and exchange with it were crucial, in which production could be metaphorized as reproduction, for human labor actually had a reproductive, cyclical character. Or, as M. Taussig states in reference to another culture:

rites of sacrifice and gift exchange with the spirits of the mountain are not seen as causing in any direct or mechanical way the fertility and prosperity of the fields . . . not an instrument of fertility but a tautology and an end in itself, renewing the important meanings that ritual makes visible (Taussig 1980:98, 157).

Important changes in the life of Vinogorians have brought about changes in the meaning of rituals, be they old or new in form. Christmas and the New Year's Eve of 1978 in Vinogorje looked quite different from Rožić's description of seventy years earlier: when

night fell, a man brought a small pine tree into the house and set it up in the ceremonial guest room, and women started decorating it with commercial glass and metal ornaments. A small nativity scene, consisting of plastic figurines, was arranged below the tree, but there were no gifts. A fine bread made of wheat flour and eggs was placed on the table, surrounded by plates full of pastry and a dish or two of wheat sprouts, grown especially for this occasion. Nobody ate anything except sweets before midnight. Just before nine o'clock, people started gathering at the village church. At nine, a children's performance in the church began: it was a simple play, representing the birth of Christ and visits paid to him by shepherds, angels and kings. Each scene was divided from the next one by a piece of music: one group of children played tamburitza and accordion and another group sang. The children had prepared the performance with the help of the priest and several nuns, to the pleasure of their parents and relatives who filled up the church, cheered and flashed their cameras. Then, at ten o'clock, the mass began. It took longer than usual, about one hour, because the priest gave a special sermon and people sang Christmas carols. After the mass, the Vinogorians slowly returned home, talking and looking at decorated Christmas trees in the lighted windows of the houses on their way, or an occasional pine tree in someone's yard which had been illuminated with (German-made) electric bulbs. Upon returning home, some Vinogorians still hurry to feed their cows with bread and to cross the door to the barn with garlic.

On New Year's Eve the streets of Vinogorje were less lively: although many Christmas trees were still lighted in the windows,

older people had gone to bed as on any other night. Two buildings, however, remained ablaze with light all night: the inn and the Fire Station. In the inn, several parties consisting of both young villagers and outsiders feasted, danced and sang until dawn; in the Fire Station, the youth organization of Vinogorje had organized a dancing party for all those who chose to stay in the village rather than spending the "craziest night" in some more prestigious place. The bar in the inn was open all night and local young men kept dropping in to have a drink and watch the fun. On New Year's morning some homes in Vinogorje receive a "guest": they arrange in advance a visit from a young boy from the neighborhood. He comes to the door and recites:

Faljen Isus, dobro jutro,
 ja sam došo za gosta,
 Daj vam Bog svega dosta,
 puriča, praščiča, teliča,
 vina, kruha i voća,
 Božjeg mira i blagoslova
 najviše.

Praised be Jesus, good morning,
 I have come as a guest,
 May God give you plenty,
 young turkeys, piglets, calves,
 wine, bread and fruit,
 and above all, God's peace
 and benevolence.

The boy must sit down for a moment, and then he is given some sweets or money.

In the past seventy years, the Christmas-New Year ritual complex in Vinogorje has been modified in both constituent elements and general character. Instead of the old-fashioned Yule log in the fireplace, and hay and straw in the house, the Christmas tree has been introduced from the cities--but the custom of gift exchange "under the tree" has not been accepted along with it; instead of grains in the hay on the table, neatly trimmed wheat sprouts in decorative dishes are used--another urban custom, although of quite ancient

and not just urban origin; the protective function of garlic has been limited to cattle only; the fertility-related rite of greeting and well-wishing has been reduced to a pre-arranged visit of a small boy rather than a full grown man; his recitation has become much shorter and less precise; and the fact that he must identify himself upon arrival, and that he is expected, indicates that rite is no longer regular and widespread. Its significance now seems to be focussed more on social visiting than on abundance and reproduction. This alteration of meaning is true not only for all these constituent elements of the Christmas-New Year ritual complex, but also the ritual as a whole has been given a new meaning (as well as many other rituals, the Mardi Gras Carnival, for example).

At present, Christmas is the time when families are reunited, when Gastarbeiter return to the village, when "urban" success of the village families can be judged by the display of Christmas decorations, clothes and cameras, and when one's child can show his talents--that is, his potential for upward social mobility through education--to co-villagers. The event seems also to be more institutionalized than in the past, since major activities concentrate around the church, while those at home have been reduced in importance. In short, the celebration of Christmas and New Year's in Vinogorje reveals a decreasing dependency on nature in everyday life, and utilizes symbols which express a new position in and new attitude toward a larger social world. For one thing, the introduction of a stage performance, with its clear differentiation of performers and audience, powerfully suggests the re-orientation of the

Christmas-New Year ritual from a people-nature relationship to a people-people relationship.

Not all of the changes in traditional rites or beliefs, however, demonstrate a clearcut redirection of concern from the forces of nature to the norms of a complex, contemporary community: some express conflicting values with regard to the present society and culture, and some are still primarily nature-oriented. A case of the first type, as we shall see, is a ceremonial procession on Easter Sunday, while the second is represented by various forms of weather forecasting and an "irrational" attitude toward risk in agriculture.

On Easter Sunday, around four o'clock in the afternoon, men, women and children of Vinogorje gather near the church. While women and children wait inside the church courtyard, men stand outside on the main square. Everybody is dressed in holiday clothes, with older women and some children in traditional folk costumes. After a while, the priest, a man bearing a crucifix, several ministrants (boys carrying lighted candles and flags) and a group of girls and boys dressed in white appear at the church door. The procession seems to form by itself, without instructions: the priest and the crucifix bearer lead, followed by men, by children and flag-carriers, and, finally, by women. The procession slowly walks down the major street of Vinogorje, singing Easter songs. A few women start every verse, and others join in. There are no spectators on the street and only a few can be seen peeking through windows; all of the windows are, however, decorated with pieces of the best embroidery and crochet work, which hang down over the

window sills, and are held in place by pots of flowers. When the procession reaches the first intersection, it turns around and slowly starts back towards the church. The bells on the church tower have been ringing the whole time. The ritual is completed in less than one hour.

When asked about the rationale of the procession, villagers and the priest answer that it is in the memory of a cattle plague several centuries ago. When the disease struck the cattle in the area, several villagers pledged to hold processions on Easter Sunday if the catastrophe could be averted. Some people of Vinogorje still fast on this day, not eating beef or any dairy products. In the past the procession walked a circular route rather than just going up and down the same street, thus symbolically encircling Vinogorje's social space, protecting it from the evils of the elements.⁴ The Easter procession today means something else to its participants--nobody really thinks of those dead cattle any more when walking and singing behind the priest and the crucifix. Its meaning derives from the position of the church, which is ambiguous politically, as it relates to the contemporary socialist society and culturally, as it relates to the changing way of life and value orientation of its followers.

In Yugoslavia, the official attitude toward all religions and their institutions is that the practiced religion is a private matter; it is unrestricted, but should be completely divorced from politics and government. The activity of any church is confined to within its own boundaries and to its own mass media (newspapers). The church, however, has never quite given up its ambitions for a more significant role in public life, and strives to retain its strength, especially

on a local, village level.⁵ Hence, participation in the Easter procession or in any other event which takes place physically outside the church limits is a public demonstration of loyalty to the institution and always has some "dissident" flavor (though participants are not fully aware of this meaning). The route of the procession is restricted as is the role of the church in general; but the priest finds a way to contest this state of affairs in a symbolic manner: his request that church-goers decorate the route of the procession is answered in the form of flowers and needlework on the windows; the effect is, doubtless, an extension of the altar beyond the walls of the church, onto Vinogorje's major street and into people's homes.

The meaning of Catholicism and the role of the Church as an institution are even more ambiguous if some aspects of the Catholic value system are viewed in relation to the dominant values of contemporary Vinogorians.⁶ The most obvious feature of the procession for example, is its strict segregation of sexes, with men in front and women in the back. Then, there is also the priest's demand that as many children and women as possible show up in their traditional garb. Furthermore, most of the priest's sermons call for village solidarity and unity, and criticize gossip, cliques and poor attendance of services. Thus, despite its attempts to "modernize" (among other things, it organizes a combined pilgrimage and shopping trips to Austria and Italy), it seems that the church still retains an outdated, romanticized concept of "village life." Perhaps this is why its flock consists mainly of older people, as well as villagers who are not employed outside of Vinogorje; in other words, those

who are engaged full-time in agriculture and thus participate to a greater extent in the village community, who depend on it to satisfy most of their social needs. As for the younger generation, a new family structure, more education and employment outside of agriculture have brought concomitant changes in the relationship between the sexes and in the perception of the native village. For them, the church dogma often seems irreconcilable with their life style and ambitions. Some of the present church rituals, however, appear to express better these changes than others: we have seen that the Christmas celebration in the church draws a more numerous and varied audience than does the Easter procession. This internal inconsistency of the values expressed by Catholic dogma is more dangerous for the Church's integrity than is its political position. The Church is no longer able to communicate with its diversified body of followers through a single, coherent system of values and practices. Its moral vitality is weakened, because it otherwise lies "in the fidelity with which it expresses the fundamental nature of reality" (Geertz 1973:126).

Although Easter and Christmas rites no longer express any great concern with nature, the intense interest shown by Vinogorians in different kinds of weather prediction reflects the fact that most of the villagers still depend largely on viticulture for a livelihood so that the moods of nature must be watched. Radios in every home and television sets in an increasing number make it possible for Vinogorians to carefully follow scientific weather forecasts; this new means of prediction is used in addition to the traditional methods of weather guessing, rather than displacing them. Weather,

always one of the favorite subjects of conversation, is predicted according to the shape of the moon (for example, if there is a circle around it, it will be windy), the appearance of the sky (if it is red at sunset, a north wind and rain will follow), the first day in a period (if the first day of the month is fair, the whole month will be fair; the wind that blows on New Year's Day will prevail the whole year), from the behavior of animals (if a rooster withdraws early to his coop, the following day will be fair--if he is late, it will rain) and in numerous other ways.

Another indication of the Vinogorians' belief that the negative forces of nature cannot be completely checked is their somewhat fatalistic stand toward risk and accidents. Although, for example, they used to fend off hail by ringing church bells, and now do so by firing into the clouds with a special cannon, they still accept disasters as a natural component of peasant life. Few insure their crops and property because in their opinion the insurance is too expensive.⁷ Some advocate a passive anti-disaster strategy: having many small and scattered plots of vineyards and growing different sorts of grapes--if one vineyard is struck by hail, or if one variety is killed by frost or disease, others will survive. This strategy was suitable in a traditional subsistence economy; now it is only a rationalization for having the scattered plots and non-standardized grapes, a situation which, as we have seen, is actually the result of causes other than risk of danger to the crop. Some villagers still work out an "exchange contract" with nature or with certain Catholic saints to assure protection from the elements. For example, on the day of St. Florian (May 4th) who is a protector

against fire, wood is not burned in the stoves of some Vinogorje homes. There is no cooking, or it is done outside of the house. (Others throw some water over the roof before lighting stoves in the morning.) For similar reasons, people refrain from using fire for a day, from eating certain foods, etc., so that the protector-saint will guard them from specific disasters for the rest of the year. Except for this "contract," a Vinogorian does nothing to minimize risks, and just hopes that he will be somehow saved from disasters. When a barn of a well-to-do Vinogorje family was struck by a lightning bolt in the summer of 1978 and burned down before firefighters could do anything, the people crowded around making comments like the following: "If misfortune must strike, it is better that it hits the rich than the poor." Natural disasters are still seen as an integral part of life in Vinogorje.

At present, active exchange with nature is often institutionalized and has been demoted from ritual to a hobby. The best examples are the Hiking Society (Planinarsko društvo) of Jastrebarsko, and the Hunting Society (Lovačko društvo) and Tourist Society (Turističko društvo) of Vinogorje. Hikers and hunters do not just enjoy their weekend outings and hunts for small game in the forests around Vinogorje. They are supposed to take care of the animals in winter, to feed them and protect them in the mating season, to clear and mark mountain paths each spring after the snow melts, to build hunting posts and to maintain the mountaineers' hut on the mountain peak. The Tourist Society of Vinogorje, whose members are mostly young men in their twenties and thirties, has taken upon itself the task of promoting the natural beauties of

Vinogorje in order to attract visitors and thus stimulate tourism. In a brochure published by a Zagreb journal they invite visitors to enjoy the inn and the hospitality of the local people, to try their wine, cheese and ham, to see the natural beauty and historical castles and observe the wealth of cultural tradition (Kaj 1975). The perception of nature appears to be "modernized" and commercialized to suit the needs of Vinogorians who live in an increasingly industrialized society. A distinct concept of beauty seems to be emerging: the rolling hills, meadows and fields are no longer seen just as "good" or "fertile"--they are also pleasing to one's eyes in a purely aesthetic sense. More often than not, however, those who emphasize this beauty are people who are least dependent on the land for living, who do not toil every day to keep these hills fertile. Their language of expression is reminiscent of that of the urban weekend hikers and picnickers, to whom it is usually directed. When Vinogorians talk among themselves about their vineyards, they almost never mention fresh air, silence and crystal-clear waters; rather, they are concerned with the state of grapes, with the progress of work, with how much spraying they have to do this year, or whether the fair weather will continue. Only when plots of vineyards are offered for sale to urbanites as vacation home sites do the above epithets come into use. But certain other spheres of life, such as home decoration, show that urban-like distancing from nature and an "artistic" perception of it are spreading in Vinogorje. The best example is the villagers' attitude toward decorative house plants. Seventy years ago, Rožić wrote:

As far as I know, nobody in this area has ever grown flowers. Only priests and teachers and other gospoda do but the people do not. . . . Our people do not care for anything which is not directly usable. . . . Gospoda have different plants that bloom all year, from spring into fall, one after another, but I do not even know their names, nor does any other peasant (Rožić 1907:177).

Nowadays, there is not a single house without flower pots on the window sills and in the courtyard, and without decorative trees or bushes around it. Neighbors often compete to produce the best effect. Several years ago there was a fad for Mediterranean plants; women still proudly point to their numerous potted oleanders and an occasional feeble lemon or orange tree. But one should not imagine that Vinogorje homes are carefully landscaped: a blooming oleander bush can be seen next to a messy pigpen or a run-down barn.

Finally, a few words should be said on the development of a "pure" art form in Vinogorje and the representation of nature in this medium. During the seventies several young men from Vinogorje gained a reputation as "naive artists." They are self-trained artists who paint during their free time, but have various other vocations such as agriculturist, worker and chemical engineer. Unlike the traditional forms of artistic expression in Vinogorje (embroidery, carving on barrels and other wooden items, etc.), this new art form is "pure" in the sense that it is divorced from utilitarian objects and it is novel in the sense that painting with oil paints on canvas or glass is a new medium here.⁸ Local artists have organized several exhibits in the village and outside of it, and are becoming increasingly successful in selling their works. Besides painting on canvas and glass, they also exhibit drawings

and photography. Both drawings and paintings express the visual abundance of sunny Vinogorje (see illustrations), but each genre in a somewhat different way: drawings are more realistic, with carefully finished surfaces and pronounced detail; paintings, on the other hand, are characterized by reduced, pure lines which, especially in winter landscapes, evoke the impression of silence, softness and stillness. Hills, bushes and trees are often reduced to simple balls of snow, and the sun and horizon are depicted as concentric circles or half-circles. The balance of snowy pastels is only slightly disturbed by footprints of a dog, by bare trees embraced by creeping ivy, or by the tiny figure of an animal or human being finding his way through the grandeur of dormant nature. People are portrayed in two ways: either they are small images, blending into the vineyards, hills and forests, or else they are far out of proportion, a symbol which dominates the whole landscape. The mutual dependence of humans and humanized nature is thus unintentionally expressed by the artists. Besides humans (who may often be mother images), other surrealistically over-sized symbols reveal essential aspects of the contemporary Vinogorians' relation to nature and to their cultural heritage: huge grapes stretching into the sky, grapevines in the form of an arch of triumph, old-fashioned embroidered curtains which frame a view of the village as it was in the past, or women's shoulder scarves in the shape of warm, red hearts. A large number of paintings and drawings by Vinogorje artists have the form of a medallion: hills, houses, vineyards, apples, grapes and people are framed by a grape leaf, or an old window, or even the disk of an enormous sun. The framing of an

otherwise unlimited view of the rolling hills and wide horizons of Vinogorje expresses the artists' emotional attachment to their locale, in which everything is so well understood and integrated that they can place its image in a medallion and carry it with them while exploring new life styles.

It might seem curious that contemporary means for expressing the people-nature relationship--"pure" art forms--communicate affection for passing ways, for cultural traditions. But this phenomenon is possible only because villagers are looking back at these traditions from a distance. The distance enables them to romanticize the past once it has actually become the past and is perceived as such. Thus, what we have in Vinogorje (and elsewhere) is peasants-no-more commenting on their peasant cultural past through modern art media. The concept of natural beauty expressed in such works of art does not originate in the traditional people-nature relationship. Rather, it is an expression and a result of a shift from dependence on natural resources to dependence on more specialized social resources. This change in artistic concepts is analogous to the change of meaning in ritual.

Footnotes to Chapter VII

¹Their temporary presence in the village during major works in vineyards is very visible: the women do not wear traditional clothes of domestic linen as do old women in Vinogorje, but rather cheap, ready-made clothes; they ride in horse-driver carts rather than on tractors; they do not use power cultivators as some Vinogorians do; they stay in small, brick shacks adjacent to their vineyards which "the natives" do not have.

²Earlier, a plant could give up to two kilograms of grapes if the year was good; at present, even five kilograms can be obtained if the variety is of high quality. On the average, however, two to two and one-half kilograms per plant is considered a good harvest.

³According to the cadastral records of Jastrebarsko county, the area of Vinogorje was divided as follows (as measured in yokes):

	<u>Year</u>		
	<u>1957</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1977</u>
Fields	1099	1130	1118
Vineyards	568	527	510
Orchards	82		83
Meadowland	626	643	665
Pastureland	215		222
Uncultivable	248		256
Forest	3030		2998

The process of diverting vineyards to other uses has decelerated somewhat. Vineyards still account for about one-quarter of cultivated land. The forest area has been reduced mostly because of house and road construction. The category of "uncultivable land" has somewhat increased, indicating that house and vacation house sites, courtyards, and roads now occupy more of the village surface area than before.

⁴The circumvention of entire villages or fields by processions on certain days in the Catholic calendar was customary in some lowland villages. Because of Vinogorje's irregular configuration, these symbolically circular processions have always covered a shorter route.

⁵As was mentioned passim in the historical part of this study, the Catholic Church and clergy frequently played important roles in the political and economic life of Croatia. Besides, as Catholicism is one of the most important markers of the ethnic identity of Croats, distinguishing them better than language from the Orthodox Serbs, it was frequently a natural component of extreme nationalist ideologies and movements. During the Second World War some members of the Catholic clergy openly collaborated with the fascist regime in Croatia.

⁶A discussion of norms and values will be found in forthcoming sections.

⁷This is a relative evaluation. Vinogorians spend much money on consumer goods, like cars and furniture, but avoid such an essential expenditure as insurance. This reflects the traditional people-nature relationship rather than an absolute lack of money. An insurance institution of Croatia admits that the insurance is quite expensive, but states that it could be lowered significantly if more agriculturists bought it, so that we seem to have here a vicious circle (Jastrebarske novine, August 1978). The county, however, allocates twenty percent of agricultural taxes to a fund to prevent damage from hail (Službeni vjesnik, XIII, No. 1:5, 1979).

⁸The painters of Vinogorje have been influenced by the famous school of peasant "naive art" from the village of Hlebine in northwestern Croatia. There the technique of oils on glass is an old one.

CHAPTER VIII

PEOPLE AND THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

Zagrebščice prpr brale
da su crlene.
- Moj je mužek sejma prošal,
ja jo krčmica.
Moj je mužek sejma došel,
ja jo posteljko.
- A ma ženka draga duša,
kaj si betežna?
- O moj mužek dragi dušek,
kaj ne vidiš ti?
- A ma ženka, draga duša
bi li kaj jela?
- A moj mužek, dragi dušek,
da je kaj dobroga.
Zakoli mi onu kokoš,
črnu prez repa,
pak mi speci par pogača,

po si lopatki;
Pak mi speci par gibanj'ca,

po si medenki;
Donesi mi pintek vina
tri let staroga.
Zaklal ji je onu kokoš,
črnu prez repa,
spekal ji je par pogača,

po si lopatki;
Spekal ji je par gibanjca,

po si medenki;
Donesal je pintek vina,
tri let staroga.
Pojela je onu kokoš,
su do kože,
pojela je par pogača,

se do korica,
izjela je par gibanj'ca,
se do drobtice;

Girls from Zagreb gather purple
to have rosy cheeks.
My hubby went to the market,
I went to the inn.
My hubby came from the market
I went to my bed.
"O my wifey, my dear darling,
are you sick in bed?"
"O my hubby, my dear darling,
can't you see I am?"
"O my wifey, my dear darling,
would you like some food?"
"O my hubby, my dear darling,
if it's something good.
Kill for me first that old biddy
Black and with no tail,
And bake for me two large flat-
breads
as large as the oven.
And bake for me two cheese
pastries
as large as the pan.
Bring to me a pint of wine
which is three years old."
He killed for her that old biddy
black and with no tail.
He baked for her two large flat-
breads
as large as the oven.
He baked for her two cheese
pastries
as large as the pan.
He brought her a pint of wine
which was three years old.
She ate up that old black biddy,
even ate the skin.
She ate up the two large flat-
breads,
even ate the crust.
She devoured all the pastry,
every single crumb.

Popila je pintek vina
 se do kapljice.
 - O ma ženka, draga duša,
 kaj bum ja sad jel?
 - Kištri ti je suvi koríc

pak se njih najej!
 Kolbu ti je mrzle vode,
 pak se nje napij!

(Rožić 1881: no. 33)

She drank down the pint of wine,
 every single drop.
 "O my wifey, my dear darling,
 what will I eat now?"
 "There are dry crusts in the
 bread-box
 eat your fill of them!
 There's cold water in the bucket,
 drink your fill of it!"

This sarcastic poem in which Vinogorians used to express their disdain of "deviant" urbanites, serves as an introduction to the analysis of the contemporary Vinogorian family. The poem presents in reverse, the ideal wife according to Vinogorje standards: she had to stay at home while her husband was away for work or socializing; she had to be reserved in her dress and demeanor; she was last to go to bed and especially to admit to being sick; she had to serve her husband and the elders, not vice versa; she had to be very modest in food and never drink alcohol in public; and she was solely responsible for cooking and the upkeep of the house. The wife was an economic asset for the household into which she had married; the complex of practical and symbolic behavior taught to her assured that she would be a hard worker and a thrifty spender in her husband's family (Rožić 1907:187, 241). She did not experience these norms of behavior as unjust because since early childhood she was accustomed to see them as natural. What is the situation at present? Life has changed little for the woman of Vinogorje, particularly if she belongs to an older generation. I shall try to explain this statement by looking into: (1) the structure of the Vinogorje family, (2) the nature of household economy, especially

its division of labor, and (3) male and female spheres of public life, that is, life outside the home itself.

At present, stem families are predominant in Vinogorje, although there are still some remnants of the zadruga. For example, the richest family in the village, in the villagers' estimation (with 15,000 grapevines), consists of two brothers, their wives and children, and their aged mother. In the summer of 1978, when grape-harvest time was approaching, the whole village witnessed a dramatic conflict in the family: the brothers were quarreling since one of them wanted to divide the property and the household. After a whole day of fighting, a son of one of the brothers set their barn on fire. Firefighters arrived on time, however, before the damage became too extensive. The family divided the household that year, but the land remained formally common for at least another year.¹

The majority of Vinogorje households consist of a married couple, their children and one or both surviving parents of the husband. Hence, when the term "stem family" is used here, it in fact denotes a three-generational household. There is an increasing number of fragmented households, consisting of a single old person, an elderly couple, or a woman with children whose husband has been away at work for a long time. The figures of household size in Vinogorje reflect both the trend toward fragmentation and a trend toward reducing the number of children.² The latter tendency somewhat predates the former and dates from the end of World War II.³ Although Vinogorje is a Catholic village, abortions performed at home, sometimes without any assistance, have become

widespread. (Several women in the village are known to be childless owing to complications of such abortions.)⁴ Moreover, the villagers talk contemptuously about those Gorjani mountaineers who--until recently "when they got wiser"--had "broods of up to ten children" ("i po deset komada djece"). Vinogorians cite as their reason for having less children that "today children require more and the plots are too small to be further divided." Since the holdings have always been small and at present few children remain on the farm anyway, a higher and more demanding standard of living and, especially, the expense of sending children to school, are perhaps a better explanation for the drop in natality.

The dissolution of the zadruga led to a major change in the organization of work: stem families worked smaller plots of land, but the available work force was smaller too, while agricultural cultivation was intensified (the short-term fallowing system was abandoned). Vinogorje families obtained an additional periodic labor force by hiring Gorjani (who used to have a labor surplus), by intensifying the cooperative networks between families (which will be discussed later on), and, finally, by modifying the division of labor by sex within the family itself. In addition to their traditional tasks of cooking, cleaning the house and yard, feeding the animals, milking the cows, making cheese, tending the vegetable gardens and helping in vineyards and fields, women had to assist with many heavy agricultural tasks, such as digging, weeding, and pruning vineyards, fertilizing fields and vineyards, haying, collecting leaves in the forest (for bedding in stalls) and gath-

ering firewood. Men looked for whatever additional sources of income they could find, seeking employment in trade, transport, quarrying and masonry.

This pattern of work reorganization has grown stronger in the period of socialist development. When new industrial jobs become available in towns, mature men and the high-school graduates of both sexes are first to take them. Older children also leave home to attend schools in town; they can help on the farm only occasionally. Thus, women remain the only full-time workers on the family farm. When Yugoslavs started leaving to work abroad in the 1960s, many women in Vinogorje were left completely on their own to manage the family holding. They must do tasks which are still culturally defined as "masculine": taking a calf to be sold at the cattle fair in the market town (in which case they try to go in the company of a male relative or neighbor), contracting laborers, renting tractors or machines, and spraying vineyards. At the same time, no men assume tasks which have been culturally defined as belonging to the woman's domain. Agricultural work, especially that of a subsistence character (growing food for consumption) has become an extension of the traditional woman's domestic realm. It is in contrast with the public realm of socialized economy in which men are first to participate. The younger generation of Vinogorje (men and women now in their twenties and thirties) differ significantly from this pattern. The relationship between generations will be discussed shortly.

In the zadruga period a woman was inculcated with norms of behavior which reveal that she was of great economic value to the

household, but also that she, as a non-biologically related member of the agnatic family group and thus a potential destructive element, had to be dominated by men. This domination was expressed symbolically in many ways: the youngest daughter-in-law in the house had to wash the feet of her father-in-law (Rožić 1907:191, 240); she had to clean the shoes of all the men in the house (Rožić 1907:126); women never sat down to eat at the table with men, but always ate after them (Rožić 1907:108, 215); a wife never called her husband by name, discussed anything with him or voiced her opinion in public; a young bride used a polite form of "you" when talking to her husband, and even a formal "they" (as a second-person form) when talking to a parent-in-law, but she herself was not treated with such respect by anyone in the household except children (Rožić 1907:127, 224).

When zadruga fell apart, the physically and symbolically distinct male and female spheres--the "komora" and "is"⁵--became united in a single building. Despite the physical integration, the male and female domains of activity remained strictly segregated until the recent feminization of farm work. The husband, who is also the owner or inheritor of the family farm (though the wife's dowry in the form of land is important and affects her status in the new home), controls the production and distribution of the main product: wine. Even when he is away working as a Gastarbeiter, he tries to be home in February or March when the grapevines are trimmed and thus he is responsible for planning growth for the next several years. That the woman controls the domain of subsistence and simple reproduction of life, i.e., food, and the man the domain of the cash

crop farming, is clearly and concisely demonstrated when they entertain guests: as soon as guests are invited to sit down at the kitchen table, the mistress of the house offers cookies, cheese, Turkish coffee⁶ or cooked food; the household head takes his key to the wine cellar and brings to the table a bottle of white wine and a bottle of natural mineral water to mix with the wine. Wine is the basis of the village economy, and the symbolism of wine, especially important in the numerous rituals of hospitality, is exclusively the sphere of men.⁷ When women of "mixed income" households take over viticulture, the ceremonial aspect of it still remains dominated by men. They now have access to new sources of cash income and this income is seen as indispensable for supplying many needs, for buying all the status goods that are considered most significant: cars, household appliances, furniture, Italian-designed tiles, etc. The wife's earnings are limited to what she receives from selling milk, and do not constitute a significant part of the family income. She also has some influence in deciding how the wine-money is to be spent, but she is never completely independent in this matter, even when she does most of the work in the vineyards--after all, her husband is the owner. In short, the persistence of woman's inequality in contemporary Vinogorje results from a division of labor according to which the woman does mostly reproductive, repetitive, "invisible" subsistence work, while the husband is responsible for the household's modernization and progress in accord with the dominant values of the contemporary society. The situation is different only when a married couple establishes a neo-

local residence and when the wife takes a job outside the house, as is increasingly the case among the young.

As for the sex-based variation in authority, decision-making and status behavior, there is a contrast between the domestic and the public spheres of life. The reduction of Vinogorje families from the extended to the stem type brought with it a strengthening of the husband-wife bond, at the expense of the father-son or the brother-brother bond. Living in a Vinogorje family, I noticed that this shift means that there is more harmony as well as more conflicts between spouses, particularly greater freedom for the wife to argue with her husband, or even occasionally to shout at him and pester him to finally do things that she thinks need doing in the house or on the farm. When a craftsman was called in one day to make and install a new iron fence for one household, it was the wife who explained to her husband in advance what the fence should look like and how much they could spend for it. Yet, when the craftsman arrived, she did not utter a word: her husband did all of the talking and bargaining about the price. Similarly, when she is alone with her husband, the wife sits down at the table to eat with him (though she is the one who always cooks, sets the table and serves him). But when guests come, especially male or urban, she avoids sitting at the table with them, even when the (embarrassed) urbanites explicitly ask her to stop running around and serving them and sit down. Also, an older woman is never seen in the village inn (except as a member of a large wedding party), and does not go to a restaurant to eat when invited by urban guests. Her husband may go, but she stays at home, giving the excuse of being too busy.

The patterns of authority and decision-making in the family seem to change faster than does public behavior. Sex segregation in public life is even intensified by some ceremonies (Catholic church rituals, the Carnival, initiations to join the Hunting Society), while the strictly egalitarian values of socialism (in relation to sex) have little material basis in the village as it is now. Perhaps the relatively democratic relationship between sexes within the family as opposed to that in public is a result of the zadruga tradition. Namely, as Bogišić (1927 (1884):171)⁸ points out, zadruga families never had such a strict authority structure centered on the pater familias as did the classic, nuclear Roman family. (In the latter, the father was the sole owner of all family property and legally had power over the life and death of the family members.)⁹ Thus, when most rural families in twentieth century Croatia became nuclear, and the husband-wife bond central, there was left some cultural "space" and some "ambiguity," on the basis of which a new definition of husband and wife roles could emerge.

But the same was not true for the public sphere of rural life, which has undoubtedly always been male-dominated. In Vinogorje today, it is only men who drive automobiles which are highly prestigious status goods. Women walk even to work in distant vineyards, unless the paths are bikeable, or unless men are going along and drive them there. The only vehicle operated by women is the tractor. Young men and boys also cruise around on motorcycles, often presents from their fathers who work in Germany. Men exclusively are members of the village Firefighters Societies and the Hunting Society. The initiation to the Hunting Society on St. Stefan's

Day (December 26th) is a highly ritualized event for which men go to a secluded mountain hut, practically inaccessible during winter months. Men also run the village government and the Tourist Society. Managers of all village stores and of the wine-cellar are also males. The only exception, and a significant one because it also reflects generational cleavages, is Vinogorje's Youth Organization which has a mixed membership and leadership. This male dominance does not mean that some village women are not influential, that they do not have their cliques and cooperative networks and their ways of manipulating men's decisions. But it does mean that the traditional roles ascribed to the woman as keeper of the domestic hearth and to the man as public representative of the home and of the village are still valid.

Apparently, Vinogorians are slow to alter their behavior, but they are conscious of general changes in family relations with the larger society, and of the necessity for redefining sex roles. As in many other industrializing areas of Yugoslavia (see Halpern and Halpern 1979), there is a growing awareness that a woman, when educated and employed, should be of equal status to such a man. Parents from Vinogorje invest much money and energy in the education of their children, realizing that it is the most efficient means for climbing the social ladder and urbanizing. Yet, there is a discrepancy between attitudes and actual behavior even among young, employed women: instead of dividing household tasks, they end up doing double work and expect help to come from "social intervention," that is, from greater provision of household services, child care centers and the like. Since they are so overburdened,

they cannot become significantly involved in social and political organizations.¹⁰ This passivity in turn slows down the general process of democratization of sex relations. The change in everyday practices, in the traditional ways of doing things, takes more time than does the conscious acceptance of new values.

The relationship between parents and children is usually secondary to that between spouses, but in the case of rural families it has acquired a central importance, particularly as regards cultural change. The generation which was born after World War II and reached maturity by the 1960s and the 1970s has been exposed to different experiences and influences than the preceding one; these include education, mass media, and mobility due to schooling, employment outside the village, participation in voluntary youth work projects and Army service. Sociological research has found that the level of education remains the strongest differentiator in Yugoslav public opinion surveys (Woodward 1981:122), and that mass media and schools influence the political socialization of the young people in rural areas more than do their parents (Šiber 1977). It is no wonder, then, that the parent-child tie is now culturally much more ambiguous and conflict-generating than that between the husband and wife. The parents' reactions to the new social situation are often contradictory. They respect the children's wishes (especially the son's) in relation to education, finding a job in town and even moving there because this course is seen as culturally and socially progressive. Nevertheless, they do not sell their land, which is left without any real heirs, they invest heavily in improvements to their rural homes,

they invent numerous ways to maintain close ties with their urbanized children, but often feel bitter about them and manipulated by them.

In Vinogorje, more egalitarian relations between sexes are shown by adolescent boys and girls in, for example, various forms of teasing behavior. In the summer they also swim together in a natural pool in one of the Vinogorje hamlets. The village branch of the League of Youth meets Saturday or Sunday afternoons in the school building, and organizes dances, concerts of popular singers and the recruitment of volunteers for Youth Work Projects or minor, local activities. Pre-marital sex and the free choice of spouses are nowadays matter of fact (many girls marry already pregnant), although the situation is of course not encouraged or openly approved by parents. There are, however, new factors which limit the choice of marriage partners: since most Vinogorje girls want to urbanize, they look for boys who are either leaving the village or who at least have a job outside the farm. Several men from agricultural households, who chose to remain on the family farm and work on it full time, have recently taken wives from Bosnia. For those girls marrying into a relatively well-off Croatian village means improved social standing.

In the majority of Vinogorje families, the young bride still lives with her parents-in-law. But the number of neolocal residences (and even matrilocal ones--if they in some way facilitate urbanization) is on the increase. When the residence remains patrilocal, the daughter-in-law is often employed in industry, commuting to work together with her husband, while his parents do farmwork. Some women have even joined their husbands to work in

West Germany. The authority structure of such a family is profoundly different from the traditional one: the young couple decides how to invest its money; the woman's position is much more secure and she can be even seen ordering her husband around in front of his parents--something that was previously unheard of. The parents pamper their working daughter-in-law: some buy new carpets, curtains, furniture and appliances when she is moving in to make the house more comfortable (traditionally, it was the bride who decorated her quarters with her trousseau). The now insecure mother-in-law even says things like: "She does not have to cook for me, does not have to work in the vineyards . . . just let them stay here with us." Everything possible is done to keep her from "taking their son away."

When the new residence is established, parents may feel bitter about it and think that the idea is stupid ("since their house is just a few kilometers away, and they have just redecorated it completely"), but, almost without exception, they help the young couple. It is considered a great shame if parents do not help their children to get ahead. Both the bride's and bridegroom's parents participate by providing land and money and by working on the house construction site. Parents who found themselves in such a situation would communicate to me their ambiguous feelings, saying that "it is better to have more than one child because children are better to their parents when they know that they will not get everything from them anyway." In other words, parents are pressured by the dominant cultural norm, according to which everything has to be done to help the younger generation urbanize; the only means left to them by which to command their children's loyalty is the inheritance.

The fact that the family property was not transferred upon the death of the pater familias constituted another major difference between the classical Roman patriarchal family and the South Slav zadruga (Bogišić 1884 (1927):171). The property of a zadruga was divided whenever it became too inconvenient for the large family to live together. The contemporary Vinogorje family perhaps draws on the zadruga tradition because land is not transferred at any single moment; rather this act of transference is a process. Sons or daughters are often allocated vineyards of their own while still living in their parents' home. This arrangement has an educational significance--they learn to produce and sell their "own" wine--but it is also the first stage of the land transfer. Upon their marriage, both the son and the daughter are given some land; the rest is gradually handed over to them on different occasions (the birth of a grandchild or a piece of land may be sold to help defray housing and other costs of the young couple). The transfer is finally completed upon the parents' death.

This pattern of sharing family property is part of a more general phenomenon of mutual aid between the two generations. Not only do parents help their children to establish new (urban) homes, but children also return to the village to help their parents in the vineyards.¹¹ A survey of 271 families in Croatia showed that in 58.7% of the cases, the grown, urbanized children still helped their parents, both financially (30%) and in work on the farm (37.2%). Sons assisted their parents more than daughters did, and children helped their parents more than parents helped their children. These results reflect the fact that children, once settled in town,

can do more for their old parents than can the parents for them. Daughters who are overburdened with work in their own households probably find less time to help their parents than do sons. Vinogorians say, however, that a daughter is more valuable to her parents than a son: first, she is easier to bring up--she completes only secondary school (which is considered sufficient for girls, while boys aspire to college degrees), and then she finds a job and gets married; second, after marriage she still aids her parents with their work, unless she marries too far from home.¹² Rožić observed the same closeness between a married daughter and her parents seventy years ago (Rožić 1907:234).

The authority structure of the Vinogorje family has obviously changed for the better, from the young people's point of view. Still, when compared to their urban peers, they feel they have less free time, less access to educational and cultural institutions, fewer employment possibilities and less power to influence decisions in their families. They are openly critical of the "traditional village culture" when they feel limited and frustrated in their aspirations. Those who have solved their basic existential problems and settled down, on the other hand, often glorify and idealize the more attractive aspects of cultural tradition (e.g., as expressed in described new art forms or statements of the Tourist Society).

The parents, on the other hand, feel trapped: acting in accordance with generally accepted values of modernization means working against their own interest. Not all of them are quite conscious of the trap, however. A good illustration is the belief of some parents that by giving their daughters a good education they

in fact perpetuate the traditional pattern of preparing her for marriage: instead of giving her a trousseau in the form of elaborately embroidered textiles, they supply her with the symbolic capital of education. True, they do increase her chances of catching a suitable husband. But, if the parents think they are merely following an established cultural practice, they are wrong: educating their daughter means at the same time giving her a better chance to find a job, consequently to establish relationships with her husband in a different way, and to start her own household and adopt a new life style. Old forms of family relationships cannot be reproduced within the present social and economic framework. Thus, the chain of cultural change is beyond the parents' control; their actions are unintentional, or at least, their consequences are not fully comprehended. But the young create these changes, quite intentionally in their efforts to alter their way of life.

The nuclear family is the most important unit of Vinogorje's social and economic organization. It is self-centered and self-sufficient in surprisingly many respects. Still, it functions within a complex network of kinship, neighbor and friendship relations. I will briefly discuss each of these, indicating in particular modifications in their nature which parallel major innovations in Croatian society.

In zadruga families, agnatic kin were more important and closer to an individual than were relatives on his mother's side (except, of course, in cases of zadruga endogamy). The interaction with one's cognatic relatives had a much more ceremonial, festive and congenial character than did that with one's father's kin, who

lived in the same house or nearby. The mother's relatives did come from time to time to help with work on her osebunjak vineyard (see page 107). When nuclear families became prevalent, and when cooperative labor networks had to be intensified, interactions with one's maternal and paternal relatives became more symmetrical. At present, the numerous forms of communication and exchange between relatives seem to be a function more of spatial proximity than of the kind and degree of relation. For example, an affinal relative as close as a brother's wife may be received by the mistress of the house on Sunday after church: she serves a fine lunch of ham, cheese and wine, sits down at the kitchen table to talk with her guest, and exchanges presents in food with her (the guest brings fresh produce from her garden and gets other food in exchange). In contrast, her maternal cousin's wife, who lives next door, drops in informally several times a day, helps with various chores and borrows, lends or swaps things. Some families are on bad terms even with their closest relatives, including those who are employed by the winery and thus have power to evaluate wine samples and determine prices for their produce. Women in general seem to be more active than men in organizing and maintaining cooperative networks of relatives, as will be demonstrated later. In so doing, they follow official kinship lines not by the degree of proximity or distance, but along the lines of practical kinship: they prefer relatives with whom they get along well, who are good workers, who live nearby and with whom they otherwise maintain friendly ties. Geneological ties are neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for group unity. Practical kinship groups, as opposed to "official," "exist only through and for the particular

functions in pursuance of which they have been effectively mobilized" (Bourdieu 1977:35).

As for the exchange between rural and urban relatives, it does not seem to be as intensive as is the case in Serbia, especially between collateral kin (Simić 1973; Halpern and Halpern 1972; Burić 1976). Strong ties and mutual aid relations are maintained mainly among grandparents, parents and children. A Vinogorian can always enlist help from a relative (as well as from a co-villager) when looking for a connection (veza) in town (that is, for an influential person who may help accomplish something). But he rarely exchanges food or labor or sojourns with other than close, stem family urban relatives. There are several reasons for this: the social organization of the village itself is centered around the nuclear family; the urbanization pattern is such that only the young permanently leave Vinogorje;¹³ relatively easy communication with the market town and Zagreb enables Vinogorians to commute there for errands (usually to see a physician, or to make a special purchase); finally, Vinogorje's early specialization in a cash crop has for a long time enabled the villagers to pay for some urban services rather than utilize the help of urban relatives and giving compensation in the form of home-grown food.

Godparenthood, a form of fictive kinship, plays a role in Vinogorje, but again, is much less complex and ritualized than is the case in Orthodox Serbia (Hammel 1968). Godparenthood (kumstvo) is not passed down from generation to generation within a family, or exchanged between two families, nor does the prohibition of marriage between a godchild and a sponsor extend to their children or family

members. Rather, parents of a newborn child select a baptismal sponsor for him from among non-relatives who are if possible well-off and respected villagers. As the kum or kuma (godfather or godmother) is expected to be the child's protector and beneficiary, urban-oriented Vinogorje families often select them from among their urban friends. In the past, Vinogorians themselves were often kumovi (pl. of kum) to Gorjani who worked for them. Parents used to select another set of kumovi as their children's marriage sponsors, while at present it is increasingly the young couple who decides in this matter. They may choose even their friends of the same generation for kumovi--a form of the institutionalization of friendship--as is frequently the case in urban Croatia. Although the relationship between the godchild and his sponsor has more of a dyadic than a corporate family character, all members of the two households address one another as kum or kuma, or as prijatelj (friend). If they live close enough, the kum's family and godchild's family are actively engaged in a series of work, favor and visiting exchanges.

The pattern and frequency of visiting disclose much about the cohesion of the neighborhood or a hamlet. Women from the neighborhood constantly drop by each other's houses for short, "standing" visits. Men are a little less frequent and usually come with a specific purpose--asking about something or borrowing, for example. Relationships among the people of one hamlet are much more relaxed and informal than those with people from others. There is no special greeting within the neighborhood, perhaps because they see each other all the time (houses are built rather close, in rows); and visits are completely casual. With people from other hamlets,

even relatives, it is different: men visit only when they know the man of the house is at home, and women also come only when they have a reason. In such cases, hosts interrupt their work and spend time entertaining their guests, which is not necessarily the case when close neighbors come.

I have not seen people of a neighborhood working together at a single task, but they are likely to help each other in little things, and they have a sense of identity with and obligation toward one another. For one thing, a funeral of someone from a hamlet must be attended by one person from each household of the same hamlet (more frequently a woman than a man), regardless of whether the relations with the deceased were good or bad.

Friendship networks, in the sense of groups of people who tend to spend free time together, are almost non-existent within Vinogorje, except among adolescents. Rožić writes (Rožić 1907 :234-235) of friendship among boys before marriage, and among girls who went to school together and grazed cows on pastures together. But such friendships were brief, lasting only until marriage and the assumption of adult obligations. Since school years constitute a longer period of time nowadays, adolescent friendships are somewhat more durable, but they still tend to fade after marriage. The term "friends" is sometimes used between neighbors who do not live close but have bordering vineyards or fields and who have good rapport. Also, "friends" (prijatelji) has long been a reciprocal term of address between two families which have established a tie through marriage. Parents of a bride and groom,

in particular, call each other "friend" and visit even before their children are married, from the time of their engagement.

In accordance with the current orientation toward urban life, friendship affiliations have assumed certain new forms. Students at schools and universities bring their urban colleagues home for recreation and cooperative work projects, especially for the grape harvest. Some Vinogorians also establish ties with urbanites who own vacation homes in the village. Before a respected urban guest arrives, the mistress embarks on a thorough house cleaning and cooks a special meal which must include meat and pastry. On certain occasions when the house receives a large number of guests (such as a pre-wedding gathering or a baptismal feast) one can notice a segregation of urban and rural visitors: while urbanites are seated and entertained in the rarely used living room (which usually boasts a display of the best furniture, china and decorations), villagers congregate in the kitchen. If the household includes a younger, urbanizing generation, the segregation is at the same time a generational one. The importance of entertaining urban guests has in some cases changed the traditional segregation of sexes. The baptismal feast was originally strictly a women's affair. Forty days after childbirth, female relatives and neighbors of a young mother would come with baskets full of food (fruits, nuts, baked goods, meat) for a shared supper. At present, both men and women friends of the young parents come and industrial baby products account for most of the presents, while the host family reciprocates with the banquet.

The traditional baptismal visiting has been extended into the realm of rural-urban symbolic exchange: six weeks after my daughter was born in the winter of 1980, I received a surprise visit from my Vinogorje family at my home in Zagreb (men also came because they drove women in automobiles). They arrived with baskets full of cheese, honey, eggs, chicken and home-made cookies, while the younger brought commercial toys.¹⁴

Friendship is a general quality of human relationships rather than a specific type of bond. It is always embedded in some institutional form (kinship, fictive kinship, a cooperative, a club) and supported by a certain ritual structure--most often by a series of symbolic and practical exchanges. In contemporary society, where job and housing mobility are prevalent, the transformation of the above institutions renders the sentiment of friendship somewhat elusive, always in need of reaffirmation and always in search of new forms of reaffirmation which often end in failure and loneliness (Brain 1976). In their thirst to incorporate urban culture, Vinogorians extend the accepted, traditional forms of ceremonial exchange to their new, urban friends, as well as transforming their old institutions (kumstvo, kinship networks) in order to achieve new goals.

In Vinogorje, everybody is to everybody else either a relative, a kum, a neighbor or a prijatelj. Networks cross-cut each other and each person is allocated a place in them. There is absolutely no anonymity. Virtually all of my conversations with Vinogorians started by establishing my own identity: was I related to someone, or, if not, who was I staying with? My name and my profession were

not enough; a person is still at least partially defined by his place within the village social body.

All of these networks are not merely constructs which anthropologists can neatly represent as synthetic, timeless diagrams. They are made up of and sustained by exchanges of labor, favors, gifts and visits which evolve through time; the tempo of an exchange, the strategy of when a presentation is made and when a return is expected, is what makes it essential for the maintenance of a community (Bourdieu 1977:6). But conflicts arising in the process of exchange, and often the multiple, conflicting principles on which exchanges are based, demonstrate that the community does not remain the same. Let us consider some examples.

The job of cutting hay, raking it, and hauling it home is one of the few tasks in Vinogorje which requires cooperation beyond the nuclear family. To give an illustration, the Polšaks managed their hay in the summer of 1978 in the following way:

1. The Crnkovič family, who rents a half-share of one of their meadows, is supposed to do all the work and bring a half of the hay to the Polšaks' barn; but since they are friends (that is, neighbors with adjacent plots), the Polšaks went to help them. A team was formed, consisting of the Polšak husband and wife, and the husband, wife, fifteen year old son and grandmother of the Crnkovič family. The day before, the men had cut the hay with scythes, and today the women joined them in raking it and collecting it into piles. Then the men rolled the piles downhill and loaded them onto a tractor. Before the work started they drank wine with mineral

water and ate cookies in the hosts' house. After work, they had supper together.

2. The Polšaks rent out another of their meadows (in the valley) because they have only one cow now and do not need as much fodder. The man who rents it brought them as usual a cartful of low-quality hay (used for bedding in stalls) and pays 1,000 din. a year for the meadow.¹⁵ He tossed the hay into the upper part of the barn, with Polšak's help. Meanwhile, Polšak's wife went to help an old neighbor rake her hay.

3. A man with a hay-cutting machine came to do the meadow which the Polšaks still use. The work was finished in one afternoon. After work, they had supper together, and Mr. Polšak said: "We will settle the account later." I found out later that the work was done as a favor, since Polšak, the manager of one of the village stores, often gives goods on credit to the man.

4. The next day, another man hauled Polšak's hay home on his tractor. Then he, the Polšaks and a young woman from the neighborhood jointly tossed the hay up onto a platform under the barn's roof. (Nobody in the village has enough hay to leave it outside in large stacks.) The neighbor did not stay for supper after work, and Polšak's wife said she would later come to help her with work. The man with the tractor stayed for supper and got 300 dinars for his service.

The wheat harvest is another occasion for teamwork, but it is becoming an irregular job since every year fewer households sow wheat. The old technology and division of labor are retained: women reap the wheat with sickles, while men follow them, gathering

the stalks and binding them into sheaves, and then stacking them up on a tractor cart. A wheat harvesting party in the summer of 1978 consisted of a wife, husband, wife's sister, a neighbor and her young son and the wife's father's brother's grandson who ran the tractor. The tractorist worked for money, while the wife's sister and the neighbor expected labor in return.

Mothers and their married daughters often work together. Old Bara went to pick plums in her daughter's orchard; next day, her daughter came to do the same for her. Her daughter-in-law also comes to help with gathering the corn. Since Bara lives alone, she drops by her neighbors' often and helps with work informally here and there; but she is also called upon for help in a more formal way, in which case she gets money or the promise of help in return and stays for supper as do normal wage-laborers.

Although summer is a busy work season, people avoid working on Sundays. The wheat harvest is an exception--it cannot wait, and since more people from the village are home on weekends, they are pooled into work teams on Sundays. A taboo day for work, still observed, is St. Rok's Day (August 16th), despite the fact that it falls in the middle of the busy summer season. According to popular belief (not supported by the Church's dogma), St. Rok is the protector and curer of arms and legs; he should not be teased--some say they would not move even their little finger on that day. Those who look for hired help on St. Rok's Day are usually unsuccessful. Thus, there is still some belief in the exchange with the supernatural in the realm of agricultural labor.

Work in the vineyards is a permanent, intensive task for a family, with few possibilities for the pooling of labor beyond a single household, save for the climax at the grape harvest. There is some exchange of help, however, on an individual basis, especially between women. A woman helps another one in weeding or pruning or tying the vines, in exchange for the same kind of work. The purpose is to make these tasks less boring. In one case at least, a woman went to help prune the vineyard of the people who transported water (for spraying) to her vineyard on their tractor. She also helped them during the grape harvest because they again had helped transport her barrels of must. In another case, a young couple aided a neighbor in the grape harvest because she had sold to them German marks which the couple then used to obtain a favorable bank loan in Zagreb.

The grape harvest is hard work, but it is also the most festive and the merriest moment in the agricultural year. I travelled from Zagreb to Vinogorje one Saturday in late September one year in a bus full of grape-pickers who were talking excitedly all the way about the harvest. They were children, friends and relatives of Vinogorians who were going to take part in the harvest. The grape harvest team in which I participated one year consisted of: husband, wife and son of the host family, the son's girlfriend, her two brothers, an old kuma, myself, my husband and my sister. None of the younger members permanently resided in the village. The group pooled for the grape harvest is particularly indicative of a family's non-village ties, or at least, of ties beyond the closest relatives. This is the time when most distant relatives, urban

friends and kumovi are invited not only for prestige, but because the whole village picks grapes at about the same time, so that villagers cannot rely on their usual, everyday sources of help. Wage-laborers, težaki, are "nowhere to be seen." Hence, the number of urban participants in a grape harvest work team is probably the best measure of the "social urbanization" of a Vinogorje family.

When the grape-picking party arrives in the morning, it is first offered a large breakfast. Then everyone goes to the vineyard by car or tractor, small tools and plastic buckets in hand. Large wooden barrels in which mashed grapes will be stored are already at the vineyard, transported there by the host family on a tractor cart the day before. The women pick grapes, each completing one row of vines at a time, while the men carry them in flat, wooden barrels on their backs to the large barrels at the end of the vineyard, in which they mash the grapes. Power-driven cultivators are now increasingly used for the transportation of grapes to the barrels. While working, the pickers talk, joke and drink wine and soda. There is a lunch break at noon, and the hostess serves food on the ground, by the vineyard: the best ham, pork, cheese, cakes and salads are prepared for this occasion. The supper, served at home after the work is completed, always includes a roast turkey. Before the grape pickers leave, each gets a present of grapes, cheese, brandy or other food. The host or hostess places a nice grapevine, rich with fruit, on the facade of the house, a sign that the grape harvest has been completed. In fact, the work team rarely finishes the job. The host family usually continues for several more days to complete all the work.

The whole village rarely functions cooperatively as a labor unit. The formal or informal groups and institutions which have organized group projects (like establishing the Wine Cooperative, building the Fire Station or the more recent construction of the Sunday school next to the priest's house) usually have had problems in recruiting volunteers. Rožič (1907:194, 294-5) mentioned that collective projects (such as road repairing or night watch), decided on earlier by the village council of all men, were never carried out with much enthusiasm. Everybody tried to finish the project with the least possible effort. Actions organized by the present village council (Mjesna zajednica) have been more successful: electricity, piped water and concrete roads have been brought into the village as the result of donations in money, wine and labor by all households. The reasons for this success are several: the active core of the council consists of rather young, ambitious men; the goals of modernization are generally accepted; and the institution of contributions (samodoprinos) is well-established in the Yugoslav system, often initiated at the county level; its failure would be seen as being as much a political as a social issue. Despite the success of the Mjesna zajednica projects, their relative infrequency, the lack of village-wide supporting organizations and services and particularly the sad, deteriorated condition of the major public building, the Fire Station, in sharp contrast to that of private houses, testify that private interests and consumerism are dominant values in the lives of Vinogorians.

If we take a look at the composition of work teams in Vinogorje and the nature of exchange between different members of the team and

the organizer, we can see that they are based on informal exchange of labor, formal exchange of labor (agreed upon in advance), labor-for-favor exchange, and labor-for-money exchange, all at the same time. Although more will be said about the economy and the nature of exchange in Vinogorje in the next chapter, the importance in Vinogorje's recent history of informal labor networks (which are different from institutionalized cooperative groups like the Wine Cooperative) will be discussed here.

Many students of cultural change in peasant societies are under the impression that the intrusion of capitalism and market-type exchange destroys traditional cooperative networks which are characteristic of gemeinschaft communities. It appears to them that hired labor simply replaces old forms of labor exchange. While this might be true for isolated, largely self-subsistent villages (Lockwood 1975:118), it certainly has not been so in Vinogorje, with an economy which has been specialized since the Middle Ages. The traditional view which idealized peasant communities as coherent, stable systems, "insulated" from cultural hegemony of the cities, is inaccurate (Scott 1977b). As feudal rent changed earlier from primarily money rent to rent in kind and, finally, to labor rent, owing to a number of factors in the society at large, so has the recent history of Vinogorje's cooperative labor reflected a dependence on other social processes. Let us consider some of these.

First of all, it seems that the character of vineyard cultivation and supplementary subsistence agricultural activities does not require many forms of cooperative labor. Pooling is necessary only for grape harvest and hay mowing, and to a lesser degree for wheat

harvest (wheat fields have always been minute in Vinogorje). The large work parties--mobe--which played a significant role in other Croatian and Yugoslav regions (Lockwood 1975:110; Filipović 1968; Vlajinac 1929) never existed here. Speaking of the Mediterranean ecotype, Wolf asserts that "neither ard [primitive plow] cultivation nor any of the associated activities requires a cooperative labor unit larger than the individual domestic group, a feature that stands in marked contrast to the picture presented by cultivation in transalpine Europe" (Wolf 1966:32-33). In Vinogorje, most of the cultivation is done manually (hoeing vineyards, cornfields and gardens), while only a small fraction of fields can be plowed. Those who own much arable land used to keep a pair of oxen or horses for plowing. After the zadruga fell apart, households with one ox or horse coupled (priparivanje) to plow together. At present, tractors are in use, but those with little land hire the services of others rather than purchasing tractors themselves.

Second, household size has strongly influenced the nature of labor cooperation. As noticed elsewhere, it is the middle-range households that most eagerly participate in the labor exchange (Lockwood 1975:107-112). Large households have enough manpower. In view of the nature of Vinogorje agriculture, we should believe Rožić's statement (1907:223) that zadruga were self-sufficient as work units, and that after their breakdown nuclear families, especially poorer ones who could not afford to hire oxen, had a hard time with tasks like hauling fuel wood. Traditional spinning bees and corn husking bees, for example, also were (and corn husking still is) basically an affair of the extended family which close neighbors

might informally visit or join (Rožić 1907:215). According to the villagers who still remember them, even hay-mowing parties consisted mostly of close relatives: brothers or cousins would leave in the evening for the meadows in the valley and would sleep there so that they could start working early in the morning; their wives or sisters would bring them lunch, carried in baskets on their heads, later in the day. When households became reduced in size and three-generational stem in form, the necessity for labor exchange between households increased (nuclear families--matrilineal kin--had been helping each other with work on individually owned plots even while still members of a zadruga). But hired labor was at the time at least as important as the exchange of labor.¹⁶

Third, the availability of cheap agricultural labor also periodically restricted or intensified Vinogorje's cooperative networks. Seasonal težaki from the mountains were regularly hired for the grape harvest at least as early as mid-nineteenth century (Rožić 1907:206, 293), and Vinogorians themselves were by then occasionally serving as wage laborers for land-owners in the valley. The agricultural crisis after the 1870s, and the subsequent pauperization of Vinogorje, increased the available local labor force: better-off Vinogorians hired servants and težaki (Rožić 1907:257, 259), while the poorer ones relied on labor exchange and paid off craftsmen's services and the rental of oxen and carts by working (Rožić 1907:255). Emigration and later industrialization have shrunk the village work force. Until the 1960s, Vinogorians could hire Gorjani as težaki, but since then they have had to intensify their own cooperative networks. At present, the obligation to

return labor or service is considered more valuable than money--it offers more security. Sometimes an ambiguous relationship is created between two persons who help each other because the terms of exchange are not clearly set in advance. A woman said: "A neighbor helped me hoe potatoes and corn, but did not want to take money when we were done. So next Sunday I must go help her with the wheat harvest." Lockwood (1975:119) noticed a similar uncertainty in Bosnia where it indicates that the institution of money exchange is new and not completely accepted. In Vinogorje, where money exchange is an old institution, the hesitation to set the terms of exchange expresses two things: the general incompatibility of a temporary, self-terminating, cash-exchange relationship with the totality of social relations within a small community; and more specifically, the current need to secure and maintain cooperative labor networks. Also, the fact that at present labor networks are mostly created and sustained by women proves that they are not merely an element of tradition which lingers on (as suggested by Burić 1976), but also a phenomenon rooted in the current cultural and social context.

Fourth, the specialized, market-oriented character of the Vinogorje economy has made it possible for Vinogorians to pay for many services which are elsewhere obtained through cooperative efforts. Housebuilding, for example, was performed at the turn of the century by travelling specialists (majstori): Primorci (coastal Croats) did stone quarrying and masonry, and Kranjci (Slovenes) or Posavci (Croats from the Sava River Valley) built frame houses (Rožič 1907:181). During the agrarian crisis some local people also learned this craft. Majstori have always been helped by the

household for which they work, and neighbors or close relatives may also join in during some particular phase of work. But house-building is never a community affair. In the summer months there are many construction projects in Vinogorje: a majstor and the head of a household work together, and two or three other men, hired workers or recruited helpers, may help them occasionally. Since the household head usually works in town or in Germany, construction is a slow process, completed phase by phase, sometimes over the course of several years.

Finally, the recent mechanization of agriculture made some forms of labor cooperation obsolete, while on the other hand, creating some new types of exchange. A hay-mower, for example, can cut in two hours as much hay as six men in one whole afternoon and at a lower cost. For these reasons, Vinogorians seek services from co-villagers who own the machines, which they pay off in the form of money, favors or agricultural labor.

Besides exchange of labor, a constant flow of gifts, favors and visiting maintains the informal networks of Vinogorje. Presents still most often take the form of food, produced on one's own farm (fresh cheese, milk, cakes, sausages, fruits and honey) or, less frequently, food bought at the store (coffee, cookies). They may be given to relatives visiting from other hamlets, villages or town to take home, to city visitors, to sick neighbors or relatives on the occasion of a home or hospital visit, or as a return for a favor. On certain occasions, including baptisms and weddings, villagers bring gifts of home-grown food to the house which is preparing the feast, regardless of whether they are invited to the

feast. Those who are invited for the major event, the banquet, also bring gifts of money or industrial goods.

Favors are also of different kinds: buying things for others in town (in the stores or at the market), lending tools or implements, permitting the use of one's kitchen (when a large amount of meat or cakes must be baked in a short time) or refrigerator, opening the village store after hours when a co-villager happens to need something urgently, driving others to the market town (in a car or on a tractor), picking up local peasant hitchhikers (since bus connections are infrequent), sending messages or lending money or selling foreign currency. Villagers still settle their debts at St. Martin's Day, traditionally the first day when the new wine can be sold. Interest may be charged on money loans, but Vinogorians prefer to borrow money from close relatives or neighbors who do not ask for interest but lend them money as a favor. In such cases willingness to help with work or to reciprocate with another favor is valued more than money profit. Favors flow back and forth rather freely and there is no strict reciprocity required, but people do try to maintain a certain balance, and are careful not to abuse each other's hospitality or help.

The village as a whole is more an implicit than an explicit exchange network. A person will always help a co-villager in matters related to school, employment, government authorities, buying certain goods, giving recommendations to a special physician in town, etc. In general, villagers manifest their solidarity only when there is an outside problem to be confronted.

Foreigners are not asked for favors, except through "connections." I did not feel quite at home in the village until people started asking little things of me--like buying bread or newspapers for them, taking a photo or the like--and started to do things for me in return. This exchange was a sign that I had really been accepted in the village.

It has already been mentioned that visiting is the most prominent feature of relations between neighbors and relatives. Ritualized visiting will be discussed in the last chapter. Here a summary of different types of visiting which occur in Vinogorje will be given.

The first type is informal visiting among neighbors and close relatives, often associated with borrowing things and with short exchanges of labor or favors. Then, there is more formalized visiting at times of life-crisis in a household: the birth of a child, a wedding, illness or death. Such a house is open to practically any villager who wants to stop by, bring a gift and exchange a few appropriate words. More formalized visiting also occurs when an expected guest from outside the village arrives.

There is also a ceremonial type of visiting: the "guest" received on New Year's Day and processions from house to house on St. George's Day are by now almost extinct customs, but the ritualized Carnival visiting and, for that matter, visiting of other villages after a victory of the local soccer team, are lively and deeply experienced events.¹⁷

Finally, there is a generalized sort of visiting: informal gatherings of men and women primarily for socializing, as well as

occasions when the whole village is the host to whoever may come for a visit--a form of generalized reciprocity. Traditional places for informal gatherings are village stores--particularly the two major stores in the center. On rainy days they are always full of people: men and women stand in separate groups, exchanging news and gossip, while the men drink beer. The store manager does not care, and does not pressure villagers to hurry up and finish their shopping. In fact, he serves as a chief information broker; the standard greeting to a store manager is: "Hi, Joža, what's new?" Nobody in Vinogorje is much bothered when the only two phones are out of order (as happens frequently) because the village "wireless telephone" works so well, and this is what matters. The only inn in Vinogorje, a small establishment also in the center, is not as popular as the stores.¹⁸ A young Vinogorian expressed his feelings about the changing patterns of socializing:

In the past people sat under a chestnut tree on Sunday afternoons, neighbor chatting with neighbor . . . Now on Sundays . . . we watch TV and the old customs are gone, there are no more meetings under the chestnut tree. Radio, TV and newspapers--they brought both good and bad sometimes, but everything new has brought progress, that's true . . . (Špigeljki 1975).

St. Anne's Day (July 26th), the day of the patron saint of the village church, and All Saints Day (November 1st) are holidays for which villagers prepare for in advance: the women clean houses and decorate graves, bake cakes and roast turkeys, while the men trim hedges, wash cars and decant wine. Nobody knows how many guests may stop by the house on these days, but everybody is prepared to be a good host. These are great occasions for those who have left the village to return and meet with others from the

village, so that the main square between the church, the Fire Station and the Partisan monument becomes the site of a big social gathering.¹⁹ The young come home from schools in town to see each other again, Gastarbeiter from Germany and Holland come and talk to the villagers who stayed at home, families who moved away to market towns and Zagreb brag of their urban successes, and grandchildren come to stay with their grandparents. Friends and relatives from other villages also come to join the fun and to witness the great reunion. St. Anne's Day is the feast of life--with wine and beer stands, trinkets for sale, meat and sausage stands, toys, merry-go-rounds and music. All Saints Day is the feast of the dead: graves are covered with flowers, candles sparkle in the dusk, people stand in the graveyard and converse. But somehow, both days turn out to be in fact the "Day of the Village," of those who still live and those who have long been dead, of those who are here all the time and those who come back only for ritual displays of loyalty.

Large-scale village demonstrations of solidarity and identity like the village fair, All Saints Day, or Mardi Gras processions express a potential rather than a real village community. The following morning, after the feasts are over, many "villagers" get into their cars and drive off in all directions, to places where they have established new homes and to which they are tied by new values.

Opposed to generalized hospitality and reciprocity as manifested on these occasions is social behavior which leads to disruption and conflict rather than to cohesion and solidarity within a community. In Vinogorje, hostility among villagers usually

arises from disputes over property, that is, over trespassing, use of another's resources or stealing. Rožić observed (Rožić 1907: 296-7) that a victim rarely confronts a thief, for fear of even greater malice on his part; the same is true today. In cases of major crimes or severe damage, Vinogorians have long made use of the county courts, sometimes so much that lawsuits have become a socially recognized problem (Seljačka sloga, III, 6:196, 1938, and IV, 4:109, 1939). Seljačka sloga attempted in the 1930s to organize "Tribunals of Good and Honorable Men" which would settle quarrels between villagers faster and, certainly, more cheaply than professional lawyers, but it did not succeed in this attempt. In 1979 the Croatian Parliament issued a law requiring the creation of a "peace-making council" (mirovno vijeće) as a part of each Mjesna zajednica (Village Council). It should help solve trivial disputes without burdening county courts. In Vinogorje the law still exists only on paper.

Some families are not on speaking terms with others for years, but open confrontations are rare; instead, there is much back-biting, jealousy and petty assaults. One man, for example, complained that his neighbor and in-law dumps garbage by the border of his plot, in order to contaminate the area and thus make it impossible for him to sell the plot to some urbanite for a vacation-home site. The concern with property, which in the past secured for most Vinogorians only a bare existence, has been expressed by a belief in the power of the evil eye, especially of a jealous co-villager or an unknown passenger, to interfere with natural cycles of reproduction. Cattle, children and vineyards have been particularly

vulnerable to the curse of the evil eye. It is still believed, for example, that a pregnant woman should be given anything she wishes to eat, lest her child be damaged by even unintentional negligence. As another example, no one should offer or lend milk to an unknown person, especially a woman, lest she "take away all the milk from his cow." A modern, visible sign of the concern with property is the appearance of fences surrounding Vinogorje homes and yards (in Rožić's times there were very few of them; Rožić 1907:79). They are sometimes quite elaborate and expensive, revealing not only a change in the Vinogorian's concept of "private space" and the nuclearization of family structure, but also the current regard for urbanization and the need to prove one's status through conspicuous consumption.

On the level of the village, conflicts usually occur between groups of villagers who identify with specific hamlets. Thus, the village Firefighters Society (founded in 1925) has been split into four separate ones after a quarrel over leadership, equipment and facilities. A long-time member and former secretary of the club commented: "That's how it is: the more we have, the more we are sensitive about what we have." One of the fractions built its own separate firestation and each club organizes its own parties. When a fire breaks out, however, they join forces to extinguish it, and are also helped by firefighters from other villages. Another failure in joint decision making involved a dispute over who must pay for street lights: they exist only in the village center and households on the periphery refused to pay for them. As a consequence, electricity for the street lights was turned off. Vino-

gorians were also unsuccessful in reaching an agreement about organizing garbage disposal. Hence, the everyday life of Vinogorje has always been swayed by both cohesive and disruptive forces, shaped by private interests and at the same time by dependence on and obligations toward the community. Only the subject-matter and the forms of conflict and cooperation change.

To summarize the chapter, let us restate its two major points: that the modification of relations among Vinogorje peasants manifests the transitional position of peasantry within the structure of Yugoslav society; and that the nature of exchange among villagers is not modified along a simple line of progression from cooperation to selfishness, that is, from labor exchange to hired labor.

We have seen that the feminization of production on the family farm is accompanied by the intensification of female cooperative networks; that the engagement of village men and the younger generation with their urban values in the socialized sector of the economy leads to a redefinition of husband-wife and parent-child relationships by a process which is not smooth and simple; and that the nature of exchange among and the composition of "practical kin" (including fictive kin) alter in accord with certain phenomena of Yugoslav society (such as the nuclearization of the family and the shortage of rural labor power). In short, the private sphere of life--family, kin and neighborhood--is affected by the gradual socialization of the peasantry. Even when there is no collectivization of land or direct interference with the operation of the peasant family farm, the disintegration and marginalization of traditional peasant livelihood proceeds along its course.

Yet, the disintegration of peasant culture does not necessarily mean the loss of a viable exchange network within a small, closely-knit community. The complex nature of exchange (which will be further discussed in the next chapter) and many new forms of exchange prove that it is a characteristic of human society in general rather than only of the "traditional peasant society." It is to a certain extent true that:

While modernization has transformed the economic basis of Yugoslav society, familial and kinship relations are still [O.S.] characterized by a high level of solidarity, and economic and ritual reciprocity (Burić 1976:136).

The implied concept of a cultural lag between the economic "basis" and kinship "superstructure" is, however, a faulty one. The need to retain some traditional forms of cooperation and to create many new ones derives from the totality of a new, contemporary social experience.

Several principles on which the exchange in Vinogorje is based (cash and non-cash, favors, gifts, etc.) and the dynamics of their alternation or simultaneous operation, demonstrate that the industrialization of small communities does not necessarily cause a decreased sense of community, that it does not cause a change from altruism to selfishness (especially not within a village which is socially quite homogeneous and economically little stratified). Exchange networks are not a hidden or subconscious "disguised form of the sale of labor-power" or "economic calculation even when it gives every appearance of disinterestedness . . . and playing for stakes that are non-material and not easily quantified" (Bourdieu 1977:60, 177). This is not at all a question of mentality (Vino-

gorians have always been as much cooperative as dissenting) or of a logical principle--an eternal, proto-capitalist, rationalizing logic which seeks maximization of profit. Economy is a culture-specific process of materially provisioning the society (Polanyi 1957; Sahlins 1972), and as such is embedded in the totality of other social relations (political, ritual, kinship and the like).

Thus, every form of exchange, however utilitarian it may be, always has more than an economic significance. Vinogorians are well aware of both the utilitarian and the "total social" aspects of their practical and symbolic exchanges. In one case, trivial but revealing, a woman replied to her husband's question about whether he really had to attend a funeral: "You do not have to, but you must. Police certainly will not come to take you there, but . . ." Vinogorians are conscious of their moral obligations toward the community on which they depend. They are conditioned by their socio-cultural environment, but they manipulate it to their best advantage and in so doing transform it--as the description of the exchange networks illustrates.

In brief, in Vinogorje society exchange is neither an economic strategy, nor an objectified principle on the level of the unconscious, nor a total social fact defined as something beyond the power of individuals to change. It is, to paraphrase Mauss and Lévi-Strauss (1969:52), "a total social act": gain and obligation, communication and manipulation, the conscious and the unconscious, pleasure and toil--all at the same time.

Footnotes to Chapter VIII

¹ Still surviving zadruga are also reported for Croatian Zagorje (Čulinović-Konstantinović 1971), Bosnia, Macedonia and Kosovo (Burić 1976; Lockwood 1975).

² See Chapter III, Footnote 4.

³ Burić (1976:121) gives data which show that this is the case for all Yugoslavs, except for the Albanians of Kosovo. In Croatia, the average number of household members was 3.94 in 1948, and 3.43 in 1971.

⁴ Croatia, like Yugoslavia in general, has a liberal abortion policy, but among the rural women only the younger generation (educated and employed outside the farm) makes use of it and goes to medical centers for abortions. This is the case also with the use of contraceptives.

⁵ See pages 102-103 and 106.

⁶ Coffee is a new cultural import from cities and from southern and eastern Yugoslavia; it is usually offered to urban guests.

⁷ I will return to this subject in the chapter on Carnival.

⁸ Quoted in English translation in Burić 1976:133-134.

⁹ Everyday household life in a zadruga was not based on a model of unquestionable masculine authority; instead, separate male and female arenas of authority were created by the division of labor and roles based on allocation of tasks (Halpern and Halpern 1979:162).

¹⁰ See Susan Woodward's (1981) excellent review of the research done on this subject in Yugoslavia.

¹¹ Both Yugoslav and American scholars have written much on the exchange relationships between rural and urbanized family members. See for example Halpern and Halpern 1972, and Simić 1973, for Serbia; First-Dilić 1977, for Croatia; and Makarovič 1974 and 1978, for Slovenia.

¹² The census of 1971 provides the following figures on education for Vinogorje:

<u>Level of Education</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Incomplete grade school	121	89
Four grades	614	690
Eight grades	158	149
Vocational secondary schools	85	17
Gymnasium (liberal arts high school)	8	3
Junior college	1	
College	3	1
Illiterate	28	59

The last category consists mostly of villagers above sixty years of age.

No data are given for about 130 people.

The last decade was marked both by an upsurge in aspirations for education and by an increase in the actual number of degrees received, as will be seen in the 1981 census.

¹³The exception is labor migration to Western Europe (and earlier to America) where potential migrants rely completely on their already settled relatives and neighbors to find them a job and a place to live.

¹⁴Being busy, professional parents, entirely on our own in the joys and fears of first parenthood, my husband and I were, to our embarrassment, completely unprepared to reciprocate with a feast.

¹⁵At that time, the ratio was 20 Yu. dinars to a U.S. dollar.

¹⁶Zadruga were just a phase in the natural developmental cycle of a corporate family unit: they had always been expanding and breaking up. Thus, there had always been large and small households in Vinogorje. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, zadruga started breaking up into nuclear families rather than into new, smaller zadruga, and households did become and remain absolutely smaller. (See figures in Chapter V, Footnote 17.) Between 1880 and 1910, the population of Vinogorje rose from 3070 to 3212. In the same period, the number of houses increased from 403 to 804, i.e., doubled. Hence, the average household size dropped from 7.6 to 3.99 members in the span of thirty years. In 1971, the average household had 3.85 members. (Političko i sudbeno razdjeljenje kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije i repertorij mjesta, Kr. Statistički ured u Zagrebu, 1889; Statistički godišnjak kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije II, 1910, Kr. Zemaljski Statistički ured u Zagrebu, 1917; Popis stanovništva i stanova 1971 god., Savezni zavod za statistiku, Beograd 1972.)

¹⁷Vinogorje has one of the best soccer teams in the local league. After each victory men hop in their cars, form in a file and drive around through other villages and the market town to announce the victory by shouting and honking horns. (See Appendix.)

¹⁸ According to Rožić, village stores have always been favored gathering spots (Rožić 1907:192).

¹⁹ See Appendix for detailed description.

CHAPTER IX

LIVING IN A SOCIALIST WORLD

The Vinogorje economy has always been specialized. A cultural tradition of viticulture in these hills and the ecological necessity of trade with surrounding areas resulted in the establishment of money-exchange relationships at least as early as the thirteenth century. Still, it was a subsistence economy--despite the circulation of money--until well into the nineteenth century. This statement is based on several premises: most of the peasants' needs were fulfilled through the operation of the peasant family economy, which predominated not only in the feudal, but also in the capitalist period. It was (and still is) a use-value oriented economy in which money is exchanged for usable goods, rather than re-circulated as capital; being at the bottom of the social hierarchy and exploited by dominating classes, most Vinogorians lived at a bare subsistence level (even at the time of capitalist expansion, there was relatively little social differentiation within Vinogorje). In other words, rather than defining the peasant subsistence economy according to supposed autarchic self-sufficiency of a village (which is disputable for most of the Yugoslav countryside anyway), I ground it on the criteria of the predominance of the peasant family economy, a use-value orientation and a culturally defined, subsistence-level, pattern of living resulting from exploitation by dominant classes.

In this chapter it will be shown how the self-sufficiency of the peasant family economy is breaking down under the impact of the market and the socialized sector, how the exchange relationships within the village are a mixture of socialist, market and village subsistence relations, and finally, how the redefinition of needs and the change of values in Vinogorje express the transformation of the class position of peasantry within the society as a whole. This will serve to clarify that the peasants of Vinogorje are, by definition, hardly peasants any more.

As was mentioned earlier (see Chapter I) the socialist society affects the peasant family economy in indirect and direct ways: indirectly, by drawing peasants to towns and cities, to industrial, self-managed enterprises, or by sending them to Western Europe as Gastarbeiter; directly, by tying the peasant family farm to the socialized agricultural sector through different forms of cooperation and dependence. It is not only the economy that is being transformed, however, but a whole way of life. In Vinogorje, employment outside one's farm is becoming increasingly important (see Chapter III, Footnote 9 for figures). The village itself offers few jobs in the socialized sector: the inn employs four, the wine-cellar five, and the five village stores six people. The small post office is run by one employee. There are also several part-time jobs in village administration, the local clinic and the church. Many villagers commute daily and weekly to Jastrebarsko and Zagreb, as well as to factories located in other villages. The 1971 census also lists 275 persons from Vinogorje as "temporarily working abroad." The number has probably not changed much, because after the mid-1970s

there was a general tendency in Europe to limit the number of incoming workers. In contrast, the number of people who are finding jobs in the socialized sector at home is rising.

Entering the world of industry brings in most cases also a direct encounter with the dominant ideas of Yugoslav socialism--those of self-management--and with problems of their application in practice.¹ Self-management was introduced in the early fifties, more as an act of political distancing from Stalinism than through the gradual maturation of a concept of social organization. The theory is still being developed, with concomitant changes in social practice--rather than representing a final solution. Self-management is a structure of social relationships which should encompass not only economic organizations in the socialized sphere, but all other aspects of life as well, with the goals of eliminating hierarchy and domination and of achieving a socialist democracy. According to the ideas of Marx and Proudhon, this structure should be based on free associations of producers--workers in different organizations--mutually related by arrangements and agreements on issues of common interest. The work place and the local community should merge into a single locus of social life, that is, their juxtaposition, or even the contradiction between them should disappear. The socialist man should at the same time become involved in work and decision making, and participate in community life and in "social politics"; he should simultaneously identify with his local community and with the social whole. As group activity came to be based on coordination among all those concerned, the state as a means for the

domination of one group of people over others would weaken and ultimately wither away.

In reality, however, the self-management system has its shortcomings and contradictions. On the one hand, they are due to the fact that the power hierarchy of the State is still strong at the level of the constituent Yugoslav republics which leads to political alienation. Self-management in the political sphere of social life has not paralleled that in the economic sphere. On the other hand, the introduction of a market economy has prevented the development of coordinative and integrative arrangements between work organizations, resulting in the persistence of hired labor, group rather than socialized property and group mentality as well as the emergence of unfair competition, corruption, consumer mentality and a lack of planning (Pešić-Golubović 1971). Although at the present stage of development of the Yugoslav economy a market system may be a necessity, it should be at least checked by various forms of grassroots, self-managed planning and control organizations.

Despite its problems, the self-managed socialized sector has had a great impact on peasants. By entering the labor market they are given increased opportunities for managing local community affairs, as well as greater chances to participate in various political and social organizations, and to influence the allocation of resources on the county level. As peasants working only on family farms they are far more marginal to and alienated from the loci of power. At the same time, employment outside the farm dissolves the traditional peasant family economy by reorganizing the division of labor, by interrupting the traditional pattern of transfer of the

family holding from father to son, by creating new needs which the peasant economy cannot fulfill and by causing a shift in values (see pages 38-40). Some of these processes have already been described, while more will be said about the changing values and needs later in this chapter. Here an account of the post-war history of the Vinogorje wine-cellar will be given, in order to illustrate how changing agrarian policy and reorganization of the socialized sector have influenced villagers' lives.

The collapse of the pre-war wine-cooperative in 1947 was described earlier (see page 150-152). A general type of cooperative was established in its place. There were no new members, it was run by several full-time employees and its major function was to buy up grapes and wine and to subsequently process them. The cooperative also sold goods and farm supplies to peasants through its retail outlet. The Vinogorians, who were completely dependent on the General Agricultural Cooperative (GAC) for the marketing of their produce, and yet did not participate at all in its management, viewed this institution as alien to them and exploitative of them (prices for their wine were fixed and low). In theory, general cooperatives should have become social and cultural centers for promoting communal and welfare projects, and should have assisted the growth of communal spirit in villages, but in practice this was rarely the case. (R. Trouton in 1952:229, too optimistically presumed that this task was generally accomplished.) At that time it could not have been otherwise, since the State used the whole peasant sector of the Yugoslav economy to support the developing sectors of industry and socialized agriculture; that is, surplus products and labor were ex-

tracted from the individual sector in order to firmly establish other branches of the economy. This period of "primary socialist accumulation" (Cole 1981) lasted until 1957, when the production of the socialized agricultural sector caught up and surpassed that of the individual sector, and when more attention was devoted to peasants and social funding started flowing back to rural areas. Thus, the alienation of Vinogorje grass-roots peasant institutions was in accord with general social policy (see the periodization of this policy, Chapter I).²

When the social climate became more favorable for peasants in the mid-1950s, the GAC of Vinogorje actually started planning the improvement of production through cooperation with peasants. In 1956, they arranged with a local agronomist to analyze for them the condition of viticulture in Vinogorje, and to draw up plans for its future development. According to the analysis (Budinišćak 1956), the area planted to vineyards in Vinogorje could have been expanded by a hundred hectares at the expense of fields and meadows, that is, increased from 345 hectares to 445 hectares. (This expansion did not take place; on the contrary, the area planted to vineyards has decreased to about 300 hectares.) Furthermore, the quality of grapes was to be improved by planting new, standardized sorts, and the production costs to be reduced by modernization and mechanization. This was the only way, thought the agronomist, to deal with the strong competition from other wine-growing areas and from large wineries. He proposed that the GAC provide loans and technical assistance in the modernization of peasant vineyards. "It is not possible to carry out this [modernization] by 'administrative measures' [i.e., force],

but by means of an organization whereby the Cooperative and producers would act together" (Budiščak 1956:5). In order to modernize all Vinogorje vineyards in a period of thirty years, the agronomist suggested the gradual replanting of 17 hectares per year. Peasants would obtain new grape plants and loans from the Cooperative, and they would contribute their own labor, of which there was at that time no shortage. The Cooperative actually borrowed money from a bank to start the project. Peasants were to pay off loans to the Cooperative in the form of grapes, while the fees collected for technical assistance and interest on the loans would be used by the Cooperative for further investing in the vineyards. The agronomist foresaw an increase in production in Vinogorje from about 200 vagons of mashed grapes to about 410-430 vagons (a vagon equals 1,000 kilograms).

The response to the plans of the Cooperative was not great in 1957 (only 4 hectares were to be modernized that year), but it was expected to grow. A contract signed between a peasant and the GAC in 1958 specified that the Cooperative was lending him money to buy and to have installed concrete supports and wire for the grape vines, as well as supplying him with grafts. The peasant was obliged to pay off the loan within three years, at two percent interest, to work his vineyard well, and to pay a fee of 100 kilograms of grapes per 1,000 grape plants. In the case of natural disaster, his obligations were postponed for a year.

The GAC's plans for the improvement of production and for greater cooperation with the peasants were not successful. It would perhaps have required many years before the Vinogorians'

mistrust of the new organization vanished, as had been the case with the old pre-war wine cooperative. The three-year period for repaying the loan was probably too short, contributing to the peasants' reluctance. Furthermore, many planners did not actually trust the individual agriculturist and did not have primarily his interest in mind. According to the agronomist, some local policy-makers commented on his ideas that it was impossible to work with kulaks. This misjudgement of the Vinogorians' material position was based on the fact that they have always specialized in a luxury product, and that they did not have the cleanest political record during World War II. The most important reason why the GAC was not successful, however, is that it did not have enough time and opportunity, faced by a growing market economy.

Economic reforms of the 1960s strengthened the market economy in Yugoslav society. The general type of cooperative, which did not have its own operating capital, at least not in the initial stages when the cooperative network was being set up, could not stay afloat under new circumstances. Socialized agricultural enterprises of the kombinat type (see Chapter I), who had by then developed their financial base and technology, secured a market for their products and organized a cooperative network of peasant producers, have assumed the major role in the socialized sector of agriculture. This situation is exemplified in Vinogorje by the fact that the General Agricultural Cooperative proved unable to function according to the new "economic principle," and by the early 1960s had passed under the management of a winery from Jastrebarsko. This enterprise (which I will simply name the "Winery"

for the purpose of this study) combines the management of production in vineyards and orchards, in four wine-cellars (of which the one in Vinogorje is the largest), in a bottling and packaging plant, and in its transportation (trucking) branch. It also manages a nursery for vine grafts, a cooperative venture which was started in 1953 by contracting two peasants and has grown since to include 83 cooperants. Grafts that are not used for the kombinat's own production are marketed.

The Winery has been constantly expanding its capacities. In 1978, the renovation of the Vinogorje cellar was completed, making it possible to process and store all of the grapes bought by the Winery in Vinogorje.³ The construction of new processing plants has started in some other villages; a new bottling room is planned too. It will be financed partly by the Winery, and partly by bank loans, the Self-Management Fund of SR Croatia, the Fund for the Development of Small Scale Economy (mala privreda) and the Fund for Aid to Underdeveloped Counties of Croatia (Jastrebarske novine Feb. 1979:6). The Winery also plans to put a new sort of dark red wine on the market in 1981. It employed 135 workers in 1979, as compared to 71 in 1970, and has cooperated with about 1,200 peasant households owning about 1,945 hectares of vineyards (the Winery itself manages only 50 hectares). The average netto income of a worker in the Winery was about 6,000 dinars per month in 1978, compared to the average income of 5,159 dinars per month for the county (Službeni vjesnik, XIII, No. 5:117, 1979).⁴ The Winery has no difficulty at all in selling its product; in fact, they even buy grapes from other Yugoslav wine-growing areas because some varieties are not grown locally

in sufficient quantity. In 1979, 11 million litres of wine were sold, compared to 89 thousand in 1970.

The fact that the Vinogorje wine-cellar has become a part of a self-managed agricultural-industrial firm has not altered the nature of the relationship between Vinogorians and the cellar. Most of them still see it as an institution alien to them, and resent their dependence on it. This economic enterprise, which operates on a profit basis, has been even less capable of performing social functions in the village and of creating social associations than was the former GAC. On the personal level this feeling of alienation and distrust is expressed by the villagers' remarks that the cellar employees cheat in weighing the grapes when they are bought up; that they are corrupt (for example, they determine a higher percent of sugar and accordingly higher prices of grapes for their friends); and that they accept bribes and share among themselves fantastic profits.⁵ Without attempting to disentangle truth from gossip here, one can still conclude that the reason for such an attitude toward the cellar is the peasant producers' lack of control over the management of the enterprise, especially in those aspects which are directly associated with peasant cooperation. After all, the enterprise depends as much on the grapes produced by peasants as the peasants depend on the Winery for the processing and marketing of their product. Furthermore, the self-management concept of the socialization of agriculture requires that the kombinat enterprises work on the development of cooperative relationships, not just in the economic sense, but in the sense of building a spirit of community in all issues related to everyday life.⁶ The Winery has not been success-

ful in achieving this goal, although some recent developments (which will be described shortly) suggest that the situation may change for the better.

As the young generation increasingly finds employment in the socialized sector and identifies with the interests of its enterprise, some Vinogorje families find themselves in the curious situation of owing "split loyalty." For example, a young daughter-in-law in a family of grape producers is employed as a cashier in the Winery. At the time of the grape harvest, the tension in the house rises, since the daughter-in-law wants her and her husband's grapes to be sold to the Winery, while the parents-in-law, who are on bad terms with the local cellar employees, insist that it be taken to a distant Slovenian winery. The conflict of interests has continued for several years, causing sometimes tears, sometimes a grudging silence. The parents-in-law usually win, however, since their son and daughter-in-law are both employed outside the farm and they are the ones who run it full time.

Some other Vinogorians also try to avoid the demeaning dependence on the Winery. Several local truckers collect their wine in large wooden barrels and take it to sell to the wineries in Slovenia or on the northern Adriatic coast. Although villagers often say that they get better prices this way, little research was sufficient to discover that this is not the case: when transportation expenses are taken into account, there is no profit at all from selling the wine or grapes outside of Vinogorje. This illustrates that sometimes social conflict may be a stronger factor than economic motivation.

The Winery from the Vinogorje area has in recent years been paying much more attention to the quality and standardization of its product. For this reason, it stopped buying peasants' wine in 1978. Now it buys only grapes and does all of the processing.⁷ This arrangement results in further socialization of the peasant family economy since now individual producers organize only a phase of the production process. (They still make wine for their own household consumption.⁸) This step toward the proclaimed goal of socialization of the peasant economy ought, however, to result also in the strengthening of cooperative relations and an increase in decision-making in the enterprise by the individual producers.

As was discussed in Chapter I, Yugoslav planners have since the mid-seventies given more attention to agriculture than at any time since the mid-1950s. Agriculture is the first sector of the Yugoslav economy in which a new attitude towards restricting the market forces has arisen. The major reason for this shift is the emerging world food crisis, coupled with the general economic recession, which has made the importing of food too expensive for the Yugoslavs. It is also hoped that Yugoslavia will be able to export food on a larger scale than it has up to now.

In the late 1970s the parliaments of all the Yugoslav constituent republics started working on new legislation concerning the social welfare of individual agricultural producers (see Chapter I) and the ownership of cultivable land. The latter issue had not been discussed since 1953. The goal of the new laws on cultivable land is to rationalize and intensify its use. The limit of ten hectares per household has been retained, but it has been proposed that this

be raised to between twenty and seventy hectares in mountainous areas, in order to allow for more efficient sheep-raising by individual producers. No maximum has been established for renting land. It was also proposed that if a plot of cultivable land is not cultivated for two consecutive years in a three-year period, the land will be rented out by force. If the plot is managed in this way for seven years in a ten-year period, a lawsuit would be filed against the owners in order to transfer the land to permanent management by the socialized sector (Večernji list, October 25, 1980, p. 7).

The tax system as applied to peasant households stimulates modernization and cooperation with the socialized sector. "Pure" agricultural households in Jastrebarsko county do not pay tax on land which gives less than 5,000 din. of "cadastral income."⁹ Taxes are also decreased for those who invest in machinery or otherwise modernize their farms and for those who cooperate with the socialized sector or rent out the land to it. Vineyards planted with new high quality varieties of grapes are not taxed during the first five years of growth (Službeni vjesnik, XII, No. 2, 1978).

Another law, passed in the summer of 1978, concerns the weekly cattle markets held in many market towns, including Jastrebarsko. The law reduced these markets in frequency (they are now held every other week), but more importantly, it forbade agricultural enterprises to buy cattle at these markets directly from individual producers. Their surpluses can now be bought up only at special stations established by one or several agricultural firms, or in agricultural cooperatives. An enterprise which intends to set up a buying station must have a program of investments in its sector of

agriculture and, especially, of the forms of cooperation it intends to develop with individual producers (Službeni vjesnik, XII, No. 4, 1978). The effects of this law are that further cooperation between socialized and individual sectors of agriculture are enhanced; cattle markets are "marginalized" to the remaining peasant economy sector since now at the cattle markets only peasants exchange their small surpluses of cattle; middlemen, who used to buy cattle cheaply in agricultural areas and transport them to sell at a profit in non-agricultural areas, are eliminated.

Vinogorians have not been much affected by the new law on cattle markets because they sell only their small surpluses of a calf or two there, and buy piglets from peasants from the lowland villages. Sometimes they sell their calves directly to private butchers who come to the village to buy.

Finally, a recent phenomenon has been the establishment of new agricultural cooperatives, based on the principle of self-management. That this phenomenon is quite surprising under the circumstances of the economic domination of large agricultural enterprises is illustrated by the opening sentence of a report in Jastrebarske novine (October 1977):

At first we did not believe the news that the Association of viticulturists from the village of P. . . . has founded a General Agricultural Cooperative, but we got interested and went there to see . . .

The new cooperative declared that its purpose was to improve viticulture, cattle husbandry, and fruit cultivation; that it would buy agricultural supplies, organize the cooperation of individual producers and buy agricultural products at a guaranteed minimal price.

They also set as their goal raising the general standard of living in that village and keeping the young generation on the farms.

In 1979, the wine cooperative from the village of D. (the same one which served as an example for the Vinogorje Wine Cooperative in the 1930s) celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. At this occasion it received a medal for merit from the Presidency of SFR Yugoslavia. The cooperative has grown into an important social, cultural and economic institution in its village, but it has had problems competing on the market with the Winery. For one thing, it has not had sufficient capital to organize bottling, labelling and selling of its wine. At present, this is done through cooperation with a winery from a city on the Croatian coast.

It is obvious that the peasant sector of the economy cannot be analyzed independently of socialized agriculture, socialized industry and the Yugoslav economic policy in general. Like many other villages, Vinogorje has also seen the establishment and decline of its General Agricultural Cooperative and the expansion of a profit-based kombinat enterprise. It seems that in most recent times the awareness of a need for new cooperative associations has gained in strength in this region, but has not yet borne results in Vinogorje.

Economy is just one aspect of culture, but exchange has often been considered a total social phenomenon, a "social glue" (by Durkheim, Mauss and Lévi-Strauss among others). Analysis of one specific kind of exchange at the cattle market in Jastrebarsko and in Vinogorje will demonstrate that the complex principle of production and exchange--domestic vs. market and cash vs. non-cash--is expressed in many other spheres of life, including ritual.

Every other Monday Vinogorians join large crowds at the cattle and vegetable markets in Jastrebarsko (see Appendix for a detailed description). Many a Vinogorian goes to the cattle market without any intent to buy or sell. He goes there to accompany fellow villagers, to socialize, to see men from other villages in the area, and to enjoy the popular game of ritualized haggling. In the latter, a buyer and a seller put on an often lengthy performance consisting of prescribed behavioral and verbal formulae. The seller slaps the palm of the buyer stating a price and saying: "That's final!", but the buyer turns away, pretending to leave, and then comes back, grabs the seller's hand and says: "This is all I'll pay, [stating the amount], and that's final!" The haggling procedure is accompanied by comments shouted from the surrounding circle of men who cheer them on, but eventually turn to "pacify" them and to convince them to settle on a price by both giving in a little. When the price is finally fixed (usually something in the middle), the final handshake starts, with exaggerated up-and-down motions and the swaying of practically the whole body. In some cases a "middleman" may play an active role by pulling the seller and buyer's hands together into the final handshake.

There are various phrases used for attracting prospective buyers, as well as for ridiculing those who offer too low a price during the haggling procedure. One such phrase is, "Okay, I'll loan you the money if you're broke," and the seller takes out his wallet and pretends he is willing to give the buyer his own money since the poor fellow can't pay more. Or the seller offers to buy drinks after the deal, to prove that he really does not care about that small dif-

ference in price. The implication is that he really does not care about the money, but wants to win the "match." It is shameful to pay the first price asked or to agree to the first price offered. After the deal, the two parties go to have a drink together, and it is customary to split the expense. This particular drinking occasion is called likovo. In other words, a successful haggling duel should end in a settlement and a ritual of alleviation of the recent conflict by drinking together, by re-establishing "friendship"-- something that is a negation of the whole match.

Even in cases of unsuccessful haggling, a potential buyer can be heard saying as he is walking away: "I am not buying, but we shall stay friends." Since not all of the bargaining is done in the manner described (especially not transactions between peasants and buyers for various enterprises and butchers), and since someone commented that the ritualized haggling is "the heroic way," it can be concluded that the duel is as much a matter of honor as a matter of price. Moreover, it may be interpreted as a device to reconcile "friendship" networks (within a village and the market-town area) with cash exchange which is by nature a short-term transaction and so much "balanced" that it eliminates social ties. The haggling duel transforms cash exchange from a match of money to a "heroic match" of persons. The profit motivation is still present, to be sure, but profit must be publicly negotiated and approved by the participating spectators. Thus, it is clear that the form of exchange is dependent on the social distance between the parties involved and that social distance can modify this exchange by attaching completely new meaning to it. Rather than accepting Bour-

dieu's (1977) concept that all forms of social exchange are disguised ways of promoting economic interest, it is more fruitful to adopt Sahlins' view (1972:190-202) that forms of exchange are determined by social distance (which is, in turn, determined by forms of social organization).

The haggling ritual has been reported from other areas of Yugoslavia (Lockwood 1975:182) as occurring always among peasants who belong to the same community, be it a single village or a larger market-town centered community.¹⁰ According to Vinogorians, it used to be much more widespread than it is at present, and its forms were more elaborate and pompous. If the ritual is a mechanism to alleviate social tensions arising from the asocial cash-exchange, and the cash-exchange is an old tradition in Vinogorje, then the current decline of the ritual is probably due to weakening of social bonds in the village. Also, it may be an indication that other forms of market exchange, particularly with the socialized sector, play an ever more important role in Vinogorians' lives. Since these exchanges are mostly outside of the personalized networks of a village community, their asocial nature does not create such tensions and does not require alleviation through such ritual.

Dealing with outsiders does, however, include an obligatory hesitation in setting the terms of transaction, especially if they are expected to establish a long-term social bond with the village. I myself experienced this during my first visits to Vinogorje, when the rent for my room had to be established. The family with whom I was to live kept postponing their answer to my question about the rent with phrases like: "We shall see" and "You are young, we will

not charge you much." It took several "offensives" to get to the point. As I discovered later on, the hesitation was not a result of a lack of experience with boarders--since the family used to provide room and board to several elementary school teachers--but was caused by an accepted norm that it is rude to rush a cash-exchange or to be very precise in it.

On another occasion, a woman complained that people who came to the village to buy their plums (sent by some mutual acquaintances) behaved "shamelessly" during the transaction: they kept checking the scale and testing whether it was precise and said things like, "If you prove to be good, we'll come to buy your plums again." The woman's comment that they behaved "like Gypsies" is especially revealing. Gypsies are definitely outsiders who could in no way be perceived as members of the peasant community. While Gypsies might insist on an exact, balanced exchange, the proper behavior for people who meet and exchange through a personal network must be based on the pretense that they do not care that the exchange be precise. The seller adds produce, to make a "good measure" of it, while the buyer is supposed to protest, to say that he does not care for the "good measure," and the like.

Profiting at another's expense is acceptable outside the bounds of the community. The double morality ("negative reciprocity" in Sahlins' terminology) is demonstrated in transactions with non-members of the community or with non-peasants (see pages 128-130 for Vinogorje, Rihtman-Auguštin 1976 for another Croatian village, and Bourdieu 1977:174, 186 for another cultural area). A recent example from Vinogorje is that of a butcher who moved there and opened a

shop in the village center. Vinogorians complained that the butcher was cheating them, selling them old and spoiled meat and that he was not working properly, spending more time in the inn than in the store. The butcher actually went out of business by the end of 1978 and was not replaced during the time of the fieldwork. Vinogorians are supplied with fresh meat through another complex type of exchange which will be described next.

While beef is usually bought during weekly trips to the market town, piglets and poultry are raised for food at home. Chicken and turkeys are killed and consumed almost every week. Pigs, on the other hand, take several months to attain the desired weight. Vinogorians regularly slaughter them in November and December, to secure a supply of fresh meat and sausages for the festive Christmas-New Year period. Almost every household, however, organizes another pig-slaughtering at some other date during the year, and then distributes meat surpluses to households which are at that time in need of pork. The nature of this exchange will be exemplified by a pig-slaughtering which took place in someone's house in June, 1978.

A self-taught local butcher arrived at five in the morning, but the mistress of the house had gotten up even earlier in order to prepare utensils and hot water. The butcher killed the squealing pig with a knife, and the woman caught the blood gushing from its throat in a bucket. Then the pig was dipped in steaming hot water and its hair was scraped off. The man of the house and the neighbor from across the street helped the butcher during this phase of work. They hung the pig vertically on a wooden frame, cut its stomach open and removed the entrails. When this was completed, the neighbor

left, and a younger woman from the neighborhood dropped by to help clean out the intestines, which would be used for making sausages. This task has always been considered a woman's job. The entrails--liver, heart and kidneys--were immediately fried and served for breakfast to the butcher and other helpers. Practically no part of the pig was wasted: the feet, stomach and part of the fat were mixed with meat, blood, rice and barley as the stuffing for sausages; the fatty tissue was melted down into lard and the remains consumed as cracklings; the meat was cut up into pieces and divided into two major categories: the legs and ribs, and the rest.

After breakfast, the butcher set up a sort of a shop in the wine cellar of the house, the coolest room at this time of the year. The mistress of the house had already prepared a list of "orders," that is, a list of those parts of meat which were reserved for certain co-villagers. The butcher started cutting meat according to the list. The mistress of the house also kept a precise record of who would get pork for money and who would get it in return for meat received previously. The meat was sold for 60 din. per kilogram (legs and ribs) and 50 din. per kilogram (the rest), which approximated market prices. As the morning progressed, people from the village started dropping by, mostly women, picking up their "orders." The more expensive meat was gone first. In the end, everything had been distributed except for a few kilograms of pork which were placed in a small kitchen refrigerator. The mistress of the house expressed her disappointment: she had hoped more of the pork would remain so that her husband would have to give in to her wishes to buy a freezer.

After all the meat was cut up, the butcher made sausages, helped by the mistress and an old neighbor woman. When this job was completed, dinner was served. It consisted of cooked meat, sausages, roast meat, bread, salad and wine mixed with mineral water. After dinner, the man of the house paid the butcher the standard fee of 200 din. per pig.¹¹ The neighbors who had helped received some meat and sausages.

An event which occurred in the house later the same afternoon threw some additional light on the significance of such meat distribution for Vinogorje social networks. A woman came for a short visit. It was immediately obvious from her dress and accent that she was not a villager. The woman was, as it turned out, the owner of a vacation home nearby and an acquaintance of my hosts. She came to buy some pork chops for a barbecue. She was told, however, that all of the meat was gone, and the mistress of the house excused herself for forgetting her promise to keep some pork chops for the woman. To make up for the mistake, she gave the woman some free sausages. After the woman left, there was not much comment and it was apparent that the family did not take the incident very seriously, despite the fact that the urbanite seemed quite upset and told them she would never come to buy anything else from them. Such behavior was in sharp contrast with the careful record of "orders" which the mistress of the house had kept for other "customers." The only possible explanation for this behavior is that the family did not feel any social obligation to an outsider and did not think that the "slip" would have any long-term consequences for their social standing in the village. Although the distribution of meat is partly in the form

of cash-exchange at market prices, it is still a gesture of social solidarity since fresh meat is not readily available in the village. Moreover, the obligation to reciprocate or sell to co-villagers was in this case in conflict with the mistress's hope that she could keep a larger quantity of meat in order to obtain a new freezer. The family did not determine in advance how much they wanted to distribute and how much they would like to keep. Rather, this decision was made by those toward whom they felt socially obliged. On the other hand, the man of the house commented later that they had made a greater profit on their pig in this way than they would if they had taken it to the cattle market to sell, and by keeping some meat, shortening, sausages and cracklings for themselves.

The following December the same household slaughtered two pigs in the same day and more meat remained for their own use since all households kill pigs at that time. To the mistress's joy, the freezer had to be bought.

The above example of meat distribution in Vinogorje demonstrates that forms of exchange are determined by the social organization of the village (that is, various degrees of "social distance"), as well as by the social system as a whole. The "village subsistence" type of exchange involves non-cash exchanges of mostly home-grown products, utilizing kinship-based and territorially-based social networks. The market-type, cash exchange involves both home-produced and other goods, and extends also to non-villagers. But both types of exchange influence each other, so that home-produced goods are also bought and sold within the village, while cash exchange is

modified by social obligations, the requirement of ambiguity, ritualized hesitation and an appearance of disinterestedness.

The third type of exchange in this case, or rather type of behavior and value orientation, is the new consumerism enhanced by the contemporary Yugoslav social system in which "modernity" often implies raising private living standards even at the expense of some traditional forms of social exchange (as in the example of the freezer).

The three types of exchange are associated with three types of organization of production in Vinogorje: the domestic mode of production (peasant family economy) of goods for sustenance; the production of a cash crop through cooperation with the socialized sector; and production in the socialized sector of industry. There are also a number of petty entrepreneurs (truckers, renters of agricultural machinery, and automechanics) and craftsmen, who supplement their agricultural income by other activities. They usually do not hold full-time jobs in the socialized sector.

Despite the fact that a large proportion of production in Vinogorje is for exchange, the overall economy of the village is use-oriented. People are oriented primarily to consumption, not to the accumulation of capital. All of the cash-exchanges always have a definite goal, following the scheme $C-M-C^1$, that is, commodities (or labor) are exchanged for money in order to obtain new commodities. The opposite would be an exchange-value oriented economy, where a $M-C-M^1$ scheme would be valid, that is, where an amount of money is invested in some commodities in order to make a money profit at the end of the transaction. This is not to say that

Vinogorians lack the "calculating spirit." Their activities are, however, determined by a social system which limits the development of entrepreneurial, capitalist transactions, as well as by the predominant value system which emphasizes consumption rather than investment. For example, many truckers or renters of machines started as Gastarbeiter in West Germany, saved money to buy a truck or a machine, came back to the village, and rent out their services now in order to save money for a new house, a car, or to send children to secondary schools in distant towns or to the university. An incredibly small proportion of savings goes for improvement of vineyard cultivation, though it is still the basis of their existence. Thus, the goal is not to produce as much as they can (since there is no limit, for example, on renting in others' vineyards), but to produce for definite goals and according to the norms of "modernization" (which includes employment outside of the farm). Nobody even thinks in terms of "the less . . . consumed [of the profit] immediately, the more future profit will be possible" (Wallerstein 1976:349).

There are two major causes why the economy of Vinogorje is use-value oriented. First, living in small, close-knit communities requires social relationships that are more stable and long-term than those established by profit-oriented transactions. Therefore, as we have seen, even here, where money exchange has a long history, symbolic mechanisms have developed to relieve tensions arising from cash-exchange (ritualized hesitation, haggling, ambiguity, as well as "double morality").

Second, and more important, the current social system places many restraints on the development of large-scale entrepreneurship. The individual sector of the economy should only supplement the socialized sector, and individual agriculturists should, in the long run, be incorporated (through cooperation) into the socialized sector, that is, should be socialized. Yet, owing to present characteristic features of the Yugoslav socialist system, such as the contradiction between a market economy and a socialist ideology, a consumerist value orientation has become dominant. The process will be analyzed in the following pages. It should be noted here that the organization of the social body of which the village is a part determines to a large extent the nature of life in small communities. In some Third World countries the peasantry became proletarian or capitalistic, regardless of the traditional coherence of their villages, because the social system permitted this.

The last section of this chapter will deal with values which currently prevail in Vinogorje and their relationship to the "peasant class consciousness." An example of a grape-harvest festival in a village close to Vinogorje will serve as descriptive material for the analysis of this subject.

Every year since 1963, at the end of September, the Winery organizes a grape-picking festival in its vineyards. It is a "tourist-recreational-economic" event because the goal is not only to get the job of grape picking done, but also to attract visitors. In 1980, the festival lasted for nine days. It included performances by local amateur folk-dance clubs and singing groups, a brass band, rock-music bands from Zagreb and professional comedians.

Sport events included a motorbike race, a mini-soccer tournament, an auto rally, a comic derby of draft horses, a hunters' club competition in shooting clay pigeons and a tractor race. This program represented quite a mixture of sports and activities, some still predominantly urban, and some of a rather long rural tradition. Vinogorje, for example, has had a brass band, a chorus and hunters' club competitions since the 1930s. Perhaps the most contrasting performances of the grape-harvest festival were a fashion show organized by the Association of Professional Models of Croatia and the competition for the "most beautiful grape picker dressed in the most original folk costume." The festival itself opened with a procession of grape pickers who entered the vineyards dressed in folk costumes and led by a group of musicians who played the traditional tamburitzas. During the nine days of the festival, and especially on the weekends, the local inns and restaurants offered special menus, featuring roast and barbecued meat and "peasant" pastries. The visitors consisted mainly of urbanites and young people from surrounding villages and Jastrebarsko. The organizers included, besides the Winery, the Jastrebarsko Automobile Club, the county Tourist Society, a local branch of a Zagreb restaurant chain, the new General Agricultural Cooperative and the Hunting Society from the village of P., and a branch of a large tourist industry from Zagreb.

The first impression of an observer of this event is that it presents an incredible mixture of the "traditional," and the "modern," that is, of folklore, sport, fashion, tourism and snobbery. Yet, it centers on a grape harvest, that is, on a phase of produc-

tion in a socialist, self-managed, agricultural-industrial enterprise. How is this "mixture" to be explained? First of all, it must be understood that even those elements of the event which appear to be "traditional" (folk costumes, tamburitza music and folk-dancing) are in the present context given new meanings and functions. In Yugoslavia, socialism is associated internally with two basic principles: self-management and political unity in the face of cultural diversity. Folklore, particularly its obsolete forms, is respected as an expression of cultural identity of the various Yugoslav peoples, and its representation in the mass media and in different public events is welcome as long as it is apolitical in nature. Cultural affirmation should not run counter to political unity, but there is always a very thin line between its positive aspects and destructive nationalism.¹²

Second, the introduction of a market economy in the sixties speeded up the decentralization of production and of decision-making. In order to stay afloat without state subsidies, many firms had to invent new ways of attracting customers and of competing on the market. Advertisement, folklore and various occasions which combine work and recreation are a part of this effort.

The creation and encouragement of a consumer mentality were also necessary for the functioning of a market economy. A new petty-bourgeois value orientation is obviously in accord with a social system in which democratic-liberalistic concepts have been applied to self-management.

In the spirit of middle-class liberalism, the concept of social organization is individualistic or atomistic, so that all economic associations are equalized in their

legal status . . . on an ideal social plane (as was the case of the middle class as owners of the means of production in classical democracy). [But in reality] the legal/political equality quickly led to economic inequality among the producing organizations (Supek 1971:381).

For one thing, the financial capital was concentrated in banks and certain export-import firms, while the effectiveness of many enterprises depended on unfair competition and even corruption. The concept that the "socialist market" (whatever this means) can function merely on the basis of the principle of supply and demand is outdated. Even in highly industrialized capitalist societies the market is regulated to some degree by external factors (legal and social). It appears, however, that the current economic recession requires that more attention be paid to planning (which does not mean centralist planning) and regulation of the market, as was noted earlier for the agricultural sector.

The new, petty bourgeois consumerism has been cultivated and shaped particularly by the mass media. Television commercials, for example, communicate to the public, including the rural one, the idea that to be stylish, well-supplied with consumer goods and to spend lavishly and conspicuously on luxury goods means to be modern and upwardly mobile. There is rarely an attempt to back this idea by promoting some concept of a "higher value." Consumerism and the accumulation of material goods are simply equated with socialist development, not only by the "average citizen," but also by the "official" ideology.

A woman from Vinogorje, for example, boasts a new bedroom set, with a French bed upholstered in dark red velvet and a built-in

stereo system in the headboard. It came "right out of a TV commercial." Other villagers commented that this same woman had "everything to be found in a department store." Her husband is drudging away in some German forest, cutting trees from sunrise to sunset, but most of the money earned is spent on home decorating. In another case, an additional story is being built on a house, adding about seven rooms, but the family has only one son, who is attending school in town and probably will not return to live in the house. Besides, despite all of the rooms, the family spends most of the day in the ground floor kitchen, the only room which is heated in the winter.¹³ A toy as simple as the frisbee is a highly prestigious one because it has appeared in several television commercials but, not being available locally, is sometimes sent to Vinogorje children by their Gastarbeiter parents.

The newspapers which are regularly sold at the Vinogorje post office also shape the village consciousness, and show its current "cultural" needs: the only newspapers sold are the Zagreb evening paper and sports news, while the magazines represented are Studio (a TV magazine), Vikend (a family magazine) and Arena (an "urban folklore," gossip-type magazine). The Zagreb daily paper and the county monthly Jastrebarske novine are not even sold in Vinogorje. The post office also sells some cheap, soap-opera style novels, while the county librarian in Jastrebarsko complains that not even one book a year is read per inhabitant of the county.

The program of the only movie theater in Jastrebarsko is composed for the most part of movies selected to draw crowds, mostly teenagers and young people. There is little concern for quality.

The program of movies in January, 1980, consisted of the following: "The Teacher Has Pretty Legs" (Italian), "A Fraud in Sahara" (Italian), "The Occupation Presented in Twenty-six Scenes" (Yugoslav), "Sherlock Holmes' Smarter Brother" (British), "The Ugly, the Filthy and the Evil" (Italian), "A Mazurka in Bed" (Danish), "It Happened in Marusia" (Mexican), "The Proof" (Japanese), "ABBA" (Swedish), "Thirty-nine Steps" (British), "A Super Stunt-Man" (American), "Cash" (American), "War Luck" (American) and "Stories from Cantabria" (Italian) (Jastrebarske novine, December, 1979, p. 12).

There is not much that the program manager can do, however, about the quality of the program. The system is such, he explained, that often movie distributors rent packages including one high-quality movie and several other movies which they have obtained cheaply on the international market. This arrangement is the so-called "package of services" for the countryside (Jastrebarske novine, February, 1979).

A reporter from Jastrebarske novine (March, 1977) interviewed several girls in their early twenties, employed by a factory in Jastrebarsko. He asked them only one, simple but essential question: "What is happiness?" All of them included love and friendship as an important element of happiness, but also defined it as "having nice things," "money, a nicely decorated home, family . . ." and "a new dress, new shoes . . ."

Shopping for "nice things" in Italy and Austria became in the 1960s and 1970s a widespread practice, only most recently curbed by a stricter customs policy (the result of the current recession in the Yugoslav economy). Shopping trips have also been organized by

tourist agencies, workers' unions and even churches (as was mentioned in Chapter VIII).¹⁴ As the Yugoslav market has been quite satisfactorily supplied with most consumer goods, these trips outside the country were motivated to a large extent by snobbery: everything with a foreign label is more valuable than a domestic product. The new limitations on how much Yugoslav currency can be spent outside the country will probably force people to become more "rational" in this matter. At the same time, Jastrebarsko shopping facilities are constantly being expanded; for one thing, a large new department store is being built, in order to provide for many goods which Vinogorians used to purchase in Zagreb or Karlovac.

Many Vinogorians buy new furniture which imitates "classical styles" of nineteenth and twentieth century bourgeois homes. One case is particularly interesting because it carries a note of historical irony. A woman proudly showed to me her newly acquired furniture, which was in a "real style" since it was bought from the last descendants of a Zagreb aristocratic family. The family was many centuries ago feared and hated by its numerous serfs in Croatian Zagorje. In fact, the great peasant rebellion in the sixteenth century (discussed in Chapter IV) started as an uprising against that family. Whether the furniture bought by the Vinogorje family really belonged to that aristocracy or not is not so important as the fact that they, the former serfs, proudly boast of acquiring something which used to belong to the former powerful class of exploiters.

Being zealous and confident consumers, many Vinogorians believe that money can buy everything--which it often does. Corruption in some cases is not at all a sub rosa affair, so that the prices to be

paid, for example, to assure that a child will pass a grade in school, or to have a sick-leave certificate issued, or to obtain a favorable evaluation of wine, are common knowledge. Bribery is often associated with "connections" (veze), that is, a personal network of "acquaintances of acquaintances" is used to accomplish different goals. In one case, a man from Vinogorje went to buy some fuel wood from an enterprise in a neighboring village. He paid according to the market prices, but a short "letter of recommendation" from a co-villager who knew the manager of the enterprise secured him a "good measure" of a high quality wood. In return, he bought a case of beer "for the guys in the lumber yard." In another case, a Vinogorian received payment from the Winery for grapes he had sold them much faster than other villagers because the bureaucratic procedure was shortened by a personal "connection."

Examples of this kind are so numerous that they actually indicate a widespread belief that this is the correct or at least the most certain way to get something accomplished. Bribery and personal connections have had a long tradition in Vinogorje (see Chapter VI, page 129), but this does not mean that they are merely remnants of a past tradition. Although some forms of bribery have remained the same, its meaning and function have changed. In earlier times, bribery was accompanied by conscious self-abasement in order to manipulate those in power under conditions of clear-cut class hierarchy. At present, private connections and bribery are used to urbanize and "modernize," to get ahead by all possible means, and to gain equal status with those who are closer to the centers of economic and political power. In other words, rather than accepting

a social hierarchy and maneuvering within it, it is recognized that it is possible to change it, to attain a more favorable social position. In the process, peasantry as a class is being dissolved.

One might ask, however, why bribery and personal connections are necessary in such an open and socially mobile society as the Yugoslav one. On the one hand, personal networks and exchange are still perceived as normal and "natural" by people who live in small, close-knit communities; using such a network to attain a goal is the first thing one would think of in a problem situation. Extension of the personal network to urban relatives and even to new friends is a "natural" adjustment to the process of urbanization and a "natural" way to make use of it.

On the other hand, bribery and the use of personal connections are indications of an atmosphere of insecurity and lack of confidence in the current "world" market conditions. Unemployment and the practice of many firms (which operate with a very narrow capital margin and must struggle for survival) to seek short-term profits, to compete unethically and even to fleece a customer, create a need for more security. This is gained, Vinogorians have learned over the centuries, by personalizing an exchange and creating reciprocal social obligations. The ideal that this personalization be achieved through grass-roots self-managed associations is still far from realization, especially when the forces of a market economy are actually felt in one's daily life.

The existence of a market economy and the development of a petty bourgeois mentality in a society with socialist goals create many anomalies. Such is, for example, the fact that a bank in Jas-

trebarsko manages 17,500 private savings accounts of both foreign and Yugoslav currency (every other inhabitant of the county owns one), but that private investment in community projects is practically null. In Vinogorje, the village council is able to initiate only minor projects, while most of the Gastarbeiters' and others' money is spent on improvement of houses. In contrast, the condition of the Fire Station, the major public building in the village, is deteriorating, but nobody seems to be much concerned. Also, there is a natural pool in one of the hamlets, and there has been talk for many years that it should be developed into a recreational center. Although Vinogorians would like to have the center in the future, hoping that it would attract tourists and thus provide another resource for the village economy, nobody thinks of pooling private funds to help build this community facility. The initiation and organization of the project are left to the county authorities. According to a report in Jastrebarske novine (April, 1979), the county council had worked out a "self-management agreement" (samoupravni dogovor), specifying the way in which the new recreational center would be financed: every economic association in the county would donate a percentage of its income over a period of three years, and a part of the money would be provided by the county Fund for Commerce (which receives forty percent of all agricultural taxes). The "agreement" proposal was sent for discussion and approval to all economic organizations. By the end of my fieldwork, there were no visible results.

A group of young men active in the Vinogorje Village Council complain that Vinogorians are still slow to accept new ideas which

would improve their standard of living. Thus, they say, Vinogorians would not open their homes to "village tourism" because they do not trust outsiders and do not want them to wander around their property. There is also a story that once an Italian wanted to invest some capital in a snail farm, but the people practically laughed him out of the village.

The group active in the Village Council represents Vinogorje's elite, in terms of its education, active engagement in social affairs and participation in different social and political organizations on the county level. Characteristically, for reasons explained in Chapter VIII, all of them are men. This elite promotes more daring ideas than the majority, which is still afraid to risk any losses. The Village Council as a social and political organization does not have much power--all of its activities are either initiated or administered at the county level. The individuals involved in it, however, are for the most part ambitious enough to also participate in decision-making bodies at the county level. One of them stated:

This is what is essential: our elders tell us that in earlier times one would go to prison if he dealt with socially significant issues, that is, with politics. At present, it is unacceptable to stand aside, arms crossed, if one can do something for the common good. This has been the greatest change around here. We can all contribute to progress, if we only want to and know how to. Take a look around: in this county the villages are small. But when people agree with each other, and if they are smart and have able leaders, a lot can be done. Where this isn't so, where there is no harmony, everything stands still or goes downhill, even if money is available. It will be spent by an ignorant or unconscientious person. Where there is no money, ability and harmony can win support, the people themselves contribute, and so do the county and other organizations, as much as they can. Look at the Village Councils: since they have come into existence, there is plenty of activity everywhere; they work on long-

neglected issues, or on projects which are wanted and needed. And a lot still remains to be done; this is why we complain, not because we are dissatisfied. It's maddening to see irresponsibility and dishonesty, when someone abuses his important position or won't lift a finger. But this is changing, everything is changing so fast these days (Popović 1975:4).

Obviously, the local elites are socially more active and conscious than average villagers. Yet, they share with them the idea that socialism consists simply in raising the standard of living rather than changing the quality of human relationships. The same is frequently true of the elites in larger social communities (county, republic, federation). The reality is full of contradictions, and so is the way they think about it. The local youth are taught socialist ideas in schools and by participation in voluntary labor projects, as well as at large annual gatherings of school children from all over the country in a "Pioneer Center" in Jastrebarsko. But these ideas blend with the dominant values of "real" life--petty bourgeois consumerism--and are modified by them. A sociological research project in Croatia (Dilić et al. 1977:183, 188) confirmed this point. It was found that young peasants answered positively to survey questions which were designed to measure bourgeois values (concerning private land ownership, the church, a multi-party political system and the like), as well as to those which were associated with socialist values (including attitudes toward the self-management system and the interests of the working class). It was also found that unemployed youth, or those working outside of the country, had the most negative attitudes toward socialist values.

In the context of a contradictory reality, where socialist development is often equated with a rising living standard, an article published in Jastrebarske novine (April, 1979) about the current meaning of Woman's Day is an exceptional kind of criticism.

An inspired (anonymous) author writes that:

We are used to consuming mountains of food and streams of drink in the celebration of New Year's Day . . . but when the quantity consumed starts replacing the quality of a significant date, which is not "the craziest night" but grew out of revolutionary efforts and struggles for human rights of a major part of society--women-- . . . then the emphasis on quantity is cause for concern. What used to be celebrated with a bouquet of the first modest spring flowers, has grown into partying, rowdy celebrating, taking a day off from work, buying expensive gifts . . . If this is so we no longer need a Woman's Day because we can celebrate, give gifts, and eat and drink our fill any day of the year. Our increased consumer power, so dramatically expressed on Woman's Day, threatens to mask the quality of the celebration, to destroy its real meaning. Instead of symbolizing the human struggle for a better future, it has become an excuse for petty bourgeois entertainment.

Under present conditions, the Croatian peasant class is becoming marginalized and disintegrating in a complex manner: the peasants are joining the urban working class, the urban professional class and an (entrepreneurial) middle class. The last two categories are much more respected and attractive to peasants than the first. Although steady employment in the socialized sector with its steady income and other associated benefits is highly desirable, many a Vinogorian has expressed aversion toward living "with strangers" in large apartment buildings and having to buy all of one's food. ("In the city, you must go to the market place for every carrot!") The younger generation perceives urban life rather objectively, taking both its convenient and inconvenient aspects into account.

In general, it is considered quite convenient to have a plot of land and parents in the village as a security retreat, and as a source of assistance.

If the current general attitude toward cities, their inhabitants and urbanization is compared with that which prevailed in Rožić's time one can note a shift toward a diametrically opposite viewpoint. Urbanization is highly desirable (although it does not necessarily imply a move to big cities), urban values are accepted (although applied with difficulty in many cases) and urban networks are used to attain personal goals. In brief, it is no longer felt that all evil comes from urban culture, that the village should defend its integrity against that culture and that the peasantry is exploited by classes located in cities and towns. The peasants themselves are becoming socially and culturally urbanized.

In Vinogorje, as in many other areas, the most desired procedure by which an individual shifts to the urban way of life begins with education. Given this symbolic capital, he can have a better start than if he became just a "plain worker," with a low salary. Then his parents sell pieces of their land to help build their urbanizing children a new house in town, so that they can have a decent home rather than having to live "with strangers." In other words, the younger generation, helped by a better education to acquire better jobs and supported also by family property, is, whenever possible, propelled into the urban middle class. Only those with "less luck," that is, poorer parents, become part of the working class. The current ideal of urban success becomes clear if one only looks at the new sections of Jastrebarsko, with homes which have, obviously,

absorbed much money and sweat from the surrounding parent villages. Competition in design and decoration is a prominent feature of these houses. According to a Croatian sociologist (Šuvar 1971), "the present distribution of social wealth and power . . . gives to urbanization in this country a profoundly class character." In the case of Vinogorje, it is not so much social wealth and power as it is the tremendous effort of the older generation which helps the younger generation to live up to the currently dominant values.

Footnotes to Chapter IX

¹ Exposure to these ideas through schools and mass media is mainly of a passive nature, while employment requires at least some degree of participation.

² Besides the wine cooperative, another Vinogorje institution which was alienated from the peasants after World War II was the forest common. Forest commons or pasture commons were at one time found in many Croatian villages. Their division accelerated with the development of capitalism, i.e., when land became a valued commodity, when the importance of cattle raising decreased, and when the population rose (Vukosavljević 1953:65-67). Nevertheless, the županija of Zagreb, which included Vinogorje, still had 141,231 yokes of forest commons in 1910 (Krbek 1922:124). In Vinogorje, a forest common was created after the abolition of serfdom in 1848, when a hamlet bought off a tract of forest from the Erdödys. Every household shared proportionally in the right to cut fuel wood, while a council of villagers was responsible for forest management and the settling of disputes. After 1953, the forest was taken over by a forestry enterprise in town. At present, Vinogorians either own small tracts of the forest or buy fuel wood.

³ In 1979, the Winery processed over 190 vagons of grapes in the Vinogorje cellar.

⁴ The netto income is the amount left after all benefits and forms of security and insurance are subtracted. At the time, the exchange rate was about 20 Yu. dinars to one U.S. dollar.

⁵ Most cellar employees do not hold formal degrees (qualifications) which would give them an "objective basis" to judge other villagers' wine.

⁶ The Winery lists as its "associated producers," 510 persons who are members of fourteen "contract associations" (ugovorna zajednica). The relationships between them and the Winery consist mostly of buying and selling, however.

⁷ The selling of grapes to the Winery is stimulated by a price policy: while the price offered for wine was in 1980 the same as it had been in 1978--8 dinars per liter--the grapes were selling for 11 dinars per kilogram on the average (depending on the sugar percentage). In 1980, the crop was so abundant that a family owning a relatively small vineyard (about 3,600 grape plants) obtained

9 vagons of mashed grapes, and sold them to the Winery for about 100,000 dinars. This amount was approximately equal to the average annual netto income of an industrial worker in Croatia for that year.

8 A minor product of Vinogorje is also marketed through the socialized sector: a dairy enterprise collects milk every day from participating households. In 1978, 73,000 hectoliters were collected in Jastrebarsko county, compared to 39,233 hectoliters in 1975 (Službeni vjesnik, XII, No. 3). A household with one cow, for example, sold in 1978 100 liters of milk in a two-week period. The money obtained--about 450 dinars--belonged to the mistress of the house, since she did all the work of feeding and milking the cow.

9 "Cadastral" income is an amount calculated on the basis of certain standardized values (which were last reevaluated in 1977). The evaluation is based on eight categories of soil quality, the crops cultivated and their market value, as well as the market value of labor and investment in the modernization of the farm. A family consisting of two parents and one child, which has a "mixed income" (the father is employed in trade) and owns seven and a half yokes of land was assessed the following taxes in 1978: the cadastral income was 8,234 dinars, and the tax on the land was accordingly 1,198 dinars. The contribution for health insurance was 1,482, for land drainage 76 dinars and a village council contribution for a village project was 82 dinars. The total was 2,838 dinars for that year.

10 Haggling is often a major source of amusement in the Carnival rituals. In a Croatian plains village which borders Bosnia, peasants masked as "Turks" or "Bosnians" would go from house to house, pretending to sell sugar and coffee and to buy calves. Their hosts would accept the game, so that the whole haggling ritual was enacted purely for fun. (Personal communication from Ivan Lozica and Nikola Bonifačić-Rožin, Zavod za istraživanje folkloru, Zagreb, 1977.)

11 In 1978, a daily wage for a wage laborer was also 200 din. The use of someone's tractor or other machine and of the owner's labor was paid 300 din. The working day is increasingly considered to be an eight hour period rather than the period from sunrise to sunset.

12 As noted by D. Rihtman-Auguštin (1978), the relationship between socialist ideology and folklore as a presentation of "traditional culture" shifted from favorable during the Liberation War and immediately afterwards, to unfavorable in the 1950s. The latter period was marked by political centralization and insistence on a development ideology which devaluated traditions as reactionary. The economic decentralization of the 1960s and the market economy restored the value of folklore, but also transformed it into a commodity.

¹³ According to Ivo Baučić (1977) the remittances of Gastarbeiter accounted for 6.2% of the GNP in 1971. Most of this was spent, however, on materials for construction, consumer goods and private investments. Very little went into the sphere of public spending (except what was obtained through taxes). Since a Gastarbeiter has double the purchasing power of a domestically employed worker, working abroad has been a strong factor for social differentiation--but in the sphere of consumption rather than in the ownership of the means of production. There will probably be some changes in this area, since new measures have been passed in some republics which stimulate investment by individual Gastarbeiter in socialized enterprises.

¹⁴ A new religious ritual has been reported from a town in northwestern Croatia. It consists of a priest blessing the cars of assembled pilgrims. Although the rationale for doing this is that it will assure happier driving and give the last sacrament in advance to those whose fate is to die in car accidents, it is still striking that the Church incorporated into its rituals this highly prestigious consumer item (Kozina 1978).

THE CHANGING LIFESTYLE AS EXPRESSED THROUGH RITUAL

CHAPTER X

THE WEDDING

The wedding, one of the most public of family rituals in Vinogorje, has been and has remained the most complex of rituals. If rituals in general are "dense" and "concentrated" aspects of a life style, full of meaning, yet representative of culture, then it should be possible to discern in them the same motivations, concerns, conflicts and values which otherwise move Vinogorians. The meaning of their actions--in this case the practical and symbolic manipulation of kin--can only be understood if related to a wider social context and cultural history. This chapter attempts to explain the change in symbolic behavior, that is, changes in the patterned action of the wedding ritual, by relating them to some major processes in Vinogorje history. These processes include the shift from corporate family to nuclear and from patrilocality to neolocality, the introduction of dowry, and the growing influence of urban values. Thus, an analysis of this ritual will illuminate yet another side of the "cultural marginalization" of the Croatian peasantry.

In his account from 1908, Rožić offered a description of a wedding ritual both as it was carried out until the 1880s, which he considered proper and "authentic" in form, and of a "spoiled," "degenerate" wedding of his own times (at the turn of the century). A

short summary of his descriptions will be given first, followed by my observations on the contemporary Vinogorje wedding.

In the times of the zadruga, the members of the extended family household could demand that a young man marry if there was a need for an additional worker. Generally, however, it was up to the parents to decide when to marry off their daughters or find a wife for their son. Girls or boys were ashamed even to talk about their prospective marriages and in many cases would not even know about their parents' intentions until they overheard them talking to some relative about the forthcoming "match" (Rožič 1908:43-44). Parents searched for a daughter-in-law from an "honorable household," that is, known for its good name, good management of its family holding and good morals. A poem from Rožič's 1881 collection illustrates the criteria for the selection of a bride:

Zazval bratac sestru na večeru,
na večerku, na večerku,
na toplu pečenku.

"Alaj bratac, alaj bratac,
ja sam čula da se ženil budeš.
Nejdi bratac varoš po divojku,
varoške su gizdave divojke:
Sunce sine - glavica je boli,
vetar puhne - srdašce ju tuži.
Našem selu tri dobre divojke:

Prva ti je tija i mirovna,
druga ti je zrnom prebogača,
trejta ti je bela i rumena.

A brother invited his sister
for dinner, for dinner,
for a steaming roast.
"Hey brother, hey brother,
I've heard you'll get married.
Don't go to town for a girl,
town girls are frail:
The Sun shines - her head aches,
a wind blows - her heart throbs.
In our village there are three
girls:

The first is shy and quiet,
the second is rich with grain,
and the third is white-skinned
and pink.

(Rožič 1881:no. 114)

As most marriages were endogamous within Vinogorje, it was not difficult for everybody to know what kind of household a girl came from. In those cases, where a prospective bride was from another

village, a careful scouting of the girl's and her family's reputation and property had to be undertaken by the parents' relatives, friends or other go-betweens. According to Rožić, in earlier times, the girl's character was of primary consideration (ideally, she had to be a quiet, submissive, disciplined and an intelligent worker); by the turn of the twentieth century, her dowry had become most important.

Parents' authority in choosing spouses for their children was not always uncontested.

If some boy is stubborn and wants to marry a girl he has chosen rather than the one his parents have decided on, then they fight and the father might say: "If you can sleep with her, I can have my word in this!"; or "I'll see where you will bring her! Certainly not to my house. Build your own and bring her there!" If this is possible, the son threatens to marry on his own. If they cannot agree, then the father gives the son his share and they live separately. But this happens very rarely; either son or father usually gives in (Rožić 1908:46).

Rožić was describing the situation at his time; in the zadruga a marriage on one's own would have been even less possible.

A girl had practically no chance to resist her parents' will. The only thing she could do was to demonstrate symbolically whether she accepted her parents' decision willingly or unwillingly. When a party of go-betweens arrived at her house, she could either come out to set a table for them, or she could let some other woman do that. In the first case, it signified to the visitors that she was gladly accepting her parents' decision (Rožić 1908:49-50). Love was a recognized and even idealized emotion, as is shown in the poem below, but it simply was not an institutionalized basis for marriage.

Stal se jesam rano jutro,
 malo pred zorjum,
 šetal jesam pred štacunak
 da se razladim.
 Spazil jesam devojčicu,
 s vrta šetajuć,
 levi ruki groz dak nosi,
 desni rožmarin.
 Podaj meni devojčica,
 da si podišim.
 Nedam vera mladi junak,
 srce me boli.
 Poveč meni devojčica,
 zakaj te boli?
 Senoć sam se zaručila,
 s kom me volja ni.
 Poveč meni devojčica,
 s kom te volja ni?
 S jednim mladim Šlavonićem
 š njim me volja ni.
 On ti ima srebra, zlata,
 da mu broja ni;
 Naj ga ima, kam ga oće,
 kad me volja ni,
 raše bokca siromaka,
 s kom me volja je,
 siromaka prez škrljaka,
 s kem me volja je,
 nego njegva srebra, zlata,
 s kem me volja ni.

(Rožić 1881:no. 18)

I got up early in the morning,
 a little before dawn,
 walked in front of a store,
 to cool off a little.
 I saw a young girl,
 walking from a garden,
 grapes in her left hand,
 rosemary in the right.
 "Give me, young girl,
 some rosemary to smell."
 "I will not, young hero,
 cause my heart aches."
 "Tell me, young girl,
 why does it ache?"
 "Last evening I was betrothed
 to someone I do not want."
 "Tell me, young girl,
 who you do not want?"
 "Some young Slavonian,
 him I do not want.
 He's got gold and silver
 so much one cannot count.
 Let him have it where he wants,
 still I don't want him;
 I'd rather a poor fellow,
 whom I really want,
 a poor one without a hat,
 whom I really want,
 than the gold and silver
 of the one I do not want."

The first or secret phase of the marriage arrangements, in which parents had a lead, was followed by a public phase, consisting of a series of negotiations and exchanges of presents between the two families, led by marriage sponsors or mediators. It commenced with a morning visit of the mediators to the girl's family. They were two men, selected by the boy and his parents: one was from his household (the boy's older brother or his father's brother), and the other was an outsider (the boy's godfather or his mother's brother). The two men would start a dialogue with the girl's parents, stating symbolically the purpose of their visit, using standard metaphors (to which

I will return later). The parents replied in the same manner. If their answer was positive, the marriage negotiations would proceed to the next stage, the evening visit of the negotiators. The second party of visitors was larger: the two men were joined by the boy and one or two women from his household. Both hosts and guests were dressed in their best clothes, and the hosts cleaned up the house and prepared a dinner to eat with their guests, thus "sealing" the first part of the negotiations. The visitors would not start eating, however, before the girl came out and said: "My father and mother, if this marriage is your will, then it is also my will." Then she would shake hands with each visitor, and "then it was certain that there would be a wedding" (Rožić 1908:50).

The next day, the girl set out to visit all of her paternal and maternal family to "ask for their approval" of the marriage. It was a formality since "nobody could change her mind if the marriage was her father's and mother's will." Still:

when she returned home, and the parents asked her: "What did they say?", some [girls] would cheat; if she liked the boy, she would say everybody advised her to take him, but if she did not like him, then she replied that everybody said not to take him. Old people say that all she really went to tell the family was to prepare presents for her (Rožić 1908:51)

After the formal approval of the family, the approval of the Catholic church followed. The engaged couple went to ask for the priest's permission, accompanied by one of the boy's go-betweens and a woman from the girl's household. They walked to the priest's house and back one by one, in "Indian file," without speaking to one another.

Two weeks later came the so-called "agreement." This was the first time that the bridegroom arrived alone at the bride's house and brought her presents: bread, meat and wine. The family offered him dinner at which they discussed how many presents (shirts and scarves) the bride would bring to his family. They also discussed who would be invited by the bridegroom as functionaries in the wedding party.

The wedding ritual itself began with the festive and public transportation of the bride's trousseau from her parents' home to the bridegroom's. The bridegroom, one of his two mediators and two women from his household arrived at the bride's home on Sunday evening and stayed there, eating and drinking, until dawn. They were accompanied by a band of musicians and a flag-bearer who from that point on announced and opened all stages of the wedding ritual. Music has always served the function of attracting public attention, and, since the public domain is the domain of male activity, musicians have been exclusively male. The next morning, while the bride's chests with embroidered blankets, tableclothes, towels and other garments were being loaded onto an open cart, the musicians played and sang, while the villagers looked on.

Tuesday afternoon, the bridegroom went from house to house with the flag-bearer and musicians to collect the wedding party. After they had toured the village, they gathered in his house. At dinner, the functionaries for the wedding party were designated: first, second and third captains; first, second and third bride's attendants (all men); and the vice-flag-bearer. This order was also to be their ranking gradation, first captain being an older, able master of cere-

mony, and the vice-flag-bearer, some young boy who would not be ashamed to be the lowest functionary. From that moment on, the members of the wedding party addressed each other in a polite, plural vi-form and with the title gospoda (sir). They were also so addressed by other guests at the wedding.

The peak of the ceremony occurred on Wednesday morning. Several skilled women would spend several hours at the bride's home dressing her and, especially, preparing a complicated headdress of braids, ribbons and artificial flowers. Meanwhile, the wedding party congregated and was served breakfast at the groom's home. They then formed a procession and, led by musicians and the dancing flag-bearer, started out for the bride. In front of her house, they were stopped by an older man, chosen as the master of ceremony in the bride's house. Symbolic negotiations ensued, after which the wedding party was finally admitted into the house and shown the bride. Lunch was served and then the wedding procession set out for church in the village center. It consisted of the same persons who had come for the bride from the groom's house, with the addition of a bridesmaid and the bride herself. As they walked through the village with the musicians up front, Vinogorians came out of their houses and stood by the road to watch. The church ceremony was relatively short. The first two captains acted as official witnesses, while the musicians stayed outside.

Upon their return to the bride's home, further negotiations were enacted. After the party had been let into the house, an all-night entertainment ensued. Its most prominent features were eating,

drinking, dancing and a relatively solemn recitation of toasts (which will be discussed later) and presentation of gifts to the newlyweds.

On Thursday morning, the bride had to say good-bye to her parents and other family members. She did that quite informally; there was also enacted a ritual of farewell, but the parents did not take part in it.

The wedding party was then received at the groom's house. After lunch was served, the women from that household undid the bride's complicated headdress and arranged a new one, topped with a scarf, which symbolized the status of a married woman. In the afternoon, the bride distributed the presents she had brought for the groom's family, and the members of the wedding party reciprocated with gifts of money. Then followed dinner and entertainment until late.

Friday, the last day of the wedding ritual, the wedding party and the bridegroom visited several vineyards and is (wine cellars) where they played music, drank and ate. Sometimes they masked two young boys as bride and groom and played pranks with them. Neither the bride nor any other woman took part in this excursion.

In an appendix to the description of a "standard" Vinogorje wedding, Rožić noted changes which had occurred in the wedding ritual at the turn of the century. First of all, he asserted that its length had been reduced: owing to economic difficulties, there simply was not enough food and wine to entertain so many guests for almost a week. Those few who still held such long ceremonies had to go into debt and had difficulties recovering from it. When gospoda (town officials) realized that peasants spent so much money on weddings but did not pay taxes, they forbade marriage celebrations last-

ing longer than three days for all those who had not paid taxes the previous year (Rožić 1908:63-64). Furthermore, Rožić stated (scornfully) that:

. . . nowadays few families send go-betweens [to a girl's family]; earlier, boys beseeched girls, but today girls beseech boys. Someone from a girl's family passes word to a boy's family as to how much dowry she will have and asks whether he is willing to marry her; if the boy and his parents agree, the couple immediately goes to ask for the priest's permission (Rožić 1908:64).

The structure of the ritual movements, although reduced, remained the same: three weeks after the priest's approval, the groom collected the wedding party, went to pick up the bride and took her to the church ceremony. Then they returned to the bride's family's home for lunch; in the afternoon, the wedding party proceeded to the groom's home, carrying the bride's trousseau at the same time. Entertainment followed in the groom's house lasting through the night.

An outside observer of modern Vinogorje wedding celebrations is left with a strange feeling that there has been something permanent and untouched in its overall style and sequence of events. Yet, every particular move and relationship between the people involved, seems to have a different meaning than that implied by Rožić. A summary of the wedding ritual, as observed in 1978, will be given here, while some particular points will be discussed in greater detail later on.

Contemporary Vinogorje parents admit that they have no say in choosing their children's spouses. Boys and girls meet at dances, away at school, at various activities of the Youth Organization or at work in town or in Zagreb. Although material status, and especially attitudes towards urbanization play an important role in deciding on

a marriage partner, personal attraction and love have become legitimate factors of selection. There are still conflicts between parents and their adolescent daughters over their freedom of movement (for instance, going to parties in other villages or in town), but children are increasingly able to escape the parental control when they are away at school or working. Many couples meet and go out together for a long time before their parents in Vinogorje are informed about the relationship. Increasingly young people, who have moved to towns or work abroad, come to Vinogorje just for a wedding celebration in the family circle: it is a way to escape urban anonymity and to make this important moment in one's life a social event; it is also a way to mobilize kindred's help in establishing a new household.

The parents of the prospective bride and groom address each other as "friends" (prijatelj), as was the case in Rožić's time, but now they visit each other and exchange small favors even before their children's marriage. They may, for instance, invite each other for the grape harvest. The nature and intensity of parents' sociability depends on the initiative and the dynamics of the children's relationship. Something like this was unheard of in Rožić's times: neither parents nor the betrothed couple visited one another informally. The parents even had no direct, formal contacts until after the wedding ceremony. The interval between asking for a girl and the wedding used to be short: three to four weeks. If for some reason the wedding had to be postponed, the situation caused uneasiness and embarrassment (Rožić 1908:45). At present, a boy and a girl can go together for several years before marriage due to school,

army service or lack of a job. Older people shake their heads saying that this is no good, alluding particularly to possible premarital sexual relations. The majority, however, quietly accepts this change as a fact of contemporary life style.

Now when the wedding date has been determined, the prospective bride and groom set out to visit their relatives and friends, to invite them in person to the wedding feast. The couple goes around together (it may take weeks since many of those invited do not live in Vinogorje); their oral request is sometimes accompanied by a personally delivered printed invitation. The form of this visiting is different from the bride's touring of the relatives and "asking for approval," as described by Rožić, but the outcome--the mobilization of kinfolk's help--is the same.

The wedding calendar has changed greatly within the last seventy years. In Rožić's time all of the weddings were held in winter, during the slow and festive part of the agricultural cycle, that is between the New Year and Lent (late February). The peak of the long ritual was on Wednesday, a week-day. At present, weddings are held throughout the year, but always on a week-end. Both the church and the civil ceremonies (the latter is compulsory) are scheduled for the early afternoon in order to allow enough time for the family and guests to congregate in the morning, and to have dinner and entertainment afterwards. Some villagers opt for a civil ceremony only; most often these are couples who are otherwise socially and politically active and perhaps members of the League of Communists. Just as in the traditional wedding, however, the official ceremony (both

church and civil) accounts for only a short phase of the wedding ritual.¹

The sequence of the events in the ritual is comparable to that described by Rožić. On Saturday morning, guests arrive at the groom's home and are offered wine and food. The master of ceremony is the groom's wedding sponsor (kum, pl. kumovi) who is not necessarily a relative or a villager, but can be a prestigious urban friend. He, his wife and the groom's closest relatives are decorated with small rosemary branches and white ribbons, as is the groom himself. This is a sign of being members of "the wedding party" which distinguishes them from other, ordinary guests. Towards noon, the wedding party forms a procession and, either on foot or in decorated cars (depending on how far the bride lives), departs for the bride's home. On the way, they attract attention either by musicians who lead the procession, or by honking horns. Other guests may join the official wedding party, since it is desired to have a long and noisy procession.

At the bride's home there is also a crowd. Her kum, his wife (kuma) and the bride's wedding party are also decorated with rosemary and ribbons, fastened on the left side of their chests. A joking, rudimentary bargaining for the bride between the groom and the bride's kum ensues, and after awhile she enters from another room in her white gown and veil. The two parties eat and drink a little, and then form a joint, long procession to accompany the bride and groom first to church and then to the clerk's office for registration. Some parents hesitate to join the procession and prefer to stay at home.

After the church wedding and the civil ceremony (which consists of a brief reading of the marriage laws and signing the papers by the couple and their kumovi) follows a dinner. The major difference between the traditional wedding sequence described by Rožić and the contemporary one lies in the choice over where the dinner will take place, and in the fact that parents of both newlyweds actively participate in it. The wedding party procession does not necessarily go back to the bride's house for dinner and entertainment. According to arrangements made earlier they go either to the groom's house, to the bride's house, or, as is increasingly prestigious, to rented restaurant facilities. An abundant menu and streams of wine encourage joking, dancing and singing. The event also has some serious parts. Toasts and pledges are made by kumovi, and at midnight, the invited guests make a public presentation of their gifts (money and household goods) to the newlyweds.

The wedding proper lasts until the early morning hours on Sunday, but guests from afar may be invited to stay with the bride's or groom's family for another day. Two other events extend the hospitality ritual: a week after the wedding, the bride's parents come to visit her at her new home (in many cases the first residence of the couple is still patrilocal). A week later the couple and the groom's parents return the visit. According to Rožić (1908:63), the sequence of visiting used to be the reverse. Also, at that time it was a small, domestic affair, without any other guests being invited. Nowadays, it is an extension of the wedding feast: an abundant dinner is served; kumovi as well as close relatives and friends are invited; solemn toasts are offered again, celebrating the link

between the two families and their readiness to help the young couple make an appropriate start in life.

* * * *

A comparison of the wedding ritual, as described by Rožić and as observed in 1978, reveals a number of crucial differences in the nature and direction of relationships among the people involved. Beginning with the marriage arrangements, it can be noticed that the authority and decision-making have passed from the parents (and even the zadruga leaders at one time) to the children, especially in the first, private phase of the match-making. This alteration is consistent with changes in the social and economic positions of young Vinogorians which were described earlier. (See Chapter VIII.) The second phase of marriage arrangements, which has been more public and ritualized, also indicates similar cultural change. Before considering it, let us briefly discuss dowry since it has been the major consideration of the private stage of marriage negotiations, whether explicitly or implicitly.

Vinogorians make a clear distinction between dowry and trousseau; this is reflected in local terminology. The term pridav for dowry literally means "given with," i.e., something given along with the bride. Trousseau is called bagaza (baggage), or ladice (chest of drawers), or oprema (gear), obviously referring to objects for the bride's personal use. It consists mostly of textiles; it used to be an object of great pride and competition among girls, but not an issue in marriage negotiations, as was the case with the dowry. In Vinogorje and elsewhere in Croatia, dowry consists of land, cattle

or money, i.e., of some means of production. As such, it can be defined as "a process whereby parental property is distributed to a daughter at her marriage . . . rather than at the holder's death" (Goody 1976:6).

Dowry was not common in Vinogorje until the second part of the nineteenth century. Its appearance corresponds with the decay of the zadruga, the development of capitalism and specifically, with the transformation of land into commodity which could be freely bought and sold, rather than kept intact in the form of the zadruga patrimony. As serfs, peasants could not really endow land; in contrast, among the aristocracy, dowry had existed as early as the Middle Ages. Thus, peasant women were deprived of landed inheritance as long as the peasant class in general did not have control over land.

The ascent of dowry also corresponds with the increased value of land since the introduction of a more intensive agriculture in Vinogorje. Earlier, women had been valued primarily for their labor and reproductive powers; only later did their contribution of land capital to a conjugal fund become indispensable. This assertion seems to be supported by contrasting it with the case of a Gorjani village in the mountainous hinterlands of Vinogorje. Land is in no shortage there, and it is cultivated only extensively, some of it always lying fallow. Although it is of poor quality, it does provide means for basic subsistence. Yet, "although daughters and sons inherit equally according to Yugoslav law, the custom in this area is that daughters are compensated with a dowry, which seldom includes land [emphasis O.S.], and one son inherits the farm" (Sköld Westerlind 1981:39, 44). Instead of land, daughters are given money

and cows, while remaining sons are supported through school. But, since patrilocality is still the rule there, bride's working capacities seem to be one of the most important considerations. Similar conclusions about marriage as still representing primarily the transfer of the bride's reproductive powers, and of no dowry, are advanced by Rheubottom (1980) and Kligman (1981) for certain more traditional areas of the Balkans.²

The transfer of goods at marriage in Vinogorje did not alter simply from the bride's trousseau to dowry. First, the trousseau has not disappeared. In Rožić's time, it consisted of embroidered linens, towels, blankets and other similar items, the quantity and the quality of them indicating how skillful and diligent the bride was. Moreover, her qualities could be publicly judged, since the loading and the transportation of these things were a public show and part of the wedding ritual. Besides textiles, the trousseau increasingly began to include chests of drawers and armoires, as well as commercial clothing and silk fabrics (Rožić 1908:47, 48). At present, the bride's personal possessions also include various garments and household goods (most of them acquired as wedding presents). But, the transportation of the trousseau has been eliminated from the public sphere of the wedding ritual, since textile-making is no longer an indispensable woman's task. Her education and, consequently, ability to obtain a skilled job is now more valued, but it cannot be shown publicly in the village context. One can frequently hear Vinogorje mothers excusing their daughters: "She has no time to sew or embroider--she is attending school."

Second, since female inheritance has become the rule, dowry's significance has changed. According to Rožić, at the turn of the century, dowry consisted of a cow or two (in poorer families), or of a piece of vineyard given to a daughter permanently or for several years to cultivate as a usufruct (1908:46). A woman had the right to dispose of the produce obtained from this vineyard (or cattle) and often used the proceeds to buy and prepare goods for her own daughter's trousseau and dowry. Thus, within a patrilineal household in which property passed to a large extent from father to sons, there was a parallel, minor line of inheritance from mother (or both parents) to daughters (cf. Mosely 1943). Dowries thus created economic differences among nuclear families of a given extended family household and contributed to its disintegration. The consequences of the new inheritance practice included the appearance of endogamy in the last phase of the zadruga life in Vinogorje, the final break-up of these communal families, and the emergence of new residential patterns (neolocality and even uxorilocality). Patrilineal corporate family households and bilateral inheritance were irreconcilable (cf. Goody 1973:26-27).³

When stem families started to predominate, the dowry became a bride's contribution to her new family's fund. But as long as the residence of the young couple remained patrilocal and agriculture the main source of living (involving a division of labor within the extended family household), the bride's dowry could not fundamentally alter her dependent position within the family. Only recently, with the ascent of neolocality, a significant change in the nature of dowry has occurred: rather than being transferred from the bride's

family to the groom's family, the dowry now becomes the basis for a new household. Together with the bridegroom's "dowry," that is, the part of his inheritance endowed by his parents at marriage, hers forms a conjugal fund. In many cases, Vinogorians partially sell their holdings in order to buy housesites and help build new homes for their sons and daughters. Dowry is thus transformed in practice from a means of production to usable goods.

The major intention of this chapter is to demonstrate that the wedding ritual has increasingly come to symbolize the establishment of a new social/economic unit (the family) rather than the transference of a woman from one social/economic unit to another. The major participants in the ritual express this change, both intentionally and unintentionally, by means of patterned behavior. They also have created various new forms of ritualized behavior to manipulate others (kin and friends) in accordance with their new interests and values. This assertion will be supported by the following analysis of six aspects of the Vinogorje wedding: negotiations between wife-givers and wife-takers, exchanges of gifts between them, the positioning of bride and groom within a wedding procession, the roles and hierarchy of ceremonial leaders, the significance of food and table manners and the rites of the bride's integration into the new household.

1.) Negotiations for a girl in the village, where everyone knew everyone else, was once a touchy matter which could easily provoke disruption of normal social relations. For this reason, neither parents of the prospective bride and groom, nor the couple themselves, were directly involved in the negotiations. Mediators were

selected from among relatives of the groom. They were the "least responsible of those responsible" (Bourdieu 1977:34), who could psychologically handle the dishonor of being refused, and who were chosen for their skill or influence over the family in question. Besides the "neutrality" of the go-betweens, negotiations were made less strained by the use of a metaphorical language. A go-between might say, for example:

We've been travelling through the hills, walking a long way; we cut wood, built a furnace from snow, fueled it with ice; we've slept on wild rose bushes, covered with wintergreens--that was fine clothing! Then we saw a deer and followed her tracks to this honorable home. Our boy [states the name] sends greetings to her [states the name] and would like her as his housemate, if it's God's will and the will of all of you!"

Then the father or mother of the girl jokingly answers:

"You are mistaken, there's no deer here; we did not see her, maybe she went another way."

"Yes, she turned this way, we saw her. We would not come if we did not see her. Look for her, perhaps she hid somewhere! We are not going further until we find her!"

"We shall look for her, you just sit and wait. We will find her . . . We shall find her tomorrow and send you a message."

Later in the evening, an older and wiser [go-between] says:

"We know the deer is in this home. We saw her and now she must tell us whether she will take our boy--we will not eat before we hear that."

"Eat, eat! She will come now. Now she is not going to run away any more" (Rožić 1908:48-50).

Later, during the wedding ceremony proper, two further bargaining scenes were enacted. These were different, however, because they were performed by official or representational kin rather than practical kin (to use Bourdieu's terms) as occurred in the first and more private phase of the wedding arrangements. These acts were played merely for fun. When the wedding party came for the girl to her family's home, the first captain and the bride's master of ceremonies staged a humorous dialogue. The master of ceremonies did not let the

party into the house before it had shown him a "passport" and not before they had drunk wine together in front of the house. Once inside, there was another bargaining scene: the master would show the first captain different brides--an old woman and a masked man--which the party would loudly refuse. In the end, the master would bring out the right bride and the captain and the rest of the party would approve of her.

The second bargaining was performed when the wedding party returned to the bride's home after the church ceremony. Again the master of ceremonies would try to convince the captain that they had come to the wrong house and would not let them in without a "passport." The captain replied that they had a nice flower with them and that, after a long journey, they beg for a night of rest in the house. After drinking together, they would be let in (Rožić 1908: 56-59).⁴

At present, symbolic bargaining in the wedding ritual has been greatly reduced, mirroring the fact that negotiations for a bride between two families do not exist any more. When the groom's party arrives at the bride's home, they still are not immediately shown the right bride: her relatives first bring some old woman or a crudely masked man, to the fun and laughter of everybody present. It is noteworthy that the bargaining is conducted by the groom himself (and the bride's kum), which sometimes is quite rudimentary and dull. Not every bridegroom is as humorous as the first captains once used to be, since the latter were selected exactly for their entertaining skills. Apparently, it has become important to demonstrate symbol-

ically, at this crucial moment, that it is the groom, and not the family or the mediators, who is actually choosing his bride.

2.) In contrast to the bargaining component, the exchange of presents, visits and help in the contemporary wedding ritual has not been reduced. It has, however, changed its direction. Traditionally, presents were first brought from a groom to a bride at the so-called "agreement" a week before the wedding. He brought bread, wine and cooked meat to her family, as well as silken ribbons and a scarf which the bride would wear at the ceremony. The bride and her family were supposed to reciprocate later with shirts (one for each man in the groom's household). Besides, women from the bride's home baked as many loaves of bread as there were persons in the groom's household and sent the bread over a day before the wedding. The groom also brought to the bride a determined number of kitchen knives which she further distributed to all the women who had brought her some present, usually linen cloth (Rožić 1908:47, 48, 52). When the wedding party came for the bride, they brought a large bread baked at the groom's home: the bride ate a piece of it ("so that she would have more milk when nursing"), and the rest she was supposed to distribute on the way to church to everybody who wanted a piece. It was called "lucky cake" and, obviously, it was attributed with symbolic properties related to fertility and reproduction.

It is interesting to note that, to a large extent, the presents exchanged symbolized the traditional division of labor between genders: bread, wine, meat and knives from the wife-takers signified that the agnatic group controlled land, cattle and tools and would sustain the incoming bride. Clothing presented by the wife-givers

expressed the bride's ability and willingness to contribute to the reproduction of the domestic sphere of her new household (as was already discussed in Chapter VI). Such character of presents was not specific for Vinogorje, nor even for Croatia. For instance, in Germanic areas the distinction between the paternal and maternal relatives as "relatives by the spear and the sword" and "relatives by the distaff and the spindle" is exemplified by the old German custom in which the bride brought to her husband certain goods, while he gave to her family an ox, a saddled horse, a shield, a spear and a sword. This occurred at the time when the major occupation of men was making war (Lévi-Strauss 1969:472, 474).

The exchange of presents between two families linked through marriage has become obsolete in Vinogorje. It has been amply compensated, however, by presents given by both families to the newlyweds. This form of gift-giving also existed in Rožić's time: before the bride had to leave her parents' home, her female relatives gave her gifts of cloth, and male relatives gave her money. Upon the arrival to her new home, the groom's family reciprocated to her gifts of shirts and scarves with money (Rožić 1908:61, 63). At present, however, the presentation of gifts to the married couple by all the guests invited to the wedding feast has become the central event of the evening. At midnight, the music stops playing, the bride and groom solemnly stand at the table, while kumovi announce that now all the relatives and friends invited should demonstrate their solidarity with the couple by bringing them gifts. In some cases, the young couple puts on an expression of annoyance, as if this was done against their will.⁵ A line is formed, and the guests, one by one,

present their gifts wrapped in packages, or simply place bills of money on the table in front of the couple. A kum expresses gratitude in the name of the couple, and each guest shakes hands with both kumovi and with the couple.

The flow of presents between the wife-givers and wife-takers has, obviously, been redirected towards the couple. The two nuclear families involved, organize and finance the feast primarily for others, i.e., for a network of relatives, often including urban friends, who can reciprocate with gifts and favors to the couple in the future. Because the feast has acquired this new significance, it is logical that there be only one dinner, common for both families and guests, rather than two separate ones as was the practice at the turn of the century.

It is also important to note that although parents are the ones who finance, organize and work hard at the wedding celebration, and kumovi are the ceremonial leaders, the newlyweds decide which non-traditional guests will be invited, and actually invite all of the guests. As was mentioned earlier, it is the prospective bride and groom who tour their relatives and invite them to the wedding in person. In Rožić's time, the bride mobilized her kin separately (on the pretext of "asking for approval") while the groom collected his separate wedding party. The new form in which "official kin" is invited to participate undoubtedly reveals that the young couple has secured a central position in the event.

Parents, on the other hand, mobilize their network of "practical kin" (relatives, neighbors) to help with wedding preparations. They drop by to help cook, clean and arrange the house; lend their furni-

ture (chairs), help with such ordinary tasks as feeding of animals when the mistress of the house is preoccupied with special tasks, and the like. Many villagers drop by the parents' house to bring little gifts of food, such as coffee, dried fruits, spices, butter, nuts and chocolate. Many of these helpers are not even invited to the wedding feast. The discrepancy between the "official" or "representational" kin and the "practical" kin has always existed, but the fact that the first is nowadays extended according to the criteria of the newlyweds, and the second is pooled by parents using their established network, indicates that it is possible for young Vinogorians to ritually manipulate their kin, including their own parents.

3.) The order of the wedding procession on the way to church was in Rožić's time as follows: the flag-bearer, musicians, three captains, bride and groom, three bride's attendants and vice-flag-bearer. The same order was retained on the way back to the bride's home. The couple walked in the midst of the wedding functionaries, holding hands. Rožić stated that:

. . . a husband does not walk anywhere together with his wife . . . If they go somewhere together, they do not walk side by side, but the husband walks first, and the wife two or three steps behind him . . . Only when they go to get married does the groom walk beside the bride, and never again (1907:225).

Thus, their walking together in the wedding procession symbolized the marriage union. The church ceremony did not add any significance to the walking order, nor alter it in any way, since the bride and groom had been socially considered as husband and wife from the moment when his party took her from the parental home.

Sometime within the last seventy years, the walking order of the wedding procession changed, so that presently the musicians and wedding party lead, while the couple walks at the end, followed only by the kumovi. As was the case earlier, the order does not change after the church ceremony. However, now the procession also includes relatives from both the groom's and bride's sides.

In recent years, an increasing number of wedding processions consists of a file of automobiles. When the procession is motorized, an interesting alteration in the positioning of the bride and groom occurs. Imitating a modern, urban pattern, the bride is taken to church in a car with her kum, and the groom in another car with his kum. Other cars follow them, carrying members of both families. On the way from the church, the bride and groom ride together.

While observing a wedding party parading on foot down the major Vinogorje street in 1979, I overheard excited comments of villagers who watched them. They were surprised that on the way from church the newlyweds walked together in front of the group, right after the musicians. "Such is someone's command," they said, referring to the fact that someone had invented this new sequence. What does it actually mean?

In the contemporary wedding, the moment at which the married status is effected has been changed. The couple is not now considered to be married when the groom and his party come for the girl to her parents' home. Rather, since her and his family accompany them to the official ceremony, it is there, when the bride and groom exchange vows, that they become husband and wife. This new state is symbolically marked by their sitting in a car together. Analogously,

it can be shown by their walking together at the front in the pedestrian return wedding procession. Hence, the alteration of the walking position of the newlyweds in this 1979 wedding was someone's invention, but it also reflected a cultural compromise between the order of the traditional procession and the contemporary motorized procession. Furthermore, it demonstrates (although perhaps unintentionally) that a couple becomes husband and wife when they so pledge to each other, not when a bride is paraded from one family to another.

4.) The wedding ritual in Vinogorje has traditionally been directed by chosen officials who might be close affinal or agnatic relatives, but never parents of the bride and groom. In Rožić's time, all of the officials in the wedding party were elected by the groom and his parents, a fact which reveals the asymmetric power relation between the wife-takers and the wife-givers. Before the wedding proper, all of the mediating tasks were performed by the groom's gobetweens, while in the wedding itself, the leadership was taken over by the first captain. The wedding officials were ranked according to a strict hierarchy in which no two persons occupied the same rank. That this organization reflected the peasants' general notion of the order of society is suggested also by the way they addressed one another during the ritual--the polite vi-form and title gospoda. Furthermore, at the wedding feast:

. . . every functionary has a plate, a fork and a spoon in front of him, and eats as gospoda do, not peasants . . . [they] ate and drank whenever they wanted and could serve themselves--nobody refused them anything since now everything had to be plentiful in the house (Rožić 1908:53, 59).

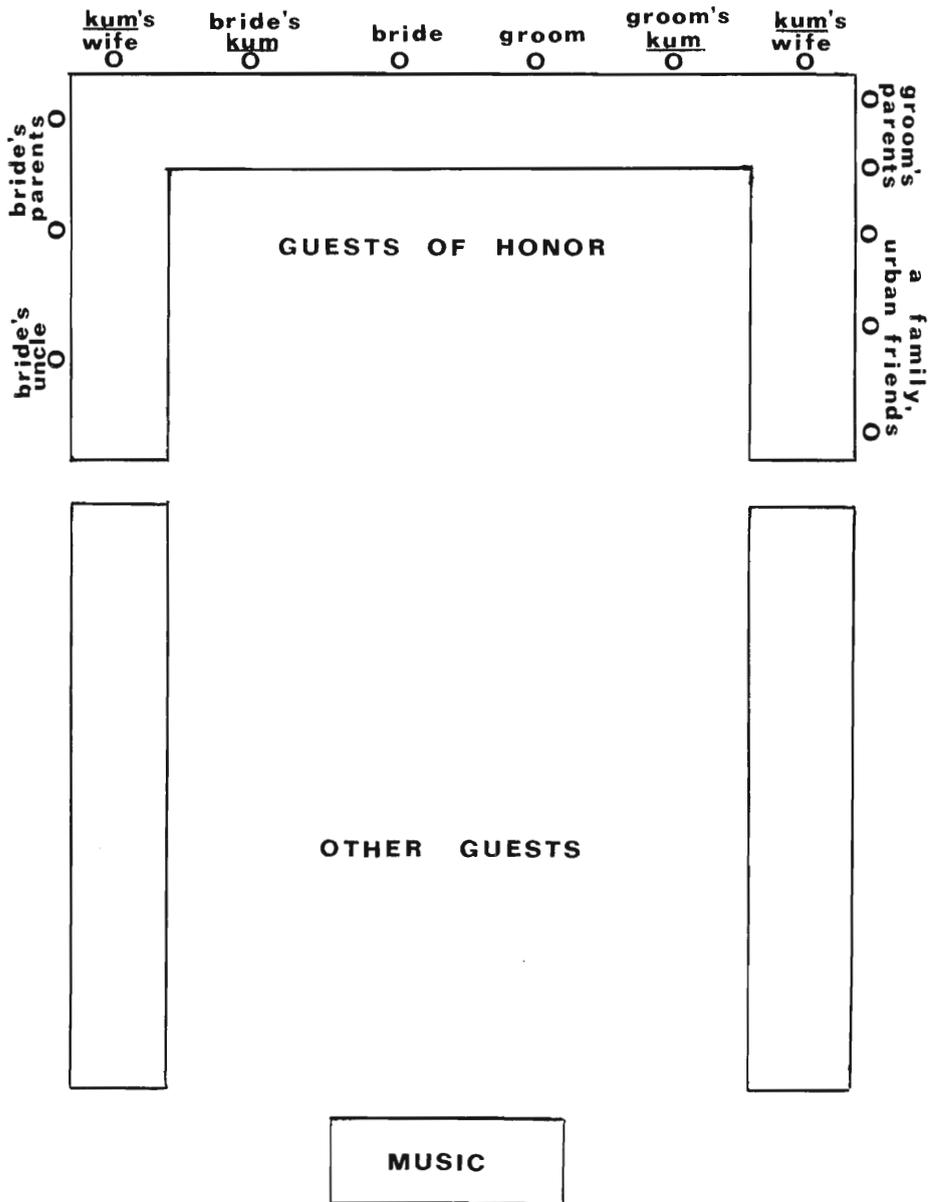
The wedding represented the peasants' vision of the luxury in which upper classes lived, expressed particularly through an abundance of food. It was an attempt to ritually overcome the class hierarchy, not by abolishing it, but by temporarily taking up the roles of gospoda. The distribution of roles, the pattern of leadership and many of the symbolic acts in the ritual undoubtedly reveal that the Vinogorian's world view of the time was determined by a social hierarchy in which gospoda dominated over peasants, men over women and older women over younger women.

There are two major officials in the contemporary Vinogorje wedding: the kumovi, i.e., the bride's and the groom's wedding sponsors. They are always male, but are accompanied by their wives (sg. kuma)--another way of emphasizing the importance of the conjugal bond. The fact that they are selected by both groom's and bride's sides is indicative of the new symmetric relation between the two families. Moreover, kumovi do not even have to be relatives or co-villagers. Respected urban friends can play this role now. The ritual imitation of higher classes through forms of address has disappeared. Instead, contemporary Vinogorians are always trying to demonstrate that they have become gospoda by showing off their consumer goods, urban friends and children's diplomas. Guests at weddings are addressed either in the vi- or ti-form, depending on how they are addressed in other contexts.

The ranking structure of the wedding party has become much simpler, and less hierarchically pronounced. The custom that the closest relatives, kumovi, and the groom decorate their chests with some rosemary and white ribbon discloses to an outsider who is who in the

wedding party (as does the walking order in the procession and the seating arrangement at dinner). But there is little ranking within the party. Kumovi and the groom have somewhat more elaborate identical corsages, while other close relatives (male and female) have simpler ones. The bride carries a bouquet which the groom brings to her before going to church. Thus, if we equate the bridal bouquet with the corsages of the groom and kumovi, in the whole group there are only three ranks: kumovi and the couple; parents and close relatives; and finally, all other ordinary guests. In Rožić's time, the bride's relatives were supposed to decorate the wedding party after they had arrived to get the bride and distributed "the cake of luck." Nowadays, each party decorates themselves. Again, a previous form of symbolic exchange became something else; in this case it has become an act of marking a wedding participant ritual status.

The rank of the participants in the wedding are clearly manifested by the seating arrangement at the wedding dinner. According to Rožić, the dignitaries used to seat at a long table in the following order: the first, second and third captains, the groom, the bride, the first, second and third bride's attendants, the vice-flag-bearer and the flag-bearer. The musicians sat at a special, small table. He does not specify where the bride's parents or other family members sat (1908:56). Now, the tables are most frequently arranged in a U, with the dignitaries seated in the middle, short side. The scheme below illustrates a rather typical seating arrangement at a wedding dinner in 1978. The symmetry between the two families and the ritual presence of parents are its most significant features.



One can conclude that the structure of the wedding party conforms to the generally more democratic structure of the present society and is also indicative of the process of de-peasantation. While Vinogorians may not be aware of this phenomenon, their efforts to include urban guests, to display gifts in the form of consumer goods and the like, are certainly willful.

One element of the traditional Vinogorje wedding that seems to be changing rather slowly is the non-participation of the bride and groom's parents on the public level of the ritual. In the past, their presence in the wedding events was nowhere accentuated, so much so that even in that emotionally highly-charged situation when the girl was departing from her parental home the public aspect of her farewell was carried out by neutral mediators.

When the bride sees that she will have to leave soon, she starts crying if she has a soft heart; if she does not, she does not cry--some even laugh. She kisses everyone in the family, her mother and father first, and shakes hands with the rest. Then the wedding party and the couple go out in front of the house where the couple receives blessings from a woman from this household and one bride's attendant from the wedding party. It used to be like this: First, the bride's attendant asked the groom: "Groom, what do you need from me?" And the groom replied: "God's peace!" Bride's attendant: "Let God give it to you! Let Him give you flat land, mercy from gospoda and honesty from people! Let God have such compassion for you!" Then the woman from the bride's home told her the same, and the bride answered the same as the groom did. Then they drank for love: the bride held a cup in her hand, and so did the woman, and they emptied it at the same time. The bride's attendant and the groom did the same. Then the wedding party and the bride's family emptied their cups and declared: "As we had a nice time together, let us also part nicely; we did not quarrel! If there was something wrong, let's not spread it around, let's leave it at home!" Then the wedding party with the bride departed for the groom's home (Rožić 1908:61).

Besides manifesting the ritual absence of parents, this rite also reflects other aspects of the Vinogorje culture of those times. The

fragile link between the two families, their actual separatedness, as well as the lesser importance of the conjugal bond is expressed by separate blessings given to the newlyweds. The segregation of sexes is ritually enhanced by the same gender of the ritual sponsor and his/her protégés. The formula of the blessing lists the ideal values of having flat land, merciful masters and honest fellows. It also expresses a conceptual distinction between gospoda and people of their own class who are simply called "people" (ljudi). Finally, the rite demonstrates the ritual function of wine in establishing bonds between people (which will be further discussed in the next chapter).

The ceremonial farewell of the bride is no longer a custom in Vinogorje. It would be meaningless to mark a move which no longer predestines the couple's future. The couple still most often takes patrilocal residence but many consider it temporary, being aware of other, neolocal or even uxorilocal alternatives.

At present, parents are somewhat more engaged in the public side of the wedding than they used to be. Although kumovi direct the performance, parents at least take part in it. Thus, many now accompany the wedding party to the church or civil ceremony.⁶ Fathers join kumovi in reciting toasts at two post-wedding dinners in their homes. Some mothers for the first time since their own wedding publicly take off their head scarves and appear at the wedding dinner with their hair waved. Just as the scarf is the sign of a peasant woman, so a permanent is the sign of an urbanite. And it is not by chance that many Vinogorje mothers choose the wedding of their children for this symbolic transition from rural to urban.

Parents are not simply taking over the ritual roles of various mediators; they only seem to be more present in the public events of the wedding, and the relationship between the two families is more balanced. In contrast, the role of the young couple gains in importance. The contemporary wedding ritual emphasizes the matrimonial link between members of the younger generation rather than the conjugal bond in general. As we have seen before, the young of Vinogorje have a special social and economic position in this particular moment of Vinogorje history, and they reflect on and enact this position in ritual as well.

5.) The central event of the wedding is certainly the dinner which always turns into a feast of food and drinks. Food has always been a symbol of abundance, and the sharing of abundant food is the highest form of hospitality and sociability. Food is exchanged as a gift on numerous occasions, as well as blessed in an official church rite on Easter. A common dinner was also used to "seal" stages of wedding negotiations. At present, there is also a custom that after local soccer games the winners and losers dine together in the village restaurant, thus concluding hostilities which are carried over from the playing field.

The form of social consumption of food which brings most prestige, however, is banquets given by individuals at the weddings of their children and at the baptisms of their grandchildren. Ortner has pointed out that hospitality, a generalized form of "being social," has an ambiguous meaning: it is a way to create community bonds, but it is also a way for individuals to gain prestige and manipulate co-villagers. The offering of food is always to some ex-

tent coercive: the host is afraid of a hungry guest's anger, and likewise, the guest fears the obligation he takes over when accepting the food (1978:62, 144). This phenomenon is wholly applicable to Vinogorje. It has also been described in Serbia (Hammel 1967).

In view of this ambiguity and the fact that the host exercises temporary power over his guests, the location of the wedding dinner in Vinogorje has always been significant. In Rožić's time, two separate feasts existed. The first took place in the bride's home where her family could temporarily dominate over the wife-takers through a show of lavish hospitality. The second feast was in the groom's home, prepared only for his relatives. This one appeared to become somewhat less important and smaller in scope in the twentieth century.

At present, the new symmetrical relationship between the wife-takers and the wife-givers is reflected in the fact that the location of the dinner is not fixed any more. There is only one dinner to which all of the guests are invited, and its place is agreed upon by the couple and their parents. They consider such factors as who has a larger house to accommodate the guests and whose house is closer to the church or a major road. The most recent practice of renting restaurant facilities for this purpose is, on the one hand, an imitation of an urban custom in order to appear more modern; and on the other hand, having the dinner on "neutral grounds" also indicates the new independency of the married couple and symbolizes their possible future neolocality. The bride's and groom's parents, in their turn, still have a chance to compete through displays of

hospitality at the after-wedding visits on first and second Sundays after the wedding.

The menu for the festive dinner has two basic characteristics. First, it has always been an assemblage of dishes which Vinogorians otherwise eat individually every day--hence, the quantity and the choice are markers of the wedding table. Second, in recent times recipes from urban cuisine have circulated widely and urban dishes included in the dinner have become a matter of prestige. Since Eurasia has had haute cuisine and basse cuisine corresponding to class structure (Goody 1976:104), the conscious attempt to include urban dishes, and the growing possibility of it, is yet another cultural expression of the changing class structure in the Yugoslav society. One such urban item is decorative tortes, i.e., layer cakes: About a dozen of them are prepared for each wedding (a half is baked by each family, or sometimes also ordered from a bakery). The tortes are placed on dinner tables (even in the restaurant) where they are supposed to sit all evening and cannot be eaten until midnight (and some not at all). The tortes replaced oldfashioned decorative breads which were also rarely eaten. Besides tortes, other sorts of food (traditional and urban) are prepared and actually served to the guests to eat, including certain kinds of relishes, sauces and cupcakes.

The structure of the menu, that is, the sequence of dishes has not changed from the turn of the century: it represents a gradation from soup, to boiled beef, to roasted or breaded meat (pork or veal) to a whole roast (turkey or piglet) and finally, to the sweets. Urban hors-d'oeuvres are also increasingly included. They consist of

cold cuts and mixed salads with mayonnaise served before the soup, particularly when the dinner is held in a restaurant. The high point of the dinner is when the whole roast is served. The cutting up of the piglet or the turkey used to be accompanied by ceremonial humorous speeches made by the first captain or master of ceremony, sometimes given in the same form of recitative verse as the more solemn toasts and blessings (Bošković-Stulli 1972:61). At the present time, a more humorous kum may tell a few jokes at that moment. When the dinner is in the restaurant, the roast comes to the table already cut up.

As each new course is brought to the table, it becomes more and more crammed since previous dishes are not removed. It is considered proper that the table is full at all times, and that the quantities of food be such that they cannot actually be consumed. Each guest leaves not only feeling full, but also with his hands full, since everybody is given a package of food (meat and pastry) to carry home. Often the bride and groom's parents spend for the banquet at least as much as the value of gifts brought by the guests to the couple. Thus, it appears that social prestige and possible future benefits the couple may receive from the network of guests, and not material interests, are major motives for such feasts.

The most solemn ritual moments at the table have remained the recitation of toasts, by which Vinogorians explicitly express much of the implicit meaning contained in other instances of the wedding ritual. In the first place, it is the focusing of the ritual on the young couple. Traditionally, toasts consisted of religious formulae and did not much emphasize the new matrimonial bond:

When the first dish is brought to the table everybody silently prays, and before they start drinking, the master of ceremonies says: "God bless these diligent and honorable gospoda who have visited us!" Then the first captain says: "God bless these honorable gospoda whom we are visiting!" "God bless them," says everybody, clinking their cups and drinking . . . Once, the first captain would call the following toasts: "In the name of God's Holy Cross at our dinner!" "Let God bless it!" said the master of ceremonies. Then the whole wedding party repeated the same, emptying their cups. When the first toast was over, the first captain said: "In the name of the Virgin Mary!"-- and all of the wedding party followed him. Then he called the third one: "In the name of the gift of the Holy Spirit!" . . . and fourth . . . and fifth . . . and seventh: "For our new friends, God bless them!" and the eighth: "God bless our old friends!" . . . When all the toasts had been made, many were already drunk . . . Later, the master of ceremonies toasted for the groom: "God bless our groom, who has by law married today!" and the same to the bride: "God bless our bride who has by law married today!" Then everybody clinked their cups with the bride and groom. The groom himself expressed thanks by the following toast: "I thank very much the gospon master of ceremony!" A bride's attendant thanked in the name of the bride: "I thank very much in the name of gospa who has by law married today!" When the toasts are over, those who want, go dancing. The bride stays at the table until the toasts are finished, and then gets up and goes to the kitchen, or dances if she wants (Rožić 1908:59, 60).

At present, toasts are longer and fewer people recite them: usually only kumovi and some older and more humorous guest, as well as fathers of the bride and of the groom at the after-wedding feasts in their homes. Most of them express the friendship of the two families and their readiness to help the young couple "build their happiness." Here are two illustrations from a wedding feast held in a bride's home in February, 1979:

Bride's kum:

Dear guests! Today we celebrate a great day, the day when our dear newlyweds entered their future life, pledged to each other to faithfully serve and live in the marriage union, and, of course, jointly make and raise children. [Laughter] Respected guests! Let me

once again raise my cup here, on the ground of our dear Croatian Vinogorje, for our newlyweds; let happiness follow them in their future life, long live!

Everybody:

Long live the bride and groom!

Bride's kum:

Give us music!

. . . .

Bride's kum:

Dear guests! Welcome under this honorable roof! . . .
I raise my glass and greet the whole table, first our dear newlyweds, then all others present here in our home. Long live!

Everybody:

Long live! Long live the newlyweds!

[Male voice]:

Long live the hosts who received us so nicely!

Everybody:

Long live!

[Male voice]:

Long live the cook!

Everybody:

Long live!

Groom's kum:

Dear guests! Here are our newlyweds who returned from their trip, that is, wedding, and as such we should help them somehow, because they entered a new life; every beginning is difficult, so we should in a way, I think everybody will agree . . . financially help it. If you agree, follow me.

Everybody:

Long live! Long live the newlyweds!

The guests form a line, and after the kum gives his present, it is everybody's turn to present their gifts. The music keeps playing.

6.) The last aspect of the changing Vinogorje wedding which will be stressed here is the disappearance of rites signifying the integration of the bride into her husband's family. At the turn of the century, the arrival of the bride to the groom's home was not accompanied with ritual negotiations (as when the wedding party came to the bride's home); rather, there were a series of ritual acts symbolizing her new position and role. The most complex act was the undoing of the bride's headdress and putting on the married woman's scarf, performed by a bride's attendant and the women from the household. As they were doing this in a bedroom, musicians played outside the door. The first thing the bride had to do after being received into the married women's category, was to go out to the courtyard and fetch a bucket of water--a woman's everyday task (Rožić 1908:62). It is revealing that her reception to womanhood was not enacted by the groom, but by the members of his family.

Rožić mentioned other rites performed at this stage of the wedding, none of which exist any more: In front of the groom's home the bride was welcomed by her in-laws with a cup of wine and a loaf of bread to carry inside. The bride had brought with her a cup of wine which she handed to a bride's attendant who threw it over the roof--this was done so that a bride would have an easy childbirth. Before the wedding party entered the house, all the other women stepped out, "so that the bride would not be more influential in the household than they were." After she had entered the house, the bride kissed the stove, so that she would have no trouble keeping the fire in it.

She also donated coins of money to the stove, to a well in the courtyard and to cattle in the barn. When the family sat down at the table to eat, a woman handed the bride a small male child to hold on her lap for a while--so that her first child would also be male, etc. (Rožić 1908:62, 64, 65).

The preoccupation with the bride's labor and reproductive values, as well as with her rank among the women of the new household, is obvious. Moreover, if we remember that the traditional wedding ritual closed with separation of men (the groom and the wedding party) who went to have fun by themselves in the vineyards, it will become quite clear that the traditional cultural pattern downplayed the importance of the conjugal bond. The men's official task was completed when the bride was successfully transferred and ritually integrated into the new household. She communicated primarily with other women. The custom of men's separation is in sharp contrast with the recently spreading practice of engaged girls and boys organizing good-bye parties for their friends. The idea is that they will have to leave their friends in order to take up the serious responsibilities of marriage and henceforward be primarily in the company of their spouses. (Although in practice much socializing in the village is still segregated according to gender.) Ritual acts which emphasize the transference of the bride have become meaningless and obsolete while those which underline the importance of the young couple are being created.

The custom of changing the bride's apparel in order to mark the change in her marital status has been retained, although in a quite different form. After midnight, when the presentation of gifts to

the couple is completed, the bride unnoticeably retires to take off her white gown. A little later, she reappears, sporting an evening dress, usually of dark color and more modest cut than the wedding gown. Promoted to the new status by her own act, she performs a (fashion) show for everybody present.

To sum up the chapter, let us briefly discuss Bourdieu's point (1977:70) that:

. . . every marriage tends to reproduce the conditions which have made it possible. Matrimonial strategies, objectively directed towards the conservation and expansion of the material and symbolic capital . . . belong to the system of the strategies through which individuals or groups objectively tend to reproduce the relations of production associated with a determinate mode of production by striving to reproduce or improve their position in the social structure.

It seems that in the case of Vinogorje (and probably Yugoslav society as a whole) rural groups and individuals do not objectively tend to reproduce the relations of production. Quite the contrary, there is a subjective and an objective tendency to change the social structure through matrimonial strategies directed towards the creation of new conditions, rather than reproducing the old ones. Although Bourdieu dealt with Kabyle society, that is, "a social formation oriented towards simple reproduction" (1977:59), there remains the question as to how stable this society was at the time of his research, and how much Bourdieu neglected to observe processes, interests and strategies disruptive of its social order.

It has been demonstrated here that the process of social, economic and political marginalization of Croatian peasantry has its counterpart in the domestic sphere in the change from corporate fam-

ilies to nuclear ones and from patrilocality to neolocality, as well as in the spread of dowry and its transformation to consumable goods. These changes are expressed by specific rituals of the wedding ceremony, as well as by the disappearance of some older ones. But the wedding ritual does not just comment on and express these cultural changes. Patterned behavior, that is ritual performance, is also a powerful means of organizing one's thought; of making explicit much of what is in other circumstances undefined and implicit. Thus, the ability of parents, and especially, the young couple to organize the wedding ritual according to their current ideas on how it should be, is also a way to shake traditional concepts of "normality" which (older) participants and observers of the wedding might have. The couple and their parents manipulate kin networks in order to promote their new interests (most frequently urbanization or otherwise climbing the social ladder). The couple also manipulates their parents by pooling their resources, using the competition between the two families for greater prestige and material rewards. As urban values become the dominant ones and people are increasingly evaluated according to how much they participate in an urban-derived culture, or how much they can invest towards urbanizing lifestyle of their children, the above behavior is less and less perceived as a type of manipulation. It is taken as a normal course of life; it has passed into the realm of the unquestionable, of doxa.

Footnotes to Chapter X

¹It is interesting to note that all the children in Vinogorje (to my knowledge), born in civil marriages, are baptized by the Catholic church. On the one hand, the parents, and particularly grand-parents, consider that this kind of security must be given to a child, even though he can later choose whether to be religious or not. (There existed a set of beliefs that dead, unbaptized children become vampires and molesters of the ones alive.) On the other hand, Catholic dogma considers that children cannot be responsible for their parents' sins and accepts such children for baptism.

²Jack Goody has suggested (1976) that intensive agriculture, social stratification and complex political systems cause the ascent of female inheritance (dowry as well as a share at the parents' death). Goody also considers prohibited premarital sex a consequence of female inheritance, which does not seem to hold for Vinogorje. Here, the traditional ideal of a bride included also virginity besides the already mentioned working capabilities and submissive character. The introduction of dowry perhaps even loosened the control over women. Rožić mentioned cases of girls who had children out of wedlock. One of them married another man later on. Her husband moved in with her family since she was from a rich household (Rožić 1907:237). It was documented that in different areas of Yugoslavia the increase in illegitimate births was closely associated with the break-up of the patriarchal family and economic crisis (Erllich 1966:159), and concurrent with the introduction of dowry. At present, dowry is widespread, and so is premarital sex.

³The argument has been made that dowry was the principal cause for break-up of the zadruga. Accounts by Mosely (1943:157-164) and Erllich (1966:55-59), for example, illustrate that dowry in the form of land or cattle brought individual property into zadruga, thus intensifying conflicts over the management of the collective patrimony. It has been shown (in Chapter V) that this was also true in Vinogorje. Dowry itself was, however, a consequence of the development of a new social and economic order. It was only a component in the set of factors which caused the transformation of the traditional family.

⁴The metaphors used in the negotiations belong to a fixed folklore repertoire. Mediators or wedding parties who introduce themselves as travellers or hunters looking for a deer, a dove or a

flower, are known throughout Croatia and Slovenia (Bonifačić-Rožin 1965:189). Kligman describes symbolic bargaining containing almost identical metaphors in Romania (1981:14).

⁵I realized that this was just a pretense on one occasion when I brought a gift to the groom's house before the ceremony. I was instructed by the groom himself to keep the package with me and bring it to the couple at midnight along with everyone else.

⁶In a 1978 wedding the father of the bride reluctantly joined the wedding party on the way to Community Hall, while the mother said she was too busy. She asked the party to please go ahead saying that she would catch up with them later. She never "made it," however. The groom's parents went to the ceremony.

CHAPTER XI

CARNIVAL

On the eve of Fašnjak, masked persons used to go from house to house where they danced alone or with someone from the household. Children had to dance the most. Someone would tell them: "Dance, children, dance, so that our beets grow fat!" Nowadays there are not as many masks as earlier, but people are not sorry about that. Masked persons used to get drunk and do nasty things in the village: stole food and played tricks . . . Early in the morning on Fašnjak men would shoot from their rifles and revolvers at plumtrees, peartrees and appletrees, so that they would bear more fruit. If some woman baked pastry on Fašnjak morning, she had to embrace a fruit tree with her hands sticky from dough, so that the tree would have more fruit (Rožič 1908: 33).

In his otherwise voluminous and detailed description of life in Vinogorje at the turn of the century, Rožič had only that much to say about Fašnjak, the Lenten Carnival. This brevity is curious in view of the fact that this Carnival has always been a widespread ritual, and is presently still flourishing in western parts of Yugoslavia.

A woman now in her mid-seventies told me the following about Carnival in her youth:

In Vinogorje, when I was young, there was a lot of masquerading. We did not burn a straw doll, but would make a "girl" or a "boy" from straw and would secretly leave it at the home of an older, unmarried boy or girl. Boys would sneak out at night and hang the doll under the roof, or throw it on the roof of the house. Everyone was worried and prepared to remove the doll before people saw it . . . Women would also set fires in the gardens, so that moles would not dig holes in them. One also should not sew on Fašnjak. Also,

one should not wash his face because the skin would become lichenous . . . On Fašnjak I would always dress up as a man, while men would dress as women. Then we went to other villages and had fun because nobody could recognize us. There was a dance in every village on Fašnjak.

Regardless of the scarcity of earlier data on Carnival in Vinogorje, its widespread occurrence in Croatia, and the contemporary elaborateness of the ritual will allow us to discuss its significance. The major two points of the chapter will be to demonstrate that the ritual has altered from symbolic manipulation of nature to symbolic manipulation of people, and that it is a manifestation of both order and disorder. Carnival is neither a time of total *comunitas*, nor a ritual of rigid composition analogous to social structure. As culture in general, it incorporates forces of social solidarity as well as forces of conflict. In specific Yugoslav conditions, it chiefly reflects values associated with social change.

Before offering a summary description of Carnival in Vinogorje at the present time, it will be useful to take a short look at the festival in a nearby town. Both the latter and the Vinogorje Carnival in the past, contain many features which contrast with those of contemporary Vinogorje ritual. They will cast additional light on its content and importance.

Mardi Gras Carnival is the largest social event in town after the New Year has been ushered in and the "craziest night of the year." The town of Samobor, which is just outside of Zagreb, has its Carnival weekends throughout the whole month of February. Restaurants and cafeterias are open late to accommodate Zagrebians seeking pleasure. A stage is set on the main square, offering shows by professional comedians. Music bands and groups of masked per-

formers from other towns are invited to participate in shows. Costumed balls are organized in restaurants, and juries are set up to select the best and most humorous costume. But the town especially fills up with crowds on Sunday before Shrove Tuesday, when major events of the festival are held: a children's parade in the morning and an adults' parade in the afternoon, and, in the evening, there takes place the "trial" of Prince Carnival on the stage, with a subsequent ceremonial burning of his straw doll representation. The afternoon parade is quite elaborate: tractors and, occasionally, horses pull carts on which various scenes have been arranged. Most of them satirically address issues of the contemporary society. For example, a class of pupils is shown, sitting in their benches, while the teacher is busy reading Start--the Yugoslav version of Playboy. Two large banners over their heads read: "Elementary Education" and "Children, quiet! The teacher is studying the program of the Board for Physical Education." Another float has no people on it--just a large, wooden casket. The inscription over it reads: "Man has protected himself from the polluted environment." The next one shows a group of men threshing a pile of grainless straw. Their inscription says: "We are still threshing [it]." It refers to the folk proverb "Threshing barren straw," which means talking and talking, without ever getting to action. Another float shows a group of workers in their blue work clothes, making bricks with their bare hands, and the banner identifies them as belonging to a local brickyard. The joke is about inadequate equipment for production. And there are many, many more, to the joy and amusement of the crowded spectators. Some people in the audience are masked, especially

children, but most come in plain clothes, just to watch and have fun.

A group of people masked as coffee beans runs alongside the floats, performing a sort of dance, and shouting to the public: "Now you see me, now you don't." They refer to the coffee crisis of that winter, when Yugoslav importers and roasters of coffee pressured for a rise in coffee prices by withdrawing their product from the market. Many other Carnival parades in 1979 included inscriptions and allegoric scenes on this theme, such as a store with a sign: "Here you can buy coffee for hard currency." It alludes to the constant hunger for convertible money of the Yugoslav economy, and to the fact that whatever cannot be bought for dinars can often be obtained for foreign currency.¹

In Vinogorje, Fašnjak (from German Fasching or Fastnacht, i.e., Shrove Tuesday) is celebrated only on Tuesday. On that day, sauerkraut with bacon and krafne (a sort of a doughnut with marmalade stuffing) are prepared in almost every house. Younger children go from house to house, disguised in commercial plastic masks and their mothers' or grandmothers' clothes. In front of each house they dance a simple circular dance and sing:

Kad bu repa debela
i snašica vesela,
Iju-ju, iju-ju.

When beets will be fat
and young wives happy,
Eyoo-yoo, eyoo-yoo.

People give small presents of coins and candy to the children.

The major day-time event, however, is the Carnival procession. In recent years, it is formed around noon in the courtyard of a well-known villager who is at the same time a musician, a wine-cultivator, an automechanic and an activist in a firefighters'

society and in the Community Council. In 1979, the procession consisted of a tractor at the head, a cart pulled by it and a truck, all decorated with multicolored paper streamers. A year earlier, there was also included a horse cart on which sat a group of children, bearing an inscription "Our kindergarten." The tractor at the front of the parade also had an inscription which conveyed greetings to villagers and invited them to a dance in the firehouse in the evening. It also included a congratulation to all male Vinogorians on their name day. Fašnjak is in many areas of northwestern Croatia, and Slovenia, jokingly considered the name day of all men.

The participants in the procession are men and children of both sexes, while women are only spectators. Some of the men are masked as women, however. The children are most often dressed as cowboys and Indians, and sport charcoal moustaches on their faces. Most participants wear funny paper hats, but in general, the masks are not particularly elaborate. The only exceptions are two men dressed as a bride and groom. They act out a rudimentary version of a wedding, making others laugh by their lascivious humor and gestures. In 1979, the couple actually consisted of a man and a woman--a brother and sister, as it turned out--who were amusingly dressed, but there was no longer any sex inversion. The couple was not the center of attention, that is, there was no attempt at structuring "the wedding" more firmly. They were just two masqueraders among others.

The vehicles in the procession do not provide a stage for any kind of allegoric scenes. Rather, the amusement consists of playing music, singing and drinking wine from a barrel which has been

loaded onto the tractor cart. While the procession cruises around the village, the local amateur musicians sit on the tractor cart, playing fiddles, a bass and tamburitzas. On the way, they halt cars or local buses and joke with the passengers. They also stop in certain parts of the village, in front of certain houses, where they are greeted by hosts and offered wine and krafne, and where ceremonial toasts are held. The procession also goes to visit other villages.

In 1978, one of the procession organizers recited theatrically the following toast at a table set in the courtyard of a villager with wine and pastry:

I wish to greet our dear Mika J. at whose home we congregated tonight, and who has received us and offered to us a drop of our dear Vinogorje wine. We must mention him [in our speech] . . . since we are all here at his place at this moment. Many can hide themselves [from shame], since he is the man, a generous one; he has received such a large party at his home. This is what I wanted to say. Thank you.

The toast was expressed rather seriously, although there was some noise and laughter in the background, among the participants in the procession and the numerous spectators who had come from neighboring homes. The band played the Vinogorje hymn and then a few tunes for dancing. Then they proceeded to the next hamlet.

Meanwhile, a group of villagers from several hamlets on the other side of Vinogorje organized something completely novel: a representation of "our traditional wedding" to be filmed by a crew from Zagreb's television station. A villager who is also a butcher in the nearby market town had an acquaintance on the editorial staff of Zagreb TV (who owns a vacation home in Vinogorje), and he succeeded in persuading him to come and film the Vinogorje Carnival.

When the TV crew announced their coming, the villagers pooled whatever was left of their traditional peasant costumes, reassembled a music band which had not played together for twenty-five years, baked a feast of cakes, roasted a pig and prepared a play. The "groom's" wedding party marched to the "bride's" home, negotiated for the "bride," walked her to church (they stopped in front of the church and, instead of the official ceremony, sang the Vinogorje hymn together) and went back to the "bride's" home for the banquet. The flag bearer led the procession carrying the Croatian national flag (as is frequently the case in real contemporary weddings).

Although a mock-wedding has traditionally been a part of the Lenten Carnival, it turned out that their Carnival skit was not at all funny: it was a serious, well-directed presentation of a traditional peasant wedding, without pranks, role inversions or critical humor. There was no masquerading, and, in fact, neither the informal wedding humor nor the Carnival humor were included.² The TV filmed this play as a Carnival, without any questions or suspicions, and the event ended with a dinner for the participants in the wedding and the TV people. The organizers gave toasts which, as soon as the recording was over, switched from celebrating the "matrimonial bond" to celebrating the new bond between villagers and representatives of the powerful TV medium:

The "director" (butcher):

. . . to the crew of Zagreb's TV, who came to film this beautiful old custom of our dear Vinogorje. Dear guests, I am especially honored to have the task of being, to an extent, the leader of this team. I have no words to express my gratitude to you, in my name and in the name of our hamlets . . . and of all of Vinogorje . . . It is not a joke, when we must take this [whole event] seriously

. . . every man must know now that he plays an actor for a moment, right? And you, dear film-makers, I say, although we cannot pay you for this, nevertheless [the event] will remain eternally in our memory. And we shall be happy to possibly do more, if you will need to record more. We will do you the favor, whatever the scene. Now, be free to serve yourselves, you are our wedding guests. Long live!

Everybody:

Long live!

The "director":

Musicians, play something lively for our Zagreb television people. Go, go!

The final event of Shrove Tuesday in Vinogorje is a dance in the firehouse for all the villagers. It is always organized by the firefighters who also sell drinks there (beer, wine, soda) and food (mostly sausages and bread). Although there exist local musicians who play traditional instruments, a "convertible" music band is rented for the party. The latter plays traditional, or as they say, "hollow" instruments when the (older) public demands older tunes on tamburitzas and fiddles. They switch to "electric" instruments and modern tunes if the audience consists predominantly of adolescents. The dancers are both young and middle-aged. Most of them wear some sort of mask, but it is not really as a disguise. It seems that a show for others is more important than concealing one's identity. There are some elaborate masks, including Vikings, astronauts, cowboys and Indians. Most of the costumes, however, consist of just plastic facial masks (often German-made), featuring Disney characters or those from popular TV series. Women also wear traditional peasant garb, rarely complete, which have thus acquired a new function of being Carnival costumes. Men masked as women are still popular,

while the opposite is seen much more rarely than on the streets of towns.

Dancing lasts until late. The participants dance in couples, but between the dances women, both married and unmarried, tend to sit separately from the men and talk among themselves, while the men mostly stand near the bar. Outside guests and urbanized ex-Vinogorje families are, in fact, recognized most easily by their following a different pattern of socializing: the family, i.e., parents and children, spend most of the time sitting together at their table. Another characteristic of the dance is that it is formally and informally open to everybody and so contrasts with the day-time events which are divided by hamlets.

What is the meaning of these Carnival events? Contemporary socialist society certainly has not created them, yet the ritual flourishes in western parts of Yugoslavia, acquiring ever new forms and meanings. In this chapter, an attempt at answering this general question will be given by analyzing three aspects of Carnival: the shift from primarily symbolically manipulating nature to primarily symbolically manipulating people; repetitive (traditional) and innovative expressive means of the contemporary Vinogorje Carnival; and the effect of the ritual on social stability and order, as well as on instability and change.

The Shrove Tuesday ritual is a part of the traditional Catholic calendar, i.e., it is the last day of entertainment and license before the forty-day period of solemn Lent. But it has always been the least religious of all Catholic rites, incorporating within it a series of pre-Christian elements. In the past, it was largely

characterized by the agriculturists' concern with symbolically manipulating nature and fertility. Rožić's description of the traditional Vinogorje Carnival is unambiguous on this point: dancing to insure growth of crops (widespread in central Europe), men shooting at fruit trees, or women presenting the trees with dough (whose significant quality is that it rises), were ways of expressing human dependence on, and concern for, forces of nature. It included also the preoccupation with human reproduction, and hence ridiculed those individuals who proved unsuccessful at this, i.e., those who did not marry. Furthermore, Fašnjak is still considered the name day of all men, that is, the "Saint"-protector of their impregnating powers.

In other areas of Croatia and Slovenia, there have been recorded various magical practices associated with rural Carnival, such as: pulling a plough through village streets, or encircling the village with a protective furrow--the plough sometimes pulled by unmarried girls; predicting the crops in the coming year by the direction of smoke from the fire on which Prince Carnival was burned; and men silently dancing disguised as animals (Gavazzi 1939:12; Ježić 1963).

Lenten Carnival is not just the beginning of a solemn period in the Catholic calendar. It is also the beginning of a new vegetative cycle and of agricultural work in the fields. More precisely, it is the end of the agricultural winter "vacation." Since Vinogorje is still to a large extent an agricultural community, this meaning of Carnival is still valid. When asked, villagers unanimously state that spring work begins "after Fašnjak." Men who work abroad often make the point of being at home at that time, in order to participate in the Carnival events, as well as to carry out the sensitive task

of pruning the vines afterwards. In other Croatian areas, there are still preserved some ritual practices which associate Carnival with the expulsion of death, winter and demons harmful to the crops. The most prominent one is the trying and subsequent punishing of the straw doll representing Prince Carnival. He is, in fact, a personification of the old vegetative year which should disappear, taking away all the troubles it caused, so that the new year can start well and fresh, without remembering the past evils. In a town on the Adriatic coast, people sing beside the fire as the Prince is vanishing in the flames: "He was; he is no more; he will come again" (Ježić 1963).

Analogously to a previously described Easter rite (see Chapter VII), it seems that the emphasis of the Carnival ritual in Vinogorje has shifted from communication primarily between people and nature to communication primarily among people. Of course, Carnival has always been to a large extent a relationship among people and a show which a group of people have prepared for others, but the content of the ritual has obviously changed. With the exception of children's dances "for fat beets," lascivious joking of the "bride and groom" and a memory that Fašnjak is men's name day, there are no other ritual acts motivated by and concerned with the whims of nature.

Instead, the processions and ritualized visiting have gained central importance. On the one hand, this phenomenon may be explained by recent influences from urban Carnivals whose major feature is elaborate processions which attract many spectators. On the other hand, processions as well as ritualized visiting are long-

standing traditions in Vinogorje. They have been organized for New Year, Christmas and Easter. Moreover, they may have provided a cultural form for institutionalized begging in the late nineteenth century (see Chapter VI). There was also a practice in Vinogorje, now obsolete, of organizing processions on St. George's Day (April 23rd) and St. John's Day (June 24th). On the first day, unmarried boys, especially shepherds, went from door to door, singing special songs and ritually begging for eggs, bacon, butter and money. On the latter day, bonfires were lit and young girls dressed in festive clothes toured the village in groups, sang and collected presents. But in these processions, the participants were perceived as mediators between the protector saint and villagers who were supposed to give gifts to the saint in order to assure natural abundance. This is illustrated by a St. George's Day song:

Prešal je prešal
 Pisani Vuzam;
 Dešal je dešal
 Zeleni Juraj.
 Donesal je donosal
 Pejdan dugu travicu,
 Pejdan dugu travicu,
 Lakat dugu mladicu.
 Mi Jurja nosimo,
 V njegvo ime prosimo.

.
 Dajte Jurju jajac,
 Da vam ne bu zajac;
 Dajte Jurju sira,
 Da se ne ozira;
 Dajte Jurju masla,
 Da vam sreča rasla,
 Dajte Jurju putra,
 Da nas ne bu zutra.

.
 Dajte mu, dajte,
 Dugo ne štentajte!

It passed, it passed
 the colorful Easter;
 It has come, it has come,
 the Green George.
 He has brought, he has brought
 Green grass half a foot high,
 Green grass half a foot high,
 And young vines a foot long.
 We are carrying George,
 We beg in his name.

.
 Give eggs to George,
 Or rabbits will do [damage] to you;
 Give cheese to George,
 Or he'll turn his back on you;
 Give cream to George,
 And your fortune will grow;
 Give butter to George,
 Or he'll [harm] us tomorrow.

.
 Give to him, give to him,
 Don't hesitate too long!

Ne dajte nam stati,
pred svojimi vrati!

. . . .

Do not let us stand,
in front of your door!

. . . .

(Rožić 1908:37)

In contrast, the contemporary Carnival procession consists of "guests," that is, people who go from door to door invoking gestures of hospitality and celebrating this hospitality as such. Hence, the strengthening of human bonds, rather than assuring the benevolence of nature has become the proclaimed goal of ritualized visiting. This is clear from the toasts quoted earlier, one addressed to a co-villager, and the other to urban acquaintances who are perceived as doing a favor to villagers by filming them for television.

It is not by chance that the presentation of "our traditional wedding" was chosen to establish and assure ties with these "urban friends." As was discussed in the previous chapter, hospitality, and particularly wedding banquets, is the mode of mobilizing one's kin and friends by incurring obligations from them and thus insuring their future favors. A group of villagers extended the familiar mode of manipulation to urbanites, openly proclaiming them "their wedding guests." Carnival was used to just such a pretext, and the whole event might have happened on any other day.

Yet, a mock wedding has always been a part of the Carnival festival. It has taken quite different forms, however. In many areas of Croatia, especially along the coast, participants in Carnival enact a wedding, or even a sequence representing the birth, baptism, wedding, trial and death of Prince Carnival (Ježić 1963). As he is also a personification of the passing year, the cycle of human life

is thus equated with the natural, vegetative cycle. The wedding as a rite of reproduction is present as part of the symbolization of nature's cyclical character.

Mock weddings also involve inversion of sex roles, and as such are caricatures of cultural reality, intended to amuse the fellow villagers. The lascivious and sometimes rough humor which is associated with this inversion mainly consists of comments on human fertility and procreation. But it also ridicules established cultural concepts of male and female behavior (for example, by showing an oversized, masculine bride who beats up her gentle, submissive groom). Thus, the most profound and clear categorization in the traditional peasant society is satirized. (More on gender inversions will be said later.)

In Vinogorje, the mock wedding as a part of Carnival has had a rather rudimentary form; there are no elaborate enactments of wedding rites. It is indicative, however, that the former partial inversion of sexes (the "bride" played by a man) and accompanying humorous comments on gender behavior have disappeared. Instead, the "bride and groom" have recently become just a part of the show, i.e., costumed figures in the procession of masqueraders. It remains to be seen whether this change in 1979 is just a temporary one, or whether playing these inverted gender roles has really stopped being humorous. If the latter is true, it would mean that gender roles in everyday life are not so strictly defined any more; thus their inversion has also become less meaningful.

A very important characteristic of the Vinogorje mock-wedding is revealed also by the fact that it is not just a part of the tradi-

tional Carnival but also of the traditional wedding. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, on the last day of the wedding celebrations, the groom, the musicians, the wedding party and a young man dressed as the bride used to go to vineyards to have fun by themselves. The practice was a manifestation of the cultural segregation of men and women, as well as a negation of the very private meaning the wedding might have had for the newlyweds and their immediate families. It was yet another means (along with the banquet, gift exchange, etc.) to transfer the ritual from the private sphere to the social, and to make it primarily a demonstration of sociability beyond the family realm. Thus, the mock-wedding has become a ritual means to negate the private, and to emphasize the public, social and solidaristic aspect of village life. It is only natural that it has been a part of Carnival, since the latter has increasingly come to symbolize the same.

With this in mind, it no longer seems strange that a group of villagers chose to enact a wedding for a television filming. What is different and new, however, is that they performed a serious, model wedding, rather than a traditional Carnival mock-wedding. A part of the explanation is that the wedding aspect of the play, and social advantages ensuing from it, were more important to them than having fun in the Carnival sense. Another aspect of the explanation will be offered later.

The major activity of the Carnival procession is visiting parts of the village and glorifying the hospitality of its hosts. Conflicts are avoided by skipping houses or hamlets which are considered unhospitable or which organize competing processions. (Thus in 1979,

the two competing processions avoided one another, and people in the first expressed jealousy over the second being recorded for TV.) Visiting is extended to other villages, but there it acquires an ambiguous meaning. On the one hand, participants in the procession have friends in other villages and the visit may be a real show of cordiality. On the other hand, it is often a form of competition since the procession demonstrates its achieved degree of "spirit" or social effervescence, which is a measure of the organizers' success. This includes the extent of relaxed behavior, salacious humor, the volume of noise, the number of spectators and participants, and the intensity of their interaction. Boasting about the success of their own Carnival procession and belittling that of others is a form of chauvinism, which is also a way to emphasize community solidarity (Galt 1973).

The exchange of visits, or receiving at once a large number of visitors, is the major way of expressing solidarity in Vinogorje. As was mentioned earlier, it accompanies life crises (birth, baptism, wedding and funeral) and major points of the yearly cycle (New Year, Carnival, the Church patron's day). While seeing his guest to the door, a Vinogorje host never forgets to say: ". . . and do not take offense at us," although in most cases, there is no ground whatsoever for a guest to feel offended. The same formula is recited in a funeral song by which Vinogorians accompany someone to his grave:

And now forgive us, mother,
if we somehow offended you. (Rožić 1881:no. 105).

It is as if all life was just one long visit among one's co-villagers.

Hospitality is equated with life, and so is wine, another indispensable item of all rituals, including Carnival:

Sladko vince poj me,
dojde vreme ne bu me;

Doj te bude pil,
kad ja budem črni zemlji gnjil.

Sweet wine, come into me,
the time will come when I'll
be gone;

Who will drink you,
when I'll rot in the black soil.

(Rožić 1881: no. 84)

This song is still played and sung at both weddings and Carnival today.

Wine is a ritual component in weddings (including blessings, toasts and welcome), but it has also been used to express brotherhood, love and friendship and to create an amiable atmosphere in any context. The Carnival procession without that barrel of wine on the tractor cart would be a failure since the participants could not achieve the desired degree of "spirit" without partial intoxication. Wine is a symbol of Vinogorje in general because it permeates all aspects of life there: it is the basis of people's livelihood; it is an item exchanged and offered in everyday interactions; it is a medium in numerous rituals; and it is a motif in artistic presentations. But men and women relate to it differently: they both work at producing it, but men are planners of its production and consumption; they both consume it, but only men can do it in public; they both participate in rituals, but only the men handle the wine in a ritual context.

Since wine has been "the juice of social life" in Vinogorje, and yet it is not a traditional Slavic cultural good, perhaps we

should be allowed a short digression into discussing the historical background and symbolism of the wine-complex.

According to historians of culture (Hubert and Kenner, quoted in Gušić 1967), there has been a considerable difference between the ancient Mediterranean peoples and Gallic "barbarians" in their relationship to wine. The first considered wine a component of diet, mixed it with water and consumed it in a moderate way. The second exaggerated the enjoyment of the "drink of Gods" (its availability was one of the reasons for Gallic attacks on the Roman Empire), considered wine the source of luck, health and life powers, and believed that its magical powers were spoiled if mixed with water. They also made wine a medium of religious rituals which consisted of collective drunkenness. This distinction in their concept and use of wine has remained visible even to this day. The Pannonic regions (and central Europe in general) still reveal traditions of the Celtic cultural substratum.

After their occupation of the Balkans in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., the South Slavs took over and assimilated much of the lifestyle of older Roman and romanized Balkan populations. The Slavic terminology for wine production is also derived from Romance languages (Niederle, quoted in Gušić 1967). In their old homeland they had not known wine; rather, they prepared alcoholic beverages by fermenting honey. The collective rituals of drinking, singing euphoric odes to wine and toasting were also taken over; the practice was revived especially during the Early Modern period, with the organization of clubs for consuming wine according to defined sets of social rules (Gušić 1967:58). Such clubs have been preserved in

northwestern Croatia to this day. Printed books with their rules, as well as texts of toasts and formulae which accompany rituals with wine, are being reprinted in various towns of Croatia and Slovenia, and farther north, in Hungary, Austria and Bavaria (for example, a book edited by Kozina 1965).³

The most elaborate ritual performed by these clubs has been the "baptism" of wine on Martinmas, November 11th. According to an old, widespread belief, Martinmas is the day when must turns into wine, under the influence of St. Martin (a historical bishop) who "baptizes" it. Rituals held on that day are probably older than the Christian era (the Celts had a similar custom), but St. Martin has been celebrated all over Europe at least since the Middle Ages. He has been especially popular in the Pannonian region because this is allegedly the area where he was born in 316 A.D. (Leach 1950:682). Many drinking clubs enact the "wine baptism": somebody dresses as Bishop Martin and with pomp and circumstance, whose forms are derived from Catholic liturgy, proclaims that the must has become wine. Texts recited on this occasion express the idea that the must has to be tamed, or made civilized, in order to serve the people. Baptism is the final act by which this product of natural forces and people's effort is humanized, i.e., transferred to the realm of culture.

St. Martin:

Must, do you promise, then, that you will only make hearts happy, play jests, invigorate bodies, enliven parties, encourage heroes and comfort the sad ones; that you will denounce Satan and his tricks?

Kum (must's baptismal sponsor):

I promise!

(Kozina 1965:41)

In peasant homes there are no particularly elaborate rites for Martinmas. In Vinogorje there is a practice, however, that a better dinner be served on this day, including a roast turkey and tasting the new wine. (In northern Croatia, a roast goose is traditional for this occasion.) An informant remembers that at the time of the Wine-Cooperative, its members once enacted the baptism of wine: men gathered around a barrel of young wine, gave it the name of the county agronomist and then ceremonially opened the barrel and tasted the wine. There were no special recitations or toasts. This celebration appears to have been quite "rational" and simple. It contrasts with an account from the same period of Vinogorje history (Falica 1939) in which recitations for Martinmas are quoted. This account is, in fact, a play written by the author on the basis of "old peasant customs" and performed by the Vinogorje Seljačka sloga activists. Taking into account the author's fantasy and ideological motives for writing such a play, it still exhibits both elements of the Catholic liturgy and ancient enthusiastic odes to wine:

First tamburitzan (making a sign of the cross on the bottle of must):

Must! I baptize you into wine. Do you want to be absolved?

Second tamburitzan:

Yes!

First tamburitzan:

Will you be pure?

Second tamburitzan:

Yes.

First tamburitzan:

Do you promise you won't throw people in ditches?

Second tamburitzan:

I promise.

First tamburitzan:

Let's pray! Dear drop of wine!

Everybody:

Be with us.

First tamburitzan:

Lord, hear us!

Everybody:

Give us full barrels.

First tamburitzan:

Dear barrel, dear canister, dear bottle!

Everybody:

Strengthen us!

First tamburitzan:

Dear vine, dear fruit, dear drop, dear basket, dear barrel!

Everybody:

Help us!

First tamburitzan:

Good sauerkraut with bacon, good Martinmas goose, good cake,
good ham with horse-radish sauce, good roast turkey with
salad!

Everybody:

God give to us every day!

First tamburitzan:

From a thin crop, from empty barrels, from empty canisters,
from hollow jugs, from broken bottles, from evil hail, from
white frost, from poor sales, from empty pockets, from large
taxes, from sleeping under tables, from old women's gossip
. . .

Everybody:

. . . Save us, Lord!

The difference in the character of the ritual as performed by the Wine-Cooperative producers and "Seljačka sloga" activists conforms to the generally differing nature of these two movements (as was described in Chapter VI). The first was organized for practical purposes of producing and marketing wine, while the second was a cultural-political movement with methods and goals which were not directly practical, and which were frequently expressed through ritualized behavior.

Nowadays, Martinmas in Vinogorje is celebrated by a better dinner at home, by tasting new wine and by a party held for the youth in the firestation hall. There is still a belief (although jokingly told) that at midnight all the waters in the area turn into wine for a short moment. As the water, or must, turns into wine on St. Martin's, marking the moment when the fruits of the year's work are attained, the period of outside agricultural works is closed, and the period of intensive socializing begins. It lasts until the Lenten Carnival, after which the new cycle of wine-cultivation commences by trimming the vines. Thus, the cycle of wine-growing determines the rhythm of work and leisure. The time of merry-making, festivities and intensive socializing is identified with the time when wine has matured, has been "tamed" and requires no more labor. It can now become a symbol of sociability: refusing a glass of wine is an offense and an asocial gesture (cf. Galt 1973:332). Consuming wine alone is again an asocial act, or a sign of sickness, or addiction. As Lévi-Strauss observed in lower-priced restaurants in southern

France (1969:58):

Wine is a social commodity, while the plat du jour is a personal commodity. The little bottle may contain exactly one glassful, yet the contents will be poured out, not into the owner's glass, but into his neighbor's. And his neighbor will immediately make a corresponding gesture of reciprocity.

In Vinogorje, every household has its own wine and all is of approximately the same quality. Yet, it has been ritually exchanged back and forth with the sole purpose of signifying and inspiring sociability. It has been publicly consumed in the Carnival procession, as well as offered to it by other villagers. Wine, a product of humanized nature, is used in the context of regular hospitality, weddings and processions as a means to symbolically manipulate other people. The goal is to enhance their loyalty to the community.

* * * *

When the expressive means of contemporary Vinogorje Carnival are considered, several formal features can easily be recognized. First of all, the event has a much more participatory character than Carnivals in small towns of continental and coastal Croatia. There is no stage and no outside, professional entertainers (except for the music band which is flexible enough to adjust its program to villagers' needs). Carnival remains primarily a show of villagers for villagers, the play for TV being an (indicative) exception rather than the rule. Second, the structure of events is rather loose, leaving much maneuvering space to individual spontaneity and initiative. Yet, there exists a general idea of "how Carnival should be done" and only vague awareness that it has been changing in content and form.

Third, there is much less emphasis than in towns on visual expressive means, such as elaborate costumes, allegoric scenes, decorations and inscriptions. Instead, the patterned action has been stressed. The participants communicate to spectators their wish for the community's well-being and amicability by themselves giving an example of having a good time. Or they extend networks of friendship to urbanites by portraying a wedding in which both parties have a good time.

For most people most of the time, and for the overwhelming majority of persons raised in verbo-motor cultures all of the time, the most profound expressions of the meanings they find in life are surely made in highly charged forms of patterned action (Rhys Isaac, quoted in McPhee 1978: 244).

Nothing which appears as an expressive element in Vinogorje Carnival is specific only to this event. The mock-wedding, masked persons, processions, hospitality, wine-drinking, music and dance are present in many other contexts of everyday life, ritualized or non-ritualized, and their forms change as does life in general. How does Carnival, then, become a specific event? In Carnival, participants select certain aspects of reality and play with them, thus making them more obvious. According to Da Matta (1977), this "ritualizing" effect is achieved in Carnival by putting an element into a context from which it is normally excluded; by exaggeration and reinforcement of what already exists to some extent; by inversion of categories and social roles, or by their abnormal association; by neutralization, i.e., social relationships of distancing and conscious avoidance.

All of these "ritualizing" techniques have been employed in Vinogorje, but the aspects of reality selected for the creative play have changed, simply because reality itself has been changing. Hence, in the past, dancing, shooting from hunters' rifles and fires were placed for Fašnjak in the context of symbolizing fertility, while in ordinary, everyday contexts they had different functions. At present, masqueraders representing cowboys and Indians, astronauts, Vikings and TV heroes walk down the paths of this rural, Croatian settlement, certainly offering quite an unusual picture of it.

The exaggeration and reinforcement of certain values which are, to a degree, already adhered to, are the strongest expressive means of the Vinogorje Carnival. In the past, disguised boys and girls played pranks with the villagers and would "steal" their food in the open, thus testing their patience and sociability. Today, participants in the Carnival procession explicitly glorify hospitality and village solidarity, while the common dancing and drinking party in the evening implicitly conveys the same message.

Inversion of categories and social roles is represented by the traditional inversion of genders and behavior ascribed to them. This kind of inversion has been a part of the Carnival festival at least since the Roman Saturnalia (Leach 1950:974), and is widespread in Europe (cf. Gilmore 1975:337; Davis 1978). As was mentioned earlier, by the inversion of genders, peasants question the most profound categorization of their cultural order. Moreover, by inverting male/female roles in a mock wedding, they do that in the most concise and poignant way, since the wedding is normally the most clear ritual enactment of culturally defined male and female

roles. But, when considering the gender inversion, one thing should be borne in mind: while men in Vinogorje (and elsewhere in rural Croatia) publicly masquerade as women, women never dress and behave as men in public, that is, in the collective and public sphere of Carnival. The situation is somewhat different in towns and at evening dances in villages. Traditionally, however, women dressed as men only in small circles of neighbors and friends and to participate in less formal festival events. Parading in the Carnival procession dressed as men, or participating in it at all, was considered improper for women. It is still true in Vinogorje, although recently a woman was included in a Carnival procession, but with no inversion of sex roles and no satirizing of gender behavior.

Finally, the technique of neutralization or ritual avoidance has not been much pronounced in Vinogorje. It was represented in the past by ritual taboos of washing and sewing on Shrove Tuesday, to avoid teasing the supernatural powers. Nowadays, it is represented by mutual avoidance of competing Carnival processions. Even in this negative social relationship of no-communication, one can notice the switch from focusing on the relationship between man and nature to the relationship among various social groups.

The "ritualizing" techniques by which certain aspects of reality are selected and dramatized appear to be rather constant and universal. They are means to achieve intensification or "density" of meaning in the ritual context. The elements, or "dice," used for this creative play seem, however, to be limited by social reality, by its order and contradictions. These familiar techniques and selected aspects of culture which are familiar from other contexts

can hardly produce an antipode picture of reality, an "antistructure." In other words, the licentious, imaginative Carnival is not a dialectical opposition of orderly, everyday life. It is a "dense" cultural statement on both order and disorder in that life. (This point will be further discussed shortly.)

Hence, those cowboys and Indians, astronauts and Vikings on the paths in Vinogorje hamlets are not absolute outsiders there. They do belong to the present reference world of Vinogorians, the world beyond their native community and peasant cultural order which had been brought to them by TV, by outside employment, by education and by sojourns in Western Europe. Processions, drinking and toasting have been a longstanding tradition, but in Carnival they address a disturbing current problem of shaken community integrity; they enforce the value of village solidarity in the face of many centrifugal values. And gender inversions, rather than creating a world turned upside-down, have always been checked by the dominant patriarchal order in which men had enough authority and power to even publicly ridicule themselves (and, of course, women also), while women were not allowed to join the game.

Of all the modes used in Vinogorje to create a "dense" ritual statement, the most curious one was the performance of a model of the "traditional wedding" as a part of the Carnival in 1979. It appears that an instance of the cultural past was revived to function in the ritual present. It was also the most complicated and the most thought out event in the Carnival sequence, with carefully patterned action. Yet, a more careful analysis reveals that despite efforts of the organizers to adhere to a historical model (probably

after Rožić), much of the contemporary practice sneaked into their performance. This included table manners and, especially, wedding toasts which were focused on the "newlyweds."

More importantly, the motivation for such a performance was entirely modern. The event cannot be discarded as just an indigenous invention of an individual (the butcher who was its instigator), because, as was said earlier, the wedding is a common mode of effectively establishing and using social networks. In this case, a group of peasant-workers, that is, people whose daily experience is already partially derived from outside the village, attempted to strengthen their urban ties through a wedding play. But there is more to the fact that they selected this skit for the filming of Carnival. A good deal of inspiration for their performance came from TV itself.

Folklore, in the form of performance of traditional songs, music, dance and enactment of "old customs" has frequently been included in popular television programs. It has been represented by mass media (and in various other contexts) as an expression of cultural wealth and identity of the Yugoslav peoples (see Chapter IX). Also, it has become a need for migrant populations, especially those who have moved abroad or to towns, since it offers to them alternative possibilities of identification with the native cultural area. In the process of such presentation of folklore, aspects of traditional culture necessarily become reinterpreted. What is shown in such programs are models of purified and aesthetically perfected "folklore": white peasant garments are never dirty, peasants never err in singing or playing their instruments, the old thatch-roofed

houses are hidden behind bushes of blooming roses and the stink of pigpens can never be smelled. What is happening here is a romanticization of cultural tradition, analogous to that described for the contemporary "naive" art of Vinogorje (see Chapter VII). The process emerges only when a certain distance from this tradition is achieved, so that the contemporary, "filtered" models of the past actually become a commentary on cultural change and expressions of pride in cultural achievement.

The romanticization of peasant traditions, then, is hardly the product of some contemporary peasant consciousness. To the contrary, it is an attribute of urbanized people who have lost first-hand contact with village life. It is as much the property of urban mass media as of the urbanizing peasant-workers. The latter, in fact, learn and take over the concept of the presentation of their past from these media, as a part of the process of becoming modern.

In view of this, it becomes clear why some Vinogorians chose the traditional wedding for a TV presentation: they have seen similar weddings on TV before, and the wedding, being structurally and aesthetically elaborate, seemed attractive for filming. Their motivation is disclosed by the words of the "director" (the butcher) in his toast to the television crew: ". . . every man must know that he plays an actor, for a moment." They play actors, a very urban profession, rather than their own ancestors.

Therefore, it can be posited that the ritual statement of this kind of Carnival wedding in Vinogorje is a statement on cultural change. The form which at first glance seems to be reviving and preserving the cultural past carries, in fact, an entirely differ-

ent meaning. It is obviously inseparable from a wider social and cultural context. This case is an illustration of the fact that even the repetitive (traditional) cultural practice contains a creative, innovative dimension, and thus ultimately becomes a critical practice (see page 8). This point brings us to the last subject of this chapter, that of the relationship between Carnival and cultural order and disorder, or in other words, to the question whether it is a reproductive or a critical practice.

Let us consider some points which exemplify that Vinogorje Carnival can be understood as a reflection of social/cultural order, either as "a ceremony which . . . seeks to state that the cosmos and social world, or some particular small part of them are orderly and explicable and for the moment fixed" (Moore and Myerhoff 1977:17), or as a "maximization of *communitas* [which] provokes maximization of structure" (Turner 1969:129). First, it has been demonstrated already that gender inversion in the Carnival procession does not abolish the profound ordering of the peasant society into exclusive male (public) and female (private) spheres. Even if the inversion was complete, involving both men and women, it would still point to this foundation of the cultural order.

Second, the "*communitas*" atmosphere of relaxed behavior, intoxication, noise and disorder (disturbing the road traffic) is desired for Carnival. But it is created by familiar means of parades, wine and music, as well as by an orderly visiting etiquette.

Third, the organization of Carnival activities by hamlets and the evening dance party for all the villagers repeats the familiar pattern of other aspects of social communication in which most pri-

vate incentives are neighborhood-based, while institutions (school, church, administration, etc.) are village-wide.

Fourth, the major message of the Carnival "text" is analogous to that of other rituals, as well as art, expressing the switch from a concern with nature to a concern with relationships with a larger social body. This change of mind accompanies alterations in the structure of the economy and family.

Finally, Carnival enhances solidarity and generosity, thus helping the reproduction of village community. Its major features are visiting, hospitality and gregariousness. Some participants actually come back from work in Germany or Austria in order to take part in Carnival.

Let us now look at the same points from the other side of the coin, that is, in terms of how much they reflect or enhance social/cultural disorder or change. First, gender inversions, although reinforcing patriarchal hierarchical structure, might have:

. . . kept open an alternate way of conceiving family structure . . . Rather than expending itself primarily during the privileged duration of a joke, the story, the comedy or the carnival, topsy-turvy play had much spillover into everyday "serious" life, and the effects there were sometimes disturbing and even novel (Davis 1978:172).

Also, in the case of Vinogorje, the deterioration of the play with gender inversion may be an indication of a weakening of the patriarchal order and, if not yet redefined sexual roles, of uncertainty regarding this aspect of culture. It is significant that the inversion has been in many places replaced by a promenade, a "wedding" of a conjugal pair.

Second, the "communitas" atmosphere is not in contrast with everyday life. Drinking, music, etc. appear in other contexts, and Carnival behavior does not contrast with everyday behavioral norms. Organizers of Carnival are village activists who are otherwise engaged in various events. They are musicians and volunteer firefighters "responsible" for holiday parties throughout the year. Moreover, they are known for their humor, spirit and practical jokes, so that there is certain quality of frivolity always associated with their personalities. Carnival incorporates "the nonsense dimension of everyday life" (Abrahams and Bauman 1978:201).

Third, social communications in the village are frequently conflict-ridden, and this is visible in Carnival by avoidance and jealousy between hamlet-based processions (and also among the neighborhood groups of children who collect presents from door to door).

Fourth, orientation to a larger social world makes Carnival an occasion for attracting tourists,⁴ for conspicuous consumption and television shows, thus instilling in Vinogorians' minds values of urbanization and change. These are at present antagonistic to the integrative values of visiting and hospitality within the village.

Finally, the values of solidarity are articulated by Carnival against the actual forces of disintegration at work at other times. Carnival is an opportunity to sanction individual asocial behavior by quoting their names in toasts (cf. Galt 1973), or sometimes to enforce the solidarity of one social group or class against another (Gilmore 1975), both on conscious and subconscious levels. In Vinogorje, the Carnival in 1979 was a subconscious expression of two social groups which are becoming differentiated: peasant-farmers

and peasant-workers (cf. Chapters I and II). It was not by chance that the customary form of Carnival was organized by a core of village activists who live and work there full-time, and that their Carnival was a declaration of hospitality and village solidarity. Also, it was not by chance that the other form of Carnival, filmed by TV, was organized by a peasant-worker, and that his group sought to strengthen ties with highly regarded members of an urban mass medium. While the former are oriented more towards the village in which they seek to satisfy both their economic and their social needs, the latter are taking jobs in industry and look more to urban sources for social and cultural fulfillment. The Carnival of the peasant-farmers had a more "lived" form, while that of the peasant-workers was more "acted" and implied a greater distance from the rural past.

If the same set of points can be employed to illustrate the relationship of the Carnival ritual to both cultural "order" and "disorder," there is apparently something wrong with opposing these two concepts. It is much more feasible to view culture as a historical process which consists of both "orderly" and "disorderly" aspects. Ritual, as a component of culture "dense" with meaning, also has such a character. We have seen that Carnival incorporates elements of repetitive culture of tradition (including songs and animal masks, the sex of participants and the traditional wedding); that it expresses the present and makes comments about it (by means of parades, modern masks and commercial shows); and that it indicates what ought to be (through critical inscriptions and allegoric scenes, by creating "communitas," sanctioning asocial behavior, etc.). This last quality is innovative and critical, in Bauman's sense of the term

(see page 8), because it exposes the limitations of cultural reality, and through creative play of imagination points to alternatives.

Thus, the critical quality of Carnival can be comprehended in a general sense as a culture-generating practice. But it can also be understood in a more narrow sense as a social (political) critique.

Historically, it has been observed that Carnival has frequently been utilized as a form of political criticism, as an expression of political consciousness dressed in "folkloric" forms. In nineteenth century France it gave the opportunity to Republicans for collective protests against the Royalists (McPhee 1978; Bezucha 1975); in contemporary Spain it gives the class of agricultural laborers a chance to consolidate against the landlords (Gilmore 1975); in Austrohungarian Croatia, the burned Prince Carnival was sometimes dressed in an Austrian or Hungarian uniform, or in a top hat and tails (Bonifačić-Rožin 1966); and in Istria during the period of Italian government, Carnival was often forbidden for fear of political demonstrations.

At present, although Carnival in Croatia is not seen as ideological, the participants' need to express their concerns and worries in a humorous form is a manifestation of a "political" (social critical) consciousness. Most criticism stems from a contradiction between the people's high expectations from socialist development (especially as concerns their standard of living) and their impatience when this is not achieved quickly enough, particularly in the most recent years of economic crisis. For example, almost every carnival parade includes a representation of a children's care center which is badly needed by the village or town in question. Often, it

is shown as a horse-drawn cart (a symbol of backwardness) full of children, with an inscription which reads: "Our kindergarten." In Vinogorje, there were many jokes about "Our recreational center" which is still just a stream and a meadow at a far end of the village. But there are also comments on the changes in lifestyle: an inscription in the Carnival parade in a small town read: "Drinks are for the husband--a ladle is for the wife," the humor being in the fact that nobody seriously believes this any more. Another inscription, on a cart full of men and women who were singing and drinking, said: "Modern Wives--Association of Hen-pecked Husbands." A scene enacted in a small town on the Croatian coast humorously commented on an aspect of world civilization: Prince Carnival there was launched by a rocket into the sky rather than being burned. The act was an ironic statement on the race to conquer the universe. The poor Prince was taken into the rocket on a stretcher and could not escape despite his protests. (The actor was replaced by a straw doll at the last moment before launching.)

Another source of criticism flows from a misunderstanding of the nature of self-managing socialism: people often expect that problems will be resolved "up there" by administrative authorities; thus, there need be no grass root initiative. This fact is certainly a heritage of decades in which major issues of rural communities were decided in outside loci of power. When it comes to more concrete, local problems, however, the Carnival inscriptions are more specific and accurate, and sometimes may even be difficult for an outsider to decipher. Well-known local administrators are called by their names or nicknames and ridiculed for inefficiency or failures.

In 1979, one village satirized a meeting of the local community council, showing how its members spent time drinking and gossiping rather than doing their assignments.

In conclusion, it can be posited that the Carnival in Vinogorje, and in Croatia in general, is neither a representation of a temporarily fixed social world, nor an occurrence of anti-structure. On one hand, Carnival has always been a structured event since patterned action is its major mode of expression. Its structure has been transformed, however, along with major changes in Yugoslav society. Thus, the order of events, the setting, the organizers, dramatic scenes, masks and jokes have changed, as well as their message and criticism. Both its forms and content have been determined by larger social processes and their contradictions.

On the other hand, Carnival has always been a chance for individual and group play, for satirizing dominant cultural norms, for expressing dissatisfactions and wishes for innovation (now commonly phrased as "development"). Although even forms of play and fantasy are limited by a social cultural reality, they still provide means to transcend it, especially if associated with critical consciousness.

Hence, rather than perceiving Carnival as a period of cultural gap after which comes the reaffirmation of the cultural order, it is understood here as a "dense," concentrated form of everyday critical and repetitive aspects of culture. It is a statement on orderly, as well as on conflicting forces, which are at work in everyday life, but are probably less consciously and wholly thought out when removed from the ritual context. Like any other facet of our life, Carnival

contains both repetitive elements of cultural tradition and critical elements of cultural creativity. But even the tradition, when examined closely, appears as creative, since people always reinterpret it and use it according to their contemporary motivations.

The analysis of Carnival gives us another look into the process of "marginalization" of peasant consciousness. Parades, "convertible" music, inscriptions, TV shows and commercial masks are certainly quite visible signs of modernization. But more importantly, even such very different forms of Carnival as the presentation of the "traditional" wedding and the Carnival procession in 1979, point to the same values and "state of mind." Both forms of ritual are expression of a critical concern with the larger society and the position of the village in it, rather than with nature, as was the case in the past. While the model wedding implies a distancing from peasant traditions, the Carnival procession emphasizes community solidarity which has presently become problematic. The rituals, in fact, summarize the essence of an ideal future society in which the village would become an integral part of the larger social body, equivalent to all others, and yet would retain its quality of close human communication.

Footnotes to Chapter XI

¹Similar Carnivals are held in many small towns throughout Croatia and Slovenia. They have been especially elaborate along the Adriatic coast. This is understandable, since the ritual originates in the ancient Roman fertility festival of the Lupercalia and the solstice ceremony of the Saturnalia. Its contemporary forms are best developed in the circum-Mediterranean and the areas where its culture spread secondarily (Latin America).

²The only source of real humor was a kum's toast in which he expressed hopes that the newlyweds would take good care of each other and would make healthy children. The participants in the wedding party knew that the "bride and groom" had already been married (not to each other) and that they had already been parents to several children of their own. Of course, the humorous aspect of the kum's speech could provoke laughter only from the villagers who knew the real circumstances. It was not intended for TV.

³According to Jastrebarske novine of March, 1978, a number of well-known local drunkards had received "diplomas" issued by a local branch of the world organization: The Wet Power. To my knowledge, an organized club for consumption of wine does not exist now in the Vinogorje area. The distribution of these "diplomas" must have been an informal action of several enthusiasts. The "diplomas" were, however, written in the same style as those issued by clubs in northern Croatia. They listed "deeds" of each individual and graded his "achievements" in particular disciplines: drinking wine and hard liquor; successfully falling in mud and sleeping in ditches, parks or cellars; breaking glasses; starting fights in inns or at home; breaking things; holding a table by one's teeth in front of other guests in an inn, etc. "Are you ashamed for receiving such a diploma?" the journalist asked one of the winners. His reply was: "No, the Jaskans have always had a specific sense of humor. There has always been a prankster who would invent a joke which was then remembered for days. When I had read the diploma, I thought about it since it contained a lot of what I had been doing. I was ashamed a little, but when I saw that this was my friends' joke, I accepted it as such."

⁴Although the Vinogorje area presently does not have as developed a Carnival festival for tourists as several nearby towns, there is an explicit desire to organize it. Jastrebarske novine of February, 1978, states that Carnival "is dying and should be revived," (?) most of all because of the winter tourism. Workers

in tourist establishments advance such proposals every year. There are organized masked balls in Jastrebarsko, but what they have in mind are street parades and professional shows with entrance admission as is the case in developed tourist centers in other areas of Croatia and in other countries (cf. Manning 1977).

CONCLUSION

THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL MARGINALIZATION OF PEASANTRY

The subject of this study has been the disintegration of peasant culture in its broadest sense, encompassing peasant economy, social organization, modes of communication and modes of thinking. It has been suggested that this process has taken the form of cultural marginalization (cf. page 4), which means that the way of life traditionally defined as "peasant" is gradually being supplanted by new life styles, thus becoming marginal. The peasantry has been defined by their largely self-sufficient, domestic mode of production, and by their exploitation by other classes which appropriate a part of their labor. This study has shown that the contemporary forms of rural economy, family life and exchange, as well as the dominant values and self-representation through art and ritual, are no longer in accord with this definition of "peasanthood." My intention was not only to outline the aspects of depeasantation, but also to examine the quality and significance of new, emerging cultural phenomena.

The process of marginalization of peasant culture was a gradual one before World War II, but evident in the region of Croatia under discussion for at least one hundred years. In the capitalist period, with the rise of commercial and industrial capital and a market for commodities, the peasantry underwent rapid proletarianization. In Vinogorje, this resulted from the loss by many peasants of their

newly acquired land for debts, and their consequent need to emigrate to cities, including those of North America. On the other hand, a thin stratum of burghers, of gospoda, emerged within the village community.

In the socialist period, the process of social differentiation within the peasant class was halted, due to limitations on the ownership of land and land reforms. But the whole rural sector of the society was at first subordinated to the expanding industrial one by the centralist administration. Labor and resources were drained from villages to towns. In the 1950s, the process of social differentiation of peasants who had remained in villages resumed. It has taken three directions: peasants have either emigrated to towns to become urban industrial workers, or they have remained in the villages becoming peasant-workers or peasant-farmers.¹ Peasant-workers work both on their private agricultural holdings and in some specialized industry or agricultural enterprise, while peasant-farmers live primarily from their farms, but supplement agricultural labor with some craft or entrepreneurial activity. Thus, what exists in Yugoslavia at present is a socialized industrial sector, a socialized agricultural sector (both consisting of a number of self-managing enterprises) and a sector of private agriculturalists. People participate in one or more sectors at a time.

The specific structure of social and economic relations includes also many innovations in family life, in residence patterns and in communication and exchange in small communities. A strong, subjective desire to urbanize one's lifestyle is actually narrowing the rural-urban gap, although the values and aspirations of the villagers

are often unrealistic. Generally speaking, however, in the last forty years the Yugoslav society has been transformed from a predominantly peasant society to one in which prevail the classes of workers and peasant-workers.

The particular social structure of which peasants form a part determines not only the mode of their existence, but also the mode of their transformation. For instance, Franklin (1969) saw the European peasantry as being transformed into an agricultural working class, a class of farmers and a residual, unproductive group of "park keepers" who are to remain as a part of the scenic country panorama. This kind of differentiation apparently occurs in a fully developed capitalist society in which the peasantry has split into land-owning farmers and the landless laborers who work for them. In the Yugoslav socialist system, however, the peasantry does not form these "pure categories." Instead, the "mixed" strata of peasant-workers, peasant-farmers, farmers-craftsmen or entrepreneurs and residual, elderly, non-productive peasants, result from a system combining socialized and private ownership and management. This sort of differentiation does not necessarily represent a step towards some future "pure" social categories. The direction in which differentiation will proceed depends on the ideal of the future society and the possibility of its realization, the kinds of social relations (particularly in production) on which it would be based, whether it would have contrasting urban and rural residential patterns or some "mixed" type and whether it would require strict specialization of labor or allow for some creative combination of occupations.

It is not possible to determine exactly the moment when a peasant stops being a peasant, especially if he has continued working on the family farm. Some authors have suggested (Danilov et al., quoted in Shanin 1979) a division of the forces of production on the family farm into "natural" (e.g., land or labor) and those which are man-produced (e.g., machinery and equipment). They then define as peasant only those farms in which production is decisively determined by the "natural" means of production. This criterion seems quite narrow, however, since it is too technological, and does not consider primarily the relationship of labor to means of production. It is not applicable to the analysis of Yugoslav conditions. For one thing, the majority of peasant-workers' farms, where very little is invested in agricultural equipment, women's labor is utilized and agricultural produce is used mostly for the family's own consumption, would be classified as peasant. Non-agricultural income is, however, crucial in such households, covering expenses for education, housebuilding, industrial goods, etc. For another thing, "pure" agricultural households, which are better supplied with machinery but utilize the whole family labor and have less of an urban lifestyle and standards, would be classified as non-peasant. Such a technological criterion for drawing the line between peasants and non-peasants blurs rather than clarifies the picture.

De-peasantation is a process, and it is more important to assess its complexity than to look for the "dividing line." Instead of just counting tractors and profits at the market, one should also look at the villagers' state of mind--their aspirations and their view of themselves and the world around them. Such an approach in this study

has revealed that distancing from "peasanthood" is a gradual process. Contemporary Vinogorians are in some respects still peasants, but this traditional heritage is both being retained and contradicted by new values, concepts and practice. One can also note a trend towards the future grouping into peasant-workers and peasant-farmers. In other words, the modern culture contains elements of the past and the present, and indicates a possible future; its relationship to time is not simply linear but dialectic.

The different chapters of this work have explored the changing character of peasant culture in Croatia over a period of approximately one hundred years, and various aspects of marginalization of this culture. Thus, distancing from "peasanthood" has been revealed by the Vinogorians' modified relationship to nature, including their land, which is either being sold to help achieve new goals, or is being increasingly experienced by many as a source of emotional, recreational and aesthetic fulfillment rather than as a means of existence. Obviously, humanized nature is a historical (social) category. The appearance of new forms of artistic expression and ritual in Vinogorje has also implied distancing from the peasant cultural past. Furthermore, the simplified structure and reduced size of the Vinogorje family, its new inheritance practices and new division of labor (particularly among the younger generation) have brought this type of family closer to the modern urban type in Croatia. The inclusion of friends from school and work into communication networks, thus extending traditional forms of exchange, has been a non-peasant trait as well. The complex principles of labor and goods exchange are also typical for a social body which can no

longer be designated as peasant. Labor exchange in small communities has been simultaneously informal and formal, for money or for favors, while some goods are exchanged in cash and non-cash transactions, depending on the context. These types of exchanges have influenced one another, depending on a number of factors not limited to the village community. Above all, an urban orientation of values, including a desire for education, jobs, urban fashions, consumer goods and entertainment, has suggested that the antagonism between urban and rural world views is vanishing, as is the class basis of this cleavage.

The historical perspective of this study has provided for an insight into the nature of cultural change. It has been asserted here that the dynamics of social and cultural change depends on conflicts between different social groups or classes, whose different interests and world views are expressed through differing symbolic systems. In Bourdieu's terms, there is always an established system of beliefs, an orthodoxy, by which dominant classes strive to retain their hold over the subordinated. But, as reality is a process, and a contradictory one, it also comes to be expressed by various heterodoxes when the conflicts are pronounced enough to be perceived and coherently formulated as a symbolic system. At other times, the principles of cultural order are not questioned and are experienced as natural, as *doxa*.

In the case of Vinogorje, it might seem at first glance that there has been no internal cultural dynamics, and that all of the changes have been merely reactions to outside events. This is true only to the extent that the village was, until the late nineteenth

century, homogeneous as concerned class identity, and that the social and cultural conflicts which influenced the villagers' practice occurred between the village, the town and the count's castle. In other words, the stage for class conflicts was wider than the village community, but the "practical and symbolic" practice motivated by these conflicts originated as much in Vinogorje as it did elsewhere. Life in Vinogorje has never been just a passive echo of outside events.

Cultural dynamics cannot be understood if analyzed only within the village boundaries. On a general level, this is true because the village is part of a larger social body and of broader social processes. On a more concrete level, the historical and other chapters in this study show that Vinogorje has been a home for Vinogorians, but never their only living space. Shopping and other trips to town, corvée at the manor, trading expeditions, weekly markets, military service, etc., were facts of everyday life from its earliest days. Outsiders have always come to Vinogorje for various reasons. Descriptions of changing conditions of feudal rent, of conflicts with burghers and the count and later with gospoda, of the impact of the ideology of Croatian Peasant Party, of "primitive socialist accumulation" after the Revolution, etc. lend support to the concept of cultural dynamics based on interactions among social classes.

Whether peasants ever had a historical chance to radically transform the social and cultural order according to their own worldview is another question completely. Many scholars claim that this has never been possible, and that peasants in most cases had to adapt to changes in the social structure initiated by other classes, rather

than carrying out their own. The analysis presented in this study, particularly Chapters VI and IX, has supported this position. It has assumed a specific nature of peasant class consciousness.

Historical possibilities remain merely possibilities until they are realized through some conscious effort. A class can modify certain social conditions only if it is aware of the totality of social relationships which constitute them, and of its own role and potential. As Lukács puts it (1971:52):

For if from the vantage point of a particular class the totality of existing society is not visible; if a class thinks the thought imputable to it and which bear upon its interests right through to their logical conclusion, and yet fails to strike at the heart of that totality, then such a class is doomed to play only a subordinate role. It can never influence the course of history in either a conservative or progressive direction. Such classes are normally condemned to passivity, to an unstable oscillation between the ruling and the revolutionary classes, and if perchance they do erupt then such explosions are purely elemental and aimless. They may win a few battles but they are doomed to ultimate defeat.

It has been demonstrated throughout this study that the peasants of Vinogorje have always been conscious of local class differences and relationships. The hierarchical order of Croatian feudal society was expressed for example through a "pyramidal" concept of social and natural worlds in a folk poem (pp. 95-96), through a self-abasing manner of addressing their superiors, through a "layered" sense of morality (for instance, the definition of theft, p. 128), and through elaborate ranking of officials in the wedding. The crisis provoked by the development of capitalism in the countryside gave rise to the cooperative movement in Vinogorje, as a form of adjustment to new social conditions. Also, it led to the rise of populism in the Croatian Peasant Party, a negation--although a weak one--

of that capitalist order. This ideology was as much a negation as a reflection of that order, and because it failed to grasp the complexity of social relations of the time, it was also unable to overcome that order.

It is indicative that the only generalized and abstract "language" by which peasants themselves could express their Seljačka Sloga ideology was (quite inadequately) that of Christian religion, inculcated in them over centuries (see p. 136). They had no other symbolic system which could, in a familiar way, express their class interests. The nature of their consciousness depended on the peasant mode of life, i.e., on a domestic mode of production, exploitation by the local nobility and village residence. These factors caused their world view to be "fragmented" or localist. Both the peasants and their feudal lords based their perception of other classes on local conditions, the fact which precluded the formation of a coherent, all-encompassing class ideology. Vinogorians had direct contacts only with landlords from Jastrebarsko and thus, although well aware of the social ladder, they experienced it as localized and specific. Accordingly, there was no universal symbolic means for expressing their world view.

The history of peasant uprisings and wars reveals how difficult it was for them to align along class lines. Since the strategies employed in such struggles are closely associated with the nature of class consciousness (Lukács 1971:53), the defeat of the peasantry was not only a defeat of tactics and strategy, as Scott claimed (1977b:290). Rather, their ineffective strategy stemmed from their ineffective class consciousness.

According to Gramsci (1967:78):

The very fact of being more or less profoundly conscious (knowing more or less of the way in which these relationships can be modified) already modifies them. [Social relationships and relationships with nature.] Once recognized as necessary, these same necessary relationships change in aspect and importance. In this sense recognition is power.

Peasants, however, did not attain such power. In their case, a fragmented world view, related to the partitioned feudal social organization, did not provide for the comprehension of that order in its totality, and consequently its transformation. This was achieved by the nineteenth century bourgeoisie in Croatia and elsewhere, because the nature of their economic organization and everyday life, modes of communication and residence pattern (urban centered) made possible the consolidation of their class consciousness and revolutionary practice. The same has been true of the working class in the twentieth century.

Peasant symbolic systems have always reflected and responded to the social order, rather than shielding and isolating peasants as a sort of defense against the hegemony of the dominant classes (Scott 1977b). The latter position derives from a simplified opposition of "Great" and "Little" traditions. In contrast, the concept of cultural dynamics in this study has been based on the notion of interaction of these traditions. This approach has been particularly necessary for understanding the modern phase of peasant culture, that is, the process of its marginalization and transformation in the last hundred years.

The analysis of ritual, as an expression and crystallization of peasant consciousness, has revealed three basic aspects of its rela-

tion to cultural change: first, rituals reflect modifications in peasant consciousness and in the class structure of the society; second, rituals are used by Vinogorians to bring about cultural and social change, rather than to fix or glorify the existing cultural order; and third, rituals emphasize contradictions in contemporary life of which villagers may not be aware.

The first aspect has been exemplified by the fact that in earlier weddings peasants would act like gospoda for the duration of the ritual, while in contemporary weddings they try to demonstrate that they have become gospoda in everyday life. Also, in Carnival, the former peasant obsession with natural forces has given way to a non-peasant concern with social relations in the larger society and with urban culture, as well as with the new status of the village community.

The second aspect has been illustrated by the fact that villagers use many ritual contexts to share in and promote cultural and social change. For instance, they manipulate their friends and kin network through a wedding ritual in order to achieve new goals of urbanization, neolocality, industrial employment, etc.; in Carnival, they express their dissatisfaction with reality and make specific suggestions for its modification. The value of climbing up the social ladder and urbanizing one's lifestyle is omnipresent, but in the ritual context it is systematized and clearly stated, especially in toasts, which are explicit declarations of current wishes and ideals. At the same time, the older generation, which is sometimes reluctant to accept change, is through ritual convinced to accept them as normal, if not always desirable from their point of view.

Ritual, then, is a sort of two-way transformer, shaping consciousness in conformity with culture, but at the same time shaping culture in conformity with the more immediate social-action and social-structural determinants of consciousness in everyday life (Ortner 1978:5).

Since the predominant value of current Yugoslav society is that of social and cultural change, accompanied by an overwhelming atmosphere of social experimentation, the "shaping of culture in conformity with more immediate . . . determinants of consciousness." is not directed towards the reproduction of cultural order, but towards its modification. This assertion is contrary to those advanced, for example, by Bourdieu (1977) and Turner (1969). Turner has recently modified his stand, however, recognizing that rituals in industrializing societies can have revolutionary potential although they are relegated to the sphere of the ludic, of leisure (in Babcock 1978:280-282). Perhaps this is precisely why they create critical consciousness and generate innovative practice: play and imagination have always been, in all cultures, means for transcending the cultural order.

The third aspect of the relationship between rituals and cultural change is that rituals reveal cultural contradictions of which even the villagers are not fully conscious. They will not become aware of them until a crisis is reached, causing their rather fragmentary value system to become systematized and coherently expressed. For one thing, it is contradictory that traditional family networks and forms of labor exchange are used in creating new, urban-style, nuclear families which will not perpetuate the earlier modes of family and community organization. As stated in Chapter VIII, the older generation of parents are forced by modern values

and goals to work against their own interests. For another thing, the two forms of Carnival described in the last chapter point to dissimilar goals of two different village groups: a desire for urban ties on the part of peasant-workers, and a desire to keep the community together on the part of peasant-farmers. Few of the participants in this ritual are fully aware that the problem of the disintegration of the community, in the face of its more direct integration into the larger social body, is a general one. Even fewer of them can now visualize a future community which would unite and realize the interests and wishes of both groups. Still another contradiction is that the villagers, who act to change their life, encounter a new form of alienation when the desired status of ex-peasant and industrial worker or professional is achieved. This is a sort of alienation in which feelings of loneliness, loss of identity, powerlessness, etc., bring them back to their parents' or grandparents' village for yearly festivities or the most important festivities of their life cycle, a kind of alienation which also gives rise to new folklore or "fakelore" and to new visions and models of the cultural past, which will help them sail more easily through the stormy present.

In concluding this essay, we should consider also the future of the Croatian ex-peasantry. In what direction will their culture evolve?

Values as a part of social consciousness, however fragmented they may be, are always future-oriented. They focus on the desirable and the possible. Hence, the Vinogorians' values and the dominant values

of the Yugoslav society, along with certain social processes, suggest a possible outline of a desirable future for the countryside.

It was observed earlier that the disintegration of traditional peasant culture does not necessarily imply the deterioration of exchange and communication networks within a small community. On the contrary, new forms are introduced to fulfill new needs. For instance, Vinogorians place great value on new forms of labor exchange because of chronic labor shortage. They also wish to improve the community atmosphere, as was revealed in interviews with community leaders (pp. 270-271), and in the toasts of Carnival. But at the same time, there is an overwhelming desire to bring their style of living closer to that of urbanites, and there is also a strong tendency to emigrate from the village.

The dominant value of Yugoslav society, systematized into a widely accepted ideology, is that of self-management. Besides being a model of an industrial democracy and of national independence, self-management also offers a vision of future small communities in which the workplace and the residential community would merge into a single locus of social life. Yet, people would at the same time identify with and be integrated into the larger social body through personal education and mobility, as well as by coordinative economic and political bodies of their immediate and larger social units. These communities would offer village life of a different quality, taking from urban life its material conveniences while maintaining the close-knit communication networks typical of traditional small communities.

There exist at present certain social trends and processes which suggest that such a future is not altogether utopian. These include the decentralization of economic management, the growing dispersion of industrial establishments into the countryside, a renewed emphasis on agriculture and on social benefits for agriculturalists, the "secondary urbanization" (see page 49) of small towns and villages, the increasingly permanent status of peasant-workers, the growing competence of village councils and an ever more pronounced emphasis on a "return to the land," although currently manifested mostly by the construction of vacation homes.

There appears to be a historical possibility for creating a culturally meaningful post-industrial society in Yugoslavia. Whether or not it will be realized depends on the people's conscious efforts.

Footnotes to Conclusion

¹This coined term may seem contradictory. It is, however, meant to denote a transitional phase in which agricultural activity increasingly becomes a profession, but many aspects of everyday life retain peasant characteristics. This phase is a complex one and in itself contradictory; hence, the term peasant-farmer.

APPENDICES

Appendix

- I Excerpts from Fieldnotes
 - The Weekly Cattle Market (August 14th, 1978)
 - A Soccer Match (August 13th, 1978)
 - St. Anne's Day Fair (August 26th, 1978)

- II Tables
 - I. Agricultural Population of Yugoslavia/
Urban Population of Yugoslavia
 - II. Basic Indices of Agricultural Development
 - III. Average Income of Rural Households in
1978 (in dinars)
 - IV. Average Expenditures of Rural Households
in 1978 (in dinars)
 - V. Population of Vinogorje by Hamlet

APPENDIX I

EXCERPTS FROM FIELDNOTES

The Weekly Cattle Market
August 14th, 1978

I got up at around 5:30 and could already hear the noise of tractors and cars descending the road to Jastrebarsko. The market starts around 6:00 and by 10:00 most of the selling is over. It was raining and windy and not too pleasant out. Right in front of the house we met our neighbor from across the street, who was also on his way to the fair, waiting at the intersection for a ride. Then, down the road near G.'s house, we picked up another old man. The conversation was about the fair in general. Both of the men knew that today was the last weekly market since recently the county council had accepted the Croatian Republic's decision to reduce the frequency of markets and to organize the buying of cattle by cooperatives and other agricultural enterprises. But it seems that they were not too concerned about this--after all, this area has not been heavily dependent on cattle-raising and there will always be ways to sell an extra calf or to buy a piglet. Neither of the two villagers had any plans for buying or selling anything at the market. They were going there for company and amusement as well as to do some shopping in town.

Upon reaching the area of the cattle market we noticed a large number of parked tractors, cars and a few horse-drawn wagons. There were a fair number of tractors parked next to the church in the town square.

At the gate to market is a small wooden weigh-station. Here a clerk was collecting fees for weighing, and I saw another clerk making the rounds of the sellers and collecting fees. It seems to me

that this second fee is paid only by those who have managed to make a sale.

The area is divided into three parts: the first for selling calves and cows, the second for pigs, and the third has barbecue-stands, a few stands selling things made of wood and straw, hats and clothings (mainly men's trousers). I exchanged a few words with a hat salesman; he was pleasantly surprised to learn that I was a niece of the well-known Zagreb burgher and hat-maker "Biba" Supek. He told me that he travelled about from market to market, visiting each place on its market day. Fridays, for example, he is in Velika Gorica, which he prefers because the cattle market and the "women's" (vegetable) market are in the same place. Next to his stand was one with whips and things made of rope.

The most numerous livestock were pigs of various sizes and in dark and light tones. Then there were about fifty calves and only three milk-cows, none of which had been sold by the end of the market.

As soon as we entered we noticed two men standing on a tractor-drawn cart negotiating the price of a calf. They slapped each other's palms and then firmly shook hands, with exaggerated up-and-down motions. Practically the whole body participated in the handshake, not just their hands. A moment later I observed a similar scene involving a pig seller. They haggled for a long time, the seller slapping the palm of the buyer, stating a price and saying: "That's final!"; but the buyer would turn away, pretending to leave, and then come back, grab the seller's hand, slapping his palm, and say: "This is all I'll pay, and that's final!" This haggling could drag on for a long time, accompanied by comments shouted from the surrounding circle of men, who cheered them on and eventually tried to convince them to settle on a price by both giving in a little. Finally, the price was fixed (usually something in the middle) and the final "handshaking" started, with lifting of hands high in the air. The two men in front of us agreed to set the price of a six-month-old pig at 2300 dinars. At first the seller asked 2600 and the buyer offered 1900. In several other cases which I saw, the seller and buyer left without agreeing on a price. In one case they

differed by 50 dinars on the price of a calf. But the seller was too stubborn to give in and backed up his refusal by saying that in the war he had been beaten up by both partisans and ustasi and survived. In one case a "middleman" played an active role and actually pulled the seller and buyer's hands together into a handshake over the final price. In other cases too, every time the seller slapped or clasped the buyer's hand, this movement involved a slight drawing of the two bodies towards each other.

There are various phrases used for attracting prospective buyers as well as for ridiculing those who offer too low a price during the haggling procedure. One such phrase, which I heard several times this morning, was: "Okay, I'll loan you the money if you're broke," with the seller taking out his wallet as if he would give the buyer his own money since the poor guy couldn't pay any more. One of them actually pulled out a 100 dinar bill. Others only promise to buy the customer a drink if the poor devil hasn't enough cash. (Usually, the likovo--the ritual of drinking together to consummate any deal--is paid for by both parties, as my neighbor from another hamlet explained.) A third seller, in response to a buyer's attempt to lower the price by 100 dinars, told him that he didn't want any business with cheapskates and he didn't want to bicker with him, and that he wouldn't sell for a lower price and that was final, even though he didn't care about the shitty 100 dinars. "We'd spend it right away on drinks, so you shouldn't think that it means anything to me." On the other hand, he wouldn't lower the price, although he was ready to blow the difference on drinks. Is this a matter of pride? I heard another buyer ask sheepishly: "Why won't you lower the price at least 50 dinars, you know it's shameful to pay the first price asked?" But this strategy of persuasion, attempting to rationalize the "play," did not work, for the buyer gave an impression of being too soft. So, there was no deal after all.

Several other similar comments led me to believe that the whole affair contains some elements of a duel, and that the result of haggling is a matter of honor as much as price. One old man, in answer to my question of why bargaining must take place like this, explained:

"It has to be, it's the heroic way." But there are lots of prices set without this ritual. L. later told me that the haggling ritual was originally more customary and more pompous than it is now. It doesn't take place only at the cattle market but is found in the village in various transactions.

After one unsuccessful haggling match I overheard a potential buyer comment as he was leaving: "We'll stay friends but I am not buying."

Several sellers were women. Their restrained behavior was conspicuous. One of them brought a calf to sell, but the actual selling and haggling were done by a man who had come with her. She only had to agree or disagree during each phase of the selling procedure and was primarily interested in obtaining the best price possible. When the final agreement was reached, she shook hands with the buyer in a quite "normal" fashion.

Another woman came to sell a cow. She stood by it in a very unimposing way and never did manage to sell it. She was, however, the only woman in pants, a sports shirt, a kerchief and stylish sunglasses. She looked more like a "western" farm woman than a peasant from this region.

The third woman who I talked to had come from I. with a nice 120 kilogram calf which looked to everyone even bigger than it was. She stood by a tractor-cart the whole time. Once in a while men would gather around the calf to discuss the price with her and a man who came along with her. After eight o'clock, when the best time for bargaining had passed, the man took a greater part in attracting buyers, pulling them by their sleeves to come see the calf. The woman wanted 4400 dinars for it. No one ever did buy it. The man with her did most of the talking, but he'd always add: "It's her calf, I just drove it here." Near the end of the market, as I was getting ready to leave, the woman told him: "Take off your apron and let's go have a bite to eat." The man hesitated since, as he said, they hadn't sold the calf. The woman answered that they still had to eat, and so they left.

A little earlier a man had stopped by and informed them that the cooperative in K. was buying up calves for a price as good as you

could get at the market, without the bother of going to the market. To prove "that he wasn't lying," he showed them his receipts, with the prices written on them. The woman told her companion that she'd do the same next Monday.

By 9:30 most of the calves sold had been loaded into tractor-carts and trucks (a special ramp is made for loading cattle). Pig-sellers stayed longer, it seemed, while only five or six calves were still left to be sold. The major "arena" was emptying out but the benches in the barbecue tents were still crowded with people, as were the stands selling beer and wine.

I set off for town. On Mondays the streets are really lively. Peasant women stood in groups on the sidewalk chatting while others shopped for groceries or at the pharmacy. Tractors and cars jammed the streets and sidewalks. At the vegetable market on the town square were regular stands with fruits, vegetables and dairy products, as well as some additional stands selling clothing. Unlike the cattle market, most of the sellers and buyers here were women.

A Soccer Match
August 13th, 1978

At 4:00 p.m. there was an important match played at Vinogorje's soccer field in R., in which the local team and the team from Jastrebarsko competed for the county championship. It was quite exciting and there was a big crowd watching. Most of the spectators were teenagers of both sexes and married men up to about age fifty. There were few women; remarkable as an exception was a baba (an old woman) in her folk costume.

Along the roadside were parked many cars and motorbikes, while on the slope leading down from it to the playing field was seated the roaring crowd. Although some fans came from Jastrebarsko, the local fans had an obvious lead in decibels. Besides noisy cheering, they encouraged their players by waving red-and-white flags. Later J. told me that these flags (as well as the red team uniforms) were a gift from Vinogorians working in Holland, and that these colors were actually the colors of "Ajax" (the most famous Dutch soccer team). Thus the colors of "Ajax" were fluttering on the playing-field of Vinogorje. J. commented that this wasn't really nice. Besides, this name had come to be the popular nickname used by the villagers for the boys on their team. Hmm.

There were no tickets and, as J. told me, the county finances the games. Besides, they sometimes organize fund-raising parties at the firestation. The local general store sells their buttons. Also, the team is the county champion.

Luckily, the game went well: we won 2 to 1. The (victorious) players were "according to the rules" carried off the playing-field on the fans' shoulders. During the game there were a fair number of juicy comments shouted to the referee who was from Jastrebarsko and thus, the locals thought, could not help being biased.

After the match automobiles and motorbikes crowded into the road, while some of the local fans set off for the village on foot in small groups. When we arrived home we noticed that a line of several cars had formed on the road, waving red and white "Ajax," i.e., Vinogorje banners. The cars were on their way to the inn for a drink and

then to Jastrebarsko "to taunt them a little." Afterwards there was a banquet in the inn for the losers as well as for the winners. "Our" waitress told me that this was customary. After the recent loss of a game with the "Zagreb" team (with a score of 7 to 1), there was similar merry-making afterwards. On the lower level of the inn were many other guests. This is not normal for a Sunday evening, so that the game was "to blame" for all this.

Even in this local village team players are "traded" (but not bought and sold as are the major national soccer "stars"). One player from Jastrebarsko has a girlfriend in Vinogorje and because of this plays on the local team. (During the game the fans from Jastrebarsko shouted at him: "Traitor!") Another player is somehow related to a Vinogorje family although he lives in Zagreb. Still another player is from the village of I. and plays on Vinogorje's team because of some private connection with the village. The rest of the team consists of locals.

That same evening a Hunting Society's party was organized in the firestation. They brought it a band from D. (bass, violin, guitar, accordion, all played by older men). The large hall was starkly empty when Milan and I arrived about 8:00 p.m. The only group of people there was sitting around some tables in the room belonging to the Hunting Society, which I saw open for the first time on this occasion. It is a rather large room with a long, L-shaped table and chairs, a few trophies and diplomas hanging on the walls and a desk in the corner. In another corner were stacked cases of beer, soda pop, wine and mineral water. This enormous quantity of drinks was somehow out of proportion with the small group of mostly older men sitting there. Maybe the party got livelier later in the evening, but I really doubt it, judging by the crowds in the inn, which lured passers-by with its loud juke-box strains of "Brown Girl," "By the Waters of Babylon" and "ABBA."

St. Anne's Day Fair
July 26th, 1978

Today is the most important religious holiday in Vinogorje, and it seems to me, also the greatest event of the year, in which a large number of people from all the hamlets participate.

In the morning I was awakened by silence for a change, and by only a few hurried voices of people passing by the windows of my room. There was no tractor noise. This day is an absolute holiday, when no work is done (except in the house) and it appears that everyone obeys this rule even more strictly than on Sundays. A bit later, between seven and eight, cars started arriving in large numbers, so that the steep road below our house was the scene of a traffic jam. I got up and saw through the window groups of children, women and men (rarely grouped by family; most often by sex), showing off their Sunday best and hurrying towards the village center. Older women were all, without exception, dressed in white skirts and blouses and black aprons (or rarely white ones). Some were carrying prayer books in their hands. Early mass was at 7:00 this morning, while the next and most popular was at 10:00, and still later one was at 5:00 p.m.

I, too, started to get ready to go to the fair. L. was busily at work cleaning the house and cooking the holiday dinner (roast turkey, homemade noodle soup, etc.). She didn't go to church or to the fair. It seems that she practically never goes to church and as for the fair, she said that she'd already seen it many times.

On both sides of the main road to the village center are parked cars and many cars with Zagreb, Karlovac and German license plates are parked in the yards. Since tomorrow is a state holiday and no one has to work then or the following long weekend, many absent relatives had come for a visit. I witnessed the reunion of some friends (relatives?) who arrived in two different cars and started to embrace and greet each other in the middle of the road after an apparently long separation.

The main events take place on the square bounded by the fire-station, the church and the road. The whole space is crowded with

benches, tents, barbecue stands selling various grilled meats (beside one tent is a sheep roasting on a spit), and vendors selling bottled beer and wine from barrels. There are trinket sellers with their standard repertoire of plastic junk, dolls, jewelry, mirrors and pictures of Sandokan (a currently popular TV series hero), the Beatles, Boney M and Bijelo Dugme (a Yugoslav rock group). There are of course also pictures and badges of saints, especially of St. Anne.

Besides the trinket-sellers and barbecued meat vendors are two specialty bakers selling decorative cookies and honey-cakes. There are also a number of air-rifle ranges offering such prizes as a bottle of wine, a vase or a toy. A group of gypsies is wandering around: some of them sit by the entrance to the churchyard begging, while the younger women weave their way through crowds reading palms (especially for young men). Some gypsy boys and men had set up a few simple game booths: several upright crates full of bottles of beer, which can be won by a successful toss of a wooden ring. In the center of the square are a large merry-go-round and a smaller one for children. The two young men running the larger one are loudly playing the latest hits over two loudspeakers, calling invitations to the younger fairgoers to try a "satellite ride" for ten dinars. This is a standard repertoire of calls (it's too bad that I did not record it) containing some lascivious elements, for example: "Hey, girls, you there eating ice-cream, you'll catch cold. Come here instead to cool off. Why are you standing there like "wooden Marias" (statues). The boys are here on the merry-go-round. Join them for a ride . . ."

In addition to these major "set-ups" there are peddlers offering holy pictures, badges and similar from bags which they carry. There is also a small cotton candy machine surrounded, naturally, mostly by kids.

It is really interesting to watch the people, the wide range of colors and behavior. The older women and men (the latter in their dark suits with white shirts and inevitable hats) had assembled in the morning in front of the church, on the outside of which are rigged up a loudspeaker and a green garland decorated with colored lights.

The loudspeaker, over which the priest's sermon can be heard, competes rather unsuccessfully with the loud music from the merry-go-round. (The sermon was, by the way, quite dramatic, punctuated by "Don't . . . do . . . remember . . . Croatsians" and the like, in the same style.) The sermon could not be heard much beyond the church yard and, of course, the inside of the church. Although the church was packed for the mid-morning mass, a much larger number of people still remained on the square, making merry, completely forgetting, it seemed, that this was a religious holiday. In reality, this was, after all, not a religious but a village holiday.

In addition to older, solemnly attired people (women as a rule, in traditional costume), there are women over thirty wearing printed cotton chintz dresses and sandals of some sort. The younger generation is also colorfully dressed: ruffled dresses, some in new "folk costumes" decorated with embroidery, and some wearing an unusual synthesis of brightly colored wide skirts in the latest fashion and blouses in the traditional style. Only rarely can one see girls in pants, but some of them have jerseys cut very low in back. Among the guests who had come from outside the village I noted styles in dress particular to the first urban generation: sandals and handbags of an out-dated type, skirts of a classic cut, also outside of the stream of fashion, and printed blouses. Some individuals display an "urban" or, better stated, "snobbish" consciousness and self-consciousness: the "safari" outfit with all the fashionable accessories. Among them I immediately recognized that "Indian Squaw" from the previous Carnival, who, I think, immediately noticed me too and gave my outfit a quick inspection. (This was probably disappointment to her--namely, I was one of those rare women in simple pants and a sporty blouse.)

The young men wear mostly "safari" suits or other dressy pants (rarely jeans), various T-shirts or shirts. Only the three merry-go-round attendants sport the "cowboy" style of blue jeans and bare chests. Everyone and everything is on parade.

After the mid-morning mass women become a minority on the square. This is quite logical--they must withdraw into their kitchens to

await their many guests and to serve them food. Those remaining are for the most part young, with a few old men, a fair number of men in their thirties and forties (gathered mainly by the entrance to the firestation near the drinks), and a few grandmothers with their grandchildren. Besides these there are still several families left under the tents eating a picnic meal of roast meat, probably those who do not have close relatives or friends in Vinogorje to invite them to dinner.

I tried to photograph the square in front of the church from the windows of the firestation, but I could not find any angle which would permit one to get the whole crowd at once. The Fire Station Hall, where a party was to be held in the evening, presented its usual picture of dust and negligence.

It seems that the Vinogorje youth organization is not particularly well organized, nor perhaps is the Firemen's Society whose hall this actually is.

At about one o'clock I went home to dinner. I helped L. fix the tossed salad. Everything else was already cooked: homemade noodle soup (prepared a day ahead of time), boiled pork and chicken in tomato sauce, roast turkey served with a kind of noodles, beet salad and tossed salad, and four kinds of pastry (today, after baking all day yesterday, she made excellent, piquant cheese strudel). This enormous quantity of food was ready for guests "who might show up" and not for anybody specific. They expected several relatives as well as a friend from Jastrebarsko (who would be an influential connection to help J. to find work). But it turned out, when none had shown up by 1:30, that only the three of us sat down to dinner.

After dinner, since no one had shown up yet, L. took a short nap. This is the first time since my arrival that I've seen her sitting idle by the kitchen door and resting, or actually even going to her room to rest. Other times she is always on her feet, from dawn to dusk, in the vineyard, the yard or the garden. Even on Sundays she does not rest, but then she works only around the house, which is at least a relative rest from working in the fields and vineyards.

Our neighbors across the road are being visited by their daughter (who graduated from a secondary school of applied arts) and son-in-law (an art teacher). Neighbor S. told me that she expects her own relatives. She did not go to the fair because she is still in mourning--two years ago she buried her son (fortunately she has other children).

Not until dusk did M. and her brother J. arrive for a visit. Sitting in the yard I watched the streets of Vinogorje turning into a promenade: never before have I seen so many people strolling leisurely to and from the village center. The majority of the strollers were young. Large numbers of cars cruised slowly, alongside those on foot.

Supper was similar to dinner (except that the boiled meat course was omitted), and ended with coffee. At least there were a few guests. I saw that the F.'s felt bad that no one had come, after they had cooked so much food. The L's phoned M. to say that they'd be coming on Saturday. M. probably has too much to do and will come tomorrow.

J., M., and L. talked mostly about selling wine and transporting it to the wine-cellar. It seems that the F's agreed after all to sell their wine to the cellar, for 7.90 dinars per liter. Since they have about 2,600 liters left this will be a tidy sum for J. and M., because they (J., that is) made the wine themselves. We chatted also about M.'s job at the Winery, which it appears is expanding and is generally doing well. They have invested in the Vinogorje cellar to renovate it completely. They have bought a new scale for weighing truckloads of grapes and renovated the exterior as well as the interior. Presses and other new equipment have been imported from France.

After supper we went to the inn to try to make a few telephone calls. The phone did not work, though, since the post-office had forgotten to flip a switch before closing. The inn was packed with local customers and outside visitors. Afterwards, I took a walk to the center and back. The streets were full of teenagers going to the party at the firestation, while one group was standing in front

of the station drinking. Since they were pretty rowdy I quickly walked past them. I did notice, however, posters advertising a magic show for tomorrow evening--featuring fire-eating, sawing a man in half, and similar cultural achievements, scheduled at the cultural center for July 27! (This is the major official holiday of Croatia.) If M. comes tomorrow, I would like to go with him to see this circus as well as its audience.

APPENDIX II

TABLE I
 AGRICULTURAL POPULATION OF YUGOSLAVIA (%)

Year	SFRJ	Bosnia Herzeg.	Monte- negro	Croatia	Mace- donia	Slovenia	All	Kosovo	Serbia Voivodina	Serb. proper
1948	67.2	71.8	71.6	62.4	70.6	44.1	72.3	80.9	68.1	72.4
1953	60.9	62.2	61.5	56.4	62.7	41.1	66.7	72.4	62.9	67.2
1961	49.6	50.2	47.0	43.9	51.3	31.1	56.1	64.2	51.8	56.2
1971	38.2	40.0	35.0	32.3	39.9	20.4	44.0	51.5	29.0	44.1
1978*	30.3	30.2	27.0	24.6	32.6	13.5	36.3	42.9	32.8	35.7

*Estimate

URBAN POPULATION OF YUGOSLAVIA (%)

Year	SFRJ	Bosnia Herzeg.	Monte- negro	Croatia	Mace- donia	Slovenia	All	Kosovo	Serbia Voivodina	Serb. proper
1953	21.7	15.0	14.2	24.3	26.1	22.0	22.5	14.6	29.5	21.2
1961	28.3	19.5	21.1	30.8	34.9	28.9	29.8	19.5	38.3	28.6
1971	38.6	27.9	34.2	41.0	48.1	37.7	40.6	26.9	48.7	40.8
1978*	45.6	33.8	43.1	48.1	57.3	44.2	47.9	32.1	56.0	49.3

*Estimate

Source: Statistički godišnjak Jugoslavije, 1979: 87, 225.

TABLE II
BASIC INDICES OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Year	Index of Production 1955 = 100		Social Product in Million Dinars		Number of Farms		Cultivable Land in Thousand Hectares		
	Total	Soc. Sector	Private Sector	Total	Socialized Sector	Social	Private	Total	Social Sector
1950	63					26,130	2,608,015	9,700	2,326
1955	100	100	100	27,160	1,869	8,366		10,100	824
1960	125	261	118	33,581	4,729	5,120	2,618,103	10,300	1,030
1965	133	428	117	33,571	6,561	2,559		10,300	1,413
1970	154	550	129	39,188	8,440	1,925	2,559,552*	10,153	1,489
1975	177	735	142	45,121	10,422	2,363		10,001	1,535
1978	185	882	144	47,989	12,544	2,879		9,939	1,580

*In 1969

Year	Head of Cattle in Thousands		Tractors	
	Total	Soc. Sector	Total	Soc. Sector
1950	4,197	510		4,530
1955	4,255	279	11,571	8,762
1960	5,506	486	35,779	30,699
1965	5,363	497	51,335	40,340
1970	5,213	444	80,000	27,402
1975	5,439	457	225,523	25,523
1978	5,514	630	341,828	25,828

Source: Statistički godišnjak Jugoslavije, 1979: 414.

TABLE III
AVERAGE INCOME OF RURAL HOUSEHOLDS IN 1978 (in dinars)

	Total Income of Households	Means Available to a Household										Total Expenditures on Materials and Services
		Total	Cash Income from Farmwork	Cash Income from Non-Farm Work	Other Cash Receipts	Subsistence Consumption of Domestic Products					Agricul-tural Reserves	
						Total	Food and Drink	Other Domestic Products	Fuel	Building Materials		
SFRJ	102,608	93,297	21,689	38,998	7,207	18,359	15,601	509	2,029	220	7,044	9,311
"Pure" agr. households	93,659	83,075	32,543	16,581	6,121	18,867	16,037	507	2,082	241	8,963	10,584
"Mixed" households	110,658	102,492	11,926	59,161	8,184	17,903	15,208	512	1,981	201	5,319	8,166
BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA	86,197	80,198	11,886	41,526	7,390	14,138	11,616	422	2,009	92	5,258	5,999
"Pure" agr. households	76,932	70,610	18,147	26,818	5,564	14,615	12,041	325	2,147	102	5,466	6,322
"Mixed" households	95,686	90,017	5,473	56,589	9,260	13,650	11,180	521	1,867	82	5,045	5,668
MONTENEGRO	92,128	88,314	15,281	41,969	6,275	24,262	20,429	1,657	1,451	724	527	3,815
"Pure" agr. households	96,977	92,736	31,316	22,781	10,498	26,551	22,664	1,934	1,098	855	1,590	4,241
"Mixed" households	89,342	85,772	6,064	52,999	3,847	22,946	19,145	1,498	1,655	648	-84	3,570
CROATIA	86,984	78,922	14,994	38,920	5,646	14,470	12,925	231	1,303	11	4,891	8,062
"Pure" agr. households	68,976	60,926	26,748	8,691	3,977	14,957	13,215	247	1,465	30	6,552	8,050
"Mixed" households	97,788	89,719	7,942	57,058	6,647	14,178	12,752	221	1,206	---	3,895	8,069
MACEDONIA	78,702	72,473	23,096	31,040	4,268	10,403	8,077	529	1,637	160	3,666	6,230
"Pure" agr. households	70,346	63,564	28,334	17,173	3,899	10,385	8,221	556	1,603	5	3,773	6,782
"Mixed" households	91,807	86,443	14,883	52,785	4,847	10,431	7,851	486	1,690	403	3,498	5,364
SLOVENIA	156,746	146,927	27,623	72,598	12,846	26,886	21,683	49	4,284	870	6,974	9,820
"Pure" agr. households	118,789	105,359	45,693	14,224	5,045	33,353	27,108	83	4,888	1,274	7,044	13,430
"Mixed" households	167,058	158,220	22,713	88,457	14,965	25,129	20,209	40	4,120	761	6,955	8,839
SERBIA	114,152	101,591	28,886	33,332	7,699	21,162	18,146	595	2,213	209	10,512	12,562
"Pure" agr. households	111,282	97,064	39,658	15,342	7,171	21,730	18,605	541	2,298	286	12,962	14,218
"Mixed" households	117,690	107,171	15,363	55,504	8,349	20,463	17,579	661	2,108	114	7,492	10,519
Serbia proper	101,824	92,385	20,951	35,971	6,581	21,632	17,825	701	2,803	303	7,250	9,439
"Pure" agr. households	92,163	82,562	27,257	19,170	5,280	22,398	18,378	663	2,929	428	8,457	9,606
"Mixed" households	114,216	104,990	12,857	57,531	8,250	20,649	17,115	749	2,642	142	5,702	9,226
Kosovo	85,534	80,878	10,644	36,165	4,710	23,557	21,251	542	1,624	140	5,802	4,656
"Pure" agr. households	72,590	68,299	13,306	18,919	6,727	24,286	21,811	457	1,855	163	5,063	4,291
"Mixed" households	96,671	91,702	8,354	51,006	2,974	22,930	20,769	515	1,425	121	6,438	4,969
Vojvodina	156,845	133,162	56,282	25,742	11,756	18,922	17,445	370	1,090	18	20,460	23,684
"Pure" agr. households	170,673	141,897	79,411	5,039	11,756	19,196	17,913	289	994	---	26,495	28,776
"Mixed" households	138,472	121,555	25,548	53,252	11,755	18,559	16,823	476	1,218	41	12,441	16,916

Source: Anкета o seoskim domaćinstvima 1978, SB 1142, Savezni zavod za statistiku, Beograd, 1978.

TABLE IV
AVERAGE EXPENDITURES OF RURAL HOUSEHOLDS IN 1978 (in dinars)

	Personal Consumption			Taxes, Insurance ¹	Farm Investment			Investment in Homes ²	Purchase of Equipment for Home Crafts	Debts and Mortgage	Agric-ultural Reserves	Remaining Cash
	Total Available Means	Natural Products			Total	Domestically Produced Material	Cash					
		Total	Cash									
SFRJ	53,297	39,023	18,139	2,592	8,391	202	8,171	4,967	77	3,914	7,044	9,149
"Pure" agr. hshhlds.	83,075	30,059	18,625	3,182	9,585	241	9,343	3,406	16	3,406	8,963	6,231
"Mixed" households	102,492	47,086	17,701	2,062	7,318	201	7,116	6,372	131	4,730	5,319	11,775
BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA	80,198	39,554	14,046	2,088	6,260	92	6,168	3,713	39	2,301	5,258	6,539
"Pure" agr. hshhlds.	70,610	47,760	33,246	2,355	7,514	102	7,649	1,864	28	1,291	5,466	4,095
"Mixed" households	90,017	60,392	46,824	1,814	4,733	82	4,651	5,606	50	3,336	5,045	9,041
MONTENEGRO	88,314	62,412	38,883	710	3,701	724	2,977	4,893	3	1,297	527	14,772
"Pure" agr. hshhlds.	92,736	57,038	31,342	829	6,069	855	5,214	10,769	---	912	1,590	15,529
"Mixed" households	85,772	65,515	43,217	641	2,340	648	1,692	1,515	4	1,503	-84	14,337
CROATIA	78,922	48,038	33,579	2,499	5,138	11	5,127	3,416	38	4,367	4,891	10,534
"Pure" agr. hshhlds.	60,926	36,285	21,358	3,555	5,274	30	5,244	1,218	5	2,915	6,552	5,121
"Mixed" households	89,719	55,091	40,912	1,866	5,056	---	5,056	4,734	57	5,238	3,895	13,782
MACEDONIA	72,473	45,279	35,037	1,631	6,282	160	6,122	6,779	4	1,712	3,666	7,120
"Pure" agr. hshhlds.	63,564	38,238	27,858	1,642	6,514	5	6,509	4,024	5	1,399	3,773	7,970
"Mixed" households	86,443	56,322	46,294	1,614	5,918	403	5,514	11,098	2	2,204	3,498	5,787
SLOVENIA	146,927	85,778	59,762	2,801	20,518	870	19,648	10,410	174	5,740	6,974	14,531
"Pure" agr. hshhlds.	105,359	72,242	40,164	3,321	19,052	1,274	17,778	1,436	74	2,983	7,044	-794
"Mixed" households	158,220	89,456	65,087	2,659	20,917	761	20,156	12,848	201	6,489	6,955	18,659
SERBIA	101,591	59,838	38,885	3,257	10,044	209	9,836	5,086	120	4,761	10,512	7,973
"Pure" agr. hshhlds.	97,064	53,272	31,828	3,858	12,172	286	11,886	4,033	16	4,169	12,962	6,582
"Mixed" households	107,171	67,930	47,581	2,517	7,422	114	7,308	6,383	248	5,490	7,492	9,687
Serbia proper	92,385	57,098	35,769	3,200	8,142	303	7,839	4,511	169	3,183	7,250	8,832
"Pure" agr. hshhlds.	82,562	50,016	28,045	3,669	9,230	428	8,802	2,699	26	1,719	8,457	6,745
"Mixed" households	104,990	66,186	45,679	2,598	6,745	142	6,603	6,837	352	5,061	5,702	11,508
Kosovo	80,878	54,933	31,516	871	2,310	140	2,170	1,526	24	523	5,802	14,888
"Pure" agr. hshhlds.	68,299	46,209	22,087	843	1,778	163	1,615	1,363	---	293	5,063	12,749
"Mixed" households	91,702	62,439	39,630	896	2,768	121	2,647	1,667	44	722	6,438	16,729
Vojvodina	133,162	68,643	49,738	4,515	18,193	18	18,176	8,122	50	10,496	20,460	2,682
"Pure" agr. hshhlds.	141,897	63,570	44,374	5,447	23,005	---	23,005	8,164	0	11,369	26,495	3,847
"Mixed" households	121,555	75,383	56,865	3,277	11,800	41	11,759	8,066	116	9,337	12,441	1,134

¹ The tax on agricultural income, various contributions, insurance of cattle and crops.

² Cash expenditures for purchase or construction of houses.

³ Expenditures for home industries (tools, looms, etc.) and crafts.

TABLE V
POPULATION OF VINOGORJE BY HAMLET

Year	1857	1869	1880	1890	1900	1910	1921	1931	1948	1953	1961	1971
Belčiči	140	143	148	159	184	169	149	148	137	133	118	102
Celine	78	96	115	115	125	139	121	122	124	121	93	89
Dolanjski j.	60	64	70	72	74	84	80	71	80	81	83	75
Draga	348	395	416	439	420	392	360	368	334	338	327	310
Gorica	166	195	163	175	199	209	165	182	177	164	187	188
Grabarak	56	47	37	57	43	39	36	37	38	37	26	11
Ivančiči	424	446	452	471	444	464	434	422	441	443	400	367
Kupeč dol	203	213	205	235	227	223	215	204	196	209	190	188
Lanišće	39	51	57	55	49	49	45	45	37	41	34	16
Miladini	139	135	135	162	144	129	105	105	97	105	111	103
Paljugi	81	84	99	101	116	110	101	98	78	67	62	63
Prodin dol	230	235	269	294	277	246	233	251	251	240	245	197
Redovje	23	32	31	50	37	46	43	40	47	45	39	44
Srednjak	84	102	101	105	106	113	95	87	79	93	94	85
Toplice	176	176	216	237	240	232	211	211	213	228	223	184
Spigelski b.	71	64	67	66	56	51	45	41	35	33	18	---
Bukovac	155	156	177	183	206	168	159	176	162	158	161	134
VINOGORJE	2473	2745	2758	2976	2947	2863	2597	2608	2526	2536	2411	2156

Source: Korenčić, M.: *Naselja i stanovništvo SR Hrvatske, 1857-1971*. JAZU, Zagreb, 1979.

REFERENCES CITED

REFERENCES CITED

- Abrahams, Roger, and R. Bauman
 1978 Ranges of Festival Behavior. In *The Reversible World*. Barbara A. Babcock, ed. pp. 193-208. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Adamček, Josip
 1975 Povijest trgovišta i vlastelinstva Jastrebarsko. *Kaj* 1/2:121-148. Zagreb.
- Anthology of Folk Poetry
 1980 *Kudilja i vreteno. Erotske narodne pjesme.* Zagreb: Znanje.
- Babcock, Barbara A.
 1978 *The Reversible World.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Baučić, Ivo
 1977 Some Economic Consequences of Yugoslav External Migrations. In *Demographic Development in Eastern Europe*. L. Kosinski, ed. pp. 266-283. New York: Praeger.
- Bauman, Zygmunt
 1973 *Culture as Praxis.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bell, John D.
 1977 *Peasants in Power.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Bezucha, Robert J.
 1975 *Mask of Revolution: A Study of Popular Culture During the Second French Republic.* In *Revolution and Reaction*. R. Price, ed. pp. 236-253. New York: Barnes and Noble.
- Bičanić, Rudolf
 1937 *Agrarna kriza u Hrvatskoj 1873-1895.* *Ekonomist* 3, 4 and 5. Zagreb.

Bogišić, Rafo

- 1927 (1884) O obliku zvanom inokoština u seoskoj porodici Srba i Hrvata. Beograd.

Bonifačić-Rožin, Nikola

- 1965 Dramske igre na svadbama u zagrebačkim selima (Dramatic Plays at Weddings in Villages Near Zagreb). Rad X kongresa Saveza Udruženja Folklorista Jugoslavije. pp. 185-189. Zagreb.
- 1966 "Žitak" ili "pokladno sudenje" (The Carnival Trial). Rad XI kongresa Saveza Udruženja Folklorista Jugoslavije. pp. 83-91. Zagreb.

Bošković-Stulli, Maja

- 1972 Kuhinjski humor u kajkavskim svadbenim govorima (Kitchen Humor in Kaikavian Wedding Speeches). Narodna umjetnost 9:55-65. Zagreb.

Bottomore, Thomas B.

- 1976 Sociology as Social Criticism. New York: W. Morrow and Co.

Bourdieu, Pierre

- 1977 Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brain, Robert

- 1976 Friends and Lovers. New York: Basic Books.

Budinščak, Josip

- 1956 Program podizanja i obnove vinograda na području Poljoprivredne zadruge Sv. Jana (The Program for Planting and Regeneration of Vineyards in the Area of the Agricultural Cooperative of Vingorje). Manuscript.
- 1957 Investicioni program podizanja vinograda na području Poljoprivredne zadruge Sv. Jana za 1957/58 (The Program of Investments in 1957/58 in Planting Vineyards in the Area of the Agricultural Cooperative of Vingorje). Manuscript, archives of the Cooperative.

Burić, Olivera

- 1976 The Zadruga and the Contemporary Family in Yugoslavia. In Communal Families in the Balkans. R. Byrnes, ed. pp. 117-138. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Chaianov, A. V.

- 1966 *The Theory of Peasant Economy*. Homewood, Ill.: American Economic Association.

Cifrić, Ivan

- 1978 Potencijalna prostorna pokretljivost stanovnika središnje Hrvatske. *Sociologija sela* 59/60:30-39. Zagreb.

Cole, John W.

- 1981 *Family, Farm and Factory: Rural Workers in Contemporary Romania*. In *Romania in the 1980s*. D. Nelson, ed. pp. 71-116. Boulder: Westview Press.

Cvijić, Jovan

- 1931 *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslavenske zemlje: Osnovi antropogeografije*. Vol. II: Psihičke osobine južnih Slavena. Beograd: Knjižara Gece Kona.

Čulinović-Konstantinović, Vesna

- 1971 *Posljednje porodične zajednice u Hrvatskom Zagorju* (The Last Communal Families in the Croatian Zagorje). *Zbornik za Narodni Život i Običaje južnih Slavena* 45: 423-447. Zagreb.

Da Matta, Roberto

- 1977 *Constraint and License: A Preliminary Study of Two Brazilian National Rituals*. In *Secular Ritual*. Sally Moore and B. Myerhoff, eds. pp. 244-264. Amsterdam: Van Gorcum.

Davis, Natalie Z.

- 1978 *Women on Top: Symbolic Sexual Inversion and the Political Disorder in Early Modern Europe*. In *The Reversible World*. Barbara Babcock, ed. pp. 147-190. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Defilippis, Josip

- 1978 *Proizvodno-ekonomska obilježja poljoprivrednih mješovitih domaćinstava u SR Hrvatskoj*. *Sociologija sela* 59/60:43-61. Zagreb.

Denich, Bette S.

- 1974 *Why Do Peasants Urbanize. A Yugoslav Case Study*. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 220:546-559.

Dilić, Edhem et al.

- 1977 Seoska omladina danas. Zagreb: Institut za društvena istraživanja.

Dolgin, Janet L., David S. Kemnitzer, and David M. Schneider

- 1977 Symbolic Anthropology. New York: Columbia University Press.

Domac, Antun

- 1939 Revizorski izvještaj (A Supervisory Report). Archives of the Wine Cooperative, in private possession.

Erlich, Vera St.

- 1966 Family in Transition. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Falica, Jana

- 1937 Kod sunčanog izlaza 11. lipnja 1937 (At sunrise, June 11, 1937). Seljačka sloga 2:179. Zagreb.
- 1939 Martinsko prelo. Seljačka sloga 4:70-77. Zagreb.
- 1940 Život i običaji gorjanskoga kraja (Life and Custom in the Uplands). Seljačka sloga 5:284-285 and 365-366. Zagreb.

Falica, Josip

- 1975 Interview. Svetojanski kraj. Kaj 1975:4.

Fallers, L. A.

- 1967 Are African Cultivators to be Called "Peasants"? In Peasant Society. Jack Potter, M. Diaz, and G. Foster, eds. pp. 35-41. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.

Filipović, Milenko

- 1968 Reciprocity in Folk Life: The Serbian Case. Ethnologia Europaea 2/3:123-126.
- 1976 Zadruga (Kućna Zadruga). In Communal Families in the Balkans. R. Byrnes, ed. pp. 268-279. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

First-Dilić, Ruža

- 1977 Medugeneracijsko ispomaganje u seoskoj porodici. Sociologija sela 55/56:75-85. Zagreb.

Foster, George M.

- 1967 Introduction: What is a Peasant? In Peasant Society. Jack Potter, M. Diaz, and G. Foster, eds. pp. 2-14. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.

Franklin, Harvey

- 1969 The European Peasantry. London: Methuen and Co.
- 1971 The Worker Peasant in Europe. In Peasants and Peasant Societies. Theodor Shanin, ed. pp. 98-102. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Galt, Anthony

- 1973 Carnival on the Island of Pantelleria: Ritualized Community Solidarity in an Atomistic Society. *Ethnology* 12:325-339.

Gavazzi, Milovan

- 1939 Godina dana hrvatskih narodnih obiĉaja. Prvi dio. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska.
- 1978 Vrela i sudbine narodnih tradicija. Zagreb: Liber.

Geertz, Clifford

- 1973 The Interpretation of Cultures. New York: Basic Books.

Gilmore, David

- 1975 Carnival in Fuenmayor: Class Conflict and Social Cohesion in an Andalusian Town. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 31:331-349.

Godelier, Maurice

- 1978 Infrastructures, Societies and History. *Current Anthropology* 19:763-771.

Goody, Jack

- 1976 Production and Reproduction. A Comparative Study of the Domestic Domain. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goody, Jack, and S. J. Tambiah

- 1973 Bridewealth and Dowry. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gramsci, Antonio

- 1967 The Modern Prince and Other Writings. New York: International Publishers.

Gušić, Marijana

- 1967 Etnička grupa Bezjaci. Zbornik za Narodni Život i Običaje 43:7-124. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti.

Halpern, Joel M.

- 1972 Town and Countryside in Serbia in the Nineteenth Century. Social and Household Structure as Reflected in the Census of 1863. In Household and Family in Past Time. Peter Laslett and R. Wall, eds. pp. 401-427. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Halpern, Joel M., and B. K. Halpern

- 1972 A Serbian Village in Historical Perspective. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- 1979 Changing Perceptions of Roles as Husbands and Wives in Five Yugoslav Villages. In Europe as a Cultural Area. Jean Cuisenier, ed. pp. 159-172. The Hague: Mouton.

Hammel, Eugene A.

- 1967 The Jewish Mother in Serbia. In Essays in Balkan Ethnology. William G. Lockwood, ed. pp. 55-62. Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, special edition no. 1. Berkeley: University of California.
- 1968 Alternative Social Structures and Ritual Relations in the Balkans. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- 1972 The Zadruga as Process. In Household and Family in Past Time. Peter Laslett and R. Wall, eds. pp. 335-373. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1976 Some Medieval Evidence on the Serbian Zadruga: A Preliminary Analysis of the Chrysobulls of Dečani. In Communal Families in the Balkans: The Zadruga. R. Byrnes, ed. pp. 100-116. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Higgins, Michael

- 1980 Review of Culture as Praxis, by Z. Bauman. Dialectical Anthropology 5:167-170.

Ježić, Davorin

- 1963 Narodne pjesme i narodni običaji u Novom Vinodolskom (Folk Songs and Practices in Novi Vinodolski). Manuscript no. 401. Archives of the Institute of Folklore Research, Zagreb.

Kligman, Gail

- 1981 The Rites of Women: Oral Poetry, Ideology and the Socialization of Peasant Women in Contemporary Romania. Manuscript.

Korenčić, Mirko

- 1979 Naselja i stanovništvo SR Hrvatske 1857-1971. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti.

Kozina, Antun

- 1965 Krapinski vandrček. Krapina: Author's edition.
- 1978 Etnosociološke pojave u doba razvitka turizma Hrvatskog Zagorja. Etnološki pregled 15:121-122. Beograd.

Krbek, Josip

- 1922 Zemljišna zajednica. Zagreb.

Leach, Maria

- 1950 Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude

- 1969 The Elementary Structures of Kinship. Boston: Beacon Press.

Lockwood, William G.

- 1973 The Peasant-Worker in Yugoslavia. Studies in European Peasantry. pp. 91-110. The Hague: Mouton.
- 1975 European Moslems: Economy and Ethnicity in Western Bosnia. New York: Academic Press.

Lukács, György

- 1971 History and Class Consciousness. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

Makarovič, Marija

- 1974 Medsebojna pomoč na vasi na slovenskem kot etnološki problem. Etnološki pregled 11:91-99. Beograd.
- 1978 Medsebojna pomoč na vasi na primeru Šmihela pod Nanosom. Goriški Letnik 4/5:5-18.

Manning, Frank E.

- 1977 Cup Match and Carnival: Secular Rites of Revitalization in Decolonizing, Tourist-Oriented Societies. In Secular Ritual. Sally Moore and B. Myerhoff, eds. pp. 265-281. Amsterdam: Van Gorcum.

Marcuse, Herbert

1955 Eros and Civilization. New York: Vintage.

Marković, Mihajlo

1966 Cause and Goal in History. Praxis 2:102-112.

Marković, Petar

1972 Yugoslav Agrarian Policy and Production. In The Yugoslav Village. Zagreb: Department of Rural Sociology.

1974 Migracije i promene agrarne strukture. Zagreb: Institut za društvena istraživanja.

Marx, Karl

1963 The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. New York: International Publishers.

McPhee, Peter

1978 Popular Culture, Symbolism and Rural Radicalism in Nineteenth-Century France. The Journal of Peasant Studies 5:238-253.

Milić, Vladimir

1977 Seljaštvo u posleratnom razdoblju našeg društva. Sociologija sela 58:11-29. Zagreb.

Minutes from the Wine Cooperative Meetings.

1935-1947 Archives of the Wine-Cooperative, in private possession.

Mitić, Novica

1968 Podruštvljavanje poljoprivredne proizvodnje. Teoretski, ekonomski i sociološki aspekti. Beograd: Jugoslavenska poljoprivredna banka.

Moore, Sally F.

1975 Epilogue: Uncertainties in Situations, Indeterminacies in Culture. In Symbol and Politics in Communal Ideology. Sally F. Moore and B. G. Myerhoff, eds. pp. 210-239. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Moore, Sally F., and B. G. Myerhoff

1977 Secular Ritual. Amsterdam: Van Gorcum.

Mosely, Philip

1943 Adaptation for Survival: The Varžić Zadruga. Slavonic and East European Review 21:147-173.

- 1953 The Distribution of the Zadruga within Southeastern Europe. Jewish Social Studies, Publication no. 5. The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume. pp. 219-230. New York.
- Ortner, Sherry B.
- 1978 Sherpas Through Their Rituals. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pavličević, Dragutin
- 1980 Narodni pokret 1883 u Hrvatskoj. Zagreb: Liber.
- Pešić-Golubović, Zagorka
- 1971 Socialist Ideas and Reality. Praxis 7:399-422. Zagreb.
- Polanyi, Karl
- 1957 The Economy as Instituted Process. In Trade and Markets in the Early Empires. K. Polanyi, Arensberg and Pearson, eds. pp. 243-270. Glencoe: The Free Press.
- Popović, Mirko
- 1975 Interview. Svetojanski kraj. Kaj 1975:4.
- Redfield, Robert
- 1956 Peasant Society and Culture. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Restek, Zvonimir
- 1939 Nepotrební miraz i velika gizda upropašćuju seljačko gospodarstvo. Seljačka sloga 4:100-101. Zagreb.
- Rheubottom, David
- 1980 Dowry and Wedding Celebrations in Yugoslav Macedonia. In The Meaning of Marriage Payments. J. L. Comaroff, ed. pp. 221-248. New York: Academic Press.
- Rihtman-Auguštin, Dunja
- 1976 Ekonomske vrijednosne orijentacije i modeli odlučivanja tradicijskog društveno-kulturnog sustava. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Zagreb: Institute of Folklore Research.
- 1978 Traditional Culture, Folklore and Mass Culture in Contemporary Yugoslavia. In Folklore in the Modern World. R. Dorson, ed. pp. 163-172. The Hague: Mouton.

→ Polanyi, Karl & Foster, 1967

Rožić, Vatroslav

- 1881 Narodne pjesme iz Sv. Jane kod Jastrebarskog. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska.
- 1907 Prigorje I and II. Zbornik za narodni život i običaje južnih Slavena 12. Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb.
- 1908 Prigorje III. Zbornik za narodni život i običaje južnih Slavena, 13. Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb.

Sahlins, Marshall

- 1972 Stone Age Economics. Chicago: Aldine.
- 1976 Culture and Practical Reason. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schneider, Jane and Peter Schneider

- 1976 Culture and Political Economy in Western Sicily. New York: Academic Press.

Scott, James C.

- 1977a Protest and Profanation: Agrarian Revolt and the Little Tradition, Parts I and II. Theory and Society, Vols. 3 and 4.
- 1977b Hegemony and the Peasantry. Politics and Society 7: 267-296.

Seton-Watson, Hugh

- 1947 Danubian Peasant Parties. The Economist, January 11. London.

Shanin, Teodor

- 1979 Defining Peasants: Conceptualizations and De-Conceptualizations. Peasant Studies 8:38-60.

Simic, Andrei

- 1973 The Peasant Urbanites: A Study of Rural-Urban Migration in Serbia. New York: Seminar Press.

Sköld Westerlind, Eva

- 1981 Women's Work and Modernization in Gorsko Selo, a Yugoslavian Village. Antropologiska Studier 30/31:36-55. Stockholm: University of Stockholm.

Statistical Sources.

- 1889 Političko i sudbeno razdjeljenje kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije i repertorij mjesta. Zagreb: Kr. Statistički ured.
- 1917 Statistički godišnjak kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije II, 1910. Zagreb: Kr. Zemaljski Statistički ured.
- 1972 Popis stanovništva i stanova 1971. Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku.
- 1978 Anketa o seoskom domaćinstvu (A Survey of Rural Households). Statistički bilten 1142. Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku.
- 1980 Statistički godišnjak Jugoslavije 1979. Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku.

Stojsavljević, Bogdan

- 1965 Prodiranje kapitalizma u selo 1919-1929. Zagreb: Institut za historiju radničkog pokreta.
- 1973 Povijest sela. Zagreb: Prosvjeta.

Supek, Rudi

- 1971 Some Contradictions and Insufficiencies of Yugoslav Self-Managing Socialism. Praxis 7:375-397. Zagreb.

Supek-Zupan, Olga

- 1979 Nacrt istraživanja jednog prigorskog sela (Outline of a Research in a Croatian Village). Narodna umjetnost 16: 57-77.

Šiber, Ivan

- 1977 Politička socijalizacija. In Seoska omladina danas. Edhem Dilić, ed. pp. 173-181. Zagreb: Institut za društvena istraživanja.

Šidak, Josip

- 1973 Odjeci francuske revolucije i vladanje Napoleona I u hrvatskim zemljama. In Studije iz hrvatske povijesti 19. stoljeća. pp. 87-94. Zagreb: Institut za hrvatsku povijest.

Škrabe, Nino

- 1975 Po dragomu kraju. Kaj 1/2:65-120.

Špigeljski, Josip

- 1975 Interview. Svetojanski kraj. Kaj 1975:2.

Šuvar, Stipe

- 1971 Urbanizacija, socijalna diferencijacija i socijalna segregacija u našem društvu. Lica 1. Zagreb.

Taussig, Michael

- 1980 The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Tomasevich, Jozo

- 1955 Peasants, Politics and Economic Change in Yugoslavia. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Tomašić, Dinko

- 1948 Personality and Culture in East European Politics. New York: George W. Stewart, Inc.

Trouton, Ruth

- 1952 Peasant Renaissance in Yugoslavia 1900-1950. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Turner, Victor

- 1969 The Ritual Process. Chicago: Aldine.

Vlajinac, Milan

- 1929 Moba i pozajmica. Beograd: Srpski Etnografski Zbornik.

Vranicki, Predrag

- 1965 On the Problem of Practice. Praxis 1:41-48.

Vukosavljević, Sreten

- 1953 Istorija seljačkog društva. Beograd: Srpska Akademija Nauka.

Wallerstein, Immanuel

- 1974 The Rise and the Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis. Comparative Studies in Society and History 16:387-415.
- 1976 A World-System Perspective on the Social Sciences. British Journal of Sociology 27:343-352.

Wolf, Eric

- 1966 Peasants. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- 1971 On Peasant Rebellions. In Peasants and Peasant Societies. Teodor Shanin, ed. pp. 264-274. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Woodward, Susan L.

- 1981 Yugoslavia: An Overview of Survey Research in the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia. In Survey Research and Public Attitudes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. W. A. Welsh, ed. pp. 80-135. New York: Pergamon Press.

Zimmerman, William

- 1977 National-International Linkages in Yugoslavia: The Political Consequences of Openness. In Political Development in Eastern Europe. J. F. Triska and Cocks, eds. pp. 334-364. New York: Praeger.

Prilog

Fotografije

POPIS FOTOGRAFIJA

iz privatne arhive Olge Supek i Dokumentacije Instituta za etnologiju i folkloristiku

1. IEF foto 12103 Olga Supek sa kazivačicom 1977.
2. IEF foto 12343 pejisaž 1978.
3. IEF foto 12152 tradicijska kuća 1978.
4. IEF foto 16424 tradicijska kuća 1980.
5. IEF foto 16438 IEF foto - suvremena kuća 1980.
6. IEF foto 16433 Jaska Vino - podrum Gorica Svetojanska 1980.
7. IEF foto 12853 pejisaž u snijegu 1978.
8. IEF foto 12967 fašnik 27.2.1979.
9. IEF foto 12987 fašnik 27.2.1979.
10. IEF foto 12991 fašnik 27.2.1979.
11. IEF foto 12997 fašnik 27.2.1979.
12. IEF foto 13000 fašnik 27.2.1979.
13. IEF foto 13002 fašnik 27.2.1979.
14. IEF foto 13003 fašnik 27.2.1979.
15. IEF foto 13009 fašnik 27.2.1979.
16. IEF foto 13017 fašnik 27.2.1979.
17. IEF foto 13018 fašnik 27.2.1979.
18. IEF foto 13025 fašnik 27.2.1979.
19. IEF foto 12937 izrada svadbene torte 1978.
20. IEF foto 12948 svadba 1978.
21. IEF foto 12955 svadba 1978.
22. IEF foto 12353 proštenje u čast sv. Ani 26.7. 1978.
23. IEF foto 12358 proštenje u čast sv. Ani 26.7. 1978.
24. IEF foto 12359 proštenje u čast sv. Ani 26.7. 1978.
25. IEF foto 12360 proštenje u čast sv. Ani 26.7. 1978.
26. IEF foto 12365 proštenje u čast sv. Ani 26.7. 1978.
27. IEF foto 12369 proštenje u čast sv. Ani 26.7. 1978.
28. IEF foto 12685 žene u nošnji 1978.
29. IEF foto 12834 izlazak iz crkve proštenje u čast sv. Ani 26.7. 1978.
30. IEF foto 12650 stočni sajam 14.8.1978.
31. IEF foto 12653 stočni sajam 14.8.1978.
32. IEF foto 12345 pranje rublja na potoku 1978.
33. IEF foto 12321(1) žene u košnji 1978.
34. IEF foto 12863 kosidba 1978.
35. IEF foto 12168 žena u berbi 1978.
36. IEF foto 12324 košnja 1978.
37. IEF foto 12327 spremanje sijena na kola 1978.
38. IEF foto 12156(2) žene idu iz polja 1978.
39. IEF foto 13543(2) berba u vinogradu 1978.
40. IEF foto 13543 berba grožđa 9.9.1979.
41. IEF foto 13542 nakon berbe grožđa 9.9.1979.
42. IEF foto 12886 žene u berbi 1978.
43. IEF foto 16428 nakon berbe grožđa 1980.
44. IEF foto 13549 tiješnjenje grožđa 9.9.1979.
45. IEF foto 12379 pretakanje vina u bačve 1978.
46. IEF foto 12840 obilazak groblja na svetkovinu Svih svetih 1.11.1978.
47. IEF foto 12136 svinjokolja 1978.
48. IEF foto 12140(1) čišćenje iznutrica nakon svinjokolje 1978.
49. Olga Supek za radnim stolom, siječanj 2026.
50. Tihana Rubić, Olga Supek i Anamarija Starčević Štambuk, siječanj 2026.





































































































Dodatak

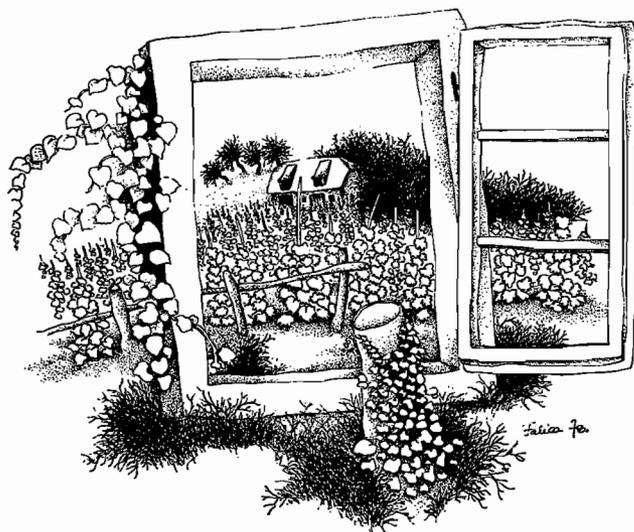
Prikaz izložbe Josipa Falice

Olga Supek: San i java Gorice Svetojanske (Uz drugu samostalnu izložbu Josipa Falice), *Etnološka tribina* 9(2), 1979: 120-122.

SAN I JAVA GORICE SVETOJANSKE (Uz drugu samostalnu izložbu Josipa Falice)

U salonu uredske opreme „Mladost“ (u Praškoj ul. 6) u Zagrebu održao je od 17. do 31. XII 1979. svoju drugu samostalnu izložbu svetojanski slikar Josip Falica. Izložio je 24 slika u ulju na staklu i 14 grafika u stilu naive. Posjetioca je odmah mogla začuditi velika produktivnost ovog mladog, ali stilski već određenog umjetnika, jer je većina izložaka nastala tijekom 1978. i 1979. godine.

Osim tehnikom, Faličini crteži i ulja na staklu donekle se međusobno razlikuju i stilom. I jedni i drugi nadahnuti su širokim obzorom, skladnom valovitošću i sunčanim spektrom boja što nude oku brežuljci i kućice jaskanskog prigorja. Međutim, grafike i slike, svake na svoj način, odnosno malo drugačije, izražavaju to vizualno obilje. Crteži su, naime, donekle „racionalniji“, bliži zbilji, pomno izvučenih linija i posvema doradenih („iscrtkanih“ ili „istočkanih“) ploha. Istančani smisao za detalj sretno je izražen sigurnim, kratkim, tankim potezima tušem. Jedan dio grafike očito su studije za kasnije slike u ulju na staklu, no nikako ih ne bismo mogli nazvati „skicama“, jer su same po sebi dovršene.



Ipak, tek pastelnim, zagasitim, čak i zatamnjenim bojama i raspoloženjima što izviru iz njegovih slika, Falica u potpunosti izražava svoje umjetničko nadahnuće. Ovdje se gube iscrtkane plohe, a umjesto njih nalazimo reducirane, čiste linije koje na gledaoca ostavljaju dojam tišine, mekoće, gotovo nepomičnosti. Većina novijih slika su zimski krajolici: zasniježeni brežuljci, krovovi kuća i putovi naglašavaju upravo tu mekoću i tišinu. Ravnotežu snježnih pastela – plavičastih, sivkastih, ružičastih i gotovo mračnih u sotonu – tek donekle prekidaju neki detalji: tragovi psa u snijegu, ogoljelo drveće kojim

se uspeo bršljan i seoske kuće skutrene na vrhu brežuljaka. S druge strane, grmlje, drveće i brežuljci koji su često svedeni na jednostavne lopte snijega, te koncentrični krugovi na obzorju, iza kojih se valjda krije jedva svijetleće zimsko sunce, tu ravnotežu još više naglašavaju.

Slikarevo nadahnuće nije izraženo samo redukcijom i stilizacijom prirode njegova kraja. Falica u svoje slike na staklu uvodi i fantastične elemente koji su nadrealistični ne toliko po svom sadržaju koliko po kompozicijskim proporcijama. Tako je negdje iz smrznutog tla niknulo cvijeće veliko poput drveća, ili se pak na vrhu brežuljka ispružio u nebo golemi grozd, ili se nad selom svio velik slavoluk od loze i bršljana, ili se taj slavoluk pretvorio u starinska vrata, odnosno prozor, kroz koji promatrač izviruje u valovite plješivičke širine.

Osim zime, koja prevladava na izloženim slikama Josipa Falice, treba spomenuti i druge na kojima se slično, lirski, ali s više dinamike, doživljavaju i druga godišnja doba. Nekoliko malo starijih ulja na staklu imaju toplu paletu boja koju jesen donosi u svetojanske gorice, a neka druga, novija stakla, izražavaju proljeće, koje na pr. u vidu vjetra unosi otrgnuto cvijeće kroz prozor i razmahuje starinskim tkanim zastorima.

Značajan dio slika ima oblik medaljona: u okvir od vinove loze, ili od prozora, ili na list loze, ili čak u krug golema sunca, smješteni su brežuljci, Japetička gora, vinogradi, grozdovi, jabuke, ljudi... Čini mi se da uokvirivanje inače beskrajne prirode i krajolika široka obzora, koji je tako karakterističan za ovo prigorje, izražava Faličinu osjećajnu povezanost s rodnim krajem u kojem je sve poznato, razumljivo, povezano i u tolikoj mjeri „njegovo“ da ga može „zatvoriti“ u medaljon i nositi sa sobom u srcu, kamo god krenuo. (Slično Rabuzinu koji je svoje selo smjestio u lonac za cvijeće!)



A ljudi na Fallčinim slikama? Javljaju se na dva načina. Često su potpuno uklopljeni u prirodu, „ulovljeni“ izdaleka na seoskom putu, u dvorištu s peradi ili u vinogradu s brentom na leđima. Međutim, isto tako često su prikazani u obliku portreta, umetnutih u pejzaž, ponegdje uokvirenih, u središnjem ili gornjem dijelu slike. Ti ljudi kao da dominiraju nad prirodom: prikazani su kako razmišljaju nad njom, „sjećaju se“, strahuju ili se vesele jesenskim plodovima svoga rada.

* * *

Josip Falica rođen je 1950. godine u Gorici Svetojanskoj. Sada živi u Jastrebarskom, a zaposlen je kao inženjer kemije u zagrebačkom „Chromosu“. Član je Društva naivnih likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske i do sada je izlagao na oko tridesetak izložbi, među ostalim:

1974. u Sv. Jani, Jastrebarskom, Zagrebu.

1975. u Beču (Muzej umjetnosti XX. stoljeća), Grazu, Železnom, Zagrebu, Beogradu, Kumrovcu, Varaždinu, Sv. Jani, Jastrebarskom.

1976. u Beogradu, Zagrebu, Jastrebarskom, Samoboru.

1977. u Zagrebu, Beogradu, Sv. Jani (samostalno)

(1978. na odsluženju vojnog roka)

1979. u Zagrebu, Trebnju, Karlovcu, Sv. Jani itd.

O. Supek Zupan

