

CONDITIONS OF EXISTENCE IN A CASTILIAN VILLAGE:
AN ETHNOGRAPHY IN HISTORICAL AND NATIONAL CONTEXT

by

ANTHONY G.C. ARNHOLD

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

WINNIPEG CANADA

NOVEMBER 1979

CONDITIONS OF EXISTENCE IN A CASTILIAN VILLAGE:
AN ETHNOGRAPHY IN HISTORICAL AND NATIONAL CONTEXT

BY

ANTHONY GEORGE CHRISTOPHER ARNHOLD

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

©1980

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this thesis, to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this thesis.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

HOYALES:
WINE, ART, LAMB
(The expatriate
view of village
life. Drawing by
Félix San Martín,
1978.)



This is a study, in historical, geographical and political perspective, of the material conditions of life of the people of Hoyales, a minifundist agricultural community in the district of Roa, province of Burgos, region of Old Castile, as I saw them between 1975 and 1978, when traditional structures were developing a crisis at all levels of Spanish society.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD	iv
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vii
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Fieldwork 1	
Spanish Ethnology: A Brief Critique 6	
An Alternative Methodology 15	
II. THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING	18
Old Castile 18	
The 'Ribera' of Burgos 23	
Hoyales: Introduction to the Village 28	
III. THE COMARCAS:	
HOYALES AND ITS DISTRICT ORGANIZATIONS	39
IV. CELTS TO COMUNEROS:	
PRE-HISTORY TO FEUDALISM	46
Attitudes toward History 46	
Hoyales: Early History 48	
The Comarca: Settlement to Splendour 53	
Historical Legacy 59	
V. REACTION AND DECADENCE	61
First Bourgeois Revolution: Failure 61	
Aristocratic Domination 63	
Aristocratic Values 67	
The Castilian Economy 70	
VI. ARISTOCRATIC ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE	
FEUDAL STRUCTURE OF HOYALES	73
Enlightenment and Reform 73	
Hoyales in the 18th Century 77	



VII.	SECOND BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION:	
	FAILURE AND REFORM	85
	Liberalism and Civil War	85
	Break-Up of Feudal Institutions	91
VIII.	THE CRISIS OF TRADITIONAL AGRARIAN SOCIETY	100
	Instability of 'Traditional' Society	100
	Technical and Commercial Innovation	102
	Perceptions of the 'Crisis'	106
	Traditional Conditions	114
	National Disaster and Village Prosperity	118
	The Spanish 'Miracle'	124
IX.	DEMOGRAPHIC HISTORY	131
	Demographic History of Hoyales	131
	Modernization and Rural Depopulation	141
X.	SOCIAL ANALYSIS OF THE VILLAGE	152
	Stratification	152
	Occupational Minorities	156
	Family and Status	160
	Divisions According to Sex and Generation	164
	Women	164
	Generations	169
	Public Ritual and Social Harmony	173
XI.	ACCESS TO THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION	180
	Property and Inheritance	180
	Fragmentation of Holdings	183
	Concentration of Plots	189
	Classification of Land	197
	Land Ownership	201
	Units of Production	204
	Origins of Present Distribution of Land	206
	Hoyales in Perspective	210
XII.	CONCLUSION	212
	REFERENCES CITED	216

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Maps

1.	Duero Region	19
2.	Western Half of Aranda Comarca	25
3.	Hoyales and Neighbouring Villages	31
4.	Hoyales: Village Nucleus	33
5.	Hoyales: Land Use and Divisions	185

Figures

I.	Land Distribution in the Comarca: 1752 and 1973	97
II.	Hoyales: Population: 1752-1977	132
III.	Population According to Age, 1972	139
IV.	Population According to Age and Sex: 1787 and 1860	140
V.	Provincial Population According to Age, 1970	142
VI.	Hoyales: Classification of Land	198
VII.	Hoyales: Land Distribution: 1962 and 1976	202
VIII.	Hoyales: Land Distribution According to Farm Size, 1962	205
IX.	Farms Classified by Size: 1962 and 1972	207

Plates

1.	Aranda on the Duero	27
2.	View from Haza	27
3.	Hoyales: View of the Village	29
4.	The Entrance to the Village	29
5.	Abandoned Wine-Press	35
6.	The Village Square	35
7.	Improving Living Conditions	37
8.	Haza	42
9.	Roa	42
10.	The Plain of Roa	50
11.	The Mill Ditch	50
12.	Christ, Caudillo and Virgin	92
13.	Easter Sunday Procession	92
14.	Canal de Guma	105
15.	Sugar-Beet Harvest	105
16.	"Those Who Fell for God and Country"	121
17.	Women: The 'Bad' Life	168
18.	The 'Good' Life	168
19.	Life Cycle: First Communion	172
20.	Funeral Procession	172
21.	Ritualized Separation of the Sexes	174
22.	Church and State	174
23.	The Men's 'Community Centre'	178
24.	Feast of the Patron Saint	178

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness." (Karl Marx: Preface to The Critique.)

This thesis is based on two periods of field-work totalling about one and half years, between 1975 and 1978, in a medium sized minifundist village in Old Castile, Spain. I gratefully thank my wife's parents for lodging and feeding us.

Fieldwork

In spite of what might appear to be an overly critical description of Hoyales and its inhabitants, I thoroughly enjoyed my stay in the village, and would be happy of a possibility to settle there--so long as I could earn a living some other way than farming! I do not possess the ideology required for the back-breaking work, insecure profits, and continual aggressive defense of besieged interests. In an attempt to understand these basic facts of a farmer's existence, I occasionally gave some villagers an unskilled and feeble helping hand. This sort of 'field' work is hard, but fun--for anyone not facing the prospect of having to do it every day for fifty years with never a vacation.

The experience was furthermore useful by helping break down barriers to communication, and giving me experience and interests in

common with the villagers. On the other hand, as a foreigner, my interests were not in conflict with theirs, nor was I a prying government agent. Nevertheless, Castilian villagers are very closed and suspicious people, and I was certainly not inundated with would-be informants. Curiously, I was better accepted by most villagers when I returned for a second stay in Hoyales, after sixteen months' absence.

Very few villagers understood what I was there for, or seemed to care. My thanks to those who volunteered information and help, and answered my questions. The young mayor, José-Félix, was especially kind and knowledgeable. All the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, at every level from village to provincial capital, were most correct and helpful. I apologize to all my informants for the voluminous data which is not directly used in this report, but assure them that without it I could not have strived for depth and perspective and an understanding of their culture.

Most of whatever understanding of the culture I have, however, came indirectly, by incidental participation in work and leisure, when conversation and behaviour tend to be less guarded, especially as I rarely asked direct questions or took notes in public. Residing with my in-laws, I was also lucky enough to be offered a glimpse of intimate family life, admittedly subjective; but this was of course my only opportunity to observe a generationally and sexually composite group.

As few urban professionals reside any longer in the village, I was spared over-exposure to views which have probably biased many an ethnographic study, as most members of this class have a surprising lack of understanding of rural conditions in Spain, considering many

of them are of peasant origin. This class is the most indoctrinated by the numbing dominant ideology, which is symbolized by a monstrous statue in the north of Burgos province, dedicated to The Shepherd--a cynical hoax pretending to honour the poorest class of Spaniards. The sentimental and paternalistic prose of the 'professionals' glorifying the noble peasant contrasts with their unjust criticism of so-called apathetic, traditionalist farmers (Aceves, 1974:45).

As for the peasants, though they modestly defer to their 'educated' urban relatives and have only a subjective view of their own and national cultures, they are usually not as mystified by reality. Indeed, for a country so full of myths as Spain, where only the use and abuse of power is not mystified, many peasants are amazingly cynical in their awareness of reality.

The anthropological researcher is therefore obviously going to receive wildly varying information, according to the class, education and interests of the source. Not that there is usually a deliberate intent by informants to misinform. However, the history of Spain has given any information a disproportionate value, related to power and fear. Any information which could possibly implicate an informant will always be hidden or doctored. I had difficulties finding out for instance about the Republic and the Civil War, and not necessarily because of failing memories. In Spain, The Truth is relative, or even irrelevant. Amazingly, I cannot recall many other ethnographers admitting to these difficulties in Spain, although every researcher does comment on the inadequacy of Spanish statistics: their drawback is that their compilers seem unaware of their purpose

and attempt to balance the figures as though they were account books.

I did in fact have some additional difficulties in the collection of data. Official sources were often dispersed, incomplete, and even contradicted or duplicated each other with different results. Fernando Molinero kindly helped me in this respect by allowing me to copy some of his data compiled from official sources. Dr. Michael Kenny and Dr. Oriol Pi-Sunyer gave me help with bibliographic sources, almost indispensable because of the wide variety and enormous quantity of these. This massive volume of data was actually a serious difficulty. Furthermore, in 'complex' societies, non-ethnographic literature and the press must be taken into consideration.

As for the reticence of most villagers to impart all sorts of information, this is of course understandable. But on the innumerable occasions when I was allowed to participate in unguarded conversations, I must admit to not always understanding the villagers' frames of reference. Their conversations often assume an intimate knowledge of the territory and its inhabitants: over 500 persons, 100 houses and 5000 fields. Although embarrassingly descriptive nicknames are common, an individual is invariably described in terms of his property, usually his residence, and his kinship. This makes good sense within the village framework, as the household unit actually is the nuclear family with its productive property, or at least was so in traditional society.

But the village was too large for me as a newcomer suddenly to absorb all this knowledge by which every individual is classified. Though the great majority of villagers are agriculturalists, the

ideology of each lies on a continuum between the conditions of traditional peasantry and modern commercial farming. My generalizations occasionally fail to distinguish these important differences between individuals, and this should be borne in mind whenever I describe any behaviour as 'typical' of the majority of villagers of Hoyales, or indeed of Castile, or even of Spain, thus ignoring regional and class differences, following the lax example of most social scientists writing about Spain since Kant in 1800.

Nevertheless, and in spite of my difficulties, I eventually accumulated a massive and complex volume of data, so vast that it determined my method for analyzing and writing up my research. Incapable of taking too many factors into account at a time, I decided to avoid referring to the published anthropological literature dealing with Spain, until a first draft of the thesis was complete.

Although the data and analysis were almost entirely original, a comparison between my draft thesis and the published literature on Spain soon revealed that my description of the culture of a minifundist village and the problems caused by modernization was amazingly similar to the great majority of the published ethnographical literature on Spain. Incredibly, most of the problems, values, behaviour, etc., were similar, regardless of regional and structural differences. These accounted for minor changes within the general pattern; for example, differences in ecology or inheritance rules, or communal property promoting solidarity.

Spanish Ethnology: A Brief Critique

Of course, every single formal anthropological study on Spain

has been published in the last twenty-five years, coinciding exactly in time with the present rural 'crisis'. Since the 1954 publication of the first study of a Spanish village (by Pitt-Rivers), the anthropological literature, mostly Anglophone, has gradually grown to voluminous proportions. At least thirteen community studies have been published so far in English in monograph form, nine of these within the present decade; and more monographs are probably in press. Furthermore, within the past two decades, over fifty articles on rural Spain have appeared in established anthropological journals, or in conjunction with other reports on European or Mediterranean peasantry. In addition, from a list drawn up by Kenny (1972b) of U.S. university researchers in Spain, more than twenty have, so far as I am aware, not yet published their results.

With respect to anthropological research published in Spanish, during the long, dark period of "academic arteriosclerosis" (Caro 1974:11), which lasted from the Civil War until the 1960 s, Caro Baroja was the lone Spanish social scientist. The first of the new generation of Spanish anthropologists had to go for their training to the U.S. or Britain (e.g. Lisón-Tolosana), until Esteva succeeded in opening the first school of anthropological studies in Madrid (Kenny 1972b:82). Pérez-Díaz, a rural sociologist, published a well-researched study of a Castilian village in 1966. I am aware of only three anthropological monographs published in Spanish during the present decade. However, the Centro de Etnología Peninsular of the University of Barcelona has been publishing a specialized journal, Ethnica, since 1971.

This recent renaissance in research and field-work in the humanities led to my coinciding with three other researchers, all doing field-work in the same district simultaneously with me. They were: Fernando Molinero of the University of Valladolid (Human Geography), José-David Sacristán of the University of Barcelona (Archaeology), and Manolo Cantera from the Universidad Complutense in Madrid (Cultural Anthropology: Housing and settlement patterns). The findings of these excellent colleagues will be referred to throughout this report, wherever relevant. It is curious that the first-ever serious research in the area should have been carried out by so many people simultaneously. The only previous academic work on the district is a 'History' of famous persons by Zamora (1965), commissioned by the local and provincial authorities.

There is thus a vast and growing body of anthropological literature on rural Spain, much of it of excellent descriptive quality. The situation and problems, life-style and ritual, values and behaviour, family and corporate organization, modernization and migration, individualism and patronage, egalitarianism and envy, and of course, honour and shame, virginity, and bars, and tourism--all these and many other topics have been fully and elegantly described. However, the relevance of many of these subjects, the focuses of some of the studies, and much of the analysis, should all be critically examined.

It would seem that unfortunately, many of the models and methods employed by the majority of anthropologists for dealing with complex societies are inadequate, lacking in perspective, and usually unable to offer any empirical explanation for what is reported.

As Freeman suggests: "...many of our village studies to date terminate where they do for reasons of expediency rather than analytic closure " (1973:748). "It is hardly surprising that no European community has been thoroughly analyzed with reference to more than a fraction of the sources concerning it," for "we are faced with a staggering richness of material" (Freeman 1973:744). Kenny suggests team work as a possible solution to the methodological dilemma of marrying "the highly intensive studies of small units with data from secondary sources of larger levels of the society" (1972a:32). Terrades suggests the creation of a new methodology for studying peasant societies, to replace the one developed for the study of "primitive" cultures (1972:220).

Many of the findings and conclusions, and even some descriptions, in the anthropological literature on Spain are gradually coming under attack and reinterpretation by anthropologists themselves.

Barrett (1972) believes that the concepts of interclass intimacy and equality have been confused in the literature on Spain (e.g. by Pitt-Rivers and Kenny), suggesting instead that "it is precisely the fact that Spanish society has been so highly stratified that has permitted such a high degree of interclass intimacy" (p. 387).

Aceves (1974) contends that the individualism of the Spaniard as commonly depicted in the literature (e.g. Lisón-Tolosana, etc.) is merely defensive role playing. Individualism is in fact a powerful myth about themselves promoted by Spaniards to explain their behavior and their own share of their problems. This so-called individualism would be better described as "familial particularism" (Pérez-Díaz 1976:125).

'Familial particularism' would, incidentally, be a less prejudicial expression than Banfield's notorious term, 'Amoral familism'. Banfield, who worked in neighbouring Italy, believes that a set of values, which he called 'amoral familism', impede economic progress. Another model to explain peasant behaviour is the Image of Limited Good, developed by Foster, who was incidentally the first North American anthropologist to do research in Spain.

Limited Good and familism (or individualism) may be generally accurate descriptions of peasant values and behaviour. However, they account only for the symptoms, rather than the causes. Even as idealistic analyses they fall short by ethnocentrically failing to take into account that these aspects of peasant behaviour may be shared with the dominant elite. To paraphrase Marx, the values of the dominant class are the dominant values--the model for behaviour. Several monographs on Spanish ethnography (Aceves 1971a; Terrades 1973; Brandes 1975a) have attempted to analyze their good descriptive data using Foster's and Banfield's concepts.

Other analytical constructs commonly used in the anthropological literature on Mediterranean peasantries are Honour and Shame (especially Pitt-Rivers 1971), and Patron-Client relations (Kenny 1966; Barrett 1974). Again, these are explanations of behaviour by value-systems. These values are indeed still relevant (though less so with increasing modernization), but I do not believe they are determining factors in behaviour. Rather, as discussed further on, they can perhaps be better understood as indicators of status and wealth.

These idealistic methods of analysis by value-systems unfortunately

tend to magnify ideology out of all proportion, to more important that it is in reality. A major problem of analyzing data on the basis of existing anthropological literature is the very real danger of perpetuating established interests and interpretations. A great many monographs (e.g. Lisón 1966; Barrett 1974; Luque 1974) seem to waiver between a materialist and an idealist analysis, finally taking the latter direction, perhaps because of the influence of dominant anthropological theory, to the body of which their research is expected to contribute.

On the other hand, many researchers using idealistic analysis have tended to underestimate the relevance and importance of observable social reality, if this reality is rejected or denied by official or even by folk ideology. An example of this contradiction, noted by Barrett (1974:16-17), concerns social differences and stratification. The ideology of the culture of most villages in the northern half of Spain is strongly egalitarian, supposedly overriding even wealth differences. Barrett eventually managed to prove that villagers do in fact behave towards others following a subconscious system of social stratification.

Although formal class divisions are not really applicable within the peasant class, and the family is the unit of solidarity, I found in Hoyales evidence of social stratification and discrimination; however, this was always disguised and rarely admitted. Nevertheless, almost all anglophone anthropologists deny the existence of analytically definable intra-communal social divisions (c.f. Aceves 1971a; Brandes 1975a; Douglass 1969; Freeman 1970; Kenny 1966; Pitt-Rivers 1971).

Many other researchers are simply not concerned about peasant stratification (Christian 1978; Aguilera 1978; Terrades 1973; Foster 1953; Kasdan 1965; de Miguel 1969; Caro Baroja 1968) which is their privilege--though this lack of concern is itself a statement. It would in fact be easier to mention the few anthropologists who have taken into consideration the social stratification in rural Spain: Lisón (1966), Moreno (1972a), Hansen (1969), Barret (1974), and Gilmore in all his publications.

Gilmore has in fact published (1976) a scathing criticism of the analytical models used by most other anthropologists in Spain:

Similar findings and conclusions have led to the construction of models of social dynamics which stress community cohesion and integration.... We suggest that a failure to consider the variables of class consciousness and class conflict in Spain is responsible for the inadequacy of these generalizations. (Gilmore 1976:89)

He shows the irrelevance for his Andalusian agro-town of three of the 'sacred cows' of Iberian ethnology, which are claimed to fortify communal solidarity. Disagreeing with Pitt-Rivers and Kenny, Gilmore claims that patronage "buttresses" (p. 96) social stratification and separation. He opposes the "disintegrative role of religion" (p. 97) in his stratified village to Freeman's (1968 a & b) model of 'religious-territorial corporacy'. And he believes (pp. 98-99) that social divisions overshadow the community spirit, or 'sociocentrism', which Caro Baroja, Kenny, Christian and others believe to be of importance.

In support of Gilmore, my own data from a minifundist village would seem to back his criticism of these models. However, my supporting data would invalidate his explanation for the differences between his data and the findings of other anthropologists. He

generously assumes these differences to be due to the dominant focus by anthropologists on Redfieldian 'little-folk-peasant-communities': "Twenty-six of the twenty-seven studies for which we have published data take place in relatively small rural communities" (Gilmore 1976:89). Freeman also suggests that size of population is a determinant of the structure (1968b:477).

Gilmore claims that, "As a result of the small-village focus, twenty one studies take place in the egalitarian North of the peninsula, where land is evenly distributed,... Twenty two studies take place in the marginal 'sierras'" (1976:101). Gilmore cannot be faulted for having obviously been wildly misled by the literature on small villages. Though the inequality of social reality is far less blatant and exaggerated in minifundist villages than in the agro-towns of Andalucia, I would hazard the claim that social stratification and unequal distribution of land existed in some relevant degree in all the Spanish villages in the literature, at the time of their study by anthropologists. Differences may be along a continuum rather than sharply divided, but are observable--especially between the two extremes of the continuum--in certain social relations, e.g. marriage alliances.

The choice by so many anthropologists of marginal mountain villages ought to be explained by them in methodological terms, which has never to my knowledge been the case. The only two reasons occurring to me would appear to indicate a disturbingly deliberate choice of un-typical villages fitting an idealized model. Sierra villages are more isolated from modernization and the influence of the centralizing nation-state. Also, they often display more communal

solidarity and integration due to the unusual persistence of common municipal property which was not alienated during the enclosure movements of the last century, for reasons not explained but probably resulting from their isolation and unprofitability.

Goldkind suggests another possible reason for the distortion of the literature: "the sources of the inclination of many anthropologists to view peasant communities as 'homogeneous' lie more in particular theoretical commitments than in the data themselves" (1965). This does not indicate intellectual dishonesty but rather a serious deficiency in the analytical models used by many anthropological researchers in Spain.

Indeed, many Spanish academics have long been critical of the orientations and methods of foreign anthropologists working in Spain. Of course, Spanish anthropologists are just as vulnerable as others to particular theoretical commitments, and, though they may avoid many of the mistakes made by foreigners, they often suffer from an additional disadvantage of lack of perspective, and are more influenced by national myths.

Caro Baroja's question to one of the earliest American researchers in Spain is tantalizing: "Are the Nuer more relevant to present-day Andaluces than the Moriscos?" (Caro 1974:13; my translation*). He claims that "research is different among a people without historical documents from research of a people with abundant and even excessive documentation" (1974:13). Freeman agrees that "'the field' to the

*All translations from Spanish and French in this thesis are mine, unless indicated otherwise in the bibliography.

Europeanist must include the library as well as the village" (1973:744). Kenny (1972a) suggests that anthropologists should not ignore the work of other social scientists, and should even pay attention to the arts and literature. Moreno complains of this lack of attention to other sources by foreign anthropologists (1972b:167). He furthermore stresses the necessity for a wider social perspective in space and time (p. 172): i.e. the local district, the national situation and institutions, and the history of the region. As Shanin puts it: "Regional differences among peasants reflect to a large extent their diverse histories" (1971:16). Kroeber insisted that "an adequate understanding of its [i.e. a society's] present necessarily involves knowledge of its past" (1966:137).

In view of the above, one would expect most anthropologists to have paid more attention to local and national history than they have in fact done, and to have searched for explanations in the history. Amazingly, only Moreno and Hansen seem to have attempted this. Freeman, Luque and Lisón limit themselves to local community history; and Pitt-Rivers relegates the subject to an appendix. Both he and Lisón seem to be using history merely to show the traditional profundity and invariability of certain cultural traits.

Some of these romantic idealizations need putting into historical perspective. Of all writers, only Pérez-Díaz recognizes that 'traditional' rural society emerged as recently as the second half of the 19th century (1976:126). Unfortunately for his otherwise excellent materialistic analysis, he fails to take history into further consideration.

Another idealistic generalization is 'Spanishness', or regional ethnicity. Esteva (1972), a Catalán, proposes research on the two levels of regional ethnicity and national institutions. The influence of the State is difficult to avoid in a discussion of modernization and migration, and has as such been discussed by most anthropologists, but only Hansen's monograph attempts this within a historical-materialist framework.

As for the all-too-easy trap of ethnicity, be it Catalan, Spanishness, or Castilian, it only serves in reality to obscure the condition of the peasantry, for ethnicity has become exaggerated as an ideological and political tool of the Grande Bourgeoisie (c.f. Hansen 1969).

An Alternative Methodology

A definition of Peasantry becomes necessary here, to oppose to the ideal of regional, classless ethnicity. To summarize Wolf (1966:3-16): the peasantry is a pre-industrial food-producing class within a nation-state, the dominant class of which controls the surplus produce. Of course, within a modernizing state, the pre-industrial peasant becomes a commercial farmer; his surplus still ends up in the control of the dominant class, but by a much more complex means.

Therefore, peasants should, it would seem, be studied and analyzed within the terms of their definition, that is, their conditions and history in relation to the dominant society and its history (as suggested by Peter J. Newcomer; personal communication). This would seem to be an appropriate method for analyzing the existence of rural inhabitants, and their problems, behaviour and values. The method is certainly less speculative than relying only on the psychology or

ideology of a people, as too many other researchers have tended to do.

After completing the first draft of my thesis, I returned to the literature for explanations of the many problems I had observed. The contradictions of Hoyales culture still seemed to make no sense: most behaviour appeared to go against the ideal of existence, which is the good life of more money and less work within a united family and a tranquil community (c.f. Aceves 1971b). Unfortunately, most of the published literature dealing with Spain could offer no empirical explanation satisfactory to me. I felt obliged to search for another, different method of analysis, not necessarily 'better', but hopefully a valid complement to the traditional body of literature. In the search for explanations for the problems of minifundism and of Hoyales in particular, I had to look at the existing state system and its history, and also the history of the village, the local district or comarca, and the region of Old Castile.

I attempt, given the limitations and difficulties mentioned above, a synthesis of various academic sources and traditions, as a partial explanation of the conditions of existence of the inhabitants of Hoyales. This study is based upon the descriptive material in my draft report, most of which has had to be discarded, mainly for the usual, unfortunate reasons of time and space, rather than analytic closure. Fortunately, the gaps in my thesis are most adequately covered in the writings of other Spanish anthropologists, to which I hope my analysis is another, valid contribution.

My thanks to Antonio and Manolo for their time and effort in reading and commenting on the draft report--and my apologies for

discarding most of it. I am also most grateful to Fernando Molinero for permitting me to copy his notes of archival documents concerning Hoyales. Finally, I wish to thank my wife for her useful criticism and invaluable moral support.

CHAPTER II

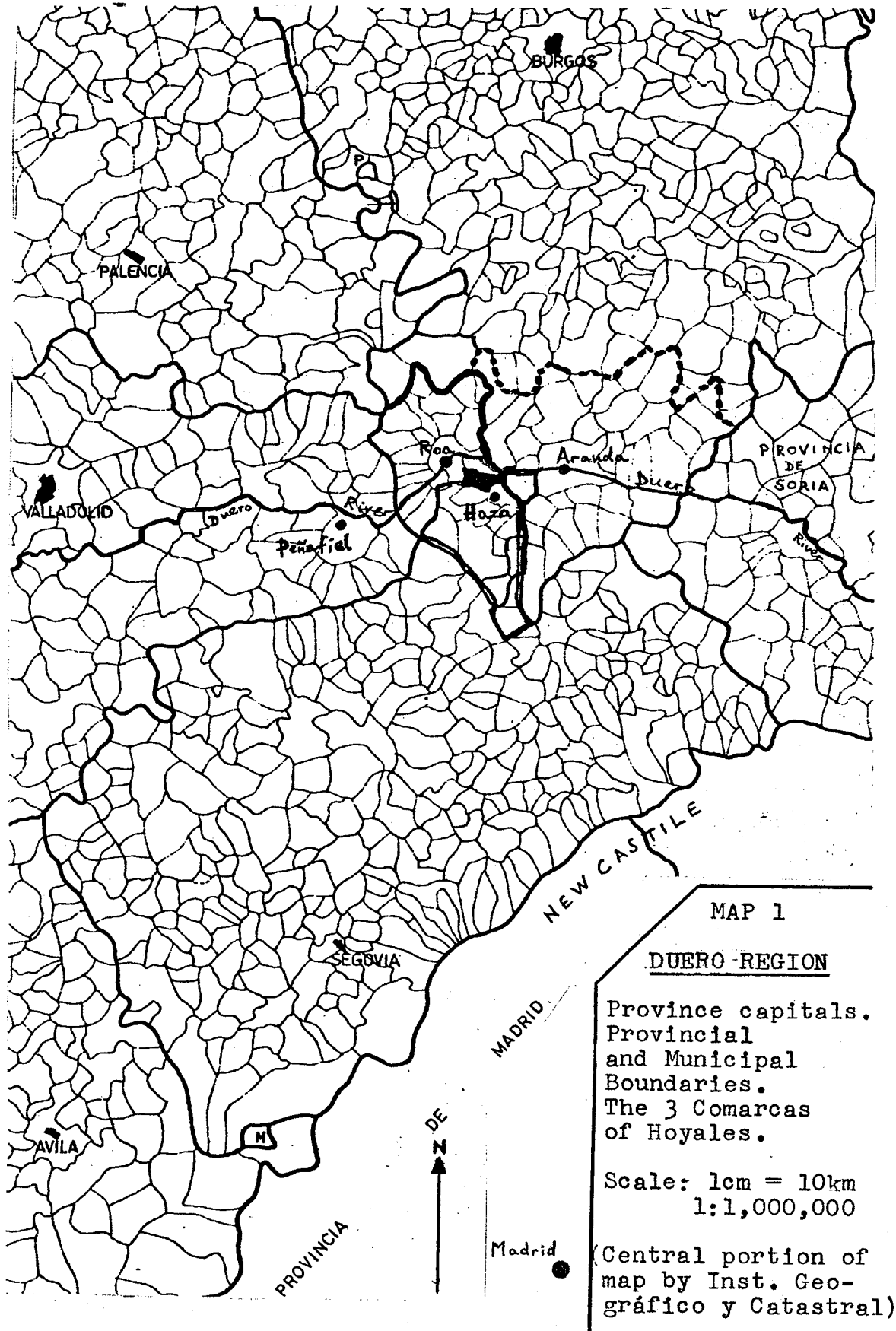
THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

"Esta es Castilla que face los omes e los gasta" (This is Castile which makes men, and wears them out. El Cid Campeador.)

Old Castile

From Madrid, the main highway north to Cantabria and the French border, climbs gently up, through the dreary, arid scenery of New Castile, towards the Guadarrama mountain range dividing the Iberian Plateau in two. About a hundred kilometres from the capital, the road climbs a little more steeply to reach Somosierra Pass which, at an altitude of 1450 metres above sea level, is often covered in snow during Winter. North of the Pass, the highway again descends steeply then ever more gently through yet more rolling arid scenery into the mediaeval kingdom of Old Castile.

Old Castile, the dominant force behind the founding of the State of Spain, is also the source of the dialect which became the national language. It is defined geographically by the basin of the river Duero (or Douro, from the golden brown colour of its waters), from its source until it crosses the Portuguese frontier. Some twenty million years ago this basin was an enormous lake filled with deposits from the surrounding mountains; twelve to nine million years ago the Duero opened up to the West (Molinero, 1978). The ancient lake was vast and



flat; what was its bed is now the top of the many páramos (tablelands) scattered about the Castilian landscape, separated by rivers which have eroded valleys up to 150 metres deep, depending on the resistance to erosion of the rocks. These topographical features repeat themselves "with monotonous regularity;" the relief may be subject to local variations," "the whole region shows considerable geological... uniformity" (Naval Intelligence Division 1941:I:27-28).

This large plateau extends for over 200 km from north to south and 160 km from east to west, and is the highest in Europe, with one of the most extreme climates, continental in type. "The whole tableland is notorious for its cold, biting, winter winds.... The climate is characterized by excessive diurnal and seasonal changes in temperature.... Traffic is sometimes interrupted by snow-cover between December and March.... In the whole year 100 days with clear sky are to be expected." (Naval Intelligence Division, 1941:I:103-105).

In winter the thermometer often drops below freezing, and it is not rare for delicate young crops to be damaged by frost as late as May. In Summer, there are occasional periods of scorching heat, with the temperature reaching over 35° C. There is only a little exaggeration in the ironic, traditional saying: "Nueve meses de invierno y tres de infierno" (Nine months' Winter and three months' Hell). Rainfall is neither abundant nor reliable nor regular, though rain is somewhat more plentiful during Spring and Autumn, and rare in Summer. In fact, Sorre defines the part of Castile to be studied here as an arid area (Dobby, 1936:178).

Harsh natural conditions are not helped, and erosion is made

worse, by human mismanagement, obvious to, and commented upon by most observers. Brennan calls it the "traditional Castilian hatred of trees" (1950b:248), and for Dobby, "Spain is a classic example of the ill effects of reckless deforestation" (1936:186). He suggested the climatic and erosion problems of Castile could be moderated by "reafforestation." Fortunately, this policy was followed under the Franco régime, and there is an on-going propaganda effort to change people's attitudes regarding 'non-productive' trees. The 1916 Municipal Ordinances of Hoyales already tried to protect trees and promote their planting (Municipal Archives).

The Geographical Handbook of the Naval Intelligence Division explains much of the problem:

In few countries has the natural forest-growth encountered so many enemies.... The need of wood for fuel, which continues even today, the great seasonal wanderings of flocks and herds in the past, the ravages of the ubiquitous goat, and the great destruction of forests during wars, especially the Carlist civil wars, when the woods sheltered rebels and bandits.... added the cardinal fact that once an area has been deforested, the arid climatic conditions and soil erosion prohibits the natural re-establishment of tree growth. (1941:I:135-136)

Caro Baroja adds further reasons for the burning down of forests. Shepherds were apparently the main culprits, attempting to clear more pastures. But for once they had the support of their traditional enemies, the farmers, who felt the forests were depriving them of arable land. Curiously enough, though, they were often merely following the short-sighted example set by their ancestors' feudal overlords: "By setting these fires, farmers and shepherds are merely following the custom they already had in remote times, when monks and lords promoted deforestation." (Caro Baroja, 1975:II:101).

This austere landscape is not softened much, either by the

occasional adobe evidence of human settlement, or by most of the cultivated fields.

Most of the small to medium sized, nucleated, untidy and abandoned-looking villages of Old Castile would hardly be distinguishable from the terrain, were it not for a poplar marking a cemetery and a stork's nest on a church tower indicating a village centre. Recent painted cement or brick houses stand out more, especially as there is a recent tendency to begin a new barrio near the main road. Because of the way this region was settled, small hamlets are almost non-existent.

The region is visibly the home of the minifundio, or small dispersed holding. The small plots of farming land are separated from each other by neither hedge, tree, fence, nor wall, and are only distinguishable by different stages of growth or different crops.* The obvious difference to the casual observer is between the majority of the land and the few irrigated areas.

The majority of the land in Castile is dry, unirrigated by either well or ditch, and is known as secano. The productive area of the secano is dedicated almost exclusively to cereals and the grapevine; the olive cannot survive Castilian winters (though an ill-fated attempt was made in the 18th century by the Bishop of Osma to plant an olive grove in Berlangas de Roa (Madoz 1849:IV:269): the sole surviving tree is, I believe, unique in Old Castile). The permanently uncultivated parts of the secano consist of pasture, and shrub- and bush-land; occasionally the worst, sandy soil is dedicated to an attractive,

*except for private markers often visible only to those intimately familiar with the territory.

compact pinegrove, which serves as the village picnic grounds and sometimes gives edible pine seeds. A few villages possess large and valuable resinous pine woods.

The irrigated areas, or regadío, if a village possesses one (which most do not in any worthwhile quantity), are dedicated to labour-intensive, more profitable crops, such as potato and sugar-beet. Poplars (the wood of which is used for building) often line streams and irrigation ditches. Usually, any greater variety of crops can only be found in the minuscule vegetable gardens immediately adjacent to many villages.

Still today, as a generation ago, "the use, side by side, of ultra-modern and traditional implements and methods is a characteristic of the present Spanish landscape." (Naval Intelligence Division, 1944:III:188). Also, one occasionally sees a shepherd herding his sheep along the side of the highway, and demonstrating good control of his flock at the approach of traffic. Regularly, and at most times of the year, farmers or labourers can be seen working in a field. The overall impression is of a hard, austere country, with a population to match.

The 'Ribera' of Burgos

About sixty kilometres after crossing Somosierra Pass, near the geographical centre of the region of Old Castile, the river Duero is reached, at an altitude of about 800 metres above sea-level, at the town of Aranda de Duero. Aranda is in the south of the province of Burgos, within half-an-hour's drive of the provinces of Segovia, Soria, Palencia

and Valladolid, all of which are named after their capital cities.*


Aranda is the crossroads for two important lines of communication. Running from south to north are the N. 1 Highway from Madrid to Burgos City (some 80 km north of Aranda) and on to the Basque country and the French frontier; and, linking the same destinations, the long planned though only recently completed express railway. From east to west, following the Duero valley along its southern edge, are the main highway and the little frequented railroad from Barcelona and Saragossa to Valladolid and on to the Portuguese frontier. Most of the main roads of the south of the province also pass through Aranda (See Map 2).

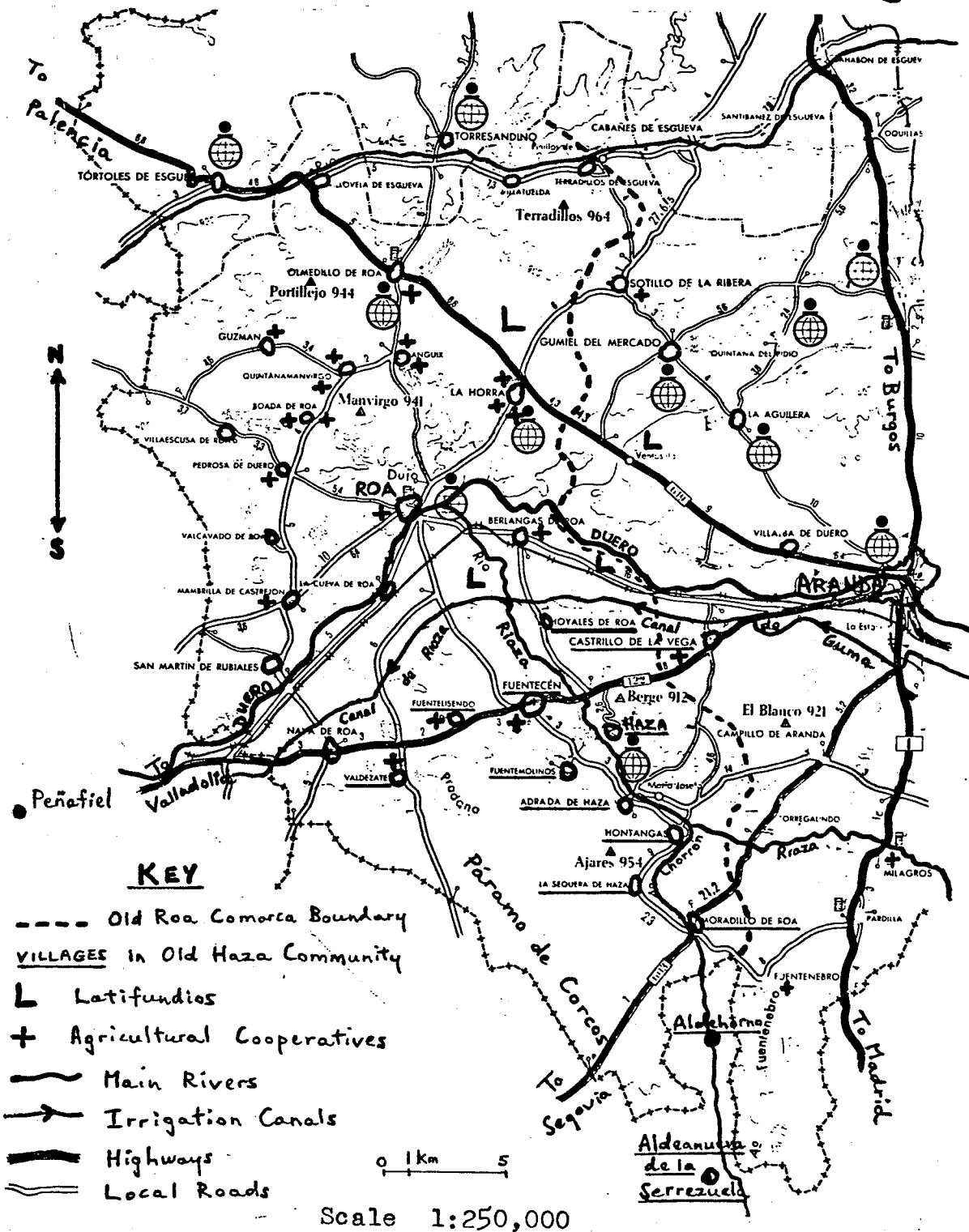
Aranda is also the only settlement with a growing population in this entire area, and is rapidly becoming the local capital, eclipsing other once-thriving market towns. This increasing importance began after 1958 when the town was chosen as one of the five industrial development sites for the decongestion of Madrid (Tamames. 1976:506). However, this title only gained true meaning after the Michelin chemical plant turned out its first tyre in 1970. Although there are other industries in Aranda, the Michelin factory is the major employer, the symbol of modern industrial life, and the goal of far too many young men from the surrounding countryside (c.f. White 1978).

This surrounding countryside, or Comarca (a cultural district in all but the formal political sense), is known as the 'Ribera of Burgos', i.e. the valley or riverside. Traditionally, this 'Comarca de la Ribera' was a wine-producing district, and one of the most densely populated and

*around which they were created by Javier de Burgos in 1833, in an artificial attempt to deregionalize and unify the country (Tamames 1976: 546).

MAP 2. WESTERN HALF OF ARANDA COMARCA

(From map of Burgos Province, published by Caja de Ahorros del Círculo Católico de Obreros, 1976. Local branches )



richest comarcas in Old Castile (see Molinero 1977); the many changes will be discussed repeatedly throughout this thesis.

Nowadays, Aranda is the 'capital' town of an enlarged comarca (see Map 1), but until very recently its area of influence was much more limited. Until a government decree of 1965 modified some judicial boundaries, the western half of the Ribera came under the jurisdiction of Roa, and a village in the 'Tierra de Roa' (the lands of Roa) will be our focus in this study.

Taking the highway out of Aranda west, with the brand new industrial quarter to our left, Valladolid, the most important city of Old Castile, lies some 90 km ahead. At our right runs the broad Duero valley, with a few poplars along the river banks. Fifteen kilometres from Aranda, after passing through the village of Castrillo, the road descends a hill to a surprisingly green and wooded little valley crossing the highway northwards towards the Duero and the town of Roa. This is the river Riaza, which has its source at Somosierra, our gateway to Old Castile.

Immediately to the south-east, on a high promontory, is the fortified, stone village of Haza, which has given its name to the river (Rio Aza). Haza* was an important strategic point during the Arab occupation of the peninsula, and also the head of its own Tierra (country district) or comarca, to which the village reported upon here belonged. The village of Haza, with its lack of protection from the harsh Winter winds and difficult access to water, is now desolate and almost abandoned

*The birthplace of Santa Juana, mother of the founder of the Dominican Order.

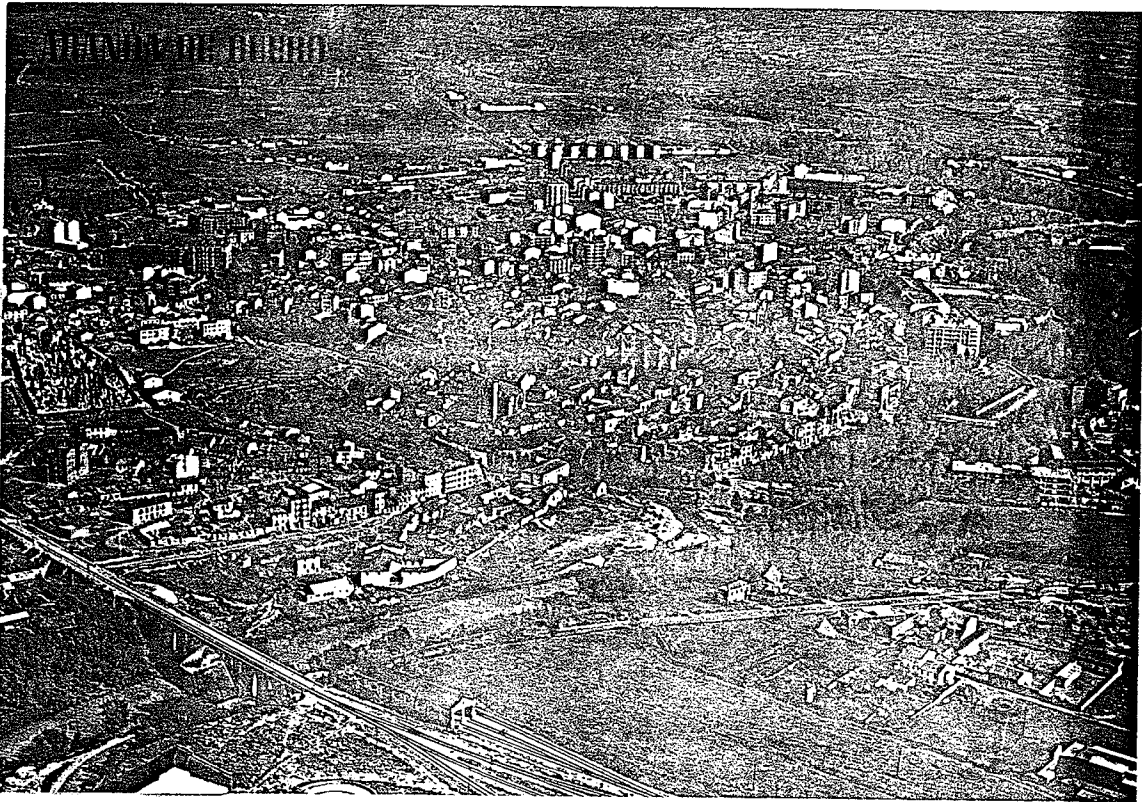


Plate 1. Aranda on the Duero: the old town; road and rail crossroads in foreground; new industrial quarter to right of picture (Photograph by Ed. París).

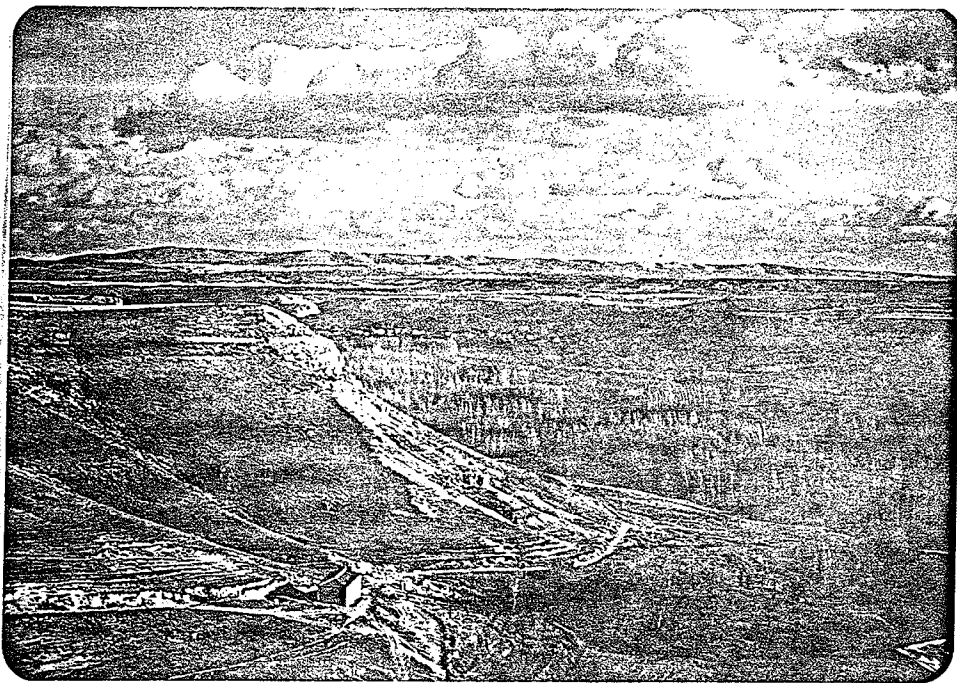


Plate 2. View from Haza: the Riaza valley and the Páramo de Corcos.

with less than a dozen families. In fact, it is the only village in the comarca of Roa to be in this sorry state.

The highway crosses the river to Fuentecén, and continues to Valladolid, an hour's drive away. To the east of the Riaza, we turn off northwards on a narrow but paved road parallel to the river. There is an irrigation ditch winding among the fields between the road and the river to our left, and most of the fields look more fertile than usual, being 'de regadío' (irrigated). To the right is a low secano hill, with vineyards, cereals and some areas covered in bush. The valley widens to a kilometre; between the road and the river, which is visible in the distance by the many trees marking its course, stretches a large, flat, fertile vega (irrigated plain), the richest agricultural land we have seen since leaving Madrid.

Three kilometres from the main highway, the road, which continues on to Berlangas and Roa, swerves to bypass a medium-sized adobe village, at the foot and slopes of a low hill, below the remains of a castle tower standing guard over the village: Hoyales de Roa.

Hoyales: Introduction to the Village

For a good, brief, general description of the village, it is worth quoting one of the few published accounts of Hoyales, and which should cover most of the aspects not discussed in this report (which itself will mostly concentrate on what is not mentioned in the article). Written by the then town clerk, Teófilo de la Cámara, the entry for Hoyales appears on pages 672 and 673 of volume 10 of the Diccionario Geográfico de España, published in 1959 by the ruling Francoist 'Movement', at the watershed moment when some of the major changes in Spanish rural history

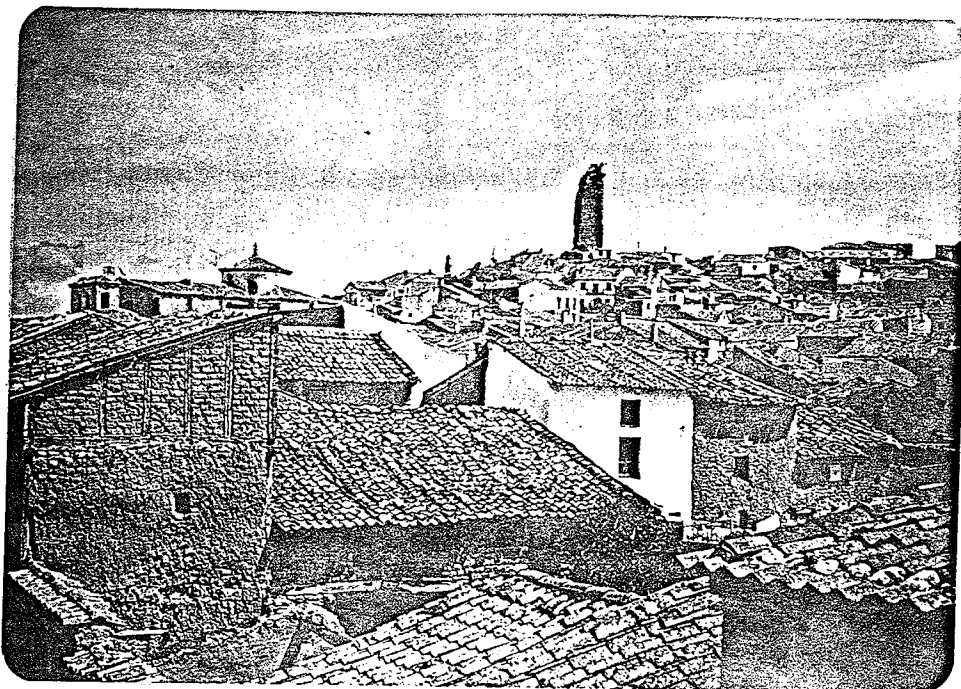


Plate 3. Hoyales: view of the village; the church is on the left; on the hill, around the tower, are the bodegas and contadores.

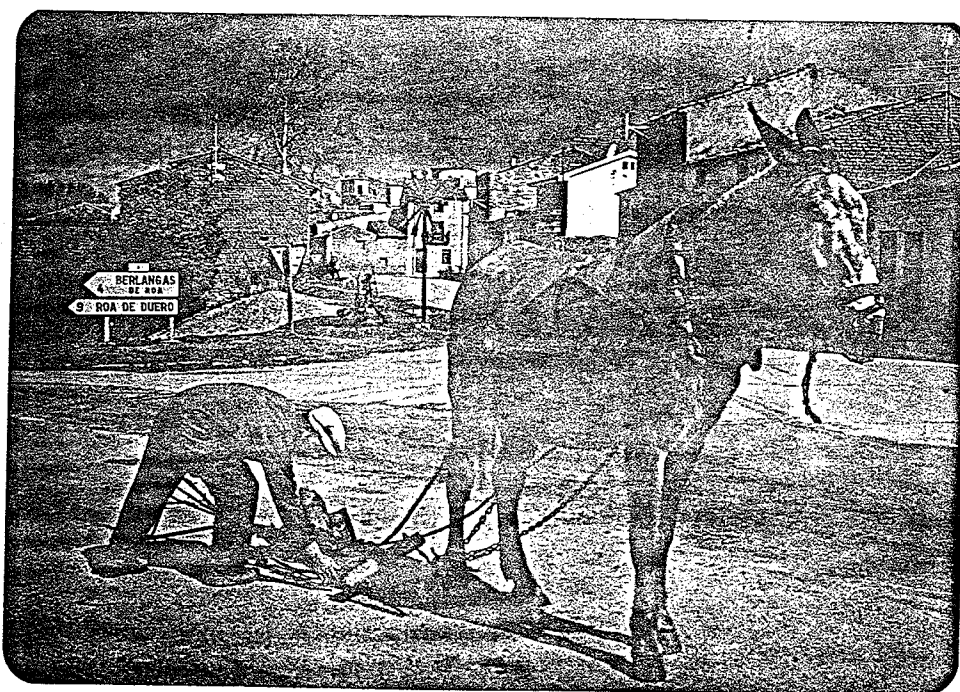


Plate 4. The entrance to the village nucleus is bypassed by the road to Berlangas and Roa.

were beginning. For this reason many of the facts given are suddenly out-dated, and will be commented upon further on, where relevant.

Hoyales de Roa

Municipality and borough of Burgos [province], Judicial district of Roa, comarca of the Ribera, at 96 km. from the [provincial] capital and 9 from the district head, which has the nearest railway station. 974 m. altitude. Area: 12.67 km². 41°39'33" N. and 0°10'26" W. [of Madrid]....

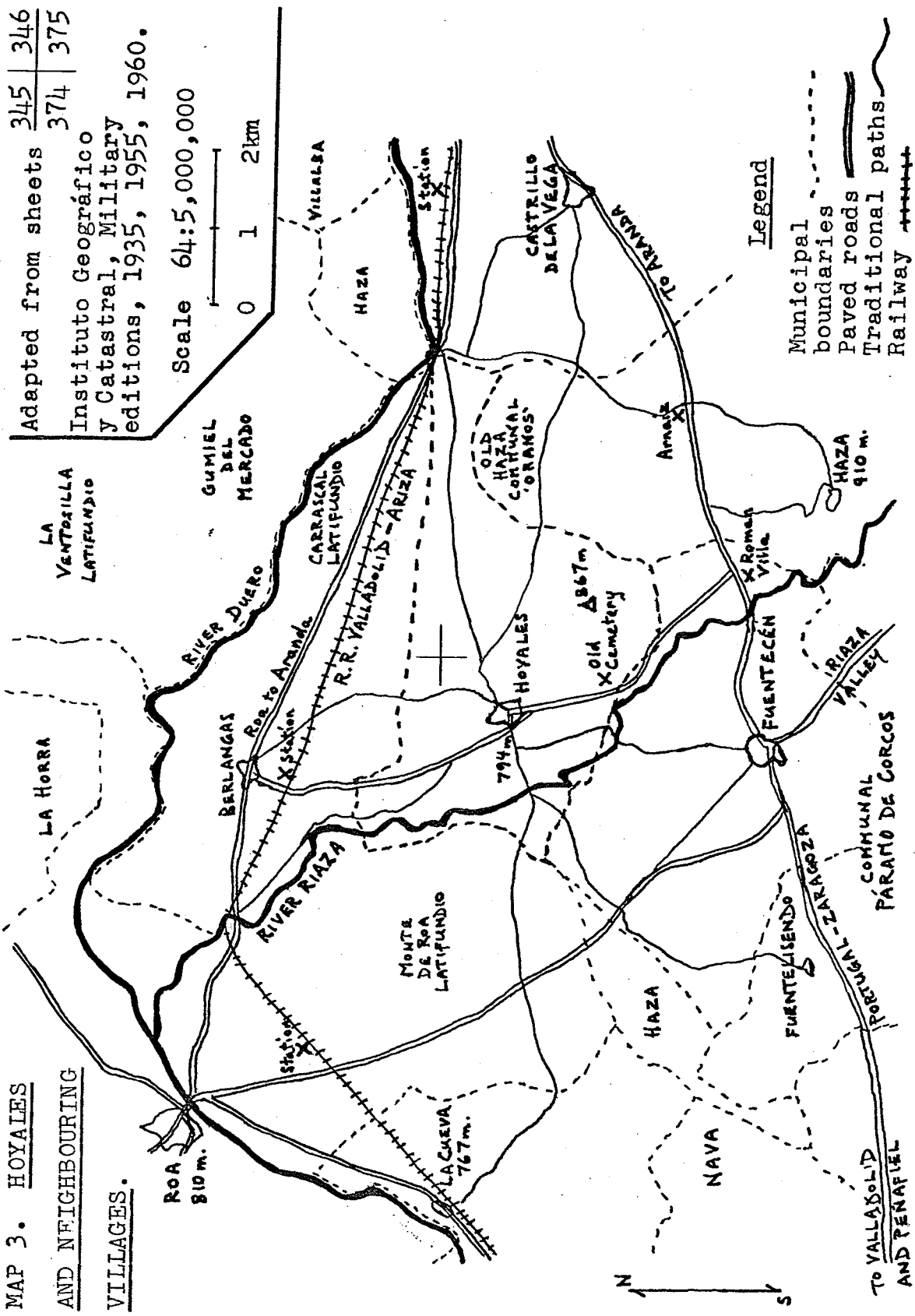
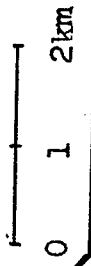
The territory is mostly flat; only to the S.E. and W. are there some small heights. It is bathed by the waters of the rivers Duero and Riaza; the former crosses the borough limits in the N.E., for a short stretch; of more importance is the Riaza, which flows in S.N. direction near the western boundary; parallel to it runs the 'Mill Ditch', an irrigation canal drawn from the Riaza within the boundary of Fuentecén. To the N., the Queen Victoria [Guma] Canal runs from E. to W. until merging with the former canal; from this latter and from wells comes the drinking water. There are no springs [?]. Uncultivated lands occupy an area of 131 Ha.; on these grow doncel pines, evergreen oak and oak-trees, and on the banks of the Riaza, poplars, which produce worthwhile incomes. Partridge, quail, rabbits, hares and other species of small game abound.

The cultivated lands, of excellent quality, are mostly irrigated: of the 897 Ha. of cultivated area, 555 are irrigated; the waters of the Mill Ditch enrich 355, the Reina Victoria canal the rest. The best fields are those situated along the banks of the former; they produce sugar-beet (9500 tonnes in total), and every four years potatoes (125 quintals per Ha.). Also by irrigation are grown cereals and vegetables, with the following indices of production per Ha.: wheat, 22 quintals; barley, 35; and beans, 16. The unirrigated fields are sown with cereals or dedicated to vineyard (100 Ha.); the indices for average production per Ha. in this class of land are: wheat, 11 quintals, and barley, 16; from the vineyards is obtained a total of 2200 Hl. of claret of 12 to 13 degrees. Agricultural work is carried out principally with the aid of mules, the scoop plough being used for irrigated soil, and the Roman plough for dry fields. The livestock of the borough consists of 200 mules, 17 horses, 4 donkeys, 10 cattle, 1100 sheep, 200 pigs, 3000 hens and 1000 rabbits. In the R. Riaza can be fished barbel and trout, which are consumed within the village or sold in the neighbouring boroughs of Berlangas, Fuentecén, etc. Industry [Manufacturing] consists of one mill, turned by the waters of the Mill Ditch; one saw-mill, one carpenter's shop and one bakehouse. Commerce is made up of five grocery

MAP 3. HOYALES
AND NEIGHBOURING
VILLAGES.

Adapted from sheets 345 | 346
374 | 375
Instituto Geográfico
y Catastral, Military
editions, 1935, 1955, 1960.

Scale 64:5,000,000



Legend

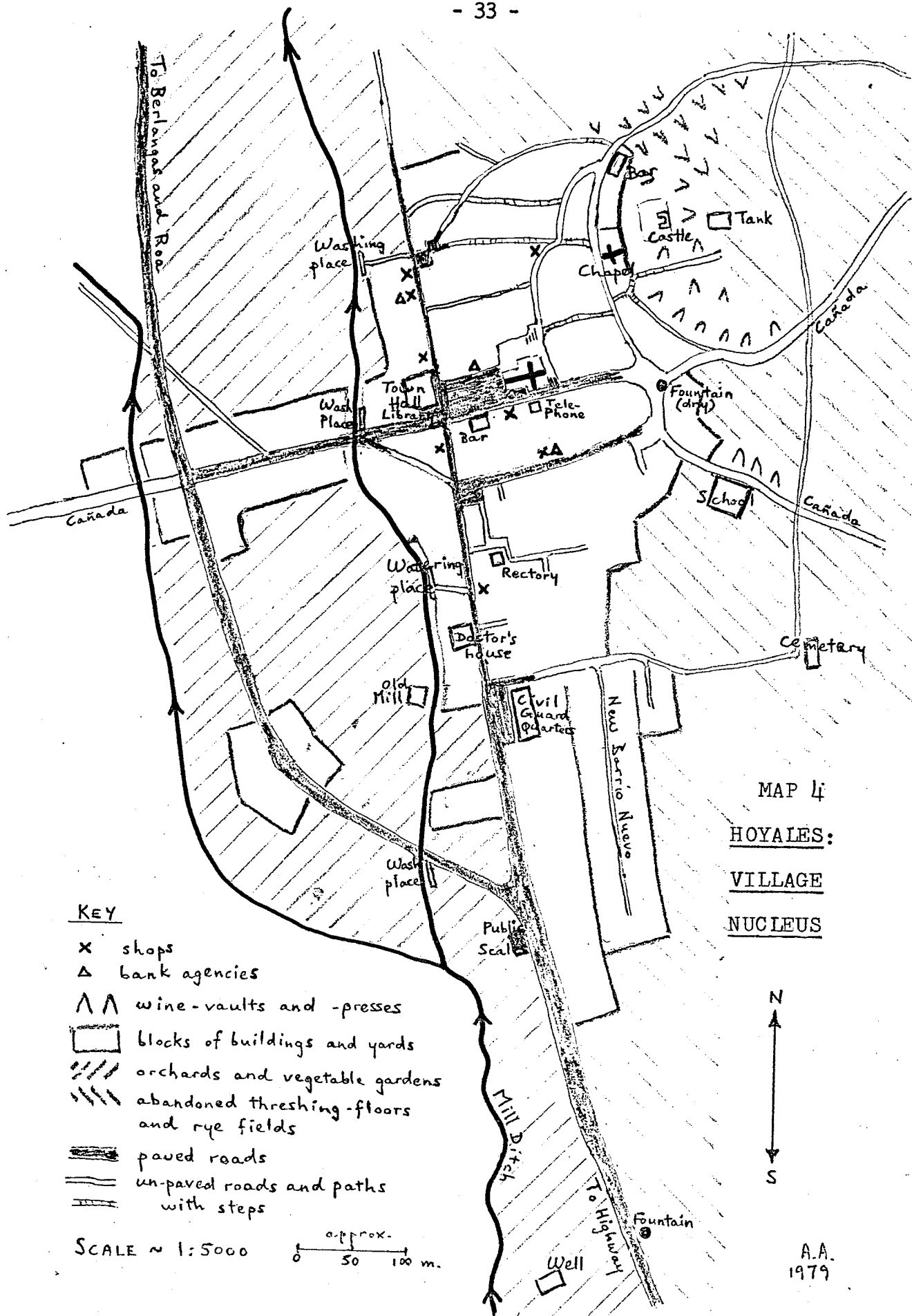
- Municipal boundaries -----
- Paved roads =====
- Traditional paths ~~~~~~
- Railway ++++++

shops, two general stores, four fish-mongers, three green-grocers, one baker's, three bars and two taverns [wineshops]. The village is connected by road with Roa and Aranda de Duero; there is a bus service to the [provincial] capital, daily. Postal service, and a public telephone exchange.

The population is 1080 inhabitants by right, according to the 1950 census, and remains stationary because of emigration. The village is situated on the slope of a small hill, protected from the N. winds; it is composed of 247 buildings used for living and 51 for other uses, within the nucleus, and, outside the nucleus, two buildings used for living and one other. In the parish and municipal archives are preserved documents dating since the XVI century. Above the hillside which the village sits on, rises a tower, the ruins of the ancient castle; the parish church offers a mixture of mudéjar [Mohammedan], renaissance and rococo styles; also of note, for its archaeological interest, is the chapel of Our Lady of Above; occasionally, tombstones have been discovered with inscriptions thought to date from the X or XI centuries. The festival of the patron saint takes place on 24th August. As a typical custom, mention should be made of the contadores, little huts tucked around the castle ruins, where the inhabitants get together for supper; the young men, upon reaching draft age, 'run the roosters', mounted on horseback [or mules or asses]. Since 1940, the main improvement undertaken was the construction of 30 patronized [subsidized] dwellings; also the parish temple was renovated, and some streets were paved. There is one inn, with capacity for 16 persons. Two school buildings. Doctor and midwife. One parish priest.

A few comments would seem to be in order. No mention is made of either land ownership or living conditions, as these facts were presumably not requested by the editors of the encyclopaedia. Electricity is not mentioned as it had already been brought to the village at the beginning of the 20th century. The only other improvements since the Middle Ages would appear to have been a doctor (partly responsible for the increased population) and some modern transport and communication services. As for trade, it had always existed, at least for those peasants producing a surplus for export.

Hoyales still retained some originality of character and



A.A.
1979

problems. Modern communications and increased state interference have led to greater homogeneity among most of the villages of the region, indeed of the country (Crespo, 1978). Until the early 1960s Hoyales was almost completely self-sufficient as a community, possessing most of the services and facilities required by the poor and simple traditional lifestyle.

The changes in the twenty years since de la Cámara's article was written are considerable. Most farmers now have a tractor, and the population has dropped drastically. The use of fertilizers allows crop rotation in irrigated fields and fallow in the dry lands to be almost ignored. The area under irrigation has increased slightly. The grape-vine has declined in importance, whereas commercial crops such as barley cover an ever greater area (Molinero, 1977). The animal population quoted by de la Cámara has declined considerably, as has the number of commercial establishments. There is no more midwife or running of the roosters. The doctor now commutes from Aranda.

On the positive side, the spring, which had presumably dried up at the time of de la Cámara's writing, soon started to flow again, and a fountain with enclosed reservoir was built for hygiene. Also, a railway station was built at Berlangas, much closer and more convenient than Roa or Castrillo. Finally, around the same time, the first toilets started to be imported by the wealthier peasants.*

As for the once abundant small game, it has all but disappeared. Since the hunting fever began in the 1960s most of the villages in

*thus sparing the chickens in the corral (yard) from unsightly intrusions.

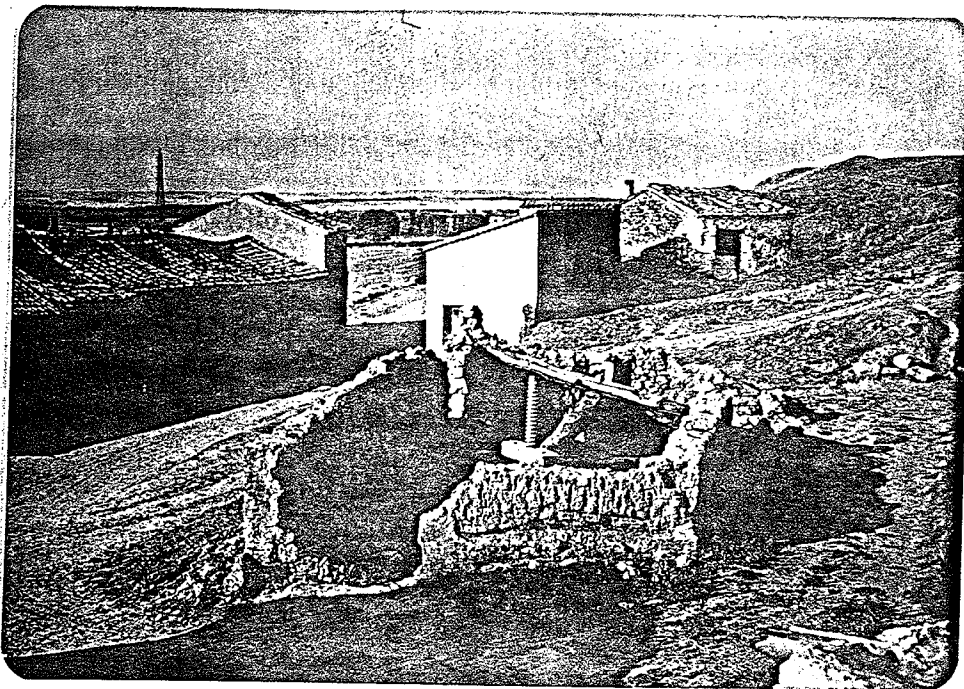


Plate 5. An abandoned wine-press is evidence of the end of local self-sufficient production and consumption.

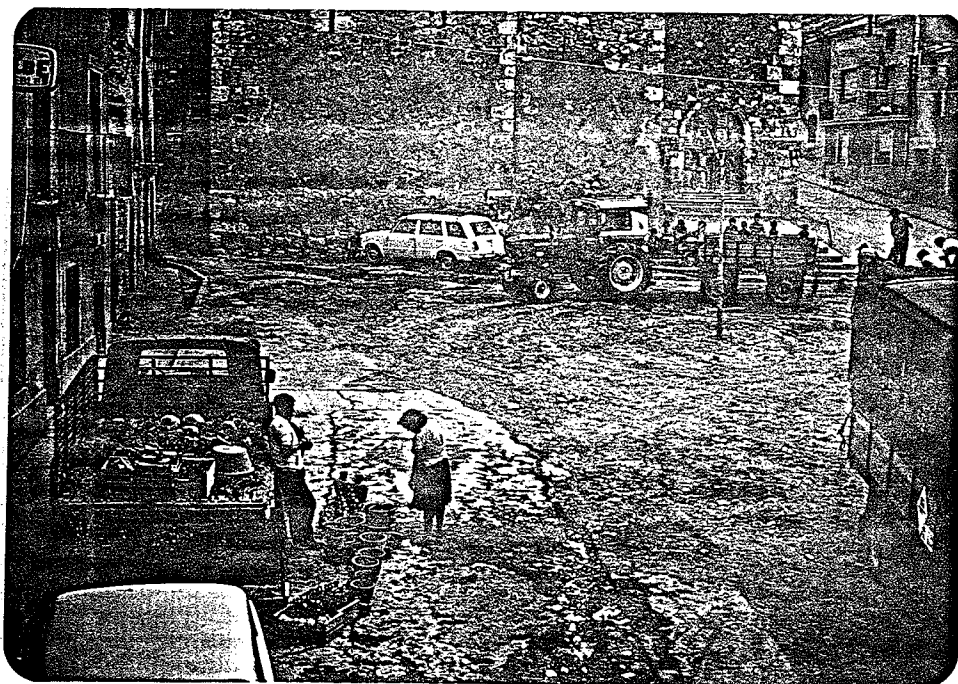


Plate 6. The village square, and an itinerant pottery vendor.

Castile have formed private or communal reserves. The few that have not done so, like Hoyales, are invaded every Thursday and Sunday during the season by hunters from as far afield as Bilbao, looking for open hunting grounds. During my first stay in the village, a group of Basque hunters attempted to have Hoyales closed, at their expense, to all save themselves and those villagers willing to pay a minute contribution. However, the idea of having to make even a token payment for the right to hunt on their own (and their neighbours') land was more galling to the village hunters than the prospect of there being nothing left to hunt, and the proposal was rejected.

The most paradoxical of the recent changes must be the opening, shortly after publication of the article cited above, of a second bakery.* This is not because more bread is eaten, but because the entire population was then buying its bread ready-made from the baker. Previously, only the poor, working-class families had to buy their bread. Those who possessed wheat had the miller turn it into white flour, then gave this to a woman to make bread for the family, for which work she received a large loaf. An informant believes that the person who had wheat in his granary never bought bread because he thought it was demeaning, as others might say he had no wheat left.

"This world has changed completely! Because now they all go to buy their bread, and their meat, and they don't slaughter a pig or two for family consumption." Having a pig was another status symbol, not only because it showed that one had meat to eat, but also because it

*With continually declining population, both bakers are now facing difficulties. The first bakery has closed down its oven and now sells bread made in Roa.

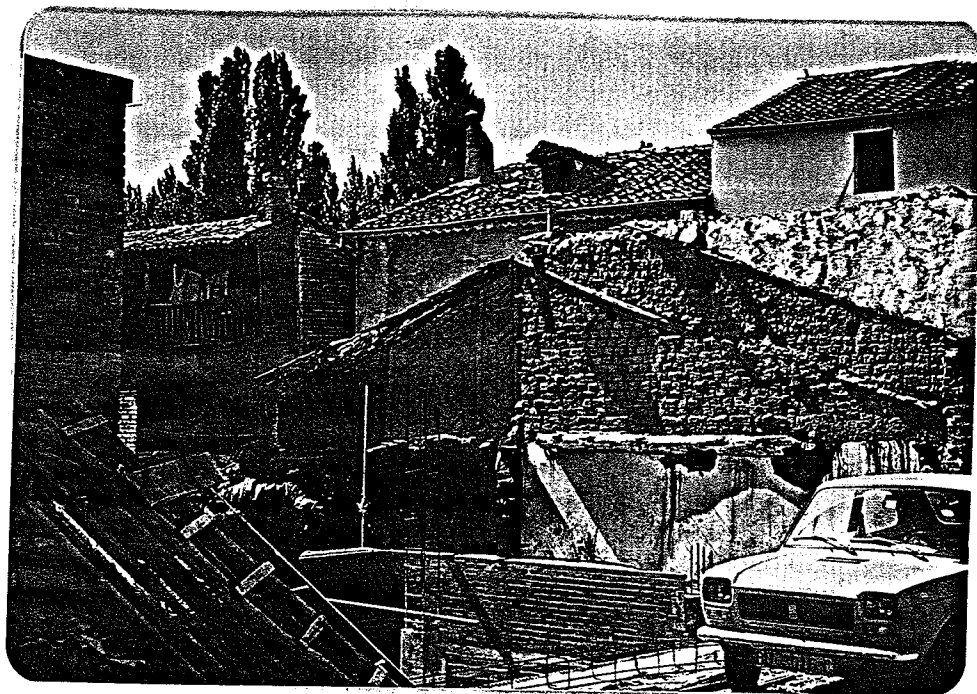


Plate 7. Improving living conditions: the foundations of a new house.

indicated enough left-overs to feed the animal. Almost all meat is now purchased, with very few families still raising chickens and rabbits.

Most families used to be almost self-sufficient, or at least cash was not in common usage. The village as a whole formed a complete, self-sufficient community. Of course, some items such as cloth and oil had to be imported; also, a formal external relations network existed (as we shall see below). However, since the early 1960s, all the local 'industries' have closed down: wood, bricks, furniture, and even flour, are now imported from the new industrial centres in exchange for cash. Money is obtained by selling almost the entire village production (not merely a surplus) in its raw, unprocessed state to the

industrial market. The village has become totally non-self-sufficient. Previously only a few peasants had a surplus. Now, almost all have become commercial farmers producing for a distant, anonymous market. And Hoyales is today an almost modern, capitalist, agricultural village of unprepared individuals struggling in the face of an imposed, incomprehensible situation, described in Spain as 'the rural crisis'.

CHAPTER III

THE COMARCAS: HOYALES AND ITS DISTRICT ORGANIZATIONS

"Esa comarca ribereña de Roa, tan castellana y Burgalesa."
(This Ribera comarca of Roa, so Castilian and of Burgos.
Florentino Zamora, 1965: Preface.)

Though each of the surrounding villages has some distinguishing originality of its own, the present crisis is affecting all the villages in the area to some degree and similarly, because of their "similar economic and social characteristics" and the "analogous nature of the problem, and considerable mutual relationships" (Molinero, 1977:8; my translation). Most differences could probably be explained by land types and produce, and property distribution.

The majority of similarities and contacts (e.g. traditional marriage ties) for Hoyales are with the immediately neighbouring villages: Berlangas, Fuentecén, Castrillo, Haza and Roa. With the other non-irrigated villages of the Aranda comarca, Hoyales probably shares only a common history and ideology, a similar land-structure and of course the present rural crisis; the problems of irrigated villages are of course generally similar.

As for what the villages of the Ribera have in common with the rest of the province of Burgos specifically: in spite of the eloquent quote at the beginning of this chapter, very little, except perhaps for the excessive expenses and inadequate services associated with too many

small municipalities, of which Burgos has the extreme number of 458* (Tamames, 1976:498). The comarca of Aranda alone has 62 municipalities, for which concentration of services is becoming indispensable.

At the comarca level, there has already been a concentration, with Aranda taking over juridical and most other intermediate level administrative functions from Roa. Poor little Roa is even being outdone as an entertainment centre for local youth by Peñafiel. This is due to increasing mobility offered by private automobiles. The car, and modern paved roads have, on the other hand, almost cut off relationships between once neighbouring villages. For example, Hoyales was much closer to Castrillo by cart along the old cañada (sheep trail), than it is now by road. Even in the last century, the coming of the railroad made Valladolid much more accessible to the Ribera than the capital city of Burgos, which is rarely visited now for other than provincial administrative matters.

Roa still retains a few government delegations, such as the Ministry of Agriculture extension service, but most other services are now in Aranda, or eventually in Burgos. For other than provincial government services, Valladolid is now the major centre. Aranda is the service centre of the Ribera and is gradually gaining from Roa, the second step in a concentration of services, encouraged by declining population and increasing mobility, and by new 'needs'; a far cry from only a generation ago when most 'needs' were serviced within each community, and Roa, originally resorted to only for special services, began a first concentration of these.

*as opposed to the other extreme province: Murcia with 43 municipalities.

However, the comarca (or partido, to give its judicial name) of Roa, with its 28 villages, was itself a recent creation, one of the early reforms of the Liberal governments of the 19th century. The previous district organization, to which Hoyales seems to have belonged throughout recorded history, survived--although already in decay--after the creation of the comarca of Roa, until it was dealt the death-blow by the disamortization of the second half of the 19th century. This organization was called the 'Comunidad de Villa y Tierra de (community of Town and Country of) Haza'.

The Comunidad de Haza, or 'Thirteen Villages of the Corcos Páramo', as the organization is also known (Cantera, 1977:31), includes two villages belonging to the present-day province of Segovia. The original sixteen villages were part of the old province of Segovia, and under the jurisdiction of the town of Ayllon (Miñano, 1826).^{*} The mediaeval fortified town of Haza was the centre of the Community.

Roa was once the fortified head of a similar community of thirty-four villages, and which possibly included Hoyales ("Moiales"?) and some other territory later to come under Haza. The 'Comunidad de Villa y Tierra de Roa' was created by a charter of Alfonso VII in 1143 (Zamora, 1965:628), and was a re-creation of an earlier 'Alfoz' (chartered territory) of Roa, formed after the reconquest of the district two centuries before, and which had dissolved due to Arab raids. The Comunidad de Roa was much reduced in importance (to common sheep pastures) and size (to 14 villages) by the mid-19th century, partly because of the

^{*}Ayllon, higher up the Riaza, was an important centre of the Mesta, on the Segovian cañada.

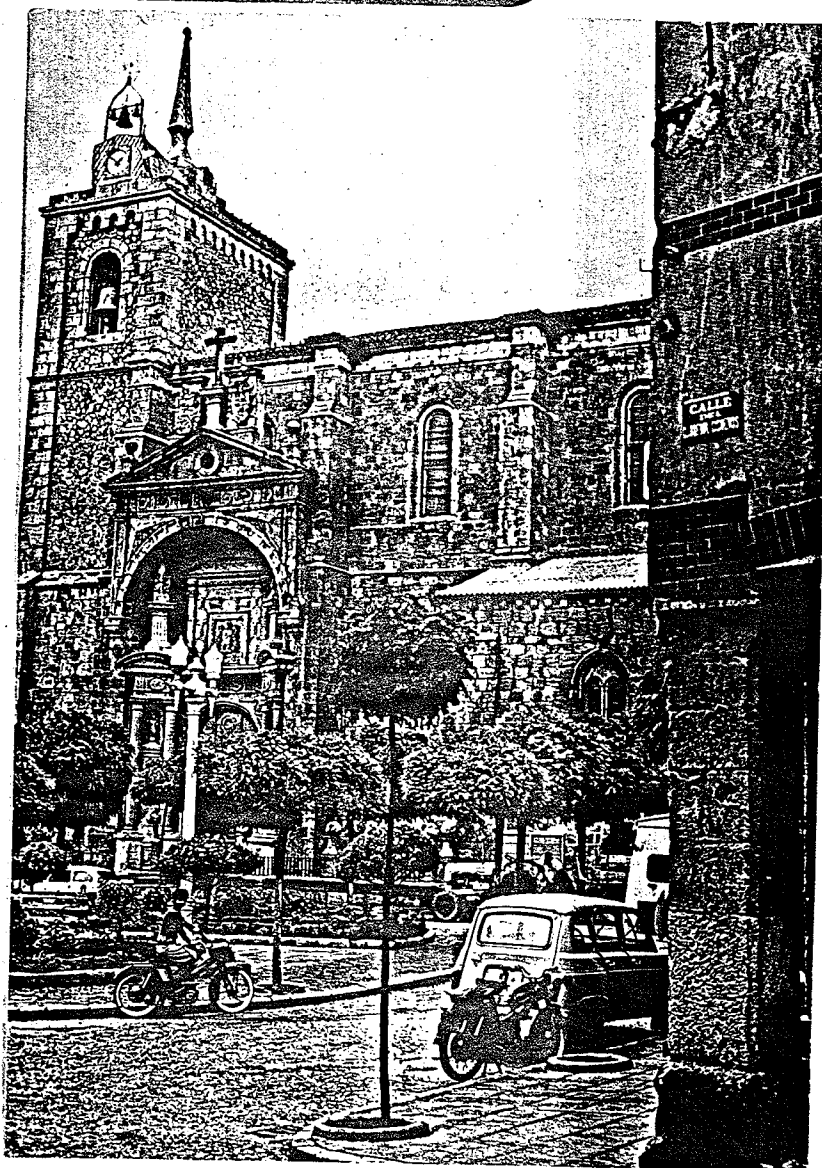


Top:

Plate 8. Haza:
the semi-abandoned
fortified town,
guarding the Rianza
valley.

Bottom:

Plate 9. Roa:
the Main Square and
Collegiate church.
(Photograph by Ed.
Inter.)



abandonment or disappearance of seven of the villages (Madoz, 1849: XIII:520), and also because thirteen had ceased to belong to Roa (Zamora, 1965:560). The boundaries between Roa and its countryside, and Haza and its Tierra were sorted out in the 1430s* after a petition to the king by Roa (Zamora, 1965:618). Though I have no date for the founding of the Haza community, this shows us that it was already established by 1432.

The reason for creating these communities around a fortified town was to encourage settlement of the newly conquered frontier districts. During the Middle Ages, the villages of the community were required to contribute to the work and expenses of the organization and of repairing the town fortifications (Zamora, 1965:63,628).

Cantera (1977: 30-32) suggests that the community was also a type of pact allowing freedom of pasture for the local herds on the common lands, ensuring year-round pasture on the vega, the páramo and the sierra, according to the season. A careful study of a map seems to support this hypothesis (c.f. Map 2). From Hoyales and Castrillo de la Vega on the banks of the Duero (below 780 metres), the Community follows the Riaza valley then the Chorrón stream right up to the nearest sierra, known as the Serrezuela, at over 1250 metres elevation, within the Sierra de Pradales. The Community also included the very large Páramo de Corcos (at between 920-950 m), which is shared to this day by the seven villages around it.

More than just providing year-long communal pastures, the

*The Castilian frontier had become more secure since the Muslim territories had been reduced to Granada in 1262.

Community of Town and Country of Haza would also seem to have once formed an ecologically complete district in miniature, each zone providing minor specialization. Wine came from the lower areas, in soils unsuitable for the cereal which was grown elsewhere if possible; the highlands provided good pasture; and some of the villages possessed small irrigated areas on which to grow vegetables and hemp. Even the requirements for labour may have been spread out by the demands of the varying crops, and the slight variations in climate affecting each cycle.

However, after the region was settled and established, sheep and common pastures became the real raison d'etre of the Community, and as the flocks decreased in importance towards the end of the 18th century, so too did the Community gradually cease to have much relevance. In the second half of the 19th century the Liberal disentailment sold off to individuals most of the common pastures and fields belonging to the Haza community. The depreciated revenue from these sales was forcibly invested in government bonds. The interest from these is nowadays only enough for a community dinner every two years, each time hosted in a different village, for the mayor and three civil servants (priest, village clerk and the secretary of the Farmers' Brotherhood) of each of the thirteen villages. The authorities of the new host village are entrusted with the archives, books and administration of the community until the next supper.

Most of the inhabitants of the member villages (except of the seven still possessing rights to the Páramo of Corcos) are barely if at all aware of the existence of this traditional organization (Cantera 1977:31), or in fact that their villages were not always a part of the Cid's province

of Burgos.

Each of the three comarcas to which Hoyales has belonged throughout recorded history were relevant at the time, and have influenced some aspect of the village in some way; even the Haza Community has left its own peculiar and observable vestige, a competitive attitude caused by a most curious method of distributing usufruct of the common fields of the Comunidad.

Individual tenure of a plot was for life, but with no right of inheritance. Loperráez recorded the system in 1788 (in his Historical Description of the Bishopric of Osma, within which the sixteen parishes of Haza formed a sub-group):

If a person who has the benefit of some 'oraño' (local name for this type of communal field) of good quality happens to be seriously ill, the other villagers are waiting for him to die, so they can run to plant a hoe in his estate; and the first to do so enters into usufruct of this; because of which custom arguments are very frequent about who arrived first to plant his hoe. (p. 211)

This curious example of communalism is cited by Costa in his classic Colectivismo Agrario (1915:II:384-5); and he comments that this "method, so at odds with all good order....must necessarily have produced conflicts and fights about who had been better informed or faster, to arrive first."

This local aberration of communalism is considerably at variance with the many examples of traditional village communes and cooperatives in Spain, and especially in Castile, as described by Brenan (1950a: Appendix I). For Hoyales, the inheritance of historical local organization could be summed up as acute competition and lack of cooperative tradition.

CHAPTER IV

CELTS TO COMUNEROS: PRE-HISTORY TO FEUDALISM

"Castilla miserable, ayer dominadora,
envuelta en sus andrajos desprecia cuanto ignora."
(Wretched Castile, once dominant,
wrapped in her rags despises that of which she is
ignorant. Machado)

Attitudes toward History

Castile has long been a bastion of purposeful ignorance; but this ignorance applies to her own history too. Since the Middle Ages, Castile has been the dominant region in Spain; but her peasants are not Castile. Through the centuries, they have merely shouldered the heavy burden of financing an aggressive, ambitious imperialism, in return for which they were rewarded by myths of the greatness accruing to them by virtue of their race. The peasants were wretched and dressed in rags; their ruling classes dominated the western world and indulged in the despising of all things foreign.

Observers of Spain (e.g. Kant 1974:175) have noted that Spain is the land of history. But in Spain, perhaps as elsewhere, history and tradition are used as tools, for mystification and self-justification, whenever convenient.

In Hoyales, for the most part, the maximum awareness of even local or family history is "de toda la vida" (for all my life). The reasons for this could be various: institutionalized ignorance and

lack of interest; the peasant class has not been an active force in history (Martínez-Alier 1974);* the usual absence of future long-term perspective applying also to the past; the pressures of daily existence, which preclude even future foresight, let alone the luxury of speculation or worry about the past; a desire for mystification of the past and the assumption by conservative persons that their behaviour is right because traditional.

Mystification of the past is certainly very obvious, especially at the family level. The desire to aggrandize the family history could be due to the fact that social status seems to be attained with a generation's delay, as will be discussed below (ch. X). The extreme parcelation of fields and the divisive inheritance system would make it difficult for children to verify the extent of a grandparent's holdings even should they want to.

The emphasis on luck within the inheritance system** helps the attributing of the responsibility for the rather unequal distribution of land upon Divine Providence. Is the divine distribution of property the reason or the excuse for opposition by many old peasants to land reform? The speed and ease with which many rural traditions can be discarded when necessary is proof of their shallowness. But most irrational, reactionary or anti-social behaviour is justified by history and tradition, both at the village and the state levels.

*As will be shown below, chapters VII and VIII, occasional involvement in national conflict was never beneficial for the village; I have never noticed anybody's experience in the last Civil War being an occasion for fond remembrance; on the contrary, the period is studiously ignored.

**See below, ch. XI.

The feeling of living by tradition, in harmony with history, was absolute in most villages, and even cities, in Old Castile, until the 1950s. Though there had been considerable change throughout history, changes had usually arrived slowly and a few at a time, and furthermore moderated by the opposition they had usually received in this most conservative of regions. As a result there was a considerable backlog of problems and innovations which, when they finally came, shattered the illusion of continuity with a distant past.

Hoyales: Early History

The most obvious relics of the distant past in Hoyales are the tower ruins and the Mill Ditch irrigation canal. Extremely little is known about either of these.

The castle which is supposed to have existed around the tower was probably built during the early 10th century by either of the two sides during the Islam-Christian wars for control of the Duero frontier. Most probably it was erected by the Christians, as one of many minor fortifications in the defense line between the major bastions of Peñafiel and Peñaranda.* The tower now belongs to the National Patrimony; but is known to have belonged once to the Duke of Peñaranda, Count of Miranda.

The castle was probably demolished in the 16th century by the 'Catholic Monarchs', and its stones used for the reconstruction of the church in 1778, during the reign of Charles III. However, Miñano (1826) comments of the Hoyales castle that it is "tall and well built, but its

*These many castles gave the region its name of Castile.

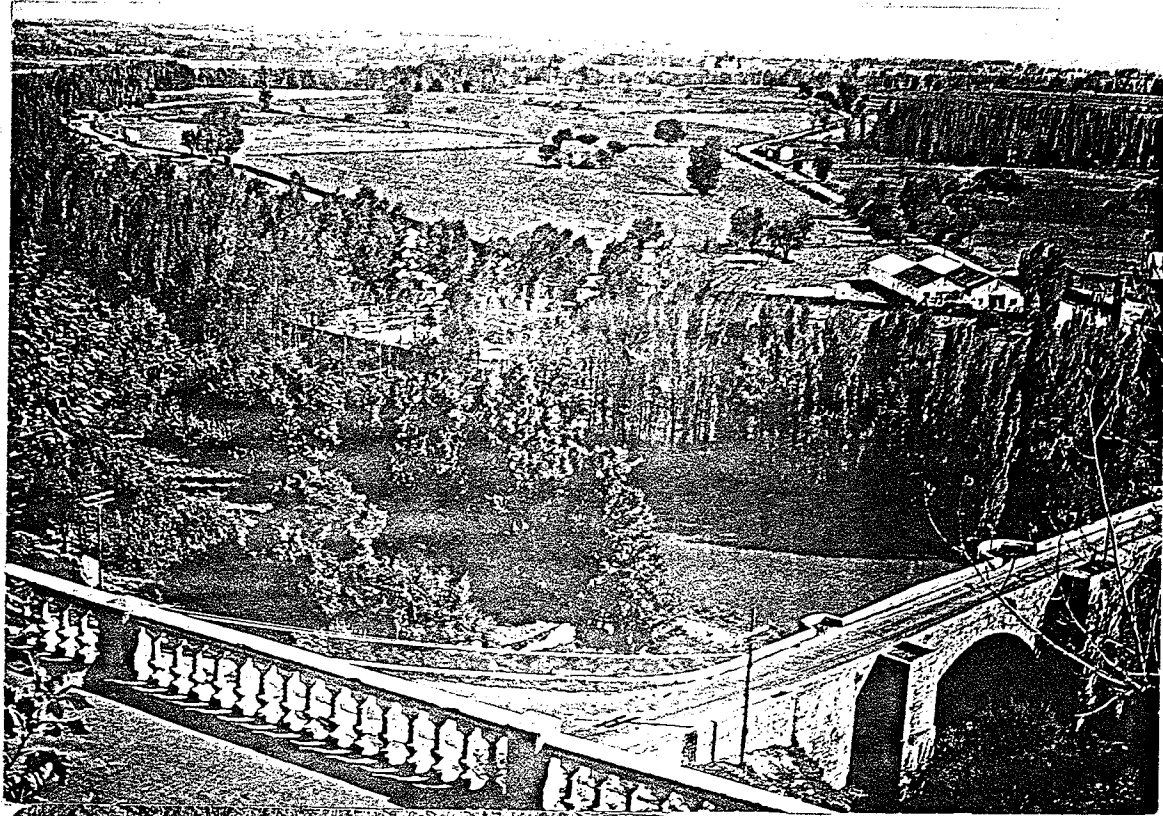
walls are rapidly falling into ruin," which could mean that the castle had not been purposefully pulled down before. Miñano also claims: "This village is very ancient, and from it descend the Counts of Miranda of the House of the Lords Abellanedas."

As for the Mill Ditch, its maintenance is mentioned in the municipal archives as far back as the 17th century. However, it must have been constructed long before, as this was the only irrigation canal in the whole area until the present century, and no other small, local irrigation works are known to have been built since the Christian re-occupation of Old Castile.

Amazingly, to this writer, the origins and importance of these extraordinary irrigation works have been ignored in most local historical documents. Loperráez, in his Historical Description of the Diocese of Osma* only mentions that: "since time immemorial the waters of this river [Riaza] have been directed and made good use of for irrigation, the ancient ditches along which the waters were guided for the gardens and plantations of the plain of Roa being visible ...some are today abandoned " (1788:II:7). There is evidence of an agreement in 1677 between Roa, Berlangas and Hoyales, regarding usage of the waters of the canal (Zamora 1965:613).

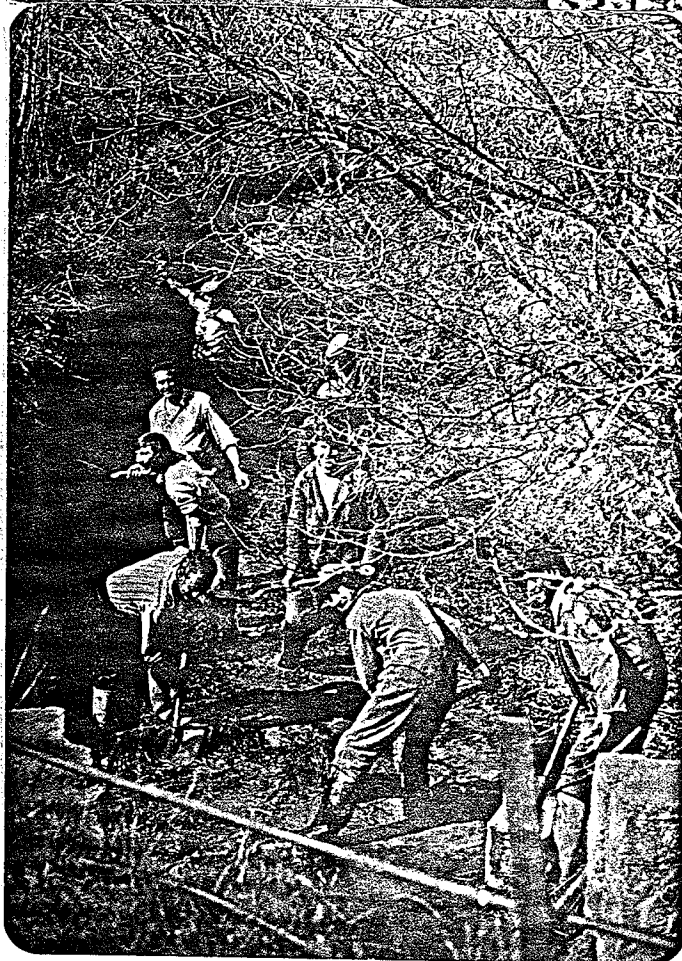
The only historical discussions to be heard today in Hoyales centre on whether the main canal was dug by the early Castilians, or the Arabs, or the Romans; and there are arguments to support each side. The Arabs, though they promoted irrigation in other parts of Spain,

*All the parishes in the area belonged to the Diocese of Osma, in Soria, until 1956, when they came under the Bishopric of Burgos.



Top:

Plate 10.
The fertile plain of
Roa: view from the
town across the Duero
towards Hoyales and
Berlangas (Photograph
by Ed. Skorpio).



Bottom:

Plate 11.
The Mill Ditch:
cleaning the irrigation
canal - a rare example
of communal labour,
winter 1976.

were probably never sufficiently well established in the Duero valley. As for the Castilians, apart from abandoning many existing irrigation systems, they did not usually seem to value irrigated crops as highly as those from the secano, from which a better profit could always be made until recently. For example, Miñano (1826), in his article on Hoyales, notes that Hoyales produces all sort of legumes "but above all much excellent wine." In fact, if the villagers of Hoyales bothered to maintain their canal over the centuries, until irrigated crops finally came into their own, it is because of the mill and especially the inadequate springs near the village, which could not be relied upon for a regular supply of drinking water.

The canal was most likely first dug by the Romans. Drain claims that "the extension of irrigation is recent, in spite of the abundance of archaeological vestiges of wells and canalizations of the Romans" (Drain 1971:90). Also, it is known that the old Roman road from Astorga to Saragossa passed through Rauda (Roa) and Clunia near Soria. Most relevant would seem to be the mosaics (probable evidence of a rather grand Roman villa) shown to me by José-David Sacristán, at the junction where the Hoyales road meets the highway from Valladolid to Saragossa. This site is next to the irrigated orchards of Fuentecén, and only about a kilometre upstream from the point where the Mill Ditch takes its waters from the Rianza.

Possibly also of relevance is the story that, about half-way between the Roman villa and Hoyales village, at the point where the road squeezes between the hill and the canal, there were dug up, within living memory (when the first tractor and deep plough to be seen in the

district was brought in to prepare a new vineyard above the road), some large stones with Latin inscriptions. Though we have been unable to see these, Sacristán imagines they were Gothic tombstones, and not necessarily Roman, as the villagers imagine.

The moment of establishment of the present village of Hoyales is difficult to determine. Though the earliest manuscripts in the municipal archives are some accounts dating from 1628, the French counsellor and almsgiver of the Spanish king, M. Bartolomé Joly, travelling through the district in 1603, was advised to visit Hoyales to try the best garbanzos (chick-peas) in Spain! (quoted by García 1959:II:89). This shows that at least the village had established a solid national reputation for its produce.*

In the parochial archives of Hoyales, Book 1 of the Burial register dates from 1580, Book 1 of the Marriage register from 1576, and the first book of christenings is dated 1548 to 1617; as Book 2 of Christenings only begins at 1676, it would seem that the numbering of the books was made at a much later date. In 1548 there were four live births; the average for the first book is 5.3/year. Estimating, from more recent and complete statistics, an average live birth-rate of 3%, the population of Hoyales in 1548 was probably between 150 and 200 persons. This large a group might have suddenly colonized the village all together; it seems more credible that the municipality was already established.

*There is no other record of chick-peas ever being grown in Hoyales.

The Comarca: From Settlement to Splendour

As for what is known of the history of the district, Sacristán has spent several years digging in Roa, as a result of which he has come up with the following information. There is evidence of a culture demonstrating Celtic influences beginning in the 7th to 5th centuries B.C. Between the 2nd and the first half of the 1st centuries B.C., Roa was the site of a very important Celtiberian settlement even extending in places beyond the present town. There are very few artifacts dating from Roman times although the native culture must have been by then very diluted by the Romans. There is evidence of general destruction by fire during the first half of the 1st century B.C., after which there remains some evidence of life until the end of the 1st century A.D.

Between the 2nd century A.D. (when Ptolemy mentioned Rauda in his Geography) and the Middle Ages, though Rauda is cited in Roman texts, there is at the moment no material evidence of human settlement. (Sacristán, 1978; and personal communication.)

For the Middle Ages, there is over-abundant documentation, most of which deals with famous people and events, and is therefore of only occasional relevance here. An attempt shall be made to summarize as briefly as possible whatever seems to be relevant. A good study of traditional life in the comarca should soon be available, when Molinero's doctoral thesis is published.

Of our area during the times of the Visigothic and Arab dominations, I could find no information at all. Sánchez Albornoz and his disciples claim that from the 8th until the early 10th centuries, the Duero valley was a no-man's-land, separating Christian and Muslim Spain.

Caro Baroja, on the other hand, finds it difficult to believe that none of the Visigothic Christian villages survived in some small way the Arab occupation and many wars (1975:II:90). After the Arab invasion, the king of Asturias raided the district and took back with him all those Christians who wished to go north. Seeing he had laid waste most of the valley, the decision to leave must have been straightforward for the majority of the local inhabitants.

The Duero valley was reconquered by the Christians in the year 912, and Roa and Haza were resettled. They were again abandoned after raids by Almanzor, and definitely re-occupied in the 11th century. As frontier districts in a warring country, they were given fueros (charters) to encourage the settlement of peasant-warriors. Most of these pioneers were from the overcrowded Cantabrian mountains of the north, Basques and Asturians, seeking land and freedom. "Peasants who were willing to accept the risks and the adventure of living on the frontier were the freest of all, and like pioneers in all ages, they developed a strong sense of personal worth and independence." (O'Callaghan 1974:410).

The basic structure of property and settlement was also developed then: "the kings and nobles...granted land on easy terms both to individual farmers and to communities of peasants. For this reason a considerable proportion of the soil... belongs to small peasant farmers and certain villages still own their own land and work it communally" (Brenan 1950a:110). Thus, latifundia were rare in this region, as opposed to further south, where the reconquest proceeded faster and more easily.

However, the peasants' rights and property were gradually usurped

and alienated by the church and the aristocracy, during the dynastic upheavals of the 14th and 15th centuries. Depopulation of Old Castile, due to plagues and migration to the new territories conquered during the 13th century, forced the nobility, to maintain their revenues, to intensify seignorial authority; at the same time appeared a process of adscription to the glebe (Naredo 1974:15). By the beginning of the 16th century, "of the soil of Castile [Old and New] 97 per cent was owned [either directly or by jurisdiction] by 2 or 3 per cent of the population" (Koenigsberger, 1974:422). Yet the aristocracy and clergy* were exempt from all taxation, the entire burden of which fell upon the pecheros or commoners.

As the first census was not undertaken until 1752, it is difficult to comment much on mediaeval village life in the district. This first census (Ensenada)** shows that by 1752, Hoyales depended not on the crown but on the Count of Miranda - Duke of Peñaranda, resident in Madrid, who was also, incidentally, the biggest private landowner in Hoyales (Del Mayor Hacendado, Segovia, 1755). In the Archives of the Real Chancilleria in Valladolid, there is evidence of several lawsuits brought by Hoyales (often jointly with Fuentelisendo) against the Grandee after 1652, usually contesting the size of the tribute levied (Reales Ejecutorias, legajo 1402: folio 5).

*In Roa, their nursemaids too, during the reign of Philip V, were apparently exempt (Zamora 1965:91).

**See also below, chapter VI, for further information provided by the census of Ensenada.

The clergy seem to have controlled (according to my calculations) slightly over one quarter of the land in Hoyales in 1752 (Ensenada, Book III: Ecclesiastical). A large proportion of these proceeds was not destined for the village parish, but had prior commitments on it by outside parishes and ecclesiastical foundations, such as a school in Aranda. Over two-thirds of the Ecclesiastical lands seem to have been leased to colonos or peasant settlers. The members of four Cofradías (religious brotherhoods) also shared access to some specific property.* However, as one of the largest of these brotherhoods was only founded in 1701 (Parish Archives: Libro de Cuentas de la Cofradía de Animas), it is possible that in fact these organizations were less important before the 18th century.

Another quarter of the land in Hoyales in 1752 was owned by the commons (Ensenada, Book I), which in Castile often acted as a landlord, renting the land to individual peasants (as is still the case today). The remaining half of the land was presumably private property; of this about one fifth belonged to the lord personally.

This distribution of land was perhaps not the same in the 13th century, but there is evidence that the possessions of the church and its officials were far from negligible. In 1270, Alfonso the Wise conceded a Privilege to the clergy of the ecclesiastical district of Roa (which still includes Hoyales), permitting them to recognize their children, and for these to inherit their father's property

*According to Foster, some of these sodalities were "essentially a mutual aid burial society" (1953:17).

(Zamora 1965:93).*

After the 11th century, the Ribera was no longer right on the frontier of Christian Spain, but life became far from soft. After the conquest of Toledo in 1085, the frontier advanced to the Tagus, and large numbers of Mozarabs, Muslims and Jews were incorporated into the kingdom of Castile. Apparently there were even Jewish quarters in Roa, Aranda and Haza, from the 13th century until their expulsion at the end of the 15th. An important reason was probably the trade, due to the geographical position of the Ribera in the kingdom: a bridge over the Duero, and situated in the centre of Castile.

As a result, most of the national rulers of the time passed through Roa or held court there (e.g. John II for over a year in 1439). How much these royal favours benefitted the district is difficult to say. One could suspect that the seven year separation of Queen Leonor from her husband the king of Navarre, which the lady spent in her town of Roa, might be connected with the repeated sacking of the district by the warring Navarrese a few years later, in the first half of the 15th century. This left the district depopulated and in a precarious condition, requiring even special tax exemptions by the king of Castile. Being favourably situated during times of dynastic wars is not necessarily an advantage.

*This may be more comprehensible when one notes that "In the Middle Ages it was an established custom, permitted by the bishops [until the 16th century Council of Trent] for Spanish priests to have concubines. They wore a special dress and had special rights and were called barraganas" (Brenan 1950a:49).

Furthermore, from the 13th to the 15th centuries, the Ribera, from Aranda to Peñafiel, was a major breadbasket of the kingdom, and a most important source of fruit, vegetables and wine. This may have been another reason for the existence of Jewish merchant quarters in the local towns. The 15th and 16th centuries were the moments of greatest splendour in the history of the district. A large Gothic collegiate church was constructed over the old Romanesque one of the 12th century, by now too small--and old-fashioned. In 1586, Roa had the prestige of counting many hidalgos (minor noblemen) and beggars among its professionals (Molinero 1978). In 1517, Cardinal Cisneros (author of the forced mass conversion of the Moors) spent his last few months of life in Roa, as Regent of Spain and the Empire, waiting for the arrival from Brussels of the new Emperor, Charles.

At that very moment, the last claim of Roa and its district to fame, an epidemic of the plague was attacking Aranda (Zamora 1965: 453). Roa (and its villages?) had already been ravaged once in 1393 (Zamora 1965:610); and the whole of Castile had suffered badly of the Black Death around the middle of the 14th century (O'Callaghan 1974: 412) and would again in 1565 (Zamora 1965:626). The last of the recorded plague epidemics hit the area in 1599,* and created havoc in Hoyales. Thanks to a miracle by the 'Virgen de la Vega' (the patroness of Roa), the epidemic abated (Hoyales Parish Archives, Book of Burials I:60), and this Virgin has been the object of adoration throughout the district ever since.

*Castile suffered epidemics regularly till the end of the 17th century. Vicens Vives claims that there is a close relationship between famines, undernourishment and epidemics (1969:415).

Far more ominous for the future than any number of epidemics, was the political crisis just beginning to brew. In 1520, the Castilian revolution by the Comuneros or commoners broke out, representing capital (commerce, industry, agriculture) as opposed to land (the army, church and civil service of the nobility) (Koenigsberger 1974:425). The most powerful king in the history of Europe had just come to the throne; Castile had recently discovered a new continent; it may have appeared that glorious moments were to come (as indeed many Spaniards believe they did). Actually the roots of the three centuries of decadence lasting into the 20th century were just being planted.

The Historical Legacy

Although many aspects of the Middle Ages lasted in Hoyales until the late 19th century, and few of the postmediaeval benefits reached the village until even more recently, it is nevertheless possible to discern certain features of the heritage of the so-called Middle Ages. Firstly, it must be pointed out that, in contrast to the rest of Europe, the 'Dark Ages' were far from obscure in Spain. The highly civilized Muslim occupation had made Castile the cultural bridge of Europe, aided by the Christian pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela, which passed through Burgos. And the effort required to expell the Arabs had given Castilian society an intense vitality and dynamism, which was to become evident immediately, in the further expansion into the New World.

The repeated Moorish raids on the Duero frontier had forced peasants to fight, apart from ploughing; the type of peasant willing

to migrate here from the security of the Cantabrians, must soon have become a fighter and fiercely independent, if he was not already so.

Furthermore, this was also the period when the basic structure of this society was established. The present municipal structure, organization and boundaries, and the village site, were all established during the Middle Ages. The present divisive inheritance system dates from these times, as does minifundism. The civil and ecclesiastical overlords were established which would soon usurp many of the rights originally granted to the peasantry. The basis was thus already established for the possibility, according to circumstances, of future inequality and the misery of the poor peasants. But Hoyales also inherited an irrigation canal which was maintained--unlike elsewhere--and would permit survival in years of drought, and would, centuries later, make Hoyales the richest village in the area.

CHAPTER V

THE REACTION AND DECADENCE

"Only the incurable stupidity of the Spanish ruling classes and their governments...have prevented agrarian reform from being carried out long ago" (Brenan 1950a:124).

The First Bourgeois Revolution: A Failure

By the beginning of the 16th century, the Castilian peasantry were gradually losing their traditional rights to the advantage of the civil and ecclesiastical aristocracy. The aristocracy had received various concessions from the Trastámara dynasty during the civil wars of the 14th and 15th centuries. The 'stabilization' of the Catholic Monarchs had merely confirmed the position of the nobility and their usurpations during the dynastic wars. Furthermore, in 1504 they had obtained the right of mayorazgo, entailing property to the firstborn, and which went directly against Castilian common law. This led to the reservation for second sons of the best positions in the church, army and civil service.

The aristocracy were also the controllers and chief beneficiaries of the Mesta. The enormous flocks of this over-privileged sheep-owners' guild spoiled much cultivated land with impunity.

"Thus the impoverished Spanish peasant was unable to buy the manufactures of his urban industries, and hence the Castilian towns

remained comparatively small and their industries underdeveloped" (Koenigsberger 1974:421).*

Though some of the benefits of the wool trade were helping the rise of a merchant class in Castile, most of this enormous quantity of wool was being exported unprocessed. Already in 1348, members of the Castilian bourgeoisie had unsuccessfully requested a ban on imports of cloth and exports of wool.

It was then that a violent struggle was begun by the great landowners to prevent the development of the Castilian bourgeoisie.... in 1462...Henry IV fixed at one-third the proportion of the Mesta's total exports that could be retained by the Castilian cloth industry. This was a low proportion if there was any intention of keeping inside the country the wealth which was going abroad and making the fortunes of so many aristocrats (Vicens 1969:259-260).

On the other hand, the Spanish bourgeoisie was more advanced than elsewhere in Europe, and, already in 1188, had been summoned to the first Castilian Cortes. As O'Callaghan comments: "Parliamentary growth in the peninsular kingdoms was a manifestation of a common European phenomenon, but it is noteworthy that it occurred earlier in Spain than elsewhere" (1974:410). However, the Spanish bourgeoisie was not yet sufficiently strong for its too early attempt at revolution, which was doomed to failure.

Charles V, upon accession, had antagonized, or rather offended the pride of, the Castilian aristocracy; at the same time he attempted to raise special taxes from the Castilian commoners. These revolted, and were quite successful, until a scared aristocracy united to defeat

*This is a basic problem which has only been resolved recently in the 20th century.

them at Villalar, near Valladolid, on 23 April, 1521, shattering forever the Castilian bourgeoisie and its ideology. As a result, "part of the middle class became a parasitic group" (Vicens 1969:345), in imitation of the aristocratic victors. As for the nobles, they "had won the civil war, but they could no longer break their alliance with the monarchy," which

had thus won its political victory in Castile only at the cost of letting the nobility contract out of the financial obligations of the state and the empire. The rising burden of taxes fell, therefore, on those least able to bear them and on the only classes whose activities and investments could have developed the Castilian economy (Koenigsberger 1974:425).

Aristocratic Domination and the Pastoralist Ideology

The immediate economic effects were hidden by the propitious arrival of American treasure, which provided an artificial financial stimulus to the reaction. As a result of this hollow prosperity, disaster was slow to come and its causes difficult to perceive (c.f. Kamen 1978). Aristocratic interests and ideology were totally victorious.

The triumph and splendor of the nobility created a pro-aristocratic attitude throughout Castile; not because of any attempt to emulate the deeds of the great lords, but because the aristocracy was exempt from all taxes, and the greatest ambition of the poor Castilian commoner was to some day attain the rank of hidalgo, in order to free himself from the ever more onerous taxes (Vicens 1969:245).

This ideal of señoritismo (living like a small lord) exists to this day in Hoyales,* together with its noble aims in life, such as living

*and in many other parts of Spain and even Hispano-America, according to much of the anthropological literature on these areas.

off rents, spending surplus cash conspicuously, etc.

The dominant attitude towards agriculture was a reflection of this dominant ideology. The peasants would pay their seignorial dues (by force if necessary) no matter how little they produced. Sheep, on the other hand, could more quickly produce good, easy revenues. It is the form of economy requiring the smallest number of labourers, and the crown and the aristocracy already controlled sufficient grazing land. All that was required was to establish and safeguard the cañadas (sheep-trails).

The cañadas were up to ninety varas (yards) wide, and a few were several hundred miles long. The flocks were guarded by armed shepherds. There were either no measures to prevent the burning of forests and trespass on cultivated land, or there were laws in favour of the herdsman, especially after the Catholic Monarchs. These resolved a problem, which had existed since at least the beginning of the 13th century, in favour of livestock. The origins of this constant disequilibrium between livestock and cultivation are even more traditional, dating in Castile from Celtiberian times, according to Caro Baroja (1975:II:89-90).

The monopolistic regulation of the wool trade signified easy, immediate money for the crown, according to Vicens Vives (1969:301-304), and indicated an almost total orientation of the Castilian economy towards herding, and "explains the anguish of the farmers" (Vicens 1969:302). The immediate result was an agricultural crisis: "The very serious threat of famine in 1506 was not the result of a series of adverse climatic circumstances, but of a deficient agrarian

structure, produced by one-sided protection of livestock, absenteeism in rural areas...." (Vicens 1969:305).

The problem of course lay not in the small local herds of each village, which grazed on the common pastures and the stubble of the fields, led in a dula (common herd) by the municipal shepherds. The vast, transhumant herds of the Mesta were something different, and pernicious to the whole equilibrium of agriculture. And nobody in power "thought this mattered. Down to the eighteenth century stock breeding was believed to be the natural industry of Spain, the source of her superior nobility and of her military prowess" (Brenan 1950a: 128). Praise of the pastoralist ideology was sung by those on high: a free, simple, austere way of life, on the one hand; and on the other, instability and restlessness, nobility and paternalism, a life free from the sweat and aching backs of hoeing the soil. As Brenan comments: "The famous orientalism of the Spaniards is not due to 'Arab blood'" (1950a:105), which is all the more obvious when one remembers the cultivated plains of Andalucia before the Christian reconquest.

The prestige associated with owning a herd of sheep is still today part of the values of the older generation of farmers in Hoyales and district. As recently as 1947 there were still 18 small flocks of sheep in Hoyales, all owned by the richer peasants, partly as a symbol of wealth. When the rising wages demanded by the shepherds in the late 1950s made the operation unprofitable, the herds were mostly sold off. It is worth noting that now, perhaps for the first time, the shepherds are often the proprietors of their own small flocks. In spite of all the beautiful words and ideals associated with a

pastoral occupation, shepherds have always been a labouring caste in Spain; and, regardless of what they might themselves have thought about their own worth, the only real prestige was for the owner of the flock, not for the herder.

Faced with a dominant pastoralist, hierarchical ideology, much of what was still left of the traditional communalist ideal of Castilian farmers (Naredo 1974:18) seems to have died out. As for traditional freedoms, the right of landed serfs to abandon their lord was confirmed in 1481. Given the distribution of land in Castile (as mentioned above), "the freedom of 1481 meant only the freedom to die of hunger" (Vicens 1969:299).

Even land tenure was soon to undergo a change for the worse. During the beginning of the 16th century, prices, especially of agricultural produce, started to rise, helped by colonial trade. The nobility made an effort to recover lands in the hands of farmers at nominal feudal dues; they then returned the fields to the same peasants under a rental contract, issued for a limited time and involving a real profit (Vicens 1969:344). Furthermore,

the fixing of wheat prices ... which had already been used ... as an occasional measure ... was restored as a permanent feature after 1539 ... [and] placed the peasant in an unfavourable position compared with other branches of production where prices were left free (Vicens 1969:346).*

In the second half of the 16th century precious metals from America (of which very little was ever invested in economic production)

*This situation would sound remarkably familiar to today's Castilian farmers!

led to severe inflation. Non-agricultural prices quadrupled in the 16th century (Vicens 1969:377), although food in the cities became expensive because of the black market which always thrives on price controls; hence there was famine in the country.

So long as economic activity was expanding ... the farmer [could] settle his accounts with the lord and the mortgageholder. When the drop in agricultural prices occurred, however--because, among other reasons, the Indies now supplied their own needs--the farmer found that at the end of the year he did not have enough money to pay the interest he owed ... and a transfer of land took place which simply aggravated the process of concentration of property (Vicens 1969:345).

Aristocratic Values

All this might go some way towards explaining that feature of the Spanish national character much commented upon by most observers, "the central weakness of Spain, the attitude of mind that despised productive work and those who engaged in it. Far too many strove to live the life of a hidalgo" (Koenigsberger 1974:428). As Vicens Vives explains:

A bad example was offered to the working class of the 1500s; they saw how the nobles, with no effort on their part, became richer and richer by the simple mechanism of the rise in prices, and how the active and businesslike bourgeoisie went down to defeat. The rustic was told so many times that labor was degrading.... On the social ladder, the middle rung which might have served as an incentive was disappearing, and the tenant farmer and laborer lost faith in their work.... They had to work hard for mere subsistence.... (1969:341).

The reality of existence was mirrored by the Picaresque novel "with its implicit satire of a society in which one could make one's way by cleverness and roguery rather than by honest work--that is, if one did not happen to be born a nobleman" (Koenigsberger 1974:428).

As they say in Hoyales: "De bueno a tonto hay solo un paso" (from kind to foolish is but a single step). To be smart and cunning is assumed of others, and is encouraged in children by their parents. Goodness is not despised, rather it is pitied--although no one with other interests can ever be assumed to be good, even if they are occasionally 'foolish'. The visitor to Spain is regularly told that everybody (else, presumably) is bad (Brenan 1950b:227). This is obviously not true, in spite of the folklore; Spaniards have merely been taught to place their own and family interest before Christian morality or objective common interests. Of course, it could be argued that the welfare of the family is moral and sensible. Certainly, to fail the family would be highly immoral and stupid, given the circumstances. This regardless of moralistically patronizing foreign anthropologists, many of whom have been notoriously ethnocentric with regard to Mediterranean peasantry, due probably to their ignorance of the dominant social reality and history (e.g. the 'Amoral Familism' of Italian peasants, described by Banfield).

On the other extreme from the Picaresque novel, Spain's 'Golden Age' in literature* also offered great drama. "But the social purpose of these plays was essentially conservative: the defense of the highly structured Spanish society of the time ... achieved by insisting for all social ranks ... on the special dignity and honour of their status" (Koenigsberger 1974:428). The magnificent

*Interestingly the product of a society in decline.

(though politically loaded) lines pronounced by the alcalde (mayor) de Zalamea in Calderon's play, are an irresistible quote:

Al Rey la hacienda y la vida
se ha de dar; pero el honor
es patrimonio del alma;
y el alma solo es de Dios.

(To the King, estate and life
one has to give; but honour
is the heritage of the soul;
and the soul belongs only to
God.)

It is worth noting here that dignity and honour were the ruling principles of Franco's Fuero de los Españoles (Statute Law of the Spanish People, 1967: Articles 1, 4, 25). It is also worth quoting part of Article 22: "The State recognizes and protects the family as a natural institution and the foundation of society, with rights and duties anterior and superior to every positive human law...." Familism is not amoral--it is the law! And the feeling (not the reality) of dignity and honour are all that the simple Spaniard is allowed by society. Furthermore, since Philip II's statutes of purity of blood, personal honour became seen as an ascribed value depending on a set of circumstances substantially outside the control or achievement of the individual (Koenigsberger 1974:423). This was confirmed by the impregnability of the honour of the upper-class, regardless of their actual behaviour, from the sanctions of the people (Pitt-Rivers 1968:60).

In Hoyales, a person's honour is recognized (if at all) by the older generation on the basis of blood or family, not of individual merit; yet the most serious offence is one against personal honour. Dignity would appear to be more democratic: it is the demonstration of pride expected by the downtrodden, and always appears to be respected in the village.

The Castilian Economy

On the national level, the second part of the 16th and the 17th centuries were a series of economic bankruptcies, regular famines and plagues, imperialist and disastrous wars, and a 20% decline in the population of Castile (Koenigsberger 1974:432). The population of the six main cities of Old Castile were (total): 27,167 heads of family in 1594; 11,496 in 1694 (Vicens 1969:428), somewhat indicative of the continued decline of the Castilian bourgeoisie. More devastating still, was "the sheer misery of the rural population" (Koenigsberger 1974:432).

However, as Vicens Vives says: "In a closed economy, as Hapsburg Spain still was, a district's food supply was reduced to what its agricultural resources could produce" (1969:414). During a period of national calamity, the corollary could fortunately apply. In other words, the situation in the comarca of our study was not always as disastrous as in Castile generally. For instance, in 1603, the king's almsgiver already mentioned above travelled through the district and was well fed with chick-peas in Hoyales. Of Aranda, he commented that it was a "buena" (good) city; and of the area between Hoyales and San Martín, that almond trees were planted in all the fields like in the Dauphiné, and that cranes were nesting in all the bell-towers (García 1959:II:89). Things do not sound too disastrous.

In the 16th century, the comarca is already predominantly a wine-producing area, induced partly by the easy market of the city of Burgos, still in expansion as a centre of the Mesta for the export of wool (Molinero 1977:12). But the demographic decline of the 17th

century was accompanied by economic decline (Molinero 1977:12). According to Zamora (1965:560), seven villages in the comarca were abandoned; Roa's five parishes were reduced to three; only wine was produced, and during bad years many villagers were obliged to seek wage-labour or beg or emigrate.

By the end of the 18th century, there were only a dozen almond trees left in the district. The bishop of Osma attempted to promote agriculture and make the inhabitants of the Ribera abandon the planting of vineyards and plant orchards of fruit trees instead, but the natives resisted, "being very pleased dealing in wine" (Zamora 1965:561). This sounds like a case of blind leading the blind, for this was the bishop who then had an olive-grove planted in Berlangas and an oil press built--none of which lasted through too many Castilian winters. However, even though the bishop may have had a good point suggesting agricultural experiment and diversity, the peasants were probably too depressed to be either imaginative or enthusiastic, an attitude still commented upon a century later in Madoz (1849:XIII:519), but they could understand that viticulture was highly labour-intensive.

Loperráez (1788:II:7) notes that, compared with diocesan accounts of the early 17th century, total production in the plain of Roa had decreased in value by over 1100%! This may be exaggerated, but certainly indicates a severe depression. He is quoted by Zamora (1965:621) as commenting: "The people of this district are satisfied with the plantation and cultivation of vineyards for a large part of the year and for the rest wander unemployed, with no more employment nor occupation than to visit the wine-cellars."

However, with a little bread to supplement the liquid diet, the peasants of the comarca could at least try to forget their problems, unlike many others in Spain who had even less. And there was perhaps the mystical consolation of fulfilling the ideology of austerity promoted by ecclesiastical leaders (Vicens 1969:494). Nevertheless, any change at all had to be an improvement. The traditionalists were intellectually bankrupt or their proposals ignored, and could offer nothing new. For the poor peasants of Spain, the Enlightenment of the 18th century and the bourgeois Liberalism of the 19th could only be a blessing, even if in disguise.

CHAPTER VI

THE ARISTOCRATIC ENLIGHTENMENT

AND THE FEUDAL STRUCTURE OF HOYALES

"El trabajo manual no es deshonoroso" (Manual work is not dishonourable. Royal decree by Charles III).

The Enlightenment and Reform

Although misery was general in the countryside, there were some peasant proprietors who had resources just sufficient to tide them over a short crisis, by the end of which they might even be able to expand by buying out the odd very small proprietor. Gradually, some minifundist peasants were able to employ others with insufficient land on which to survive. The origins of this growing inequality between small and smaller peasants can be found in the increased "freedom of action" for some peasants resulting from the introduction of land rentals as a more profitable substitution for feudal dues (Naredo 1974:21).

However, the further enrichment of peasants, and an increase in their access to property, were clearly limited by entailment of the great majority of the land. All this was merely an aspect of the closed system under the Hapsburgs mentioned above. Foster's model of peasant society and the Image of Limited Good (1965 & 1972) is quite correct descriptively, but ignores the fact that Limited Good is not merely a peasant's image of reality, but also a State-imposed reality. Being

a dominant ideology, it is shared, furthermore, by most classes and occupations within that society.

A limited vision, which could only extend its sights extensively in the direction of the past, and could envision no progress because it had witnessed none, was the ideology against which the so-called Enlightenment fought with more or less success.

In Spain, the beginning of this movement coincides exactly with the entrance of French aristocratic influence at the beginning of the 18th century and the arrival of the Bourbon dynasty. However, it should be borne in mind that all reformist movements in modern Spanish history have been hindered, delayed, watered down, and either moderated or corrupted, by the continual political tug-of-war between progressive and reactionary forces--the latter usually being the more powerful, and only being overtaken by events, never vanquished. Moreover, the time taken for many reforms initiated at the national level to reach the level of the comarca can occasionally seem to be eternal. However, one of the tendencies imported from France was the increasing centralisation of administration, which has continued to this day, and has led to decisions taken in Madrid having ever more local effect, and to a growing homogeneity of the country.

Demography is a useful indicator of conditions: by the end of the 18th century the population of the country had increased by 50%, due mainly to fewer wars, plagues and famines, and some better hygiene; but the countryside and cities of Castile continued depopulated (Vicens 1969:484). However, with the increased population and urban market for agricultural produce, agriculture began to be profitable

again after 1763 (Vicens 1969:507).

Increased profitability together with the new ideas of the times, led to attempts by some 'enlightened' proprietors to introduce innovations from Europe. As a large part of aristocratic and ecclesiastical revenue was still in kind, increased production could benefit the ruling classes (Naredo 1974:30). "For the first time in two centuries the State invested the country's revenues in something positive [i.e. agriculture]" (Vicens 1969:515).

Two reforms would directly favour Castilian agriculture, and lead to an eventual recuperation of the region. One was the removal of wheat price fixing. The other was the gradual breaking after 1758 of the monopoly of the Mesta, which was eventually abolished a century later. The long-term results of this were that new agricultural land could be broken, and local flocks were advantaged.

The ancient competition between agriculture and stock-raising began to be moderated by the introduction of new fodder crops; though even today "the low percentage of land utilized for fodder crops is a good indicator of [this] divorce" (Naval Intelligence Division 1944:185). This led to new arguments against the privileges of the Mesta and the existing property system: the Mesta had required entailed property and had been against enclosure and small private property (Naredo 1974:31). Therefore disentanglement and enclosures became the order of the day, together with a spreading of the concept of individual private property. These changes, it was believed would bring public prosperity--and a higher tax income for the State. Yet this was not a bourgeois revolution, so there was no attempt, nor courage

enough, to limit the civil entail by which the latifundia were preserved intact.

Increased prices and population had led to severe demand for land, with resulting high increases in land prices and rents (and obvious difficulties for the small peasant). This made the commons and ecclesiastical entail (civil entail was avoided until the Second Republic) a most desirable target for some landlords, merchants and rich peasants (Naredo 1974:24). Few of these domestic reforms proposed under Charles III were carried through at the time. Yet the debate was set for the bourgeoisie of the 19th century.

The opposing proposals for agrarian reform had been in circulation since the 16th century, but unfortunately with a singular lack of success. This was the 'Collectivist' school of thinkers, with a type of socialist ideology (Brenan 1950a:46). For the Collectivists, the remedy to the lack of production, and especially to the problem of large proprietors not exploiting their land, was that land should belong to nature or to the farmer, and the fruit of labour should belong to the producer (Costa 1915:II:419). This ideology of "the land for those who work it" is a recurring cry among the small peasantry of Castile.

Although nothing much really changed for the Castilian peasant during the reign of Charles III, one may presume that some money was coming in to Hoyales, because the parish church was extensively rebuilt in 1778, in a grandiose style of which the villagers are so proud.

And, luckily for researchers, there is at last some serious documentation (to which reference will be made throughout this report) in the form of the 1752 Catastro (Census of real property) of the

Marqués (Marquis) de la Ensenada, one of the Bourbons' more able and progressive ministers.

Hoyales in the 18th Century: The Census of Ensenada

As the Catastro de Ensenada is the earliest census we have for Hoyales, it is worth attempting to extract from it some idea of the circumstances of the population before the beginnings of bourgeois influence on the Spanish state. The census was officially 'verified' in 1761 (Comprobaciones de las respuestas generales, Simancas), perhaps because of an obvious mistrust on the part of the population when answering such an unknown quantity as a census. When replies differ between the two, I shall quote those of 1761, as being a little more reliable.

Hoyales had 88 vecinos* in 1761, all of the 'general' estate except one noble household.** To calculate the total number of inhabitants, Molinero and his colleagues at the Department of Geography of the University of Valladolid multiply the number of vecinos (counting independent unmarried and widowed adults as half a vecino) by 4.17; thus one could estimate the number of inhabitants of Hoyales in 1761 at about 367 (See chapter IX).

There were 93 houses in the village, of which 18 were

*a concept similar to adult resident or head of household.

**This was probably a family of hidalgos, which meant they were exempt from taxation. As they do not figure among the list of largest landowners in the village, they were probably wealthy only in pride.

uninhabitable by the standards of the time and place; all were "low" (i.e. probably single-storey), and there was no lien on any. This means that 88 households shared 75 dwellings. One vecino and three widows were declared to be formally "poverty-stricken" and may have lived in the communal hospital (poor house). All the houses were in a nucleus below the castle on the hill-side. All building along the mill-ditch on orchard or garden land is probably recent.

In 1761 there were 37 labradores;* 56 jornaleros (day-labourers); and two salaried herdsmen, one for sheep, the other for cattle.

There were also men carrying on the following trades, and seemingly receiving their salaries (which were determined by the Municipality) from the proceeds of the Commons (in approximate descending order according to wages): a surgeon (or paramedic); a mason; two carpenters (one only in 1752); a tailor; a black-smith; an innkeeper; a primary-school master; a cobbler "of new and old" (i.e. he could both repair and make hemp--and leather?--sandals); a butcher; a grocer; a tavern-keeper; and a doctor from Roa giving assistance in Hoyales.

Furthermore, the sexton received a municipal salary plus a small portion of the tithes; the ecclesiastical procurer similarly. There were also a parish priest and a chaplain, who had to share the ecclesiastical revenues with the sexton and procurer of tithes, and also with a retired priest, a chaplain in Fuentecén, one other ecclesiastical benefice-holder, the highest-ranking priest and the notary of

*peasant-farmers disposing of working animals, and probably having access, as owner or tenant, to some means of production.

the comarca, the grammar school in Aranda, and the Cathedral in Osma. And of course, the parish priest had to support his farmworkers, house-servants, and whatever nieces or other relatives were keeping him company;* though he had control over a large portion of the village land, it is possible that he had trouble making ends meet, as was common for parish priests in small villages (Brenan 1950a:48).

Probably the best living in the village was made by the person who rented from the Overlord the job of clerk and various unspecified feudal rights (possibly the collection of taxes or rents). His rent was 2200 reales (= 550 pesetas), which was equivalent to a year's average labouring wages 170 years later; the amount he managed to squeeze out of the population of Hoyales is not specified.

The commons or municipality covered the wages of its specialists, and other expenses, mostly from the proceeds of communal property: an inn, a tavern, grocery and butcher's shops, a mill, a forge, a wine-press, two bodegas (wine-vaults), and rentable common lands. Much of all this was not used communally, but was rented out to individuals. For common use were the school, the wine-press and vaults, and the wood and scrub lands, and pastures (some of which were even irrigated). The poor house paid its way with the rent from specifically assigned municipal and ecclesiastical property.

The village territory was probably the same as now, with the possible exception of the north-east panhandle (c.f. Map 3) which belonged to the Community of Haza before the disentailment. It is

*In Roa, according to Ensenada, 103 clergy and their dependents would appear to have been living off the revenues from ecclesiastical property.

difficult to tell, because, where property figures are given in Ensenada, they are usually in taxable value. The measure of area most commonly used is the traditional fanega, which is actually a measure of capacity for dry goods (grain, beans, seed, etc.), and is equivalent to 55.5 litres volume or about $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushels. As a fanega of land is the area sown by a fanega of seed, there is obviously considerable difference of area according to the crop and the density of seeding permitted by the quality of the land. The traditional Castilian fanega, as it is now used in Hoyales, varies in area from one-fifth hectare in irrigated fields to one-third Ha. in low quality dry lands.

In 18th century Hoyales, areas were standardized according to the crop most commonly sown on each class of land, even occasionally giving the name of this crop to the class of land: e.g. most small irrigated fields around the village nucleus became known as cañamares, from cañamo (hemp); most of the unirrigated poor quality lands near the village are called centenales, after centeno (rye). In Hoyales the area of the fanega varied from 140 varas (1 vara is just under 1 yard) square for cañamares to as much as 600 varas square for centenales. Vineyards were planted at a density of between 1200 and 1500 vines per fanega (which fanega?) depending on the quality of the land. All of which makes a detailed description of land use and property distribution difficult for this researcher.

The total area of the village lands in the census is given at 2544 fanegas. Only 182 fanegas were irrigated, and of these, 80 were cañamares,* and 70 were pasture (for the village herds, or maybe for

*Hemp was used locally for sandals; the navy also used it for rigging.

those of the Haza Community); pear, apple, quince and plum trees, and vegetables were grown, together with poplars for building wood, on the remaining 22 fanegas. There were 1520 fanegas of unirrigated cereal land, of all three qualities, mostly intermediate. There were 390 fanegas of vineyards, again mostly on land of intermediate quality. Unirrigated pasture land accounted for 170 fanegas; and scrub and wood land covered 280 fanegas. Finally there were 2 fanegas of threshing floors (See Map 4). Molinero has calculated in standard hectares the distribution of space in Hoyales: scrub: 127 Has.; pasture: 47 Has.; irrigated fields: 37 Has. (the most in the comarca, but much less than today); cereal: 507 Has.; vineyards: 130 Has.; for a total area of 848 Has. (Molinero 1977:13).

The cereals grown were wheat, barley, rye, and oats. The unirrigated fields could only be sown after a year of fallow. Yields were only three to five times the seed sown. Irrigated land was obviously valued higher than dry land for pasture. But the cash value of crops produced in irrigated fields was not so good. One fanega produced on average with hemp 40 reales (=10 ptas.), with fruit 80 reales, with vegetables 30. One fanega of unirrigated land on the other hand could produce up to 60 reales worth of wheat (every two years) or 150 of wine (yearly). It is not really surprising that so much irrigated land was given up to pasture, nor that the area under irrigation was not much expanded until more than a century later.

The commons possessed the largest share of land in the village, though exactly how much is not clear; I make it to be 610 fanegas, or about a quarter of the total area. There are two types of communal

property: that which is rented out, and property for the common use of all villagers. The mill appears to have been rented to an individual; the school, forge, wine-press and vaults were for public use. The pastures and wood and scrub lands were also for common use (the latter for firewood). It is not clear whether the municipal fields were rented to individual peasants or worked directly by the municipality with hired labour. As for the income from all this property, it is not clear whether it was used to pay the municipal tradesmen, nor whether the municipality paid any of the feudal dues for the inhabitants.

The types of tax and dues mentioned in the Ensenada census are innumerable, and seemingly on absolutely everything. They were paid to the Crown, the overlord, various ecclesiastical and civil administration officials; and were in both cash and kind. It was difficult for the writer to work out the total revenues of the villagers and the proportion paid to the ruling classes, in return for seemingly no services, Molinero (1987:14) has calculated feudal dues for Roa in 1752 at the incredibly high rate of 202 reales (over 18 Ducats or approximately 50 pesetas) per household per year.

Apart from receiving feudal dues, both the church and the overlord owned productive (and tax-free) property in Hoyales. The Count of Miranda was the biggest single private proprietor in the village with $197\frac{1}{2}$ fanegas of land.* The church controlled 520 fanegas, or over one-fifth of the total area. 155 fanegas were owned by

*In 1931, the Count was the second largest proprietor in the country (Tamames 1976:63).

individual clerics, and directly worked by them. Much of the remainder was apparently rented out. The profits went to two charities, five chaplaincies (four of them in other villages) and five religious brotherhoods (of which one was in Haza).

The Community of Haza, apart from pasture rights, possessed in Hoyales 38 plots totalling 120 fanegas; these were the notorious oraños, with the peculiar method of distributing usufruct discussed earlier (Chapter III).

These accounts indicate a remainder of 1095 fanegas of land, or two-fifths of the total area, and which seems to have been private property. But this was not all for the 37 peasant-proprietors of Hoyales. 79 inhabitants of Fuentecén owned some property in Hoyales. 21 inhabitants of other nearby villages also owned property here, as did seven inhabitants of other provinces.

What did our 37 'rich' peasants possess? As regards land, the richest individual had 46 plots, with a total taxable value equivalent to one-twentieth of the private property of the lord, or about ten fanegas. He probably worked other fields as a tenant farmer too.

Furthermore, all the 37 peasant proprietors had working animals, and some of the 58 labourers probably had a few food-producing animals. In descending order of taxable value, here is the census of farm animals for 1752: 31 mares, 38 cows, 16 sows, 34 (female) donkeys, 17 beehives, 45 rams, 28 goats, 90 ordinary ewes, 45 lambs. The following animals were not taxed: 60 oxen, 5 mules, 9 horses, 9 donkeys, 83 hogs. The females were taxed for producing milk and offspring. There is no census of hens or rabbits, which were probably in

every household.

It is worth noting that there were not enough pigs for every household, indicating some extreme poverty with no spare scraps of food. It is also worth noting that oxen far outnumbered mules and horses; today there is no cattle at all in Hoyales, and within living memory cows have only been kept for their milk. Only the richest peasants had mules in the 18th century. Mules were more prestigious, for moving faster--and for costing more than three times as much in upkeep as an ox (Parain 1941:133). The mule probably spread through Spain as a result of French influence.*

To give an indication of the unequal distribution of farm animals in Hoyales in 1761, the then-mayor possessed the following: 2 oxen, 2 mares, 2 mules (1 only for transporting people), 2 cows, 5 unbroken horses, 2 pigs, 18 male and 17 female donkeys, 50 ewes, 20 lambs (female), 15 young rams, 7 goats and 1 colt.

Each peasant with a team of working animals had to pay the Count of Miranda a special annual tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ fanega of wheat and $\frac{1}{2}$ fanega of barley, and one hen; peasants with only half a team paid half. In 1761, the village was in lawsuit against the count, who claimed that every working head of household owed him a chicken. Seemingly this was a class action undertaken by the municipality, though the municipal officials were probably the count's men. In the municipal archives, there is a 1768 decree by "the Count of Miranda, Duke of Peñaranda [etc.]" naming council officers "for this, my town."

*It may be of interest that the farmer's cry to drive mules is the same in Hoyales as in the Auvergne: "Arre" (arez?).

CHAPTER VII

THE SECOND BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION:

FAILURE AND REFORM

"Anyone tempted to decry the innovations brought by the Liberal regime should compare the state of Old Castile in 1808 with its state in 1932" (Brenan 1950a:126).

Liberalism and Civil War

The conditions of poor peasants in Hoyales during the Second Republic were pathetic, but the life of most of the peasantry before the Liberal reforms of the 19th century was almost unbelievable. Liberalism, as Brenan himself says (1950a:345), was far from the ideal solution to the problems of Spain, but it was a progressive movement, and no other progressive solutions were offered (Vicens 1969:608).

The modern age began with a violent upheaval, which even directly affected our comarca of the Ribera. In November of 1808, Napoleon's invading armies crossed the Duero at Aranda, to suppress the popular risings which had started on 2nd May in Madrid. The peasantry of minifundist Spain joined or supported guerilla movements to repulse the invasion. The local hero and leader of our comarca was General Juan Martín, 'El Empecinado' (the pertinacious). On 16 April 1813 his troops, together with those of General Merino, liberated Roa, after the French garrison had sacked the town.

"But the population which fought Napoleon the invader also hated Napoleon the representative of the principles of the French Revolution" (La Souchère 1964:6). The 1812 Constitution of Cádiz "had little basis in ... mediaeval precedents ... and was inspired by the constitutions of revolutionary France.... The abolition of the Inquisition ... produced a conservative reaction, as did all liberal anti-clericalism through to the Second Republic" (Carr 1974:436). In fact, progressive forces never were put into power by, or with the support of, a majority of the population until the 1930s, but by royal or military choice (La Souchère 1965:5): "In nineteenth- and twentieth-century Spain, the privileged minorities ... have taken the initiative in all reform movements."

The continual see-sawing in power between progressives and reactionaries made the 19th century one of almost constant civil war, with obviously disastrous effects on the economy. At the local level, personal and political rivalries were confused and aggravated, as described most interestingly in Roa, by the Memoirs of a Mayor of Roa, Gregorio González Arranz (Lazo ed. 1935).

In 1820, the 1812 Liberals managed to get into power, as a result of which elections were called. In Roa, these were held in the church amid some blasphemous language* (Lazo ed. 1935:25).

*Blasphemy is horrifyingly common in Spain, especially among male labourers and students, indicating a profoundly ambivalent attitude towards an oppressive organization which is also believed to be the sole possessor of the ultimate truth. In Hoyales, blasphemy usually involves defecating some sacred object or personage, disguised by a slight change in the sacred word; the offence is habitual enough to merit special municipal ordinances.

Less than three years later the Liberal government fell and the Constitution was abolished, earlier officials being re-named to their positions. Apparently the fall of the 'revolutionary' government was enthusiastically received by the local peasantry: "Delegations from all the villages in the comarca came to Roa ... shouting 'Long live the absolute king! Long live religion! Long live the mayor, don Gregorio González! Death to the Constitution!'" (Lazo ed. 1935:31). A Roa batallion of Royalist Volunteers was formed; two hundred liberals were gaoled; and an enormous feast was given in Roa for all the 'loyal royalists' from the surrounding villages, using the wine of one of the prisoners.

A few months later, at the feast of the patron saint, the violent sermon of the guest preacher, a Carmelite monk, against "the seed of secret revolutionary sects, communalist rebels and free-masons, who threaten our faith and our motherland" (Lazo ed. 1935:37), caused a riot and near disaster for the political prisoners.

That same autumn of 1823, the most prestigious, and dangerous, of all local liberals was captured with his gang of sixty supporters, and gaoled in Roa. This was the 'Empecinado'--as Lazo comments: "the best of all the guerrilleros of [the war of] Independence" (1935:11). Two years later he was executed by order of the King, and became a martyr to the Cause for local liberals. In spite of the dominant local ideology, these did exist among some classes and in some places especially. For example, Nava was described despisingly by González as the "most communalist, constitutional, anti-monarchical village of Spain" (Lazo ed. 1935:43-44). Why Nava should have been different--

if indeed they were so much--from other villages in the comarca is unclear. Nowadays, Nava is only distinguishable by being the sole village in the comarca still to possess communal property distributed by lot among the inhabitants; this is a hill with vineyards. The municipality is also the lucky possessor of a resin-pine grove (Servicio de Extensión Agraria 1973:6); and the farmers are the only ones in the district to grow melons. Anyway, the village suffered severely for the political views of its inhabitants by being burned down in 1840 by the Carlists (Zamora 1965:584).

"The dynastic war between Isabelline liberalism and Carlism was a savage civil war between urban liberalism and rural traditionalism" (Carr 1974:437). Of the half century of Carlist Wars, the first (1833-39) directly affected the comarca of the Ribera. Apart from the pillaging, destruction and deaths due directly to the war, the district also suffered from a severe cholera epidemic in the Summer of 1834.

The traditionalists of the comarca had been prepared for battle against the liberals for a decade. When war broke out, the Roa battallion joined the guerilla army of General Merino, a priest and one-time colleague of the 'Empecinado', near the farm of Ventosilla (Map 3)*. By that time the local liberals had been returned to power by the national government, and were trying to revenge their erstwhile persecutions. Even the new Prior of Roa was a constitutionalist.

*La Ventosilla is the only latifundium in the comarca established since the Middle Ages.

In the spring of 1835, Merino suddenly entered Roa with his troops, pillaging, and setting fire to the church because some of the so-called 'atheists' had taken refuge therein. A year later another Carlist expedition sent all the liberals running away to Peñafiel. As soon as the troops had left, the liberals returned, and the local Carlists fled (Zamora 1965:571).

During the summer of 1837, the Carlists controlled the whole region. González was named mayor of Roa and surrounding villages, and upon his return was acclaimed by 2000 persons. New officials were named, and there was a High Mass, attended by the mayors and priests of 80 municipalities (Zamora 1965:572). The town was also full of Carlist troops. "Never has the town seen itself so thronged with people" (Zamora 1965:573).

However, the Carlists failed to carry through their advantage. They evacuated their 800 soldiers from Valladolid to Roa, and, on 29 September, retired north towards the river Ebro. According to Lope Cilleruelo (presumably a Carlist supporter; quoted by Zamora 1965:573-4), three years later "the liberal rabble, well armed and supported, continued executing, sacking and burning in Roa, in the name of liberty and the Constitution." In June of 1840, the Carlist General Balmaseda decided to destroy Roa "'for its infidelities'" (Zamora 1965:574), and, having invaded Castile again, he set fire to the town, destroying three-quarters of the houses (i.e. about 600 buildings), part of the temple, and most of the archives.

This was one of the last acts of the first Carlist War. A few days later a fund was started in the cities of Burgos and

Palencia, with special theatre performances, to help the inhabitants of Roa and Nava.

The population of the comarca was certainly very active during this war, but it is unclear who and how many were on each side. Were most of the local peasants simply on the side of the victor (who changed continually during those years), anxious to avoid trouble for a non-local issue? Or was there a local issue, and were the locals as worked up as the documents lead one to believe? It is not possible to decide this on the basis of logical, objective interests. Perceived interests are the only reality for action, together with petty jealousies and divisions. Long-term gains cannot be relevant to a poor peasant.

This civil war may have been responsible for the present fear of the danger of open passions and involvement in wider issues. The fickleness of 19th century Spanish politics seems to have taught the villagers, at least in Hoyales, to be prudent. In the Hoyales town hall, there were still pictures of Franco in the summer of 1978; was this caution, indifference or extreme political idealism?

Carlism was a sort of yearning for the past, for mediaeval rights (Brenan 1950a:204-5). This is why the movement found support in areas with an independent small peasantry, who had something better than the present to look back to. That was in minifundist Spain.

Most important perhaps was the Liberal 'betrayal' of religion, which hurt them in traditionalist, minifundist areas where the relations between clergy and peasants were close. Secure in their position, the clergymen of some districts were violently aggressive.

"The Society of the Exterminating Angel [was] founded in 1821 and revived in 1834 under the presidency of the Bishop of Osma* to exterminate all Liberals" (Brenan 1950a:44). As the Duke of Wellington had observed: "The real power in Spain is in the clergy. They kept the people right against France." When it was learned that the Liberals planned to sell the common lands, the peasantry united with the Church; especially the richer peasants who profited more from the communal pastures.

The Enclosures and the Break-Up of Feudal Institutions

The open opposition of the clergy and the economic problems, precipitated by the loss of the American colonies, were the excuses for the national Liberal government of Mendizábal to begin the long awaited process of enclosure, starting in practice after 1837 and with the sale of ecclesiastical property. Mayorazgo had been abolished during the first Liberal government in 1822, enabling impoverished hidalgos to sell their inheritance. Seignorial rights had been officially abolished after the 1812 Cortes of Cádiz. However, power was still in the hands of under 3% of the population (regardless of class) even after 1865, when the vote was extended to the minority paying more than 200 reales in direct taxes (Vicens 1969:624-625).

The reforms did not come easily. Most of the proposals of the Cortes of Cádiz were abolished upon the Bourbon restoration in 1814. All the reform laws of 1820-23 were repealed until 1833. And the process of disentanglement begun in 1837 was interrupted from 1843

*in which diocese our comarca then belonged.

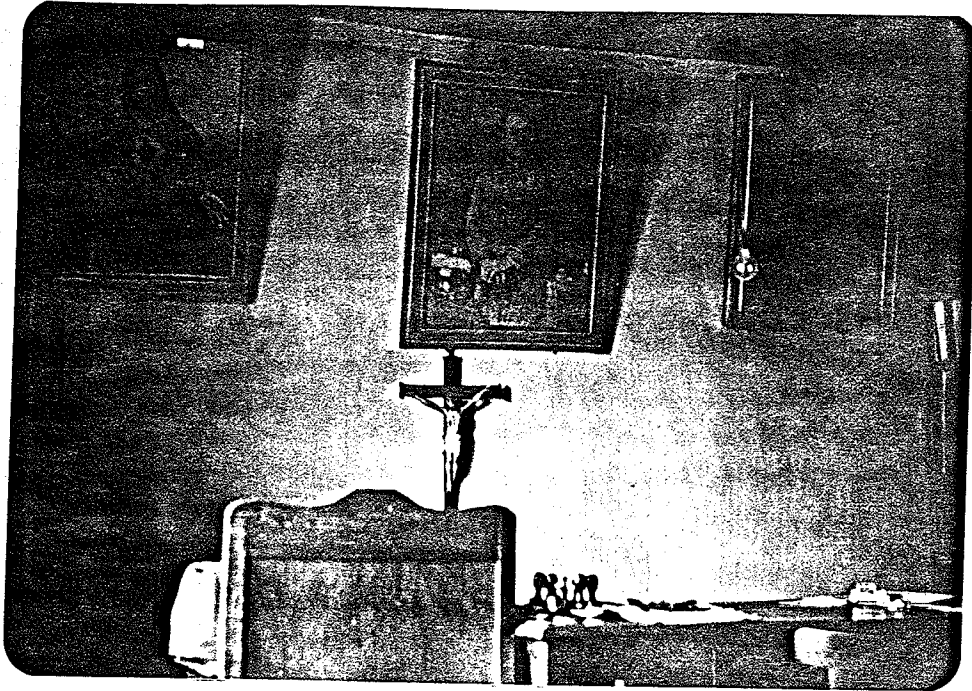


Plate 12. The Town Clerk's office: Christ, Caudillo and Virgin (Photograph taken $2\frac{1}{2}$ years after Franco's death).



Plate 13. Easter Sunday procession: the Virgin (on ground at lower left) meets her son. Note, at right, new 'Castilian style' house built by expatriate.

until 1855, when Pascual Madoz drew up a general law of disentailment. With further interruptions, the process of selling entailed property was finally more or less accomplished by 1876, by which time it was just a farcical perversion of whatever the original ideal had been.

However, most of the feudal burdens on the peasantry were finally removed. The Mesta was abolished, enclosure of farms was permitted, a 'free-market' system was established for agriculture, seignorial rights were eliminated, and in 1837 the ecclesiastical tithe was abolished. All this meant increased individual freedom and reduced burdens for the minifundist peasantry.

Before his general law of disentailment produced a massive transfer of property in our comarca, Madoz published a massive geographical dictionary of Spain. Though many of the articles are very poorly written, this is a valuable source on the situation at the very end of the structurally mediaeval period of history.

Roa had a population of over 2000, but many empty houses, indicative of greater past glories. There was an extremely important Tuesday market which served as the major distribution centre for the muleteers carrying fish to central Spain from the Cantabrian coast (Madoz 1848:XIII:518-520). Fish is still a most important item in the daily diet of most inhabitants of the comarca. The muleteers also benefited local agriculture by returning north with Ribera wine and cereal.

In the judicial district of Roa in 1843 there were 83 cases of homicide and attempted homicide (Madoz 1848:XIII:517), as opposed to almost none today. As the civil war had ended in 1839, it seems

tempers and rivalries had still not settled down; those hot-blooded days were probably the source of the knife-pulling reputation of the inhabitants of the Ribera.

Although ecclesiastical tithes had been abolished in 1837, there was still in 1849 (or in its place?) a special tax for the clergy and religious services (Madoz 1848:XII:518). This worked out to about one-sixth of total direct taxes, or cash equivalent to over 20 litres of wine per inhabitant per year.

Of all the villages around Hoyales, the article on Berlangas is the most interesting (Madoz 1849:IV:269). It mentions that most of the village land is rented by the inhabitants from outside landowners. Also, the municipality rents the mill from an individual who had purchased it when it was alienated from the commons during the War of Independence. Berlangas also possessed a pósito, or municipal credit fund which, according to Brenan, every village in Spain had possessed since the 16th century (1950a:337 & 111). This article on Berlangas raises the question as to whether in other villages in the comarca there was also a communal credit fund, as well as the question with regard to tenure of private land.

Of Hoyales, we are told that it was swampy, damp and unhealthy (unlike nowadays), that the streets were unpaved (this was the case still recently), and that the cemetery was in bad condition (it still is). The population is given as 213--more probably it was about 450. There were 120 single-story houses, all badly constructed. The scrub and woodlands were used only for firewood (until recently for collecting pine-nuts also); the village had very good pasture-land. Produce

was: wheat, barley, beans, potatoes (unknown a century before), wine, and a little hemp. There was some stock-raising, especially of sheep. 'Industry' consisted of a flour mill and wine-making; cloth and oil were imported. There was a school for 40 children (in the town hall). School and municipal expenses were covered by rents from communal property and by additional contributions from the villagers (Madoz 1849:XIII:498).

The loss of this useful communal property, the revenues of which covered perhaps all the expense of municipal services, was a fairly serious blow to most villages. And though production (hence taxable income) would increase as a result, the new individualist ideology, added to traditional inequality, would lead to those who could, attempting to obtain services privately, sometimes leaving the rest of the community without. The saying heard in Hoyales, "A cada uno lo suyo" (to each his own), is a defensive justification by those who have what they need.

The 1855 law of disentailment of various communal properties was a very unpopular law and was resisted in ... villages all over Spain down to the end of the century. It deprived the peasants of their common lands, especially of their grazing, and of their rights to game, firewood and charcoal. (Brenan 1950a:109).

These traditional 'rights' now had to be rented, just as before they had been paid for in ecclesiastical and seignorial dues. The original 1822 law of civil disamortization had provided for the free distribution of half the land to small peasants (Vicens 1969:630). But political favours and compromises had to be made by the reforming minority.

As a result, almost all the vast amounts of land put on the

market between 1833 and 1876 was bought very cheaply by the rich aristocracy, local bourgeoisie and wealthy peasantry. The aristocracy increased their latifundia, and the big peasants became bigger. Many bourgeois however, especially in Old Castile, merely speculated, and made a handsome profit almost immediately by reselling to peasants. As a result much of the land did eventually end up in the hands of the middle peasantry: by 1860 there were more than four times as many farmers owning land as in 1797 (Naredo 1974:28).

In the district of Roa, this is what happened. Two new latifundia were formed, making a total of four. Much of the land was bought by wealthy peasants, but their large holdings have by now mostly been dispersed by four or more generations of divisive Castilian inheritance. The remainder was bought by urban speculators, mainly in Roa and Burgos, and resold to the medium and small peasants with no more work by the entrepreneur than drawing up small plots.

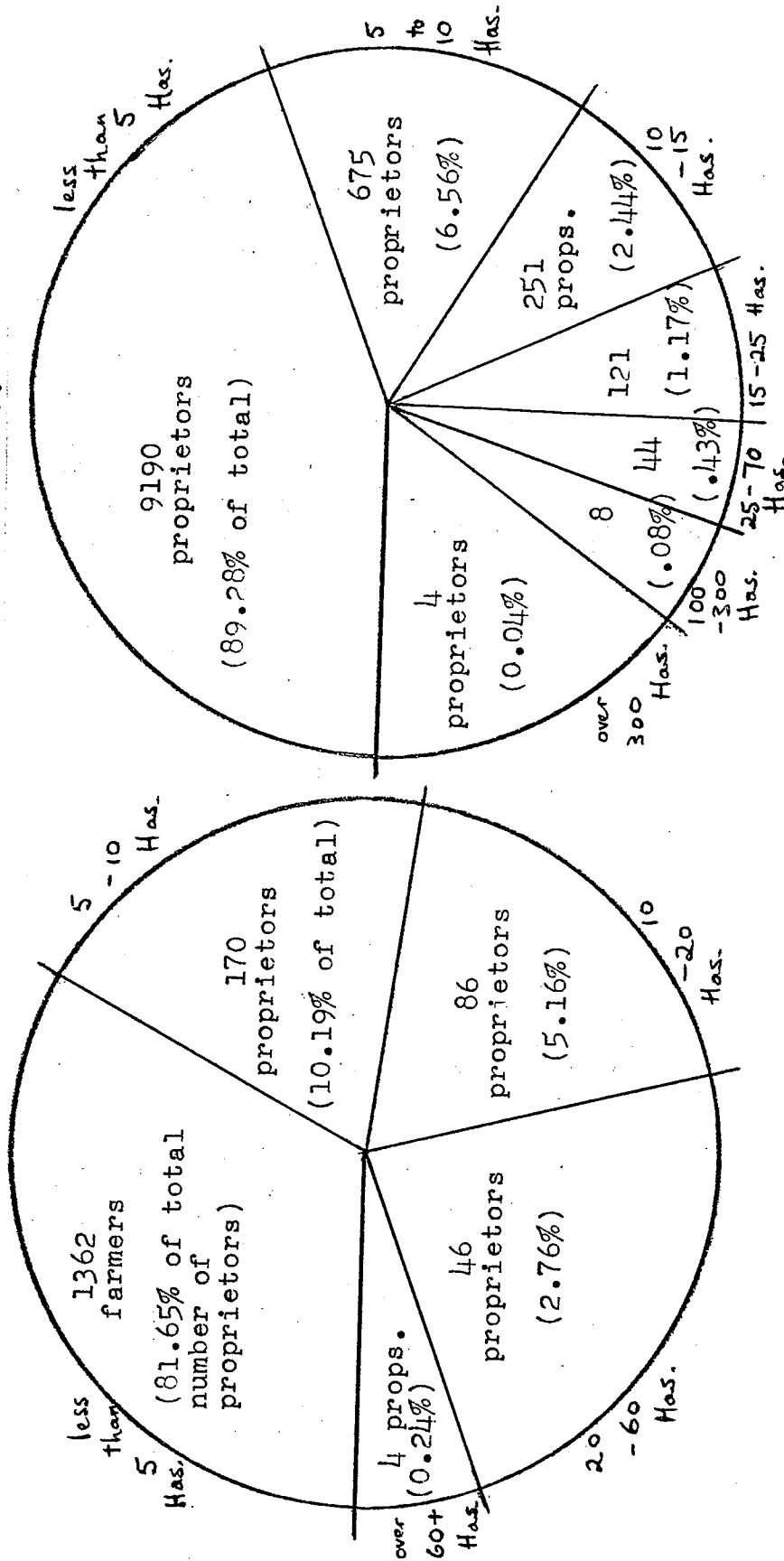
The disamortization was "of course a necessary step in the bourgeois revolution" (Tamames 1976:56), but it is perhaps sad that "the collectivist tendencies of Spanish economists disappeared just when the moment for deciding the agrarian question at last arrived" (Brenan 1950a:46). For, as will be seen by the end of this report, the majority of farmers' self-created problems today are probably due to their individualism and lack of cooperative feeling.

However, on the positive side, "one must admit that it broke up the stagnation of Spanish rural life and brought with it a degree of prosperity that had not been known before" (Brenan 1950a:109). The ploughing of new lands helped make the increase of population possible

FIGURE I: DISTRIBUTION OF PRIVATE LAND (EXCLUDING COMMONS) IN COMARCA OF ROA.

(Data from Molinero 1977: 15 & 35)

Portions indicate proportion of total area.



(Tamames 1976:57). Though they were relegated to more 'suitable' lands, even village herds increased in overall numbers, due perhaps mainly to the end of transhumance and the Mesta monopoly (Naredo 1974:27).

Slowly, in fact, "an agricultural revolution was now beginning in Spain" (Brenan 1950a:108). Its beginnings had led to the disamortization, and the resulting increased area in agricultural land was going to make things move faster. But the agricultural problem of centuries had not been solved: the countryside just went from "a feudal structure to ... a capitalist structure, though still with very important feudal traces" (Tamames 1976:57).

There were more small peasant proprietors, but the previous landowners had obtained proportionately more: the basic structure of property had not really changed. "Emancipated serfs were succeeded by day-labourers" (Tamames 1976:57). The expenses of the clergy and the municipalities, whose disinheritance had led to the increase in farming land, were now borne by the taxpayers. "But the social panorama did not change substantially" (Tamames 1976:57). The bourgeois revolution has never clearly triumphed in Spain. The haute bourgeoisie merely allied itself with the least reactionary members of the aristocracy, creating a new hybrid dominant ideology.

Revolutionary attempts by the petite bourgeoisie, allied with intellectuals and the new urban proletariat, were sadly and inevitably next on the agenda. Agriculture would remain the major problem, and the worst burden on progress. Thus we come, with the major character traits learned from the experience of history, and with the basic

conditions of existence established "as a result of the decomposition of feudal institutions, to an agrarian structure which today is wont to be named traditional" (Naredo 1974:29).

CHAPTER VIII

THE 'CRISIS' OF 'TRADITIONAL' AGRARIAN SOCIETY

"At a certain stage of development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production." (Karl Marx 1859: Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.)

The Instability of 'Traditional' Society

'Traditional society' is historically very recent in Old Castile; but to those of limited circumstances and horizon, it is 'always', and they see their own culture as traditional.* Throughout the remainder of this thesis, this 'emic' conception of tradition will be adhered to, and modern history will be referred to as 'within living memory'.

Due to the basic contradictions inherent within this so-called traditional society, it is by nature a temporary structure and vulnerable to crisis. Viewing Spanish agrarian society as a whole, the extremes are a very few capitalist latifundia with mobile wage-labour, as opposed to a very large number of small familistic farmers whose labour is not governed by capitalist

*Among social scientists, only Pérez-Díaz, to my knowledge, is interested or aware that traditional culture came into being in the 19th century. The Prices describe a traditional custom which they admit has only come into being since the last Civil War (1966a:315).

principles (Naredo 1974:29). The middle-sized farmer is statistically almost irrelevant in the country. The criteria governing the two extreme types of agricultural enterprise are obviously opposed. The latifundio aims to maximize profit by minimizing labour; the minifundio aims to maximize production by maximizing employment of family labour, especially if there are few possibilities of outside employment. This latter is limited further by the low number of viable farms, which of course can ill afford much non-household labour.

Naredo claims that:

The existence ... of a large number of these free family farmers constitutes a necessary intermediate step in the development of agriculture between feudal and capitalist modes of production. It is a situation which, though it may last a long time, is nevertheless transitory, for the dissolution of feudal institutions produces the conditions which lead to the separation of the direct producers from their means of production. Although this separation is not accelerated until the generalization of application of the innovations of the so-called 'green revolution', which strengthen the comparative advantages of the large agrarian enterprise (1974:29).

At the level of our comarca, there was a basic disequilibrium, according to Molinero, in 'traditional' society, "in which a great majority of dispossessed survives in the shadow of a small number of [sizeable] proprietors, who supply the daily wages necessary for subsistence" (Molinero 1977:12).

However, many years and changes were to occur before all the pressures in these various contradictions were strong enough to bring on the present crisis. Until then, agriculture would see occasional prosperity and considerable technical progress. Molinero

believes that the basic determinant in this process of agricultural growth and progress has been demographic pressure, as suggested by Esther Boserup.* Certainly the two all-time peaks of population in our comarca, 1887 and 1955, were both immediately followed by the moments of most intense change.

Technical and Commercial Innovation

Among the most notable improvements since disentanglement has been an enormous increase in the area under irrigation. In the 18th century, Hoyales had the largest area of vega in the comarca: over one-quarter of the total; and this was not much. Sometime during the last century, Hoyales improved and vastly extended its existing irrigation system. In 1917 the proportion of vega in Hoyales was raised almost to half the total area by the opening of the Queen Victoria canal, later known as Guma, from the village upstream on the Duero from Aranda where it drew its water. This canal especially benefited Berlangas, making it for a time the only almost totally irrigated village in the area. In 1962, the Rianza canal was opened just downstream from Hoyales, greatly enlarging Roa's vega, and making La Cueva the second totally irrigated village. Also, during the 1950s, irrigation was led to the last little suitable plots in Hoyales. Hoyales is now fourth in irrigable area of the villages of the comarca.

Another technical innovation is the increasing use of fertilizers since the 19th century, leading to greatly increased

*Boserup's theory of population pressure as a cause of agricultural growth, though applicable at the local, rural level, is debatable on the national scale.

yields and the lessening of fallow. Organic fertilizer, which has become rare since the introduction of machinery, was always insufficient, and was partly monopolized by the richer peasants who of course owned most of the animals.

The railway line, passing through Roa, from Valladolid to Ariza, and on to Zaragoza and Barcelona, was opened in 1895, changing the direction of easiest communications for a generation until the north-south connection was improved by the ambitious public works program of the dictator, Primo de Rivera, in the 1920s. These improved communications led to increased production for the market, and also to some emigration. This was limited, by the poor possibilities of urban employment, to about 0.5% per annum during the last third of the 19th century, but rose above 2% during the wine crisis following the arrival of phylloxera in the comarca in 1909 (Molinero 1977:17).

Though American vine stocks, resistant to the disease, were planted, the historical dominance of wine in the comarca was broken. As the grape-vine, requiring labour-intensive cultivation, is the major reason for the density of the population in the comarca--one of the highest densities in Old Castile, according to Molinero (1977:15)--the increased emigration since the 1950s is placing the crop in a perilous situation, as described fully in Molinero's thesis (1977). Wine had become the principal Spanish export after the phylloxera had wiped out most of the French vines in the 1870s (Vicens 1969: 650-1). As a result, vines were rapidly replacing wheat in the newly disentailed fields of the country, and reached their peak dominance at that time, simultaneously with the peak of population. This moment

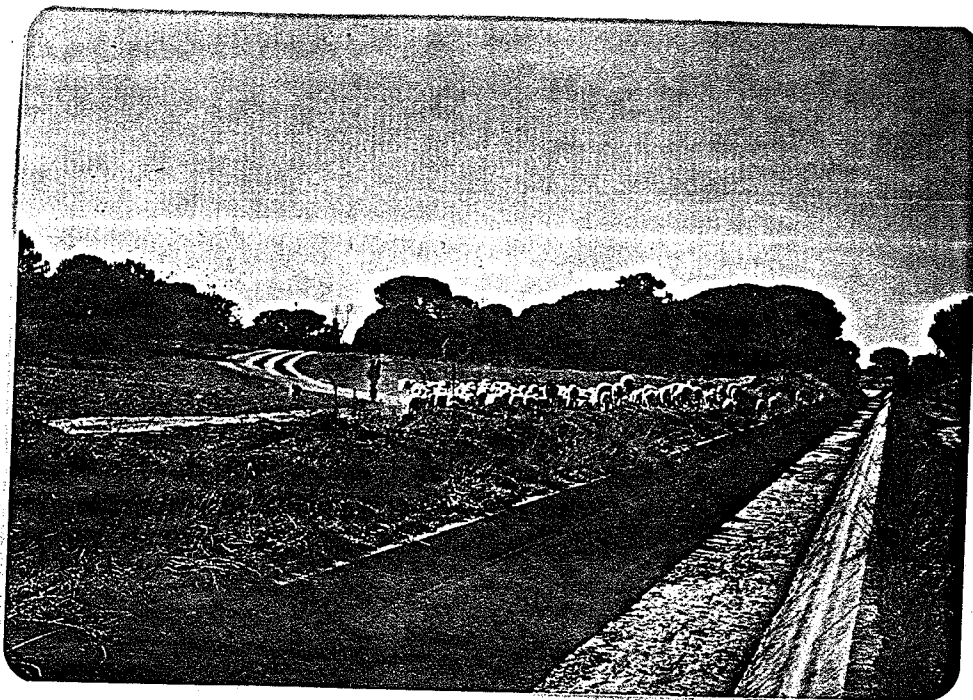
was obviously one of great prosperity for the district.

A new crop, obviously geared to the industrial market, was introduced to Old Castile after Cuban independence. This was the sugar-beet, which has now become the symbol of irrigated crops in the comarca, and is of course the ultimate capitalist cash crop. Domestic consumption of the beet leaves is only for the dwindling population of rabbits. The growth in importance of the sugar-beet crop was stimulated by the opening of a processing plant in Aranda in the 1940s, and even more by the opening of a so-called sugar 'Cooperative' in Valladolid during the 1960s.

Another fairly recent plant is both a diet staple and an important cash crop in irrigated land, though most vulnerable to speculative instability. This is the potato, which was introduced to Spain after 1768, as part of the movement during the Enlightenment to introduce fodder crops. Its triumph as a staple in the diet of humans came during the famines of the Napoleonic War (Vicens 1969:512).

Improved communications and the influence of the market led gradually to "the whole agricultural population ... being drawn more closely into the general economic framework of the country " (Naval Intelligence Division 1944:262). This has led to the central government having ever more effect on agricultural conditions, and to the growing conviction by too many farmers that the government is responsible for solving their problems and improving their conditions (c.f. Aceves 1973:94).

"Subsistence farming and the self-sufficiency of village communes were in full retreat before the Civil War" (Naval

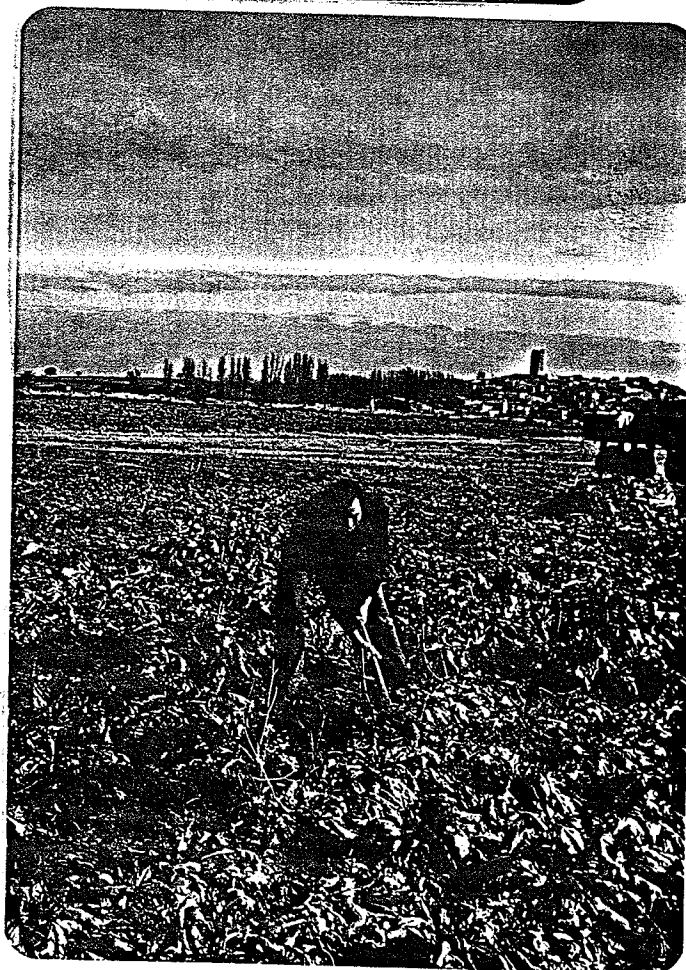


Top:

Plate 14.
The Canal de Guma,
newly cemented irrigation ditch, empty in
Winter for cleaning.
Note shepherd pasturing
his flock.

Bottom:

Plate 15.
Sugar-beet harvest:
digging the crop up
by traditional method.
Note Hoyales in
background.



Intelligence Division 1944:261). But during the war there was a widespread return to local self-sufficiency, and after the war the government raised agricultural prices in an attempt to get farmers back to the market. Such an effort would no longer be required: the younger generation of farmers would probably have considerable difficulties if they ever were forced back into the peasant self-sufficiency of their parents.

Perceptions of 'The Crisis'

In Hoyales there are two opposed ideologies at work. The necessarily resulting conflict is mostly hidden behind the curtain of family privacy. But the traditional peasant ideology is obviously inadequate for complex modern agricultural conditions, or so the young farmers believe. They themselves are traditional enough however to maintain a formal respect towards their parents (c.f. Esteva 1971:37).

The younger generation are becoming fully commercial farmers. Time and the labour of the family are beginning to be considered as factors of production. This is due to the limitations of traditional production and financial pressures. Machinery must be amortized, and the easiest solution is to increase the area under cultivation: here the major impediments are availability of land and time. In other words, traditional land structures and labouring methods are the obstacle. So too are the traditional attitudes, selfishness and mutual suspicion, in fact a generalized hostility towards cooperation. As some of the older peasants would say: "Why should we all be ruined together?"

This individualistic, suspicious, uncooperative attitude was forced on peasants by historical circumstances. Conditions were harsh, even brutal; 'good' was 'limited'; only a few aggressive, individualistic families could survive or do well. Certainly there was not enough for all. For the younger generation, although they were raised within this ideology, circumstances have changed drastically. Emigration has led to less pressure within the community. Farmers are becoming a social class forced to compete for financial advantages with other dominated classes within the state. The pressure is now commercial and from outside the community.

There are probably only two ways out, both being considered by young farmers. One is a traditional tabu: cooperation, any genuine expression of which would be difficult within a capitalist state. The other is traditionally the only way (barring emigration) in Hoyales: growth, which has to be at the expense of other members of the community. So long as emigration and the declining number of farms continues, there will be no conflict with growth. Growth is not only a traditionally acceptable solution for survival of the individual family; it is also encouraged by the conditions of the capitalist mode of production, as mentioned by Naredo (cited above, p. 101).

Children are even forcing their parents to adapt in some ways to the new circumstances and ideology; the threat is emigration and the breaking up of the farm (Esteva 1971:72; Mira 1972:118). But in respect to the basic aims in life, both generations seem to agree on the essence, though maybe not on the details. The ideal is

material well-being and the conspicuous demonstration of this. If the essence of the ideals have not changed, it is probably because the national ruling class has been the same throughout. If the details have changed, it could be because the ruling class has managed to change its style and appearance.

It can be seen that many of the peasant's problems seem to be due to his own and cultural 'defects'--indeed many 'experts' see these as the main reasons for rural problems (Aceves 1973:96). But an attempt has been made in the previous pages, without attempting to deny the present inadequacies of peasant culture, to show that this 'traditional' culture is far from being the fault of its members. Rather it has been imposed by many circumstances outside the peasants' control, and to which peasants had to adapt as best they could in order to survive.

Indeed, exactly the same process is evident in the present crisis. "Agriculture has had to find its own way without any guidance from the government," is the comment in perhaps every single study of the present agrarian crisis! Let us hope farmers will not again be blamed in the future for having failed to stumble onto the 'right' path.... If the farmers in our comarca can be faulted for anything, it is for expecting an unsympathetic government to hand them the solutions on a silver platter; if their culture has an Achilles heel, it must be that its members can so easily be pacified by the handout of price-rises favouring them over other groups, and that profound structural change is so desperately avoided.

How do the inhabitants of the district see the present

crisis? A reasonable idea seems to be given by a memorandum presented by the mayor of Hoyales to the new Civil Governor of the province, in April 1973. The occasion for this rare visit of a powerful government official, who might be able to do something for the village, was (as reported by Rufino García in the paper Aranda Semanal 21-IV- 1973), the formal completion of a special course of the Falangist Feminine Movement. These dedicated ladies used to give occasional courses in all villages in turn, to teach idealized 'traditional' folk arts and crafts, some hygiene and domestic science, and a little fascist ideology. Regardless of their drawbacks, it must be admitted that basic education of hygiene, etc., was desperately needed in the backward rural areas, and the Sección Femenina was one of the few positive actions of forty years of Francoist rule in Spain.

The memorandum was drawn up by the village clerk with the approval of the municipal council, and is entitled "The problems which affect us, with an indication of their causes, and a suggestion of viable solutions for each" (Municipal Archives, mimeograph). To summarize: the basic symptom is seen as diminishing population, and the motives are the innumerable advantages of industrial cities: adequate housing,* limited working hours, efficacious medical insurance, vacations, decent dress, and "most of all," a decent old-age pension, which at the time was offered to urban workers but not by the Agrarian Social Security.

As the village population is more than doubled by vacationing

*In actual fact, urban housing is scandalous, but those who still live in primitive rural dwellings do not see this.

migrants during summer, the following village attractions are recognized (by the hosts): climate, fresh air, and "customs" such as the "typical" bodegas (wine cellars) and barbecued lamb chops.

The most important municipal problems as seen by the council, are listed. The supply was requested of domestic, drinkable water, to the expenses of which the villagers were prepared to contribute; this was soon arranged by the municipal council with a little aid from the provincial government.

Village street lighting, the existing system being a bit old-fashioned, should be improved. The villagers wanted a new installation of mercury-vapour lamps; they also felt that the expense should be borne by the electric company, and not by the municipality as is usually the case. This improvement is, at the time of writing, being undertaken, with municipal funds.

The telephone service should be extended. Since 1932 there has been a public telephone in a villager's house, for which service that villager is yearly paid 16,000 pesetas (over \$250)* by the municipality. The council wants the telephone company to install private telephones. After nine petitions by the village authorities in five years, and some pushing by the civil governor, the private, profit-making national telephone monopoly finally agreed in 1975 to install private telephones in Hoyales ... at a cost of 90,500 pesetas each (\$1500)! Telephones may not be a reason for emigration, but the

*During my period of field-work, from 1975 to 1978, the average rate of exchange for the U.S. dollar was about 65 pesetas.

lack of support for these services in rural areas is magnificently illustrated.

Housing should be improved. The external appearance of the village is considered somewhat "inadequate," due mainly to the old adobe buildings, most of which are unplastered. Very many of the more recent buildings have not had their hollow baked-clay bricks plastered either. To help make the village look more "decent," petitions were being made to a fund for the improvement of rural dwellings. This application was successful shortly thereafter, and the 3.7 million pesetas loaned to the individual households were craftily--and wisely--channeled by an autocratic council into the water-works fund, less beautiful but a more profound improvement than plastering the façades of buildings.

The municipality also requested help for establishing a sports ground, for the paving of the remainder of the village streets after completion of the water-works, and for beautifying and improving the castle surroundings as a tourist attraction. They also asked for promotion of the district as a tourist area.* With regard to improving the castle surroundings, the council wisely suggested that this job could be done by the "seasonally unemployed," and the governor obtained 50,000 pesetas in unemployment benefits for the municipality.

The proverbial Spanish envy at being left out is demonstrated

*This request for a new source of income, and Roa's request for factories, are pathetic demonstrations of the conviction that the state must be the entrepreneur.

by a complaint to the governor that other nearby, smaller villages were receiving municipal improvement grants and the advisory services for concentration of fragmented holdings, whereas all Hoyales' petitions for aid had gone "ignored," with a "demoralizing" effect on the villagers. However, when the service of plot concentration was begun in Hoyales shortly thereafter, the advisors had to leave after fierce opposition from a small group of villagers (See Chapter XI).

The final request to the civil governor was for help in obtaining a marketing service from the official vertical syndicate to guarantee better prices for agricultural produce. As usual, prices are seen as the solution to difficulties, and it is assumed to be easier (even after dozens of ignored petitions) to get the government to form a farmers' marketing organization than to organize a village cooperative. The government is seen as the only solution to the villagers' problems, and the governor as the intermediary patron to intercede on the village's behalf.*

It is also noticeable that for most of the villagers the "problems" and "solutions" are cosmetic; the perception of industrial life and of the causes of migration is superficial. Status is indicated by conspicuous display; so it is presumed that attractive, superficial improvements and facilities will indicate the high standards and status of the village and slow down emigration; with the help of a little more wealth, of course, and social security.

*Kenny (1960) gives a detailed examination of patterns of patronage in Spain.

Villagers are aware that not so long ago they lived better than urban workers, and feel that their status was then equal or higher, unlike the present (c.f. Hermet 1973:127).

There is a strong reluctance to admit, or ignorance of, most of the basic structural causes for the present problems. This may of course be because those who remained in the village were the inhabitants suffering least from the basic problems. However, it is curious that, when it comes down to the action of improving conditions, profound improvement should be disregarded, and most of the effort and expense should go towards status benefits, the actual advantages, hence the necessity, of which services are ignored by most villagers. It is not surprising that critics of these improvements should say that the other villagers were being presumptuous, pretending to live in the city. In effect, most of the few interior improvements, such as bathrooms and central heating, are only put into use upon the occasion of a visit from the city. Some women still use the canal to do the washing, even in winter.

Of course, the villagers have their honour to protect, especially against those who had to leave the village to seek a better life, and now return to display with exaggeration what little benefit they could get out of industrial civilization. And all the villagers are proud of their Hoyales: they think it is the best village in the comarca. Indeed, within the 'traditional' times of living memory, Hoyales has until very recently been "by far, the richest of the thirteen villages of the Community of Town and Country of Haza" (Cantera 1977:91), and it has the most productive

vega of the twenty-nine villages within the local Ministry of Agriculture district (Servicio de Extensión Agraria 1973:8).

The Rise of Hoyales and Traditional Conditions

After many centuries of poverty, Hoyales, with its easily extendable irrigation, was ideally situated to take advantage of the industrial market for agricultural produce which was gradually established in the second half of the 19th century. As a result, Hoyales has been since then, and until recently, the most prosperous village in the comarca. The peasants who at that time seized upon the new possibilities were very successful, and became dominant and fairly wealthy as individuals; as a result, their values were soon adopted by the other inhabitants, or, perhaps more accurately, were imposed by the new conditions on the community.

During the disentailment, the more familistic, market-orientated of the richer peasants were the ones who bought up the church lands as they were sold, beginning in 1830 in Hoyales (Parish Archives). It is not clear which lands were sold when, nor even to whom. But the process did last beyond 1873, when the last disentaileed property in Hoyales was auctioned off. Off course, the reselling of fields to villagers by urban speculators must still have been going on after then. The few who had obtained property during the first phase (1830-1838), would have had time before the second phase, which went from 1859 to 1873, to accumulate the capital and to be in an advantageous situation with regard to other villagers.

The national growth of population and of production for the

market, which began with the Liberals, must have helped further. Hoyales, with its irrigation, was in an advantageous position at last with the production of market crops. Furthermore, every time there was a drought, Hoyales was better off still, or rather, those were who had sufficient property to accumulate a surplus after subsistence and wages to labourers.

Because of the increasing population, wages were very low. As recently as 1938, the report of the Naval Intelligence Division (1944:259) gives wages in Old Castile as being a maximum of 11 pesetas a day for the wheat harvest, going down to 3 pesetas for weeding by women and children. The average daily wage was 5 to 6 pesetas a day, when work was available. Wage-labourers in Hoyales were lucky, because the variety of crops and types of field provided fairly continuous work.*

But in Old Castile "the line between the labourer and the small farmer is not sharply marked.... Every degree of transition to the tenant farmer or small proprietor class exists" (Naval Intelligence Division 1944:258-9). In fact, the difference between landless labourers and small proprietors may have been only in the degree of individual independence, as even the small landowner occasionally had to work for wages. For as Brenan points out, in 1929, "in the typical Castilian province of Avila, out of 13,530 land-tax payers, 11,452 [85%] had a daily income of less than one peseta and only

*The exchange rate for the peseta went from 27 pesetas to the pound sterling (= \$5 ?) in 1926 to 60 pesetas/pound sterling after the Civil War (Ibid:201, 307).

320 [2.4%] had more than five pesetas" (Brenan 1950a:113).

This indicates a high degree of poverty, which would seem to be confirmed by Article 176 of the 1916 Hoyales Municipal Ordinances: "The entry of any kind of stock into stubble and sown ground is prohibited until the passing of twenty-four hours after harvesting ... with the aim that the needy classes may pick up the stray ears if the owners allow it" (Municipal Archives). Furthermore, the poor no longer had access to communal property, nor to the property that had once belonged to the religious brotherhoods for the use of members. The account books (Parish Archives) of the three Cofradías in Hoyales range in dates between 1701 to 1890. Whether this means that they had not existed before the 18th century is not clear. What is obvious is--religiosity notwithstanding--that none of the brotherhoods survived the loss of their property.

Within 'traditional' times then, the wealthy peasants had taken over control of wages from the civil and ecclesiastical aristocracy. They even controlled access to much of the food of the very poor, who became obliged either to beg, glean or steal, depending on the attitude of the landlords. The landlord's honour was secure: he had the option of being generous and doing favours, in which case the poor could maintain their dignity and were grateful; or the landowner could simply hold on to what was lawfully his, in which case the extreme poor were forced into institutionalized theft.*

*Rural Castilian obsession with being the object of theft (also noted by Brandes 1973) is demonstrated in Hoyales by the padlocks on everything which could possibly be opened or moved.

The dishonour and 'immoral' behavior of the poor are thus the effects of a vicious self-fulfilling hypothesis.

The wealthier peasants could even avoid the 'obligatory' duties of the normal citizen! Bribery, through their channels of access to patronage and power, could get their sons out of military service (which is still socially discriminatory in Spain). Even more revealing to the other villagers must have been the formal right of the rich to buy their way out of communal duties. The council of every village in Spain can oblige all its inhabitants to turn out for a few days every year for public works, e.g. repairing roads, ditches, etc. But Article 181 of the Municipal Ordinances of 1916 admits the right of those who wish (and can) to pay the Municipality one peseta per day for a labourer.* If cooperative community service was distasteful or demeaning for rich peasants (who furthermore had the time available, perhaps more so than those who had to work daily for their food), the effect on the majority of the population is not hard to see. And much of the selfish, anti-social, uncooperative, anti-communal behaviour to be seen in the country, may be explainable (c.f. Dobby 1936:187-188).

Nowadays, community service is fast disappearing, and when it still exists usually takes the form of the municipality paying day-wages to those with the time, energy or desire to do their duty (c.f. Redclift 1973:197). In Hoyales, it is difficult to get the villagers to work for the community, even with pay; on the other hand,

*This, incidentally, gives an idea of wages at the time.

in another village I know near the mountainous Basque country in the north of the province of Burgos, the villagers are easily organized for any communal task.

With the arrival, a century ago, of so-called democracy and the free, universal, male vote, control of the wage-packets of the majority by the wealthier minority, could obviously lead to political power, or its manipulation. Local political bosses are known as caciques, and indeed, during the last quarter of the 19th century their rule was institutionalized by the State. The 'Stability' of 1875-98 "was artificial in that it required the contrived rotation in office (turno pacífico) of a Liberal and a Conservative party; this in turn demanded governmental control of elections, which were run by caciques" (Carr 1974:439). As a result, patronage and favours had to be bestowed all the way down the line. This institutionalized corruption may have been as Carr suggests "perhaps the only way(s) to make the parliamentary system work in an underdeveloped society" (1974:439), or rather, in an unstable state where control by the bourgeoisie was so insecure. It must certainly have been demoralizing for society, to see favours and patronage distributed by turno, with intrinsic advantages and benefits being of no consideration at all in governmental decisions.

National Disaster and Village Prosperity

The Second Republic was ushered in by the first elections not entirely controlled from above. The anti-clericalism of the progressives strengthened the Right-wing; the division on the Left and the granting of the suffrage to women (many of whom voted under

the influence of the parish priests) led to a conservative government from November 1933 to February 1936, when a united Left regained power. Between April 1931 and July 1936, the progressive Republicans only managed to hold office for a total of 33 months.

Agrarian reform was high on the list of priorities but "Unfortunately, the enthusiastic and well intentioned legislators who drew up the agrarian laws were without intimate knowledge of the land" (Dobby 1936:188).^{*} Minifundism, with its problems and advantages, was completely overlooked. "The agrarian reform laws were directed almost exclusively to the question of large estates;" thus "Behind the new laws was the [age-old] doctrine that 'those who work the land should own it.'" Almost all the peasants of Old Castile had, with difficulty, managed to obtain or hold on to a few small plots of land. Being vulnerable to Right-wing propaganda, "Small holders who were never in real danger of expropriation began to distrust and to deplore the reforms" (Dobby 1936:188).

I have been unable to obtain evidence as to how the inhabitants of Hoyales voted during the Republic, as the period is rarely discussed openly. I imagine that the wealthier peasants voted for las derechas (the Right), and that the destitute, if they voted at all, opted for las izquierdas (the Left). As during the Carlist Wars, local alliances, jealousies, etc., probably accounted for the

^{*}It is even possible that a majority of these legislators were born in the countryside; that would not be surprising as, to this day ignorance of agriculture is profound among Spanish urban dwellers and intellectuals, who have a completely idealistic view of rural life.

loyalties of the majority of small land-owning peasants, for whom traditionalism and religion were perhaps deciding influences.

Propaganda, in those days before mass communications had reached the countryside, was mostly in the control of the establishment.

The rest of the news was wildly exaggerated gossip about expropriations, the desecration of churches, and the lack of public 'order' in urban centres. And, "By an unfortunate coincidence the world crisis came just at that time to cut off all the markets on which Spanish agriculture was based" (Dobby 1936:188).

With all this, it is perhaps not surprising that the legal government of the Republic was not supported by the peasantry of Old Castile.* In fact, Franco was even able to establish his headquarters in Burgos City. 'Nationalist' control of the major food-producing zones was of great advantage to Franco. As for the peasantry of Hoyales, they would lose either way: the young men were drafted, and any surplus food found was requisitioned for the patriotic war effort. Unlike during the Carlist Wars, this district was not in the thick of the fray, although Roa's old Carlist battalion was revived with over 500 'volunteers' (Zamora 1965:592) for "Dios, Patria y Rey." Hoyales lost almost as many 'Glorious fallen for God' as were executed in the village by the Falange.** This was

*Regardless of the real long-term advantages of a progressive Republic, even for the 'wealthy' peasants, who were small fry compared to any latifundist.

**These dead 'Reds' were still officially ignored 35 years later (c.f. Gilmore 1977a:446).

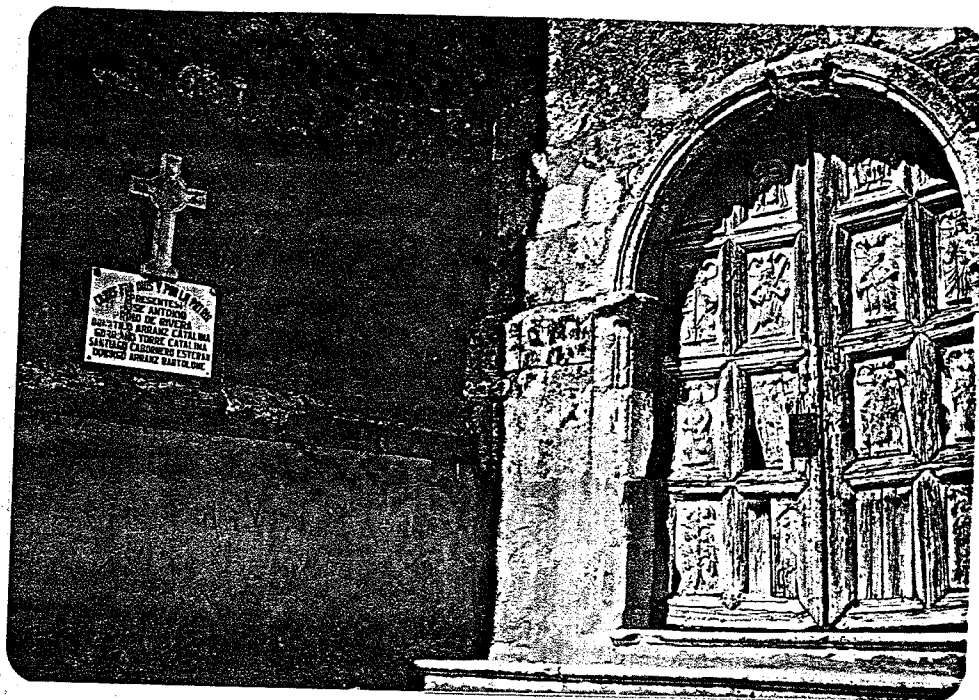


Plate 16. "Those who fell for God and Country": the 'Nationalist' dead of the Civil War, commemorated at the entrance to the parish church.

basically a moment of national tragedy and hardship, and most peasants had to revert to pre-capitalist household self-sufficiency.

The post-war years of national hardship were perhaps the best ever for Hoyales, to judge from the fact that almost all the good houses in the village were built then. Even the very poor were better off than elsewhere, for at least they were not starving. Bad droughts, especially in 1949, favoured the few irrigated villages like Hoyales. The population registered its all-time increase between the censuses of 1940, at 949 residents, to the all-time recorded high of 1055, in 1950. Emigration, although slight because of the disastrous urban situation, was however already evident.

More of the land was worked directly by its owners. The wealthy peasants still received most of their income from agriculture; and were only then beginning to send their children away for an urban education. The full-time wage-labourers, of whom there were apparently about a dozen in 1947 (Municipal Archives) were fully employed; over 40 landless peasants had risen to the category of share-croppers; the pressure was not yet on the owners to have to rent their land. Labour was very cheap: real wages had fallen to half the level of 1936 (Carr 1974:442). And although food was marshalled from the peasants by the State for the starving urban proletariat, at artificially low prices, there were fortunes to be made by those in the village with the courage to risk selling their produce to black-marketeers. For example, the price of a kilo of potatoes could be as much as the daily wage of a labourer. As for the small independent peasants and the share-croppers, life must have been difficult if the tripling in the price of mules from before the war to immediately after (Naval Intelligence Division 1944:242) is any indication.

In general though, the village of Hoyales must have been fairly well-to-do, as various large public works were then undertaken, including the first modern improvements. Immediately after the war (to celebrate the victory of religion over atheism?) the parish church was extensively restored and renewed. And from 1945 to 1954 a large new barrio of patronized, subsidized housing was built for middle-income villagers. The wealthier villagers were building themselves large, new (though still adobe) houses in

the old orchards and vegetable plots--indicating their complete orientation towards the market. There were at least ten full-time builders and carpenters in the village. The village feast of 1946 lasted three and a half days, and was quite extravagant, including two displays of fireworks from Madrid. The status of the wealthier peasants was still high enough for their daughters and sons to be able to think twice about marrying a salaried professional, such as a teacher or village clerk. Traditional Hoyales was in its moment of glory, at its peak.

Much of this was because, at the national level, things were disastrous. In 1951, taking into account the devaluation of the currency, the per capita income was in real terms at the level of 1913 (Drain 1971:10). "These were the years of near famine, of the black market, and of rural misery [in latifundist regions] and flight to the towns" (Carr 1974:442). Legitimate business was starved, while the new ruling clique spent fortunes from corruption, the black market and patronage, on "dissipation and luxury" (Brenan 1950b:30). "The Falange may say what it will, but the people who govern Spain to-day could hardly do more than they are doing to show that the working classes are their enemies" (Brenan 1950b:104).

But international opposition to the Franco régime would, until his death, be "skillfully turned into a means of rallying support for General Franco in the name of national unity" (Carr 1974:442). At every crisis, mass rallies were staged in Madrid, spontaneously peopled by the inhabitants of Hoyales and other villages, who, in exchange for their cheers, received a free bus

excursion to the capital city, with a meal and pocket-money (c.f. Moss 1973:331).

The Spanish 'Miracle'

Throughout, conditions external to Spain were to help Franco. Unlike the Republic which had unfortunately coincided with a world economic depression and aggressively spreading Fascism, Spain in the 1950s was advantaged by the side-effects of European prosperity and growth, and the 'Cold War'. The U.S. economically and militarily supported the Franco régime as a bulwark against World Communism, and, together with tourism, unwittingly promoted the anti-fascist forces in the country by eventually destroying the conditions necessary for the existence of a fascist dictatorship. The political stability of the dictatorship, by promoting the prosperity of its supporters, would incidentally also enable general conditions to improve gradually.

After 1960, the Spanish economy would visibly and spectacularly 'take off'; but the groundwork was, in spite of the government, laid in the early 1950s, and was merely a logical development in the process of Spanish economic history. The government just managed to climb into the cockpit of the 'taxying' economy to pilot the pressure in favour of the establishment.

The take-off ... is thus anterior to the large economic measures taken by the Spanish government from 1957 to 1959, and which therefore appear to be less the reason than the effect of a growth common to the whole of Western Europe (Drain 1971:10).

After 1953, "the Falange steadily lost power to the

Technocrats of the Opus Dei* which broke with the economic nationalism of the Falange in favour of a 'normal' capitalist system, with market mechanisms replacing state control" (Carr 1974:442). In actual fact, state control was replaced by state subsidies to favoured national projects and by freedom of action for multinational companies. The intended direction of the economy was indicated by a series of Development Plans starting in 1963, each intended to apply for four years.

The first Development Plan was "copied exactly from the French model, and therefore, a priori, not adapted to Spain" (Drain 1971:114). The second Plan "in no way took into account the lessons of the failure of the first, the methods ... remain as rudimentary and the objectives especially aim in no way at a reform of the structures of the economy" (Drain 1971:115).

The Spanish Economic and Social Development Plans can be evaluated overall by affirming that they reinforced economic growth, ignored social change, and put a brake on the country's political change (del Campo 1976:109).

"The strongest brakes to economic development are in the agricultural sector" (Drain 1971:108-9), yet the most serious structural problems of the sector were never broached, mainly because of the political consideration of favouring latifundist proprietors (Drain 1971:109). According to Tamames, the Plans' ideology of 'market economy' and 'productivity' may, in capitalist logic, have been reasonable within the agricultural circumstances of

*The Opus Dei is an elitist, anti-communist, lay Catholic organization, economically neo-Keynesian. Its economic and technocratic orientation indicates a split within the ruling classes (Pilapil 1971).

north-west Europe, but in Spain it was a parrty to hide the eternal problem of the absurd distribution of property. Thus was delayed again, indefinitely, the agrarian question and the solution to one of the key problems of Spanish economic development (Tamames 1976:514).

National investment in agriculture between 1957 and 1962 had been only 1.5% of the national budget (Spain 1965:104), or seven times less than France (107). This dominant attitude was of course reflected by private investment in agriculture. In the first Plan, the sector was still allotted seven times less than Defense and Public Order (Spain 1965: Tables 8 & 11), and most of this was budgeted for a few spectacular irrigation works. As regards agricultural training, "In the member countries of the OECD the number of students in vocational education is some eight times greater than that of those in higher education; in Spain it does not equal it" (Spain 1965:54). This situation was not improved noticeably by the Plans: Tamames notes that there is less than one agricultural engineer per fifty latifundia, and most of these are in bureaucratic posts (1976:97)!

The first Plan (1965:23) acknowledged that low and inequitable distribution of income were leading to migration, both interior and abroad. And it aimed to encourage considerable further rural migration (Spain 1965:34), officially to encourage "social mobility" (92). Here it must be mentioned that a fair amount of social mobility has indeed been possible lately--a rare phenomenon in Spanish history (Carr 1974:443).

In order to promote rural emigration, credits were to be given to farmers for mechanization, etc. (Spain 1965:114-5). By the

rules governing the granting of credits, these usually favoured the largest proprietors, at least in Hoyales. Credit has in fact been one of the major problems of minifundist farmers since at least the 18th century (Brenan 1950a:129; Naval Intelligence Division 1944:260).

In actual fact, what happened was that the wealthier minifundist peasants, being ever shorter of cheap manual labour, would be forced to mechanize (and were aided by the government to do so), thus provoking further emigration, and, most importantly, stimulating the new urban industries. Actually, the Plan especially aimed to increase the industrial consumption of the countryside, where over a third of the total population resided (Spain 1965:69).

In the end, the Plans were most successful in the speculative sector (e.g. buildings for migrants) and in the nonproductive sector (e.g. status consumer objects like cars, TV's, etc.) (Drain 1971:115). And as the major advantages for the régime of the Development Plans were short-term profit and conspicuous, spectacular prestige, almost all the technology and research, and much of the industrial capital were imported from abroad, with obvious long-term dangers (Drain 1971:70).

Another major source of investment capital was tourism. But most of the native capital permitting industrialization was of rural origin, often indirectly. Remittances from rural emigrants in Europe provided a major portion of the foreign exchange needed to buy the sophisticated technology. Also, as has already been noted, rural mechanization would stimulate industry, as would increased non-productive consumption by the large rural population. Some of this,

e.g. automobiles, was made necessary by the concentration of rural services which left most villages gradually more isolated in that respect. Government resources were not channeled back proportionately to the contributors. And the government obliged the rural savings banks to buy government bonds or invest in industry.

To add insult to injury, as far as the farmer was concerned, was the policy (Spain 1965:35 & 45) of importing agricultural produce to keep national prices down, even when related products (machinery, fertilizer, etc.) were free to rise (c.f. Hermet 1973:129). As the Plan failed even to predict that improved living standards would change eating habits, more food had to be imported, with a consequent deficit in the agricultural balance of payments. The country was occasionally even losing money on the food sold to tourists.

Farmers were getting less for their produce though they were working harder and producing much more; there were apparently even more women working in agriculture in 1960 than in 1910 (Spain 1965:102). And the government acknowledged the wholesale market to be "inefficient" and "speculative" (103), but the promised regulatory agencies do not seem to have materialized. The Spanish 'miracle' sounds more like Spanish picaresque, as indeed the wits call its manifestations.

The Development Plans may merely have ridden on the wave of industrial development; but by their allocation of resources, they brought the age-old agricultural problem to a head, with the poor farmer totally unprepared for these new forces beyond his control or understanding. When the Monarchy was re-established in 1975, the

next Development Plan was quietly dropped, thus indirectly admitting the failure of the whole business.

As Molinero sums up the rural "crisis" (1977:144-148), traditional rural society in the comarca is in the midst of a state of flux and instability, manifested by massive emigration. The crisis consists of the adaptation of those farmers remaining to the circumstances, often inadequately because of their lack of preparation or help. And the difficulties are made worse by the continued existence of many tenacious traditional structures. Most farms are too subdivided and inadequately small. The villages are losing their identity, services and population; but ironically, the well-being of those who remain depends on the number abandoning their farms. The only re-organization of property is through land-rental, the money from which leaves the countryside like most of the surplus (just as it used to leave in aristocratic dues). The official solution of cooperatives fail to work and solve nothing, because most of their members are away or retired. The retired are the only increasing sector of the population.

The structure and values which once made Hoyales so successful are now a hindrance. Few farmers now have faith in the countryside, nor want their children to follow in the traditional footsteps (de Zulueta 1966:43). Those who were once successful and lived well by the standards of the time and place, can now only remember with nostalgia the times when their status was respectable outside the community and very high within; when low wages coincided with good prices.

The present crisis is indicated by emigration with good

reason, for it is

born of the social disequilibrium; which, of course, depends on economic aspects. The dualistic structure of farmers is clear: on the one hand those who dispose of viable enterprises, with sufficient earnings, even superior to urban incomes. On the other hand, a multitude of dispossessed, which, sooner or later, will end up joining the migration, because the future of the countryside cannot provide it with any horizon other than survival itself (Molinero 1977:148).

CHAPTER IX

DEMOGRAPHIC HISTORY

"Por la mañana rocío,
A medio día calor,
Por la tarde los mosquitos:
No quiero ser labrador!"

(Dew in the mornings,
Heat at mid-day,
Mosquitoes in the afternoon:
I don't want to be a farmer!)

(Song by Joan Manoel Serrat)

The Demographic History of Hoyales

The general impression of a rural crisis becomes instantly understandable with a mere glance at the accompanying figure (II), which summarizes trends in the population of Hoyales for the past 225 years, since the first census by the Marqués de Ensenada in 1752. At 31 December 1977, Hoyales claimed 506 residents (Municipal Archives), not all of whom are always present, and a few of whom may have emigrated without declaration. This was less than half of the all-time recorded peak of 1080 (de la Cámara 1959:673) in 1950. Furthermore, it is even the lowest population recorded for the village since 1787, with one questionable exception. More notable still is the fact that much of the present population consists for the first time ever of old-age pensioners.

The trend of the past quarter century, the most extreme drop in population within recorded history, is indeed alarming. Of course, during the time of frontier settlement and wars with the

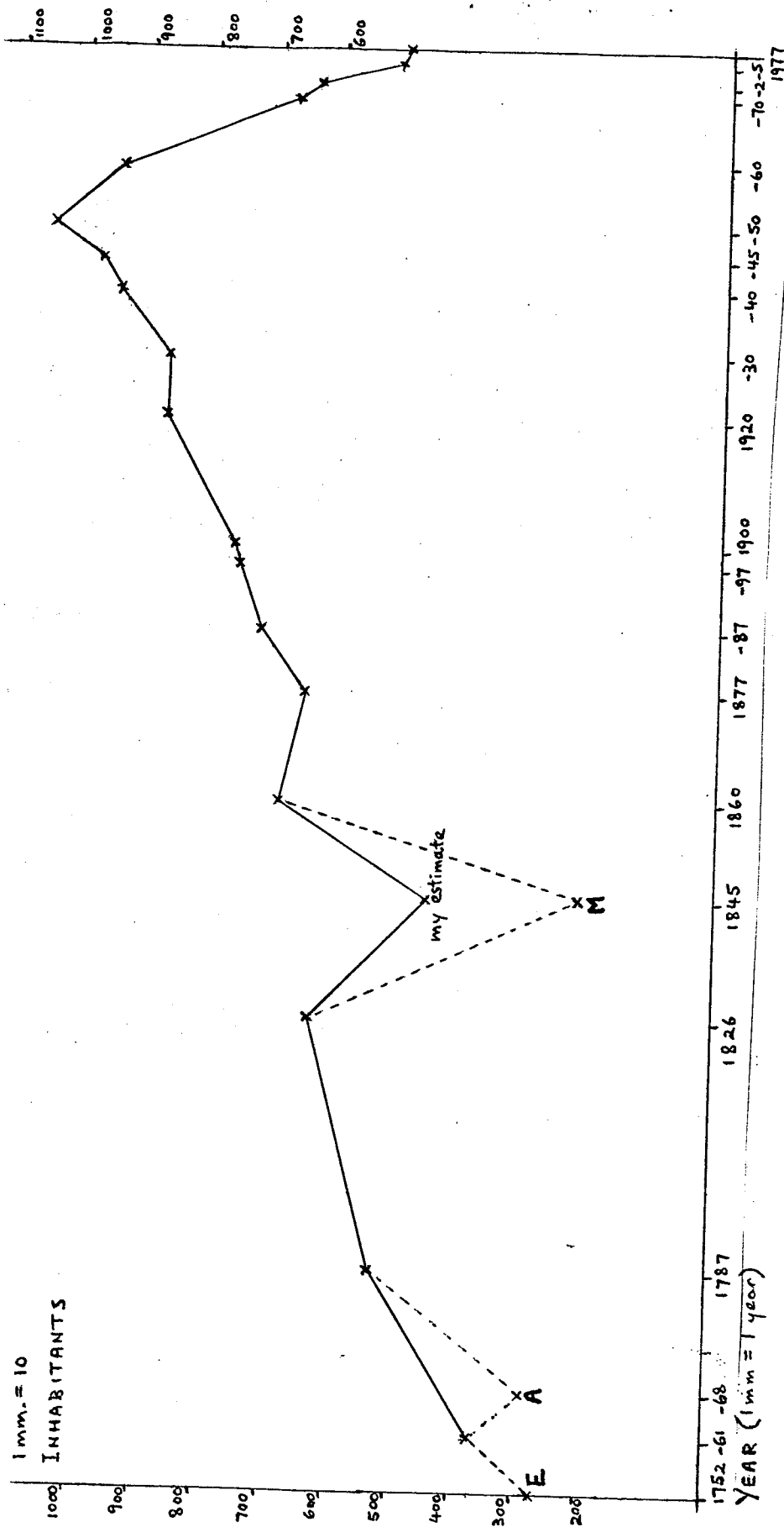


FIGURE II. HOYALES: VARIATIONS IN RECORDED POPULATION, 1752-1977.

Moors, total depopulation was apparently regular. As noted earlier, we can estimate the population of Hoyales as between 110 and 200 during the period 1548 to 1617. In 1752, the first official census by Ensenada (marked 'E' on Figure II) gives a figure of 65 heads of household, from which the total number of inhabitants can be estimated at 271. However the confirmation of this census nine years later mentions 88 households (approximately 367 inhabitants); and only seven years later the census by the count of Aranda ('A' on Figure II) for the Bishopric of Osma, notes a population of only 287. More reliable is the census published nineteen years later in 1787, for the Royal Academy of History, by Floridablanca: this gives 523 inhabitants.

These glaring discrepancies may be explained partly by the peasants' lack of enthusiasm for declaring themselves for a poll-tax or tithe, and the lack of care with which many censuses were, and still are, undertaken in Spain. Another explanation may be offered by an undated tax census in the Hoyales municipal archives, which with its 108 households (about 450 inhabitants) seems to be of the period. It mentions that 107 "outsiders" (transients?) were living in Hoyales; it would seem that these were included in some censuses and not in others. The fact is interesting for indicating that so many outsiders could then find employment in Hoyales.

The censuses are interrupted for forty years by the Napoleonic wars and restoration, until Miñano's geographical Dictionary of 1826. He gives 157 households with 632 inhabitants for Hoyales. The article in Madoz twenty years later (1849:XII:498) guesses

casually at 213 inhabitants ('M' on Fig. II). Assuming that the number of households given (71) is correct, whoever wrote the article merely multiplied this by three--much easier than actually counting heads. This casual multiplication of the number of households (estimated also?) by the numbers three or four was also the method used to give the population of six of the other twenty-six villages in the comarca of Roa (Madoz 1849:XIII:518). Perhaps more reliable are the military draft figures for the number of young men between the ages of 18 and 24, a total in Hoyales of 45 (Madoz 1849:XIII:518). Averaging the proportions for the other villages in the comarca, the total population for Hoyales can be estimated at about 450.

However this still indicates a very sharp drop in the population graph, after the census of 1826. This could be partly due to a cholera epidemic which hit the district in 1835 (Zamora 1965:627). Another slight decline recorded by the census of 1877, between those of 1860 and 1887, offers a further clue. The first Carlist war was from 1830 to 1840; the second from 1870 to 1876. Both wars were furthermore accompanied by the access to power in Madrid of Liberal governments, and by an ensuing acceleration in the process of disentanglement. The enclosures of lands may have led to some peasants leaving Hoyales. Even more depopulation was probably caused by the wars, with their death, destruction, and drafting of young men, and leading to famine, epidemics and refugees. The rapid re-growth after the wars seems to suggest that part of the population was sensible enough to remove itself

from the amphitheatre of the fighting.

Between the censuses of 1920 and 1930, there was complete stagnation of population in Hoyales, although, with the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, the national situation was forcefully calm. There are two possible explanations: the great Flu epidemic of 1919; and emigration as a result of a drop in agricultural prices, which had risen astronomically during the First World War.

The sharpest rise in population for Hoyales was from 1930 to 1940, during the Depression and the chaotic Second Republic and Civil War, and during the ensuing lean years. The population of Hoyales in the 20th century seems to increase during moments of national catastrophe, and plummet with increasing national prosperity. There appears to be a tendency to emigrate as soon as this becomes possible, and to remain in the village whenever survival becomes the issue.

Rises in population do not appear to be caused by increases in the birth-rate; it would seem that an increasing population leads to a decrease in the birth-rate, regardless of the ideology of large families. Based on data in the Parish Archives baptism and burial records, the birth-rate was about 48 per 1000 until the beginning of this century. During the first quarter of the century, the birth-rate was down to 37; the next drop, between 1930 and 1950, to 31 per 1000, was not necessarily due in Hoyales to the Civil War, and coincided with the most rapid ever increase in overall population in Hoyales. The birth-rate since 1950

averages out to 19 per 1000, and can be explained by the emigration of young adults.

Nor does a declining birth-rate seem to be related to declining infant mortality. In Hoyales, according to the burial register, the most critical moment of life was during the first 24 months. Choosing at random every ten years from 1905 to the present, and taking into account that some years may be unrepresentative, the number of infants, aged 2 and under, dying, was the following percentage of the number being baptized in the same year: 1905: 47%; 1915: 40%; 1925: 30%; 1935: 30%; 1945: 36%; 1955: 36%; 1965: 8%; 1975: 0% (Parish Archives).

In 1975, there were only 2 children born of parents resident in Hoyales, and they were both delivered in hospital in Aranda. The last baby to be born in the village was in February 1972. Until the mid-1960s, all were delivered in the village at home, usually by a midwife; a few paid the doctor to deliver their babies. Recorded death at birth affected only one infant of: the 34 born in 1925, the 30 born in 1935, the 22 born in 1945, the 14 born in 1955. However, the parents' wealth was probably influential in the death of many infants between birth and age two: nutrition was poor, and care was difficult if the mother had to spend all day in the fields, helping a husband who could not afford labourers, or earning a wage. Even shepherds had to steal milk for their children, the owner of the flock turning a blind eye if he was a 'good' person.

Of course, infant mortality was not entirely related to

parental wealth. Ignorance, lack of hygiene and superstition were generalized in a society where equal inheritance meant that no family was ever on top for more than a few generations.

Superstition may even have affected more the children from well-to-do families; for example wrapping a child sick with measles, with a heavy wool blanket, coloured red to draw out the spots, requires the attentions of an adult to keep the uncomfortable child wrapped up--and a special red blanket.

The enormous improvement in the infant mortality rate since 1955 is probably indicative of rising prosperity, slightly improved hygiene and increasingly available medical care. However, reference remains to be made to urban statistics, to check on the children of the migrant poor.

Improved conditions and medical care probably also account for the increased life expectancy since the beginning of the century.* I am not aware of the date Hoyaies first managed to afford its own permanent doctor. The death-rate does not sound so bad if infant deaths are excluded; therefore the figure for average life expectancy including infant deaths will be given in parentheses after the life expectancy figures for those making it past infancy:

*Incidentally, aging of the total population may help explain the decreasing fertility rate.

1895: 32 years (23 years including infant deaths);
1905: 44 years (12 years); 1915: 40 years (18 years);
1925: 56 years (32 years); 1935: 52 years (30 years);
1945: 63 years (39 years); 1955: 75 years (46 years);
1965: 71 years (61 years); 1975: 76 years life expectancy at birth.

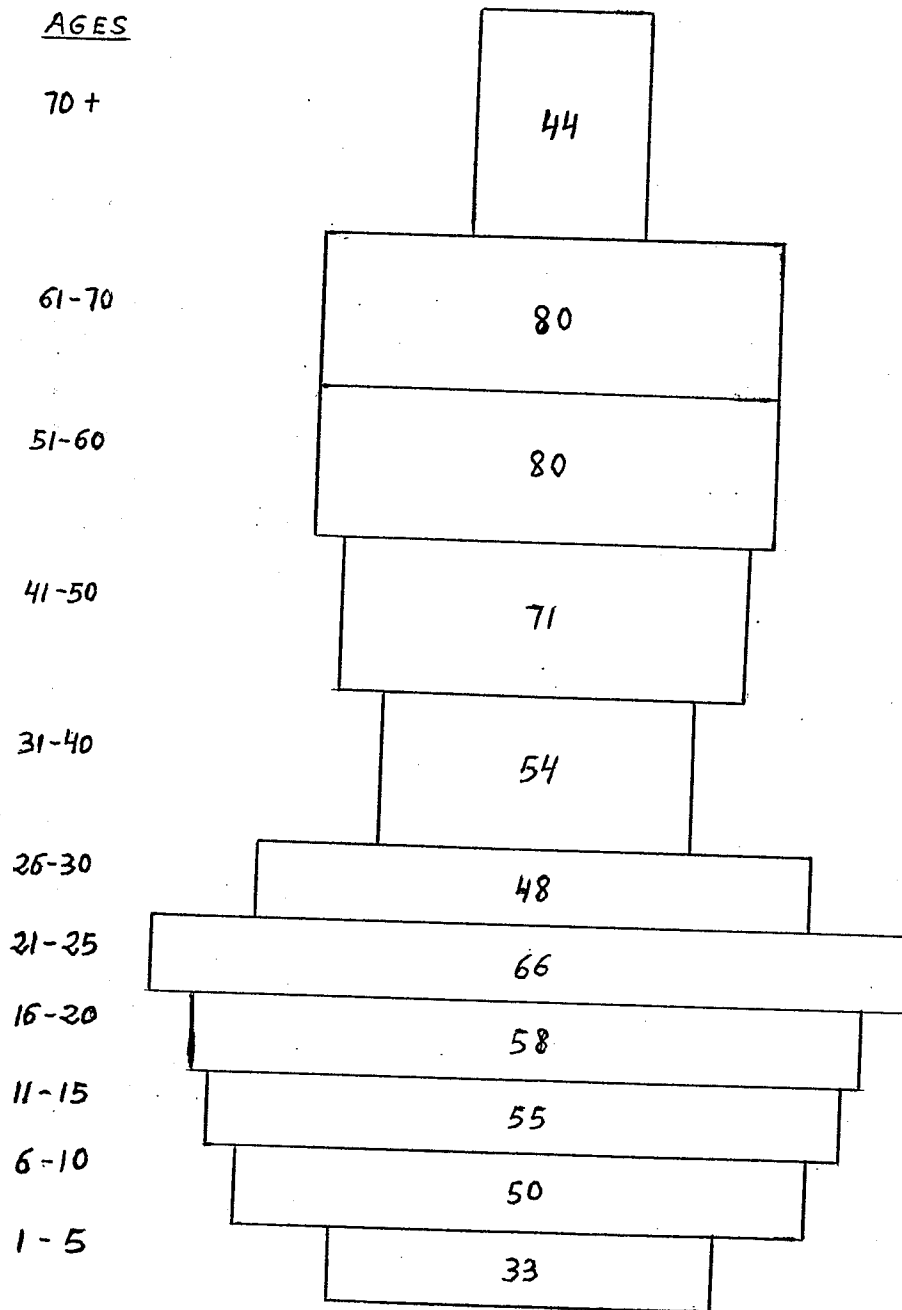
The village structures may be in crisis, but the most basic condition of existence itself has improved considerably.

The accompanying charts showing the population of Hoyales divided according to age (Figures III and IV) indicate by their 'abnormal' shapes that life in Hoyales has seemingly never been stable and secure. For instance, the chart for 1787 shows that the population then aged 7 to 16 had been partly decimated, probably by some unrecorded disaster during the 1770s. This could incidentally lend some credence to Aranda's ('A', Figure II) low population quote for 1768. As already mentioned earlier, this was a moment of severe economic crisis in the comarca.

For the spectacular gaps in the 1860 population chart (Figure IV) there are some explanations. The cholera epidemic of 1855 (Zamora 1965:627) may account partly for the small number of children aged 6 to 10 in 1860, as may the reduced number of possible fathers in the 26 to 30 age group. The first Carlist War and accompanying troubles probably help explain the slender population of young adults between the ages of 16 to 30 and of their parent group aged 51 to 60. All this might give credence to the abnormal drop in population recorded in 1845-49 (Figure II: 'M'), and the shortage of young adults in 1860 may have led to the slight drop in

FIGURE III

HOYALES: POPULATION ACCORDING TO AGE, 1972



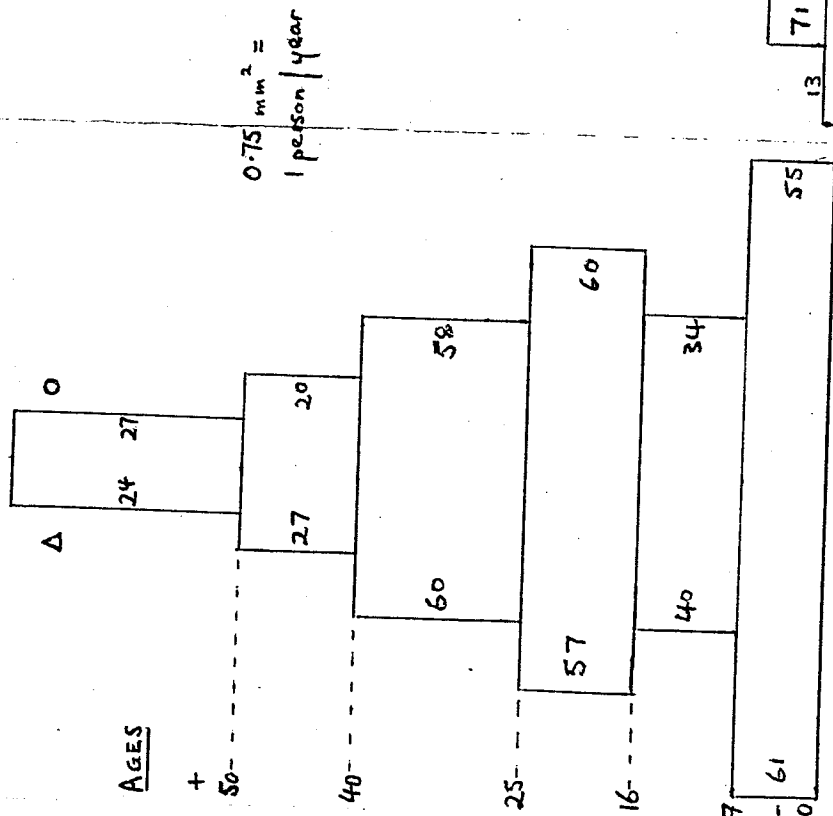
Total: 639 inhabitants

(Population at 31-XII-1972; Municipal Archives)

FIGURE IV. HOYALES: POPULATION ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX

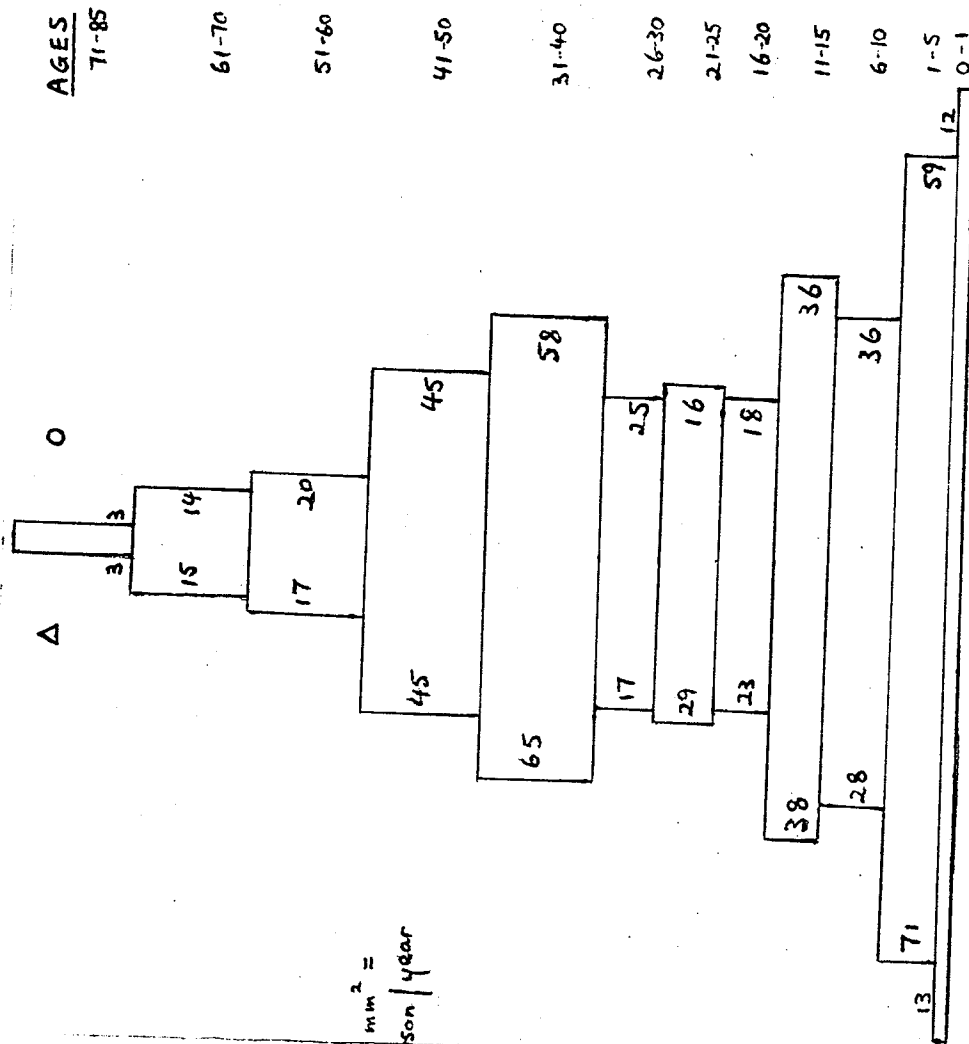
1787

(Censo de Floridablanca)



Totals: 523 inhabitants;
269 males; 254 females.

1860 (Nomenclátor Provincial)



Totals: 665 inhabitants;
340 males; 325 females.

population recorded in 1877 (Figure II).

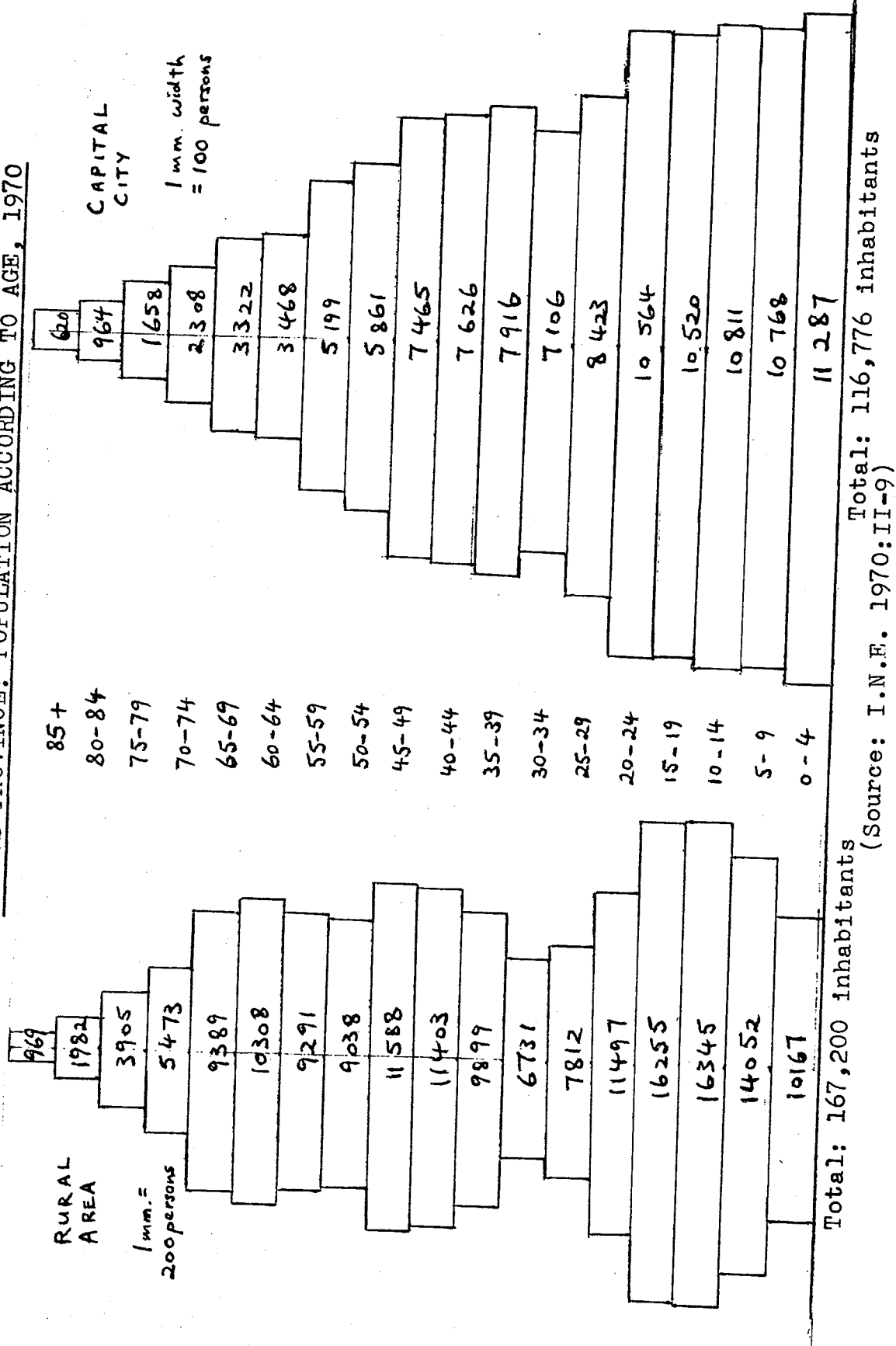
The most recent population chart is also completely misshapen (Figure III), but in 1972 the causes are not at all the same as historically. If the numbers of people aged 51 to 60 and those 61 to 70 are the same, this is mostly because of the dozen or so Civil War deaths and increased life expectancy. The slim waistline in the middle of the chart indicates simply that most of the adults aged in their thirties and early forties have emigrated. This fact is reflected in the decreasing number of young children. That emigration usually involves young adults with their children but without their parents can be seen from the bulge at the top of the chart. Put simply, Hoyales today has an aging population.

This shape is reflected almost exactly by the chart for rural Burgos Province (Figure V), except that this shows even sharper losses due to the Civil War and earlier emigration of young adults than Hoyales. Many of the young adults in Hoyales were soon to follow the example of other villages. The chart for Burgos city (Figure V) is much more pyramidal, but the shortage of war babies is evident; so too is the fact that Burgos only began to industrialize after 1965; the Bishop had until then successfully used his influence to ward off the evils of modernization from his see.

Modernization and Rural Depopulation

Much of the surplus population of rural Burgos was therefore obliged to emigrate to cities outside the province, though nearby

FIGURE V. BURGOS PROVINCE: POPULATION ACCORDING TO AGE, 1970



cities are apparently the preferred destination of most migrants (de Zulueta 1966:69).^{*} It is noteworthy that continued contact with the village of origin is an important consideration for most Spanish migrants, who thus maintain their rural roots. Unlike the fate of many other industrialized and up-rooted peoples, Castilian migrants were favoured in this respect by the late industrial development of their country. Certain advantages of the technology of advanced capitalism, such as communications, have enabled contacts to be maintained. It is possible that this moderates adaptation by new urban immigrants. On the other hand, the major means of communication with modern urban society for rural residents is through conversation with emigrants on vacation in the village (de Zulueta 1966:62). This is in fact the reason that sophisticated 'conveniences' are being installed in Hoyales (Similar urban influences are reported by Reclift 1973:198).

Another reason for the preference of nearby, familiar urban centres as destinations for emigrants is the amazing (but apparently common) fact that apparently the process is often an unplanned, ill-prepared flight from the village; 87% of emigrants from villages in the province of Valladolid before 1966 left with no job pre-arranged, no qualifications, maybe a family in tow, and an ingrained cultural fear of insecurity (de Zulueta 1966:67-69). Most, of course, plan to try a network of contacts. Yet village

^{*}Zulueta and López have conducted a sociological survey of emigration in the neighbouring province of Valladolid. Some of their findings are of interest here, in spite of obvious reservations about their methods.

life was considered most agreeable by over 70% of emigrants, and only 29% are attracted by the 'bright lights' of the city (de Zulueta 1966:56-62).

Who emigrates, and why?

The existence of a viable destination is obviously a major determinant. For poorer peasants, the city can offer improved housing and better educational opportunities for the children. The work available is, for an ex-farmer, usually easier, with shorter, fixed hours and higher fixed wages. Obviously, the richest opportunities were in Northern Europe; yet only one person from Hoyales ever participated in the vast migration abroad characteristic of much of the rest of Spain during the 1950s. Migration to a foreign country, even if only for a determined period, is a momentous decision regardless of the size of the financial 'bait'. Conditions in Hoyales were obviously not as disastrous as in many other parts of the country.

The well-known Spanish sociologist, Amando de Miguel, claims that: "the basic cause of geographic mobility is not the condition of life which exists in the village per se, but rather the desire for social ascension which can be fulfilled only by leaving the village" (1969:268). Assuming there is in fact a strong "desire for social ascension," this is indeed fundamentally limited by the conditions of existence in the village: distribution of property, equal inheritance laws, and population pressure must surely be relevant. And we have already indicated that the conditions of life in the village were miserable for many. "Social

ascension," though it may be ideologically expressed as determinant, can surely not be a stronger motivation than hunger and the limited possibilities of anything within a closed rural system.

In fact, the coincidence between the highest ever population and the beginnings of vast emigration (Hoyales' population began falling in 1950--even before the Spanish economic 'miracle' had begun!) seems to be too striking to be ignored. Indeed, I suggest that population pressures were the major determining force in the emigration process and in the resulting process of modernization.

In 1950, the population density in Hoyales reached 85 inhabitants per square kilometre (220/square mile), compared with a national density at the time of 55.4 (I.N.E. 1971), which is very high taking into account that Castile has the lowest population density of the country. The Roa comarca, at 44.8 inhabitants per km² in 1950, was the most densely populated of Old Castile (Molinero 1977:28), due to the intensive manpower associated with cultivation of the vine.

This high population density in Hoyales might not have been critical if the land had been equitably distributed at 1.18 Ha. (2.9 acres) per inhabitant. However, this was far from the case; in fact, during this post-war period, the wealthier farmers were living better than ever, as excess population had pushed down labourers' wages. Franco's victory had avoided the necessity for structural change; the only escape valve for non-autonomous peasants was emigration, a logical solution given the circumstances.

Pressure on an immutable traditional structure has been the

real rural crisis. Individuals have adapted as they could, and those who have remained are still suffering from the traditional rural structure. Emigration was not a preferred alternative for most peasants, but even the wealthier farmers have not been educated to see any future in agriculture beyond the horizon. In fact they were often the first to try to leave the countryside, following the 'traditional' ideal of the absentee landlord, consuming the surplus in separate urban living, and seemingly totally uninfluenced by any bourgeois notions of investing in local development. Ironically the landlords have always been the only ones with the capacity to develop the countryside, which would have been in their own long-term interest, but they have rarely if ever done so, perhaps because there was little pressure on them to change. "Among the élite of Mediterranean Europe, there is no tradition of squiredom that prefers the rustic life to that of the city" (Pitkin 1963:128), and is therefore stimulated to the first stages of capitalist agriculture.

Apart from those few who were wealthy enough to live in the city off rural rents--and in Hoyales no peasant ever has managed that without an additional source of income--most of the wealthier peasants did not themselves emigrate, but rather educated most of their children for a professional urban life. The first village in the comarca in which this happened on a large scale was perhaps Hoyales, beginning very soon after the Civil War. Before then, a rich peasant was believed to be as well off as a poor country doctor or a rural school-teacher, or even better.

The major part of the migratory process for the poor peasants

was for very different reasons than for the wealthy. "The exodus is composed of those persons for whom less material interests tie them to the countryside" (Molinero 1977:46). According to Crespo (1978), the usual order in the migratory process was as follows: first the day-labourers with low wages; then the small proprietors, for whom agricultural prices were too low for the farm to be economical; next the medium-sized proprietors.

By the time the medium-sized proprietors were beginning to think of emigration, the causes of the process were beginning to be the results of the first wave: shortage of labourers leading to increased wages and even making some mechanization obligatory. The medium to small farms were too large for a single family without some helping labour, and too small to mechanize and still make ends meet. The few who could manage were taking over the fields abandoned by the small farmers.

The next migratory wave was of those providing services in small village, like vets, carpenters, etc. These no longer had sufficient demand for their services, and their living standards could not keep pace with those of the others. Finally, many other villagers are tempted to leave because of the lack of services and demise of rural self-sufficiency.

Usually, the first to emigrate within each group were the young, followed eventually by many of the middle-aged. Most of the old folk just tightened their belts and remained in familiar territory. State pensions have now improved the conditions of most of these semi-retired persons considerably. Often, old persons, when

unable to fend for themselves, might join their émigré children, in the traditional expectation of being cared for. This is a fast disappearing custom, especially if the old parent has little property to leave in inheritance and an insufficient pension to help the family budget. When old emigrants near death, most are suddenly rushed back to their village of origin for a cheap burial.

As the population of Spain has more than doubled in the past century, the depopulation of villages must be seen as comparatively worse than numbers would indicate, a fact which is aggravated by the emigration of most future parents.* Emigration affects mostly very small villages; large villages such as Roa manage with difficulty to maintain their population (1.65% increase between 1960 and 70). Towns and cities grow enormously: Aranda increased its population by 36.53% from 1960 to 1970 (Romero 1972). The only demographically healthy small village in the comarca is Berlangas which, in spite of some emigration, has managed to increase its population from 345 in 1860 to 583 in 1970. This really does show the growing importance of irrigated land.

Perhaps because of its irrigated vega, Hoyales has not lost as much population as most other villages.** Apart from Berlangas and Roa, Hoyales suffered less from emigration between 1950 and 1975

*On this basis, Molinero calculates emigration by 1970 to be equivalent to 45% of the comarca population of 1950 (1977:27).

**In fact, Hoyales even has the distinction of having received two immigrant families during 1977!

than the other villages of the comarca. However, in the latest stage of the migratory process, from 1970 to 1975, Hoyales had the second highest rate, which means that large-scale emigration was a later process in Hoyales than elsewhere (Molinero 1977:26). It would seem that the greater wealth of the village lessened the more serious pressures leading to emigration. But Hoyales' inflexible structure (resulting probably from this insufficient pressure for change), and unimproved possibilities, finally forced the issue whenever an urban job could be found.

Resulting from the first wave of migration, there are two further forces leading to emigration. Mechanization in the comarca was basically a consequence of shortage of labour. Now it is a cause in itself (Molinero 1977:55): there is less regular demand for manual labour; crops requiring manual labour are being abandoned wherever possible; and the very high costs of mechanization are pushing smaller farmers off the land.

The second pressure for emigration is hidden by statistics: in 1977, Hoyales was inhabited by 248 males and 258 females. However, the fact is that most of the young, unmarried adults are male, many of them destined never to find a spouse. Most of the young adult females have either left with their families, or themselves leave for the cities to work as servants, etc. The diminishing facilities and services in the village hinder their willingness to return for marriage. And they realize that marriage to a farmer will occasionally oblige them, given the shortage of manual labour, to help their husbands in the fields--a disagreeable prospect. The situation for

the young men in Hoyales is not as desperate as in many other nearby villages, where there might even be only a single prospective bride for a dozen young men.*

There are other serious problems due to rural depopulation. Perhaps the most worrying for the future viability of agricultural life is the emigration of the economically most valuable members of the community. The population is aging. Furthermore, all those who can spend much of their surplus educating their children; unfortunately none of this heavy investment ever benefits the countryside (de Zulueta 1966:78).

Luckily, the 'crisis' of the countryside is not entirely disastrous, bearing in mind the previous conditions of existence. Social class differentiation, never very strong in Hoyales because of the divisive inheritance system, is becoming irrelevant among those villagers remaining. In part this may be due to the improved conditions and status of former day-labourers and the fact that the big farmers now need them more than they need the farmers. Partly, increasing contacts with the dominant society may be encouraging community identification and a more objective, balanced view of rural status. The young farmers certainly have a stronger feeling of mutual solidarity than their elders. Their generation has been more decimated by emigration, and they have seen the problems caused by the suspicious familism of the elders. The individualistic ideology of the younger generation means that individuals are now judged more on

*This serious difficulty for young farmers to find prospective wives, has also been discussed by Esteva (1971:63-64) and Brandes (1972:18).

the basis of their achieved status.

The availability of ever more farming land for those who have remained in Hoyales is gradually improving their conditions. However, the diminishing pressure on the land has enabled all structural change to be avoided thus far. The only solutions seen by farmers at present are increases in agricultural prices, and increasing the size of individual farms to a 'rational' size (de Zulueta 1966:81), usually by renting the fields of emigrants.

It can be seen that population pressures have, over the past forty years, led to changes in the forces of production, and should eventually lead to major structural change. The changes in mode of production since the Civil War have mostly involved differences in access to the means of production and forms of land tenure, which have in turn led to a decrease in village social stratification.

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL ANALYSIS OF THE VILLAGE

"Tanto tienes, tanto vales." (What you possess is what you're worth.)

Stratification

There are two levels for describing social class. On the national scale, most of the villagers in the comarca occupy the lower rungs. At the village level, class consciousness as such does not really exist yet; familistic status is still more operative. Nevertheless, certain sub-class divisions can be observed within the microcosm of village society, in behaviour, marriage alliances and conditions of existence.*

Within Hoyales, 'class' (i.e. sub-class in reality) is mostly determined by occupation. Occupation was traditionally predetermined for a family, by property or by fitting in to some 'specialized' niche, usually following father's footsteps. That is, conditions of existence were traditionally decided by inheritance: the lives of both men and women were predetermined at birth, and the outside society had few alternative possibilities to offer for most.

*Though almost all villagers are financially poor in comparison with, say, the average 'poor' North American, there are different ways of being poor, and the ways of using one's financial resources can vary enormously between societies; indeed the perception of living 'well' is relative.

Modernization and the 'crisis' affecting agriculture has changed all that, opening up new possibilities for mobility and creating new occupational niches. The standards of measurement have changed too, from property to production: property used to produce a secure, easy income for its owner; today, in minifundist agriculture, most of the profit at the village level goes to the producers. The easy profits now go to urban speculators who control the market, and no longer to the landlords. Access to the means of production has changed, as shown by the differences in land tenure.

Until the 19th century, most of the land in the village did not belong to individual peasants, the majority of whom worked as labourers or had limited access to the means of production under varying forms of tenure. There was a minority of independent farmers, of varying degrees of wealth, but all possessing some land, and tools and work animals. The census of Floridablanca in 1787 gives the number of independent farmers as 20; there were 70 labourers.

Gradually after the 19th century waves of disentanglement, 'traditional' society came into being. Almost all the land in the village became privately owned by its inhabitants. The earlier minority of independent peasants had become much wealthier, but there was now a continuum all the way down. The wealthy peasants did not have to work much in the fields themselves, but relied on permanently hired labourers and the occasional temporary labour of that majority of small peasants with insufficient property to maintain themselves by their own possessions and labour. The large

group of middle peasants could just manage family autonomy. The 1896 Electoral Register for Hoyales shows 143 labradores (farmers with some property and working animals), and only 19 landless labourers. The 1897 population census gives a total of 750, including 14 transients. It would therefore appear that all heads of household were entitled to the vote, and the figure of only 19 completely landless families is correct (there were also two shepherds and five artisans in the village--presumably also landless).

Within living memory some small farmers were fortunate enough to increase their farms by sharecropping tenure (a medias), which was considered an improvement on part-time wage-labouring. However, as Dobby points out (1936:183), although this may be an improvement for the labourer, as he shares in the profits, he also shares the risks, which can place him in debt with the owner, who of course can weather the risks more easily. The owner makes less profit, but never loses; furthermore he no longer has the work and worry of managing his own land, and even has his labour question solved. In fact, the major determinant deciding many large land-owners to give out fields on the sharecropping system was probably the difficulty of obtaining labourers whenever needed, as emigration started to become an alternative.

As ever more labourers and small peasants left to join the urban proletariat, sharecroppers were gradually able to obtain improved conditions of tenure. Eventually only a few small farmers with insufficient capital to work the land remained in sharecropping

forms of tenure. The pressure of declining population enabled rental contracts to be negotiated with the owners. In 1947 in Hoyales, about 20% of the farmers appear to have been sharecroppers (according to a semi-legible document in the Municipal Archives), but no renteros (farmers working rented land) are mentioned. By 1962, the First Agrarian Census of Spain (I.N.E.) mentions that of the land in Hoyales 60% was worked by its proprietors, 33% was under a sharecropping arrangement, and 4.3% was farmed by rentees. The Second Census, taken in 1972, shows 59% worked by the owners (property distribution had obviously not changed much), 11% still worked on a sharecropping basis, and a massive 30% of the land being rented to farmers by absentee or retired owners. Since then, sharecropping has declined still further, while land rental is constantly increasing, as more farmers leave their own land upon retirement or emigration.

In other words, each group has risen a rung or two financially and in perceived social status. The notable exception are the once wealthy peasants who did not, or could not (especially if they were women), farm their own land but instead let it to tenants. These people, if they are unwilling to make money by selling some land, are becoming poorer, with only land titles to show and a perceived status and reputation for being wealthy. The formerly considerable financial differentiation between groups within the village is now much less marked. Urban society now confers a higher standard of living (hence status) than the village. So, ironically, the landless poor who emigrated early on are now often better off

financially than the landed farmers who could afford to remain.

Could this be the crux of the rural crisis?

Again, we note that much of the surplus from the countryside has to leave the village, here in the form of rental payments to absentee landlords for the right of access to the means of production. Luckily present-day land rental is not nearly as oppressive as feudal dues.

Occupational Minorities

Apart from farmers, there are other occupational minorities or classes in Hoyales. These will be described briefly here, as they are rarely referred to elsewhere in this study. Three of these groups are new to Hoyales, and totally untraditional to Castilian villages. They are pensioners, factory workers and gypsies.

Old peasants used to have to work until they dropped. Now they receive a small state pension, and many have become full-time loungers; some still practise a little subsistence agriculture. Compared with their previous hardships and insecure revenues from agriculture, most pensioners claim to live better now than ever before. Subsidized medical care is perhaps the most appreciated. Old-age pensions, even if small, are very important because they enable the pensioner to maintain his/her independence. There is an increasing, though exaggerated, fear that many children might abandon the traditional custom of caring for family invalids.

All the factory workers living in Hoyales are commuters employed in the Michelin tyre factory in Aranda. By their residence in the village they have given rise to the new phenomenon of the

small part-time farmer, who would normally have had to abandon his farm, but can now use his small property to supplement his industrial wages.* Because of the lack of services and attractions in Hoyales, some of these workers eventually move to Aranda permanently. It is therefore difficult to state the exact number of Michelin workers still living in the village; in 1976, there were 25 men of Hoyales working in Michelin, three of whom lived in Aranda. Since then, a few others have moved to Aranda, some have left Michelin for a job in another city, and occasionally another villager is 'lucky' enough to find a place in the factory.

The gypsy family officially resident in Hoyales is the only one to have been allowed to settle in a village in the comarca (Cantera, personal communication). After coming to Hoyales for temporary work regularly for several years, they were given resident status about 15 to 20 years ago by one of the village mayors. He found an old house for them (which they have since purchased), and obliged them to send their children to school when they were born, the first ever native gypsies of Hoyales. The mayor's idea was that they should live like 'normal' people. There was opposition to this act of 'charity' (which was in reality a practical move) from the Civil Guard and some of the villagers. But the gypsies proved to be grateful and useful. They were available for the meanest types of casual labour, and even informed the municipal

*The village in the Levante studied by Mira (1972) also possesses a large population of ouvriers-paysans.

authorities whether other visiting gypsy groups were 'good' or 'bad'.

Traditionally, gypsies used to visit the village at intervals to sell their baskets and maybe do some casual labour. There was another, even poorer, group of gypsies, known throughout Castile as Húngaros (Hungarians), who were itinerant entertainers. All these gypsy groups were only allowed to remain in the village a few days, and had to sleep under archways, protected only from the rain.

Other, more traditional, occupational minorities in Hoyales, are the landless agricultural labourers, the shepherds, those providing services, or artisans, and the 'Dons'.

The wage-labourers are a diminishing group in Hoyales (only eleven in 1978) and as such can command very decent wages whenever their work is in demand. When there is demand for manual labour it is so great that the ranks of male labourers are swelled by many of the village women. Six of the village labourers work full-time in the neighbouring Carrascal latifundio. This landless labouring class is the lowest for native villagers; its lowest sub-class is almost a caste: the shepherds.

Shepherds, perhaps because of their different relationship to the land, and after generations of conflict with farmers, "are apt to be regarded as of an inferior class" (Naval Intelligence Division 1944:243). Throughout history they have always been poorly paid to lead the communal flocks and those belonging to individual wealthy peasants. In spite of the custom of generations of

shepherds serving the same flock-owning family and the paternalistic fondness of the owners for their faithful servants, shepherds were extremely poor and often lived in appalling conditions.* Shepherds were not allowed to use the milk from the ewes in their care, except that in Hoyales they usually had exclusive use of the last three days of the milking season, for whatever that might have been worth. Three of the four shepherds remaining in Hoyales are now the owners of their own flocks for the first time ever. This is because shepherds became so scarce as soon as they could emigrate that their wages went up too much for the flock owners, who finally sold the sheep.

The village artisan, or business, or service, class is actually mostly composed of poor or medium peasants who found themselves or inherited a specialization, to which they often supplement their earnings by part-time farming. Although most of these men have received little or no training in their specialization** they are usually competent for the elementary requirements of the village.

Most of the artisans traditional in Hoyales have by now died or left or retired. There were still in 1972 about twenty families within this group: a trucker, an agricultural machinery dealer, a bank agency, two builders, an undertaker-cum-glazier,

*of which a couple of incredible examples still exist in the nearby village of La Sequera (Cantera, personal communication).

**They follow, like the farmers, this national trend, prevalent through almost every layer of society, of inadequate education.

a fishmonger-cum-greengrocer, two butchers, three general stores, two bakers, two bar owners, the postman, the telephonist, the town-crier, a sheep's milk agent, the doctor's fee collector, the secretary of the Farmers' Brotherhood, and probably some other whose profession escapes me at the moment. Some of the traditional specialists, such as the pig butcher, still have occasional demand for their services.

A few of the members of this group, such as the trucker and the machinery dealer, could be the beginning of a new middle-class of entrepreneurs. However, everybody in the village, including the Dons from outside, have basically the same value system. They are all either peasants in ideology or the children of peasants; most differences are therefore generational.

The village professionals all have the title Don before their Christian names; they are the 'upper' class of the village because they are connected to and appointed by the dominant outside society, to which they owe their allegiance, and to which their interests belong. These formally educated professionals are, in Hoyales, the priest, the secretary-clerk, the doctor, and the school-teachers.

Family and Status

Access to the élite is, for rural inhabitants, via formal education. The better-off farmers, since agriculture has become less profitable and especially since their holdings have become ever more fragmented by inheritance, have started to send most,

or even all, of their children to the private schools run by religious orders in the cities. A minimal education has long been valued in Old Castile. In 1896, only 34 out of 163 heads of households could not read or write.* But since the Civil War, some degree of further education and a 'career' has been the aim for the children of all those parents who could afford it. Thus they have assured for their children a continued social position of dominance. Domination was traditionally by the rich over the poor. Individual ability and achievement are gradually becoming the means to power and status.

A family's prestige has now become dependent on the status of its children. Traditionally, the status of the parent used to determine that of the children; therefore children had to maintain their parents' status (which included taking care of them when old). The extending of horizons means that status is now conferred from outside the community, and consumerism allows it to be conspicuously displayed. The prestige of a village family depends on what it has managed to give its children. This can be demonstrated by an urban education and career, or by dress, cars and other consumer goods, where competition is more open to all and is sometimes stiff. This consumerism indicates the acceptance by the lower classes of the symbolic standards of the upper classes (Contreras 1972:232).

The change is only superficial however, as measurement is still in purely material terms. That a child be good, kind, useful,

*somehow the village postman was among the few illiterate!

intellectually brilliant, etc., is not really relevant.* Children's careers are compared in financial terms, and if still similar, according to hierarchy of power. Previously, status increased as a person's material need to work hard decreased (though of course, in a village of farmers, the capacity to work hard if necessary is valued). A rich peasant was defined as one who did not need to farm himself because he could afford labourers. On the national scale, however, a rich farmer is a latifundista, which requires a farm of over 250 Ha. (Tamames 1976:62). As no individual farmer in Hoyales has ever possessed, or even farmed, 100 Ha., we can see that within a minifundist village, to be a 'rich' peasant is only a relative concept. A rich peasant was in fact only slightly better off than a middle peasant, not only in wealth, but in the associated attributes of prestige, honour and power.

Power has always been associated with wealth, if only because of control of the wages paid to labourers. But the real source of power was within the larger structural context of the nation-state. Some wealthy peasants began to gain access to these channels of power after the Liberal reforms, which permitted or even required manipulation of elections. Therefore the local caciques obtained good connections to the sources of power and patronage. Under Franco's dictatorship this was changed, and personalistic use of power was through membership and connections

*Esteva (1971:65-66) suggests that being listo (astute) is today a more valued attribute than the traditional values of honour and hard work.

within the national Movimiento, independent of a villager's wealth, because of the Civil War (c.f. Hansen 1974). Given the fluctuating political situation since Franco's death, no villager has at the moment a reliable connection to ultimate sources of power. It remains to be seen if the new farmers' unions and political parties will fill the void.

As the nuclear family is the basic social, economic and political unit in Hoyales, members of a family benefit as a unit from the attributes of wealth, prestige, power and honour. Just as the unit seeks prestige in the status and condition of its children, so too the honour of the family reposes in the virtue of its women and in their men's defense of this virtue (Pitt-Rivers 1968:45).

Honour and shame have been the subjects of a vast body of anthropological research and speculation centering on Mediterranean peasantries (Peristiany, Pitt-River, etc.). Old Castile is not really 'Mediterranean'; but that some of these concepts are similar, and apply in Hoyales, may be indicated by the seriousness of different insults. The worst are those offending the honour of the mother; next are insults to a man's virility, indicating that his wife's honour may be in jeopardy. But honour actually appears to be mostly dependent on a family's wealth and social standing. The Spanish aristocracy can apparently behave in any way with impunity: their honour is secure. For the very poor, honour is irrelevant or out of reach (Caro 1968:124). Honour is perhaps mostly the pre-occupation of the upwardly mobile or socially ambitious, and even here it seems today to take second place to the search for wealth

and power. The importance of the concept for peasants may have been overplayed (Lisón 1966:314).

Divisions According to Sex and Generation

Cross-cutting the familial stratification of rural society, there exist two different sub-divisions, according to sex and age, which can make even small village social organization appear complex. These divisions affect whole spheres of activity (work, entertainment, etc.) and social relations. Intra-familial permutations of seniority are determined by generation and sex; however, with increasing urban education of many youngsters of both sexes, traditional structures are collapsing in fact, though not yet in appearance.

Sex and age differences are, even more than stratification, the determining bases for most social relations and activity outside the family home (thus promoting the myth of social egalitarianism). Just as this dissertation concentrates on the dominant social class in Hoyales, i.e. independent farmers, so too most of what is said refers to the dominant group of productive adult males, or eventually to the basic social unit of the nuclear family. Non-inclusion of the spheres of women and children is only excusable because the writer was automatically placed, by his age and sex, in the adult male's public world of work, the bar, municipal politics, etc.

Women

The woman's sphere of activity is the private world of the family home. Its intimacy is sacred: Castilians have the reputation of being among the most hospitable and open people in the world,

which is true--outside the home! (Cantera 1977:16). The home is the individual's refuge from a hostile world (c.f. Lisón 1973). Men have been educated by their mothers to depend on the women in the family for service, security and honour. Women in this society are traditionally totally family orientated and "the bulwark of the classical rural order" (Serrano 1975:58), usually sacrificing themselves personally and their sex as a social group. "The irony is that it is the collective effect of their own behavior that restricts them as individuals" (Harding 1975:307).

Yet, by Castilian law, women retain after marriage their maiden names and property titles; women participate discreetly in family decisions; and most peasant women, unless wealthy, have had to work in the fields. They were then of course unable to fulfill all their domestic duties, and infant mortality and child care suffered accordingly. Most women in Hoyales used to return from the fields in the evenings together with the men, and still have to cook, take care of the many children, and do the housework. Obviously the houses ended up uncomfortable, unattractive and in poor condition. Meanwhile the men took their dinners up to the wine cellars and spent the evenings relaxing with friends. This fact alone probably gives an accurate indication of the true power situation between the sexes: in spite of the informal power of women, "the powers women have ... are the kind accorded to the subordinate group in an enduring relationship of interdependence" (Harding 1975:308).

In agricultural labour, women are given the most simple

unqualified tasks, and are paid less, even for the same jobs, because they are considered casual, part-time labourers (Serrano 1975: 55). This may help explain why more women emigrate to the cities, and do not want to return to the countryside. Furthermore, even if they marry a well-to-do farmer and are not obliged to do wage-labour, they realize that shortage of manual labour will occasionally force them to have to help their husbands with back-breaking agricultural tasks.

Increasing automation and different crops are gradually diminishing the demand for female labour, with a consequent increase in the freedom of women from their former slavery, and a re-orientation of their activities, especially in Hoyales. But this seems to be diminishing the status of women's work, as the specialization and economic importance of the male increases (Serrano 1975:59).

With their new-found freedom, most women, except the very poor in Hoyales and the not-quite-so-poor in other villages, are now becoming full-time housewives, mothers and gossips.* Living conditions in the home are now being improved considerably, as young rural women are the main vehicle for the introduction to the village of most technical urban improvements, domestic and even agricultural (Serrano 1975:58). Also, women now have more time to care for the children, whose conditions are vastly improved, and the diet, which is becoming more balanced or at least enriched (due mainly of course to increased availability of cash).

*Gilmore (1978) claims that in his Andalucian agro-town adults of both sexes are obsessed with gossip.

Unfortunately, the influence of women is far from always being positive:

... she shows herself to be especially reactionary to any possible changes affecting social relations, does not accept cooperative projects, and, in general, hinders any idea of mutual association (Serrano 1975:58).

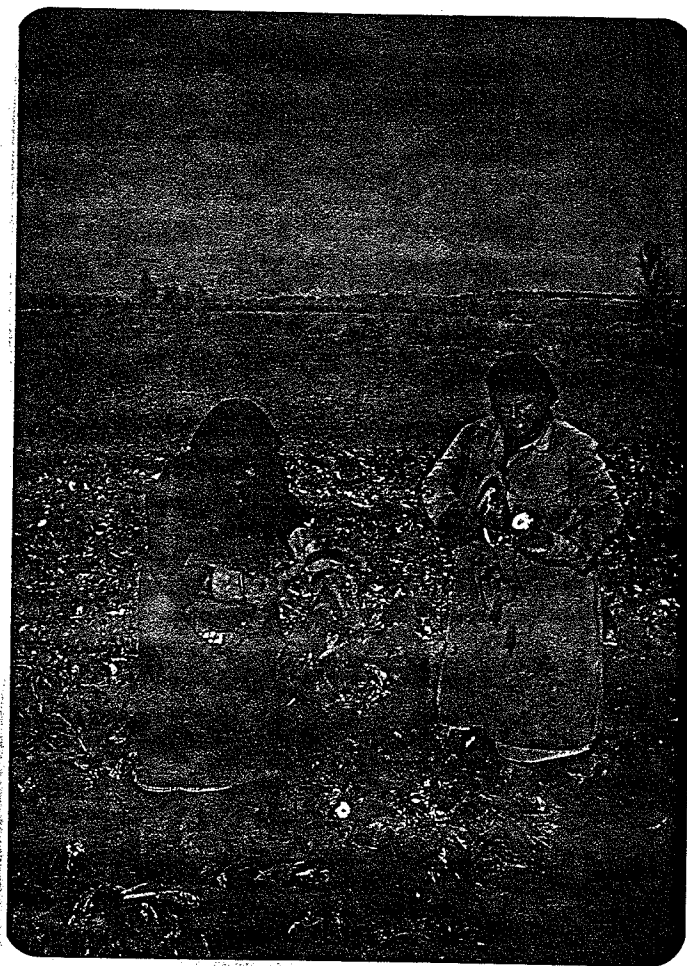
She becomes more and more the centre of family life and acts as "the channel of information and factor contributing to create the public opinion held of her family" (Serrano 1975:59). In Hoyales, many women seem to spend much of the day outside the house, gossiping or playing cards in regular groups; the favourite game is 'Brisca', which can be understood more as a training in gossip peddling than as a game. Hoyales is incidentally one of the few villages in the comarca where so many women spend so much time playing cards (Cantera; personal communication). This may be an indication of the relative prosperity of the village.

Carmen Serrano claims that the suspicion and lack of communal vision of women is "the reflection of a particularly painful history, that of the defenseless peasant faced with unforeseeable natural conditions" (1975:58). More than this, it would seem that women have had their vision and activity and interests limited to the family by history and social conditions. Not for nothing are women more familistic than most men.

Furthermore, the education of women for anything outside the home has until very recently been totally neglected. Even the basic skills of elementary education, which were supposed to be universally taught in Hoyales, are (according to the Electoral Register of 1976) known to all in the village except the older members of the gypsy

Top:

Plate 17.
Women: the 'bad' life:
cropping sugar-beet by
traditional method.



Bottom:

Plate 18.
The 'good' life:
playing cards outside on
a pleasant afternoon.



family, one man classified as 'sub-normal', and eight women between the ages of 54 and 87. As girls they were probably needed for household and wage labour, and their basic education was not considered as important as their brothers'. After all, it is men who are the household heads and have to deal with the outside world.

Women, having gained freedom from the drudgery of before, are now limited by their cultural preparation from doing much else to increase their status, and are no longer even contributors to the family budget (Esteva 1971:38, 63-64).

Perhaps even more depressing would appear to be the place of spinsterhood in this society.* Spinsters would seem to be merely temporary custodians, with right of usufruct, for inherited property to be held in trust for the family. The Church is more positive towards women in this 'sublime condition', which may be why many become pious church-goers.

For young women though, the situation is rapidly becoming different, with the sexually egalitarian, bourgeois influences of the dominant urban society and its attitudes. Many villagers have given their daughters a professional education, to help them marry better, or at least have a decent livelihood. And in the village, many of the younger wives now manage to get their husbands to take them out in public on holidays, in the urban fashion.

Generations

Age-group divisions are very marked in most areas of public

*Brandes (1976) describes the reasons for people remaining single in rural Spain.

and private life. Within the family, age more than sex differences is the basis for power relationships, with parents in firm, dictatorial control. Traditionally, family relationships are quite formal and not openly affectionate. Children are more often referred to as niño (child) than by their baptismal name. Considerable respect should be shown towards members of an older generation: padre, madre and tía (aunt) should be addressed formally using the respectful term usted. Familiar tu is reserved for members of the same generation or younger persons (or to address individuals of a lower social standing). Affectionate bourgeois language is gradually creeping into village family usage: papá, mamá, the generalized use of tu, and the calling of uncles and aunts by their names.*

Equal age is the basis for friendship criteria, together of course with sex. Cuadrillas (friendship groups) of young people especially, are usually predetermined by age, sex, and occasionally social stratification. Social standing is only a criterion if there are enough children of similar standing to form a viable play group. Anyway, choice by the child is rarely relevant: membership of a cuadrilla is pre-determined by age and sex, and if choice is possible it is by the parents who place their children in specific play groups. Among very young children sex is no barrier to social mixing. By puberty it has become the most important of all criteria.

Outside the extended family, children and their activities are of no concern to adult males. As a result, I was unable to

*Similar urban influences are reported for rural Valencia by Mira (1972:118).

observe the process by which children are acculturated. Although this educational process is most important, I am aware of only a few studies for the Mediterranean area (e.g. Sweet 1969b). But these would appear to concentrate more on children preparing for their roles as adults, than on the complete indoctrination to which they are subjected--the process by which parents attempt to make their offspring successful within the perceived dominant social reality and conditions of existence. At moments of change, education is obviously out of pace with reality.

The political reality for more than a generation in Spain has been authoritarian dictatorship. This is reflected in the nuclear family by paternalistic power, which promotes individual insecurity and lack of self-confidence, teaches devious ways of affirming one's individualism, and encourages suspicion and jealousy of the world outside the family--all 'typical' traits noted by observers of Spain.

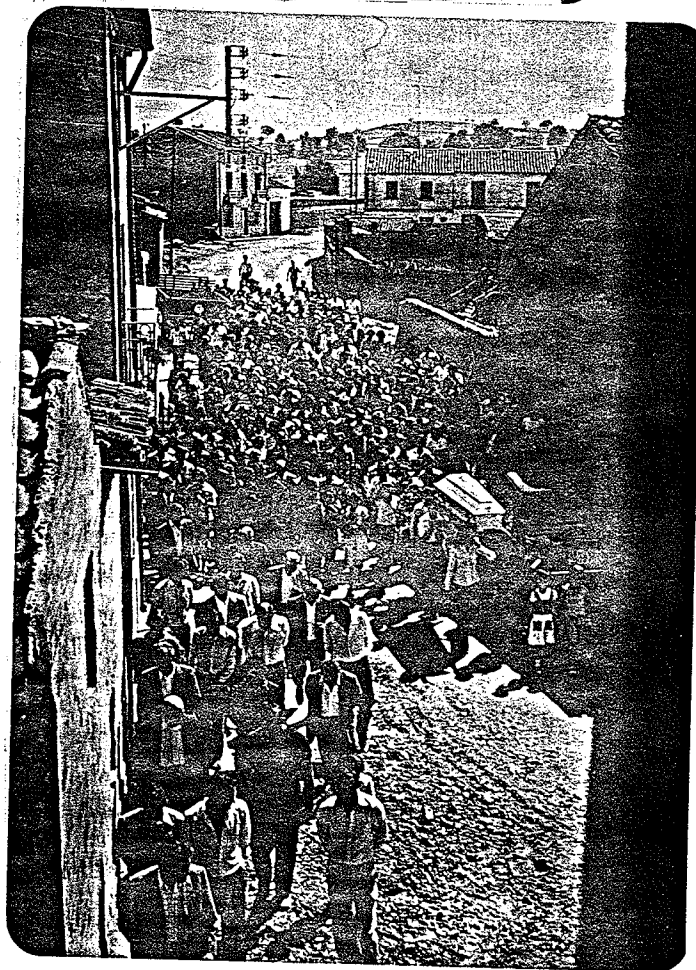
Until marriage (if ever), off-spring traditionally remain within the nuclear family unit, as structural dependents, regardless of their age. Rites de passage are normally imposed and organized by the Church-State: baptism; confirmation and first-communion (indicating the age of reason has been reached, after which disciplining of the child may begin); marriage (indicating adulthood and a new independent family); burial. The extended family is important in all these religious ceremonies of life-cycle. Burials are, furthermore, solidarity rituals for most of the community.

The passage to adulthood is no longer symbolic in Hoyales.



Top:

Plate 19.
Life cycle: First
Communion: children
with parish priest.



Bottom:

Plate 20.
Funeral procession and
communal solidarity.
Child's white coffin
is carried by friends
and relatives. The
village men lead the
procession.

For women, the only ritual has always been the sudden shock of first menstruation. For young men in Hoyales, the traditional ceremony was 'running the roosters', common in Old Castile according to Caro Baroja, who however sees the rite as some sort of agricultural sacrifice (1975:II:103). This rite has now been abandoned, and all that remains to celebrate the occasion are a few festivities organized by the quintos, the young men being called up for national service in the armed forces. Military service takes the young men away from their families for about a year and a half and catches up with any children whose parents neglected to teach the social reality. Luckily for their sanity, most village youths have usually been able to see this rare chance to escape from their native environment as an adventure.

Public Ritual and Social Harmony

These divisions by age and sex, which cut across class lines, are symbolized in most public ceremonies, which are also religious rituals, as if to emphasize the national unity of Church and State. For all communal feasts, public ceremonies, and funerals, a religious service in church and a procession through the streets are among the principal activities of the occasion. In fact, the important part, even of religious festivals, for most villagers is the procession--not the Mass.

If the event begins inside the church, the women are all inside the church; any men in church are at the rear. Many men wait outside in the main square. The processions are led by the men; the centre of the procession contains the priest, the pall or



Plate 21. Ritualized separation of the sexes: the benediction at the end of the Corpus Christi procession.

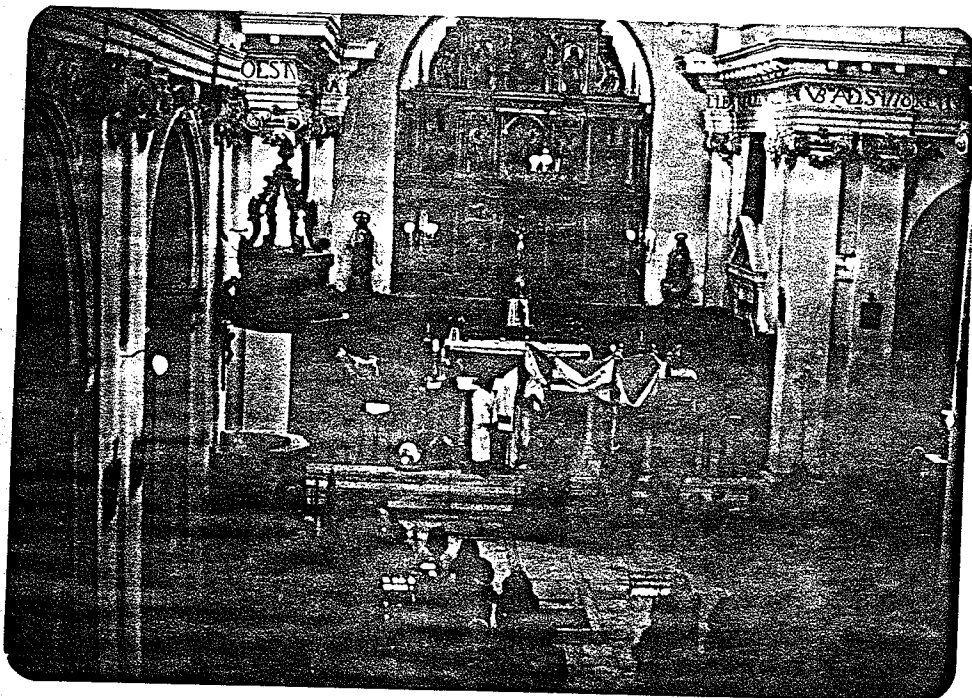


Plate 22. Church and State: the parish priest under the pallium held by the municipal authorities; Maunday Thursday.

idol-bearers, and the principal mourners or municipal authorities; the women, with the young children, follow.

The Castilian myth of social equality is also played out in ritualized social relations outside the family network. In public places, outside work, superior and inferior mix socially with the appearance of equals. This is of course superficial, and probably serves to maintain the honourable reputation of the superior and the dignity of the socially inferior. Not for nothing do many of the richer villagers traditionally make only token appearances in many public places, such as the bar, etc.*

This behaviour has its advantages in the village as all, including the physically or mentally handicapped, can feel integrated, and the parish priest is happy to socialize with anyone who will play cards with him. In fact, social relations outside work are remarkably harmonious and pleasant. This agreeable lifestyle in relaxation is an important reason (added to the limitations of the family budget, and few other interests) for so many emigrants returning to Hoyales for their vacations.

Apart from the bar and the village festivals, the most noteworthy aspect of recreational life in Hoyales are the well-known bodegas (wine cellars, dug deep into the hillside beneath the castle) and the contadores (little huts at the entrance to the caves), where suckling lamb chops are barbecued over embers of vine cuttings. On holidays the castle hill is covered with the smoke

*Unlike Andalucía, where the rich try to avoid all contact with the lower classes. Egalitarianism is the ideology of the labourers (Gilmore 1977).

and smell of delicious barbecue. Eating and drinking in the bodegas and contadores are, like visits to the bar, integration rites for the participants.

Traditionally, most men used to go up the hill to the bodegas several times a week, especially on Sundays. The local 'upper' class rarely participated in this form of relaxation. Of course, a visit to the bodega was, for the hungry poor, also a type of evasion, something beautiful, the only "art form" (as one informant put it) in this harsh society. Nowadays, only about a dozen or so men visit their wine-vaults daily. Most of the other village men go to the bar (an indication of more money to spend than before) or stay home with their families watching T.V. (indicating changing relationships).

The most important ritual in the cycle of village life is the annual feast of the patron saint of Hoyales, Saint Bartholomew. This is the ultimate manifestation of the ideology, or rather mystification of the ideal. Here can be seen how the church has tried to enfold and dominate. The local civil authorities are brought in to play an important role in the ceremonial, but subordinate to the priest (they have to kiss his mantle). Traditionally most villagers, especially the youngsters, used to accompany the saint's statue dancing during the procession; this 'heathen' custom was stopped by a priest during the Franco era. The date, 24 August, would seem to indicate that this was originally a cereal harvest festival; curiously, the only other village feast, the patroness, Our Lady of Above, on the second Sunday in November, sounds like it

was originally a wine festival.

The festival of the patron saint is Hoyales' annual presentation of a façade to the outside world, for this is the occasion when friends and distant relatives from other villages and emigrants in the cities all try to visit Hoyales. The municipal authorities and most of the villagers make a great effort to show off what they want others (especially neighbouring villagers) to see and think of Hoyales. They clean up in front of their houses, and some villagers even bring out of the attic a carpet and change the curtains.

The municipal council seems to spare no expense to make the feast as impressive as possible, with a band, flags in the square, a visiting preacher, etc. In 1976, 80,000 pesetas (over \$1300) was set aside for the occasion; this was more than 10% of the total municipal budget, the largest item after the clerk's salary, and more than double the cost of maintaining the school (Municipal Archives).

The whole community tries to show off, attempting to maintain the old reputation of being the richest village in the comarca. The villagers are hospitable, generous and even extravagant with visitors. The visitor may also witness the most incredible display of extravagance, in the upper bar on the hill near the bodegas. Gambling is a favourite sport for some villagers, and occasionally up to a thousand dollars (equivalent to the profit from the harvest of an individual crop) may be risked during a session. Actually, this gambling is probably not pure extravagance, but a desperate

Top:

Plate 23.
The men's 'community
centre': in the bar
after lunch.



Bottom:

Plate 24.
The Feast of the
Patron Saint:
decorations and
entertainment in
the square.



attempt by professional risk-takers (i.e. farmers) to see if luck can get them out of an endless cycle of debt, which can rarely be solved by hard work and simple living.

The villagers of Hoyales are proud of their village and of the splendour of its feast. They look down on the stinginess of neighbouring Berlangas (which is perhaps the only economically healthy village in the comarca) for not showing off its wealth (which it therefore does not possess): "En Berlangas se baila la jota con los puños cerrados" (In Berlangas they dance with their fists tightly closed).

Yet the painful reality of Hoyales is soon evident in the lack of communal feeling and solidarity. Membership of most of the boisterous groups is limited to extended family; grand Mass is a curiously cool ceremony of individualists. And the physical aspect of the village offers no evidence of communal improvement or embellishment, unlike Berlangas or the remarkable nearby village of Pedrosa.* In Hoyales, there is no community of class consciousness: the only unit of solidarity is the family. The village is divided within itself against the dominant outside world, for which Hoyales is a single low class unit ready and almost willing to have its surplus removed.

*Pedrosa, not a rich village, recently won a provincial prize for "most improved village." Its communal efforts at attractiveness are much commented upon by youths of the comarca.

CHAPTER XI

ACCESS TO THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION

"La propiedad de la tierra está muy bien distribuida en Castilla." (Land-ownership is very well distributed in Castile; a traditional myth.)

Property and Inheritance

The basic determinant of village stratification is constituted by the means of livelihood. For farmers, this consists mainly of the following kinds of productive property: farming land, agricultural tools and machinery, working animals, storage facilities (barns and bodegas--the latter no longer used), houses and yards, domestic animals. No longer used are scrub lands and processing facilities (eras or threshing grounds, lagares or wine-presses).

A villager's access to productive property, hence his class and occupation, is traditionally determined by his inheritance. Inheritance is the symbol of private property. The Castilian inheritance system is basically egalitarian and functions to impede an individual family from belonging to a particular social 'class'--at least to a superior one--for more than a few generations. Luck is the method by which the system works and is assumed to be the only impartial method--even if it is unfair.

Inheritance could be described as being by family name, which might be the reason for every individual being identified by

the family names of both parents, and these never being lost, even upon marriage. There are two separate, mutually exclusive, orders of inheritance: synchronic and diachronic, both based on the concept of the nuclear family and its reproductive continuation through time. In all cases, title to property is held by name and is untransferable, other than within the inheritance system.*

This is symbolized by what we might call synchronic (or horizontal) inheritance. Upon the death of an unmarried or married but childless individual, all inherited property of that individual returns to the original nuclear family basis of origin (property in common accumulated during marriage goes to the widowed spouse). This is the case even if all the original sibling inheritors are deceased, but only if they have produced some descendants, i.e. the nephews and nieces, or grand nephews and nieces, of the dead childless individual. The rules for normal inheritance then apply.

'Normal', or diachronic (or vertical) inheritance consists of equal division among the surviving members of the original nuclear family, including deceased members if these have direct descendants of their own. Put simply, this means equal shares for each of the orphaned siblings, plus a share for the widowed spouse/parent.

The property to be divided and inherited consists of absolutely everything (including personal chattels) possessed by

*Of course, since the 19th century, land has been a marketable commodity.

the deceased. If the deceased had lent or rented some property (e.g. a house or some land) to a descendant, that descendant must return this property to the common lot for division. Dowries are taken into account too. The entire inheritance is rigourously divided into equal lots according to the number of direct inheritors (i.e. in the case of death of a sibling with descendants, these will have to re-divide their parent's share). Each share should include the same amount of each type and quality of land. Houses may be sub-divided if this is possible; and even sets of kitchen ware and suites of furniture may be split.

Obviously it is considered most important that all the inheritors should agree on the absolute equality of each share, and that none be more desirable. This is usually achieved even if it means that some property be spoilt or rendered useless--which is considered preferable to the possibility of it belonging to another (c.f. Lisón 1966:322). Once the lots are agreed to be of equal 'value', the actual distribution is decided by luck.

Within the family, the process is totally levelling and egalitarian. At the village level, the inheritance system ensures wealth differences, but hinders accumulation over generations and the formation of formal social classes (Price and Price 1966b:533). This ultimate levelling tendency of the Castilian inheritance system is what the aristocracy avoided by the creation of mayorazgo in the 16th century (see above, Chapter V). In Hoyales, inheritance symbolizes the breaking up of the nuclear family into independent,

competitive units, through an individualistic and divisive process.*

Fragmentation of Holdings

The system of inheritance explains the existence of so many property owners, and the high degree of fragmentation of their holdings. The original causes, and perhaps the inspiration for the inheritance ideal, were the communal allotments of the mediaeval ages when Castile was resettled. The existence of so many small landowners, each possessing various small plots, may be responsible for the myth of equal distribution of land in Castile.

The fragmentation of holdings certainly makes it difficult to assess the total size of each farm. This obstacle is compounded, as Dobby points out (1936:178), by the fact that official statistics indicate farms only by municipality. Thus parts of the farm within the jurisdiction of neighbouring municipalities are not stated officially, and the total area of a farm extending over municipal boundaries (as many do in Burgos, with such small municipalities) is difficult to establish.

Fragmentation of holdings in Hoyales is severe, but not as extreme as in the nearby province of Soria. In Spain as a whole, there was an average of 17 separate tracts of land per farm, and in

*This suggests that a study of kinship or conflict in Castile would be relevant mostly within examination of inheritance. In their studies of the Basques (whose system differs from Castilian common law), Douglass (1971) and Greenwood (1972) have already shown the determining influence of inheritance upon the decision to emigrate, and Kasdan (1965) correlates this with migrant entrepreneurship.

the province of Burgos an average of 41 (Smith 1959:146)--but this was in 1953 before large-scale rural emigration.* In Hoyales, fragmentation (parcelación) can be visualized by a glance at the accompanying aerial photograph (Map 5), bearing in mind that the total area of the village is only 1267 Ha. ($12.67 \text{ km}^2 = 3153 \text{ acres}$).

Though statistics show the extent of the problem, they are, as usual in Spain, inexact, unreliable and unfortunately incomparable. The area included by each census is different, the definition of a farm changes with each census, and no indication is given of abandoned plots belonging to emigrants but not leased to a 'farm'. Furthermore, heirs may delay in declaring changed titles to land (to avoid fees). And, of course, some of the land in Hoyales belongs to farmers from neighbouring villages, just as some Hoyales farmers own land outside the village. Land ownership does not coincide with units of farming: farms are based on the nuclear family, whereas both male and female heads of the family are usually individual proprietors each in their own right; and much land is worked under rent or other tenure.

The earliest figures I have for parcellation in Hoyales date only from 1935, when 6140 plots were distributed among 709 owners, giving an average of under 9 plots each proprietor, and an average area per plot of one-fifth of a hectare. The number of farm units was probably less than half the number of proprietors, because each farming household usually consists of several land-holding

*Virtually all Old World peasant-farming shows this phenomenon of 'fragmentation' (Louise Sweet, personal communication).

MAP 5. HOYALES:

LAND USE AND DIVISIONS

(Aerial Photograph: U.S.A.F.
17-V-1957. Altitude: 8210)

ROAD TO BERLIN '45

ATLANTA

VEG



This micrograph shows a cross-section of a plant stem. A large, prominent vascular bundle is visible, characterized by a cluster of elongated cells and a distinct boundary. The surrounding tissue consists of various cell types, including parenchyma and possibly collenchyma, showing a complex cellular structure.

Figure 1 consists of four vertical panels, labeled (a) through (d), showing cross-sections of a rabbit aorta. Panel (a) shows a normal aorta with a clear lumen and no visible plaque. Panel (b) shows the early formation of a plaque, which is a small, dark, irregular mass on the inner wall of the aorta. Panel (c) shows an intermediate stage of plaque development, which is larger and more irregular than the one in (b). Panel (d) shows an advanced stage of plaque development, which is large, dark, and has a rough, ulcerated surface. The plaque in (d) is significantly larger than the one in (c) and has a more complex, irregular shape.

117.5

5. HO

topograph:



GUMA



185



11



individuals. Furthermore, several owners and farmers are resident outside the municipality. And of course, some farms consist of many more plots than others.

The first national agrarian census of 1962 counted 4679 plots in the 1048 Ha. covered in the census (average: 0.22 Ha. per plot). Of these plots 4637 were under 1 Ha. in area, 42 (0.9%) were between 1 and 5 Hectares, and none were over 5 Ha. The second agrarian census of 1972, covering 1152 Ha. of the township, gives a total of 3280 plots (average area: 0.35 Ha.). There were now 3 plots over 5 Ha., 102 (3.1%) between 1 and 5 Has., 306 (9.3%) between $\frac{1}{2}$ and 1 Ha.; and the remaining 87.5% of the plots were under 0.5 Ha.

The 1973 census by the Burgos Instituto Geográfico y Catastral gives figures differing considerably from those of the national census of 1972 by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística. The total area of the village was covered, and 5645 plots were counted, belonging to about 700 proprietors. The average area of a plot works out to 0.23 Ha. or 0.56 acres. The discrepancy may be due to a possibility that the very smallest plots are abandoned, and hence not covered by the national census.

The number of plots per farm averaged 19.3 in 1962 (when there were 242 'farms'), and 28.8 in 1972 (114 farms). Of course, many of these plots are rented by the farmers remaining in the village from their absentee owners.

Regardless of the irregular statistics, it is obvious that the vast majority of the plots are far too small to be rationally

worked by the modern farming methods imposed on the farmers by the pressures of modernization and emigration. The small, dispersed plots were adequate and even advantageous in traditional society. Risks could be spread, against natural disasters (Smith 1959: 144 & 148), and by crop and soil diversity (Sweet 1969a:xvi). Socially most important was the ideal of equality inherent in the fragmentation, and not only for inheritance. Parcellation has "the immense social advantage of making it easy for the smaller men to be partly owner-occupiers, partly tenants, or even labourers" (Naval Intelligence Division 1944:199).

However, the disadvantages of the system are nowadays far more than any possible advantages--at least in most of the villages of Old Castile. The negative effects of parcellation may perhaps best be explained by the application of modern, capitalist factors of production: time, labour and capital. Time was traditionally irrelevant, labour was over-abundant, and the only capital, aside from livestock, was immobilized property.

Now, scarcity of labour has forced mechanization, the financial pressure of which requires greater production, to which the greatest barrier is, aside from amount of land, the limitation of time. According to many young farmers in Hoyales, the time taken to work mechanically a small field is--if they can get the machines in to such small plots--almost the same as for a large field; this also applies to the irrigation of fields. And of course a waste of time and energy is involved in moving from one field to the next (Smith 1959:149).

The other hindrances on the increased production required by a mechanized farmer to make his heavy investment worthwhile, are the limited area available for cultivation and the difficulties of crop improvements. Farmers can now rent fields from emigrants, but the marginal productivity of some means that their rental is not worthwhile if they are also small and scattered. This could explain the fact that in 1976 (according to the Secretary of the Hoyales Farmers' Brotherhood), 98.8% of the irrigated area was under cultivation, whereas over 40% of the unirrigated fields are abandoned, and this is increasing. This area does of course include scrub and other marginally productive land. But, with modern techniques, unirrigated land can be made to yield a harvest every year, and with minimal labour costs. If all available land is not being used it is because of lack of time (due mainly to other dispersed holdings), and because the small size of many of the unirrigable fields makes them too time-consuming, uneconomical, and difficult to work.

Crop improvement, pest control, etc., are also complicated for the individual farmer, with his small plots scattered among those of others. Even vegetable production is disappearing in the area (though vegetables would be ideal crops for small farmers), because crops are often damaged by herbicides drifting from neighbouring fields (Molinero 1977:64). The ideal solution within the present circumstances, some form of associative or cooperative action by groups of farmers, is technically difficult because of so many scattered holdings belonging to so many proprietors.

Finally it is almost impossible for a farmer not to trespass occasionally in some way upon the boundary rights of some of the other farmers. This can obviously give rise to or perpetuate endless bickering and ill-feelings, strife and conflict, and protracted and expensive resorts to the law (Smith 1959:149). In Hoyales, most non-family feuding is probably due to these trespassing problems. If conflict has decreased in recent years, it is only because emigration has relieved the intense pressure on the land.

Concentration of Plots

The problems posed by fragmentation are more technical than social (Drain 1971:102); or at least the easiest solutions are technical, and consist of some method of concentration. Already in 1866 the first laws of agricultural concentration were passed, but with negligible effect (Tamames 1976:77). This technical, non-structural solution to the basic problems of minifundism was finally made law under Franco, in 1952 and 1962; then was integrated into an agrarian policy, based on the French Aménagement du territoire, after 1964 (Tamames 1976:80).

This conservative rationalization of the existing system had the advantage for the government that it would enable small farmers to buy agricultural machinery, thus stimulating industry, and also allowing fewer farmers to produce the same as, or even more than, many more farmers had before. These reforms were also expected to meet with the approval of most farmers, conservative by nature, in the area most supportive of the régime.

By 1975, all the villages in the comarca except for two had solicited the reform. Twelve had already been concentrated, and eight (including Hoyales) were still awaiting their turn; the remaining eight villages were in process of being concentrated. (Servicio de Extensión Agraria, Roa; personal communication).

Petitions from villages requesting concentration had to be signed by a majority of proprietors, or by those possessing three-quarters of the area. The intention is to make, whenever possible, enlarged plots of each category of land from each of the dispersed fields belonging to each proprietor. The only expense for the farmers would be: the land lost to new works and for enlarged paths; a 5% increase in land tax, and the actual cost of any major works, such as concrete irrigation canals (Ministério de Agricultura 1967:79-80).

In Hoyales, the first meetings to discuss concentration were held before 1969 (as usual, one of the last villages to seek any reform). In 1971 a formal petition was signed by 116 proprietors (including 37 women) declaring themselves to be "a majority of proprietors resident in the village" (Municipal Archives). This was accompanied by a confirmatory statement by the mayor and the Secretary of the Brotherhood, who both strongly supported the reform. No documentation was included--or even compiled--to prove that these people were indeed a majority, for the benefit of either the central authorities or even the villagers themselves. At that time, the total number of individuals owning land in Hoyales was in fact 702!

Four years later, on 30 April 1975, the deputy provincial delegate of the government agency for agricultural reform and development (IRYDA) came to Hoyales to explain the system of reform to those villagers who were interested, and to give the official start to the process of concentration.

Suddenly, on 20 June, IRYDA head office in Madrid received a petition that the process be abandoned, signed by 74 villagers who claimed (again without supporting evidence) to be the owners of three-quarters of the area to be concentrated. The counter-concentration campaign was promoted by the family of one of the largest landowners in Hoyales. These 74 protesters represented (according to village authorities) only some 10% of village land, on the basis of land tax. About thirty of the signatories paid practically no land tax (i.e. were assessed as small proprietors), and only twelve were in the top tax bracket of 139 biggest landowners. Ten of the signatories were members of the promoter's family; fourteen were from just three other families; and forty were female landowners. Seventeen of these persons had previously signed the original petition requesting the reform.

This irregular by-passing over the heads of provincial IRYDA officials offended them; and they were very much surprised by this sudden demonstration of opposition. As for the village 'reformists', within a week of hearing about the protest, they tried to rally forces to keep concentration going. But the smell of defeat was already in the air, as the majority of villagers were unwilling to get involved in a community issue of agrarian reform,

which furthermore appeared to be between feuding factions, each of which was following traditional heavy-handed procedures.

On 25 July, there was a meeting in the town hall, as a result of which 70 persons signed a petition requesting the continuation of concentration. They were all owners of land in Hoyales, but not all were residents (just as in the protesters' petition). Thirteen of the signatories were non-farmers; two were young farmers without land, and twenty-eight were female landowners. Nineteen of the signatures belonged to members of just two families (one of which was the mayor's). Again, no documentation was given to support the signatories' claims to property.

Three days later, the village authorities asked the promoter of the protest to appear before the village council to explain the letter to Madrid; he refused to accept the notification (a standard procedure when one is running foul of the authorities). The other signatories were ordered to appear before a meeting in the village hall on 2 October. Twenty-six persons turned up for the opposition, but the meeting soon broke up with shouting, before anybody had managed--or tried--to hear anybody else's reasons for their respective positions.

The offended agricultural engineer from IRYDA requested that the objectors retract: only one complied with his wish. In the following six months he came to the village another half-dozen times to try to sort out the problem and get the project moving. He finally requested that all those desiring the reform get the ball moving by giving him a formal list of their property; only

half-a-dozen landowners bothered by then. The other villagers in favour of concentration were obviously not prepared to force this conflictive issue.

The IRYDA experts had enough work to do, and moved on to more receptive villages. Nor did they want trouble with any hot-blooded peasant defending his traditional property. In the neighbouring village of Fuentecén, one of the surveyors had been prevented from carrying out his work by an angry farmer with a knife.

Hoyales will now have to wait for a merely technical, and long overdue* reform until the men from IRYDA have finished in the other villages of the area. The younger farmers, especially, are disillusioned, and see the future as bleak.

Concentration of small plots would seem to be of obvious benefit to all the farmers in Hoyales; so why would some object so strongly, and the majority not bother?

The majority would probably be prepared to accept the reform without opposition, but they are never enthusiastic about change. Most are unconvinced of the benefits of reform; they have not been educated to see their own long-term interests; and they know there is usually some catch for the average, unwary peasant. Furthermore, historical experience has taught them to be suspicious of any supposedly benevolent government action.

*Some villages are already requesting a second further stage of concentration.

As for those actively opposed to reform, their arguments are vague and ill-defined, but basically illustrative of the traditional distrust of peasants, of their lack of education, and of their suspicion of official justice. Incorrectly, they fear that large fields sell worse than small ones. Small owners are afraid they will be done out of the little they have. Many fear that the IRYDA officials are unreliable and open to bribery. Most of those whose children have all left the village are probably unwilling to spend good money for the benefit of the community or in the remote long-term interests of their descendants.

Those who have no logical reasons against concentration, except gut feelings or reactionary instincts, just invent pathetic arguments to try to justify with logic their position. For many of these, the problem of concentration is really ideological. Re-allocation of land on the basis of cash value, as a commodity, represents a further capitalist assault on the values of traditional peasantry. The traditional peasant belongs to his means of production just as much as his particular items of property belong to him. It would appear* that a peasant is his land, and believes his lot has been determined by Providence, or has some other mystical origin.

Not all objectors to concentration are really going against their own short-term interests as they perceive these. Concentration

*Though a thorough comprehension of peasant ideology is difficult for someone not a traditional peasant.

of small plots was not conceived in the interests of all. It is of almost no use at all to very small farmers; indeed some could be allocated new fields situated far less favourably than before.

For that great majority of farmers working some land held in rent, concentration of small plots is an ambivalent reform. Many find the more rationally sized fields much more convenient and even raise their own rents without being forced to do so by the owners; they are happy to pay more for a better field which will enable them to be more productive.

On the other hand, many tenants see slightly lower rents as more important than higher productivity, and these have been giving the IRYDA teams trouble in a few other villages of the comarca as well (Servicio de Extensión Agraria 1973:16). When there are only a handful of farmers left in a village, as for example in neighbouring Haza*, the tenant farmer can gain control of the situation for the first time ever. Faced with lack of unity among the many absentee owners, the few farmers remaining can choose to rent whatever lands they wish; thus each can make his own de facto concentration of the land worked by himself--and several farmers are already beginning to do so.

That could be the future for Hoyales. Without a proper concentration of plots, conditions of farming could remain difficult,

*One of only two villages in the comarca not to request concentration, and the only village yet to dissolve a production cooperative.

leading to yet further emigration. The few best able to resist would end up in de facto control of the village land without having to buy it, thus making a working redistribution of the fields for their farms, as opposed to a concentration of plots based on ownership.

As concentration of fragmented holdings is obviously of greatest benefit to the largest landowners, an unanswerable puzzle remains: Why would a couple of the biggest landowners in Hoyales oppose the reform? A further example of the mis-perceived interests of some large landowners will be noted further on with regard to cooperatives. In this particular case, it is possible that they envision difficulties in being able to rent oversized fields to small farmers. However, the very small farms have by now mostly disappeared. As for the objections of some medium farmers, they could be afraid of the creation of too many oversized fields, the rent of which might be beyond their reach, thus forcing them out, as the small farmers were pushed out before. Productive property (capital) is becoming concentrated in size and access.

Given the circumstances, this concentration and rationalization is inevitable. Maybe half the farms in the comarca are condemned to disappear: "with barely viable farms of only 50 Has. of unirrigated land, 600 would be sufficient to cover the whole area of the comarca; yet almost 2000 farms still remain" (Molinero 1977:145). Taking the area occupied by the four latifundia into account, the prospects are even more dismal.

Classification of Land

Parcellation is not the only structural problem inherited from feudal or even pre-feudal institutions. The other is the distribution of property, not as unequal as in most other parts of the country, yet sufficiently serious a problem as to be resolving itself by a process which could almost be described as survival of the biggest. According to Molinero (1978), the minimum farm size, below which survival becomes difficult, is 12 Has. of irrigated land or 50 Has. of unirrigated land.* Therefore, at least half the farms in Hoyales below 5 Has. are almost certain to be abandoned soon, although those run by aging farmers could survive until these retire. And of course some will continue to be worked part-time by villagers, or emigrants living nearby, with other principal occupations.

The basis of survival for a full-time farmer is of course productive agricultural land. The use to which this can be put, and the amount of labour theoretically required to work a given area, can be seen on the accompanying chart (Figure VI). These factors help determine the commodity and taxable value of land. Basically, it can be seen that the principal difference in land values is between irrigable and non-irrigable land. In this district, where rainfall is neither abundant (average 450 mm. per year), nor regular (mostly in autumn and spring), nor reliable

*Molinero (1977:73) estimates 1 Ha. of irrigated land to be generally equivalent to 4 Has. of unirrigated land.

FIGURE VI. HOYALES: CLASSIFICATION OF AGRICULTURAL LAND

Irrigated Cultivated:

Class 1:	94 days; ¹	9700 ptas; ²	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ Has. ³
Class 2:	85 days;	8500 ptas;	43 Has.
Class 3:	70 days;	6400 ptas;	110 Has.
Class 4:	59 days;	4600 ptas;	116 $\frac{1}{2}$ Has.
Class 5:	43 days;	2400 ptas;	77 Has.

Non-irrigable Cultivated:

Class 1:	14 days;	1800 ptas;	42 $\frac{1}{2}$ Has.
Class 2:	8 days;	1200 ptas;	54 Has.
Class 3:	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ days;	500 ptas;	193 Has.
Class 4:	4 days;	200 ptas;	42 Has.

Fruit Orchards:	26 days;	1500 ptas;	2 Has.
Vineyards:	31 days;	1400 ptas;	183 Has.
Unirrigated Meadow:	16 days;	1700 ptas;	46 Has.
Irrigated Woods:	4 days;	1700 ptas;	46 Has.
Productive Pine-groves:	3 days;	900 ptas;	24 Has.
Scrub:	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ days;	80 ptas;	119 Has.
Unirrigated Pasture:	1 day ;	60 ptas;	131 Has.
Non-productive:	0 ;	0 ;	1 Ha.

¹ Theoretical days of labour per hectare per year.

² Pesetas: taxable rate.

³ Total area in hectares of this type of land.

(my first year of field work saw a disastrous drought for all villages without irrigation), the security afforded by irrigation is invaluable.

The quality of the soil also affects the value of the land. The higher, unirrigable areas of the comarca are Miocene; the irrigable vegas (river plains) are aluvial (López 1963:map 2). Though the dry lands of Hoyales are of ordinary quality, the Riaza plain (of which the lion's share belongs to Hoyales) has the best quality soil in the comarca. This is reflected in the selling price of the land: 250,000 to 300,000 pesetas per Hectare, compared to fields in the vega of the Duero, which cost between 150,000 and 250,000 pesetas per Hectare (SEA 1973:14-15). These lower quality irrigated fields are now worth more than any unirrigable fields, not merely because of the security, but also because their produce has the highest value. This has only recently been the case. When wine was the most marketable produce, only class 1 of irrigated land was valued higher than the equivalent area of vineyard (according to the 1850 Amillaramiento).

Furthermore, the villagers have additional criteria of their own for valuing land. Proximity to the village is traditionally considered important; the size and shape of a field (unless grotesquely mis-shapen or small) are less important. With automation, these concepts are obviously in the process of change. However, they illustrate the difficulties faced in the concentration process by the valuation surveyors.

With emigration and mechanization, the actual meaning of

the distribution of land is also in the process of changing. Since the disamortization and until only twenty-five years ago, almost all the landowners were resident in the village, and in charge of the farming of their own land. As a result, traditional figures giving the distribution of land would simultaneously indicate the size of farms. Almost no land was held in rent, and even large-scale share-cropping was only a recent phenomenon in Hoyales.

Nowadays, it becomes necessary to describe and examine two different classifications of land distribution: actual ownership by title, and units of production.* There are furthermore two different ways of counting distribution of land: by area, or by value of the land. Almost all writers use the area of land held as the basis for an analysis of distribution. However, this would not seem to make much sense, when the district to be described includes irrigable land. As mentioned above, Molinero equates 1 Ha. of irrigated land with 4 of dry. Production is almost always double for irrigated land. And, with the exception of labour-intensive vineyards, irrigated fields require from two to ten--or even twenty--times more manpower hours per hectare than unirrigated fields, even for the same crops (Molinero 1977:97). Even the standard definition of latifundio as being a farm with more than 250 Has. (Tamames 1976:62) fails to take the quality of land into consideration.

*Though I am not aware of other researchers in Spain using this distinction.

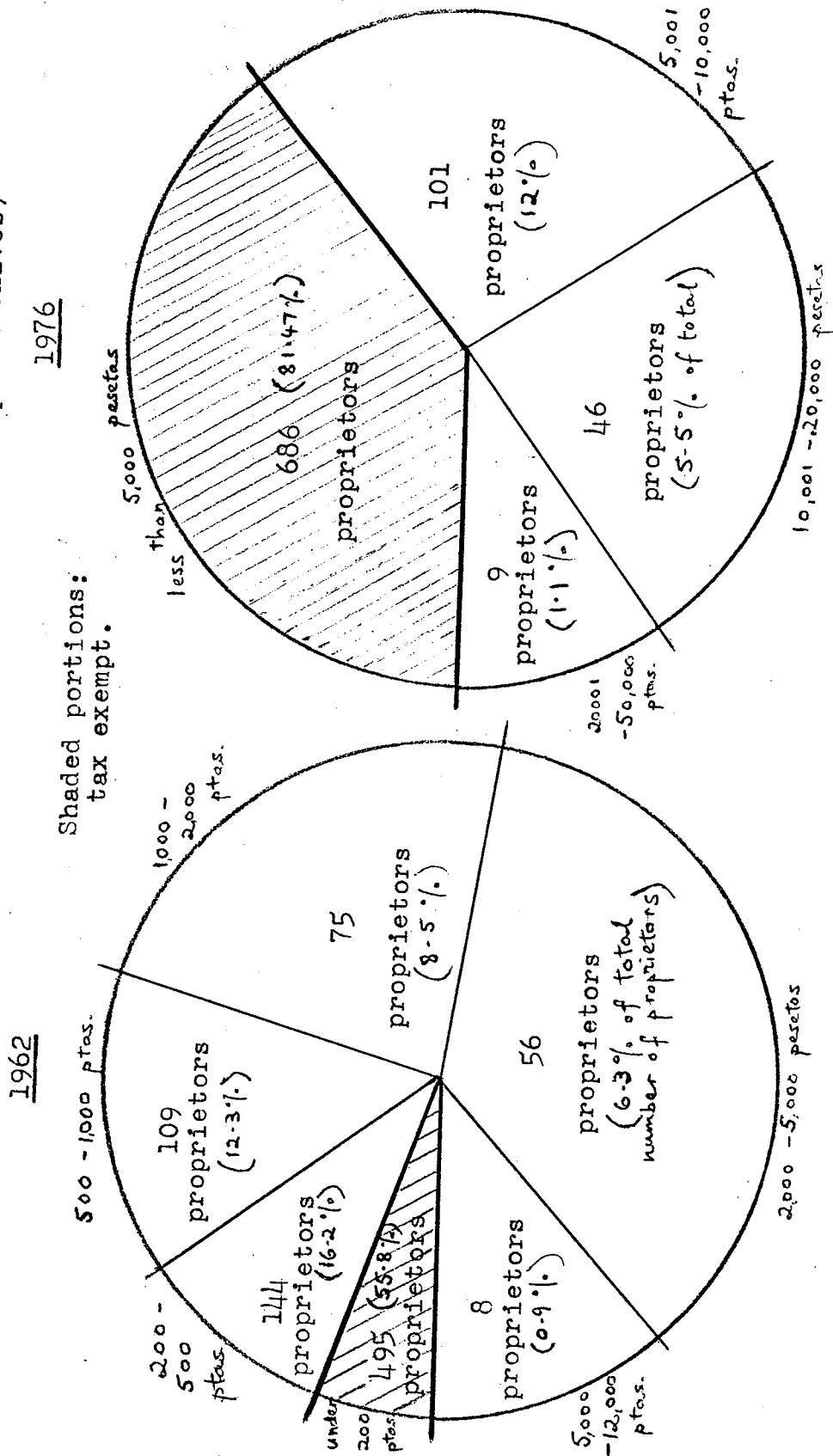
Ministry of Finance land-valuations for taxation purposes may be far from ideal, but would seem to be more realistic than an unqualified description by area of property possessed. Unfortunately, valuations for land-tax are only compiled by actual ownership, not by units of production, nor even by household. And, as usual with Spanish statistics, it is difficult to make comparisons between the figures for one year and another.

Land Ownership

Figure VII shows the distribution of land by ownership, according to taxable value, for the years 1962 and 1976. The total number of proprietors was 887 in 1962 and 842 in 1976. Some proprietors would appear to have sold their land, but fundamentally there is little change here. The obvious differences are in the increased valuations and tax exemptions for 1976. The 1962 average valuation of 541 pesetas was taxable; the exemption only applied to the 55.8% of landowners rated below 200 pesetas. (State and municipal property valued at 3435 pesetas such as paths, trails, etc., are also tax exempt.) In 1976, the average holding of 1.4 Ha., valued at 3039 pesetas, falls within an extended tax-exempt bracket, covering 81.47% of the proprietors. The actual tax payable on their holding of 1457 pesetas was probably considered not worth the effort of collecting.*

*It must be remembered that the distribution of land in Hoyales is far more equitable than in most parts of the country where the poor are virtually landless.

FIGURE VII. HOYALES: DISTRIBUTION OF LAND BY OWNERSHIP, ACCORDING TO TAXABLE VALUE
(Source: Catastro de Rústica. Hoyales Municipal Archives)



The 1976 total taxable rate for Hoyales was 2,559,098 pesetas, on which the actual land-tax paid was 156,030 pesetas (over \$2500). This was paid entirely by the 156 proprietors (18.53% of total) whose individual holdings were valued over 5000 pesetas. This group possesses over 60% of the total value, or 54.6% of the total area of 1193 Has., included in the census. The group of 55 biggest proprietors, which includes the municipality with its few remaining lands, is 6.5% of all the owners and possesses more than a third of the land value in the village. The nine biggest landowners (slightly over 1% of the total) have over 10% of the land. And the largest single proprietor (0.12% of all) owns 2.2% of the total value of land. However, the fact that his share of the land-tax paid in 1976 was only 5640 pesetas (\$90) indicates that he is far from being a latifundista.

In fact, Hoyales has not had a latifundista since the end of feudal relations. The highest concentration of property since then was during the first third of the 20th century, when a little over 10% of the extension of the township was controlled by only two farmers, each by happy coincidence an only son of well-to-do peasants and, further, well married. As both had many children, this concentration of property was soon broken up by inheritance.

However, on a national scale, even these two big local landowners would have been classed as merely medium-sized peasants, and Hoyales now has only smaller than average farmers. Compared with the national situation, Hoyales does, while not supporting the myth of Castilian equality, indicate a lack of excessive

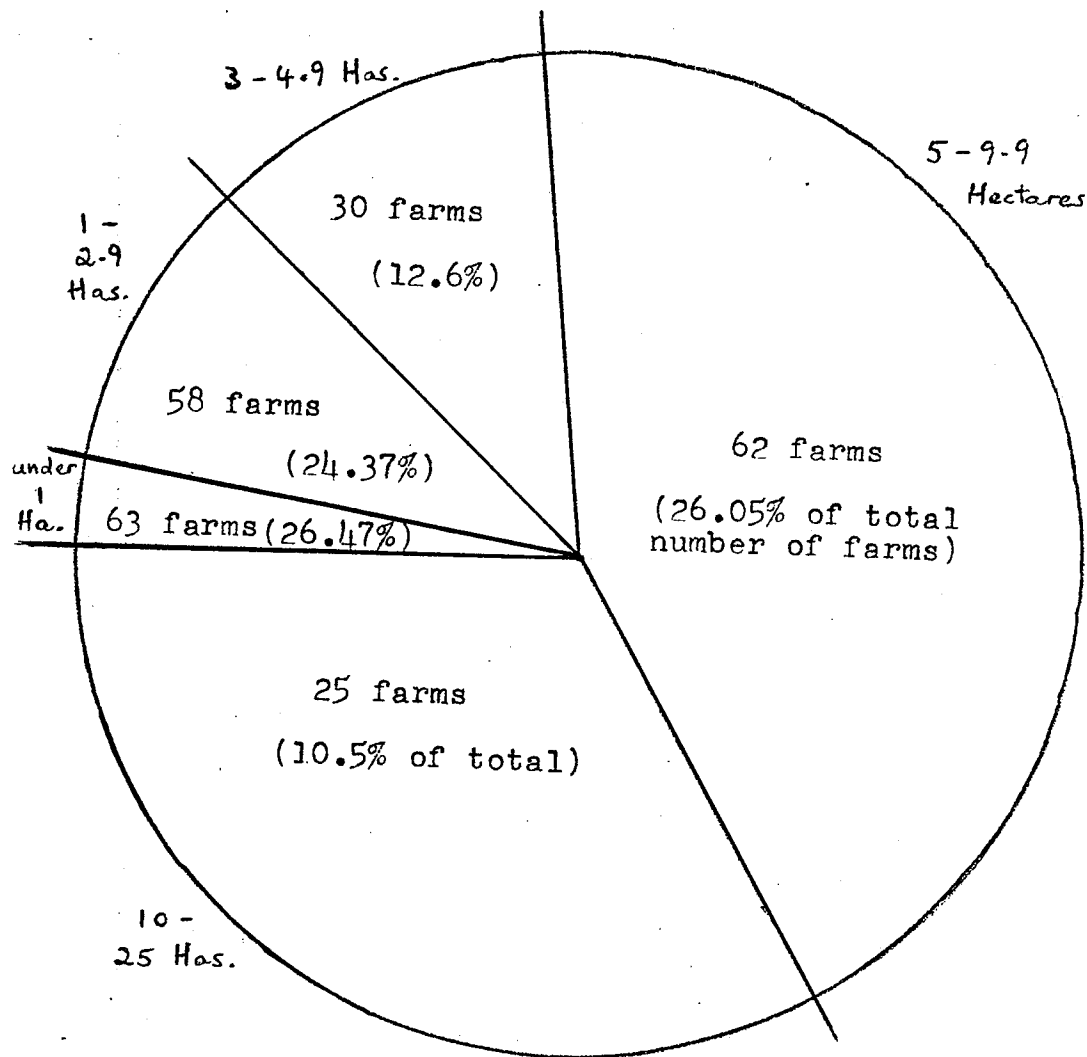
concentration of property. Indeed, the share of the biggest landowners even decreased between 1962 and 1976, as did that of the middle group of landowners, all to the advantage of the large group of smaller proprietors.

Units of Production

Most of this minor change is probably due to emigration and the splitting up of property upon inheritance. However, the real significance of the little change in distribution of property can be understood by an examination of the distribution of the municipal area according to the size of farming units (Figure VIII). If this is compared with the ownership chart for the same year, 1962, (Figure VII) it is obvious that land ownership and farming units bear little relationship to each other nowadays.

The Secretary of the Hoyales Farmers' Brotherhood confirms that the major change in recent years has been, not in property, but in tenancy. A high proportion of the land farmed by each unit of production is rented, continually more so. Good agricultural land is very expensive to buy, which is strange, as there should logically be a buyers market since emigration became so high. In 1973, as mentioned above, one hectare of good irrigable land sold for over 250,000 pesetas. At the same time, the local Ministry of Agriculture agency calculated the average annual earnings of a medium farmer working 9 Has. of irrigated land (equivalent to the average holding in the comarca) to be 290,000 pesetas (under \$5000) (S.E.A. 1973:20).

FIGURE VIII
HOYALES: DISTRIBUTION OF LAND
ACCORDING TO SIZE OF FARMING UNITS, 1962
(Source: I.N.E. 1963:9:2)



Portions represent proportion of total area
(Totals: 1048 Has., with 238 farms of 4.4 Has. average.)

The result is an enormous increase in the proportion of rented land, while the area of their own land worked by farmers has remained stationary. In 1962, 60% of village land belonged to farming units, with 4.3% being rented land (the remainder was worked under sharecropping arrangements, which have now mostly disappeared). In 1972, 59% of land belonged to the farming units, and 30% was rented (I.N.E. 1963 & 1973). The proportion of rented land keeps on increasing.

Meanwhile, the very small farmers, those working less than the average area of a farm in 1962 of 4.4 Has., are either emigrating or renting the fields of others who leave. The total number of farms decreased from 238 in 1962 to 110 in 1972, with a corresponding increase in the average size of a farming unit to 10.5 Has. As can be seen from Figure IX, the decrease in the number of units of production has been almost total for those consisting of less than 1 Ha. The number of what were traditionally medium-sized farms has decreased slightly. And there has been an increase in the number of farms working more than 10 Has. Basically, most of the farms remaining have increased their size.

Origins of the Present Distribution of Land

The preferred solution traditionally seen by farmers for improving their conditions of existence, is an increase in the size of the farm. Since the disamortization, when changes in access to the means of production became possible, the major obstacle to individual growth has been insufficient capital.

FIGURE IX. HOYALES: FARMING UNITS CLASSIFIED BY SIZE

<u>Area of Unit</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1972</u>
Without land *	4	4
0.1 - 0.5 Ha.	29	2
0.5 - 0.9 Ha.	34	-
1 - 1.9 Has.	37	9
2 - 2.9 Has.	21	9
3 - 3.9 Has.	16	9
4 - 4.9 Has.	14	16
5 - 9.9 Has.	62	23
10 - 19.9 Has.	23	29
20 - 29.9 Has.	2	10
30 - 49.9 Has.	-	2
50 - 69.9 Has.	-	1 **
<u>Totals:</u>	242 farms	114 farms
<u>Average Area of Unit:</u>	4.4 Has.	10.47 Has.

* The 4 farmers "without land" are shepherds

** Rounding off for statistical purposes?

(Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1963 & 1973)

A generation ago, most small farmers did not have enough capital even to rent land--if the owners had been willing to let it. They were forced to share-crop. Now they have insufficient capital to purchase land, and are forced to rent it. As always, the problems are capital and insufficient credit, much commented on by writers on Spanish agriculture (Dobby 1936:187; Naval Intelligence Division 1944:260; Brenan 1950a; de Zulueta 1966:80; Drain 1971:102).

During the disentailment, when the land market was initially opened up, land was abundant and prices low. Yet most peasants unfortunately lacked access to the means of capital accumulation necessary for getting into the market. The lots were auctioned in sizes far too large for most individual peasants. They were obliged to purchase fields in more amenable sizes, second-hand from the original urban speculative purchasers.

Because of the popular attitude towards the sale of communal and ecclesiastical lands, some of the buyers and the prices they paid are not known. Of those recorded, three were urban residents (Burgos or Madrid), who purchased 30.5% by value of the property sold. Six of the known buyers were from other villages in the district; they obtained 36.5% of the total value. Several of them then settled in Hoyales, for it is usual to fix residence in the village where one has most material interests.* The remaining

*It is a source of community pride in Hoyales that most outsiders with property in Hoyales have eventually settled in the village, indicating that property in Hoyales is 'better' than elsewhere.

third of the value of the property sold for which we have records, was bought by four of the rich peasants of Hoyales. Most of the productive 'urban' property (buildings, wine-presses, etc.) was obtained by residents of the village.

In Hoyales, there is no evidence that any of the villagers joined forces to bid for the property being auctioned. In two other villages of the comarca, all the inhabitants joined forces to buy their own communal land. As only individuals were permitted to buy the disentailed property, these villages needed agents to bid for them, and one of the villages was unfortunate enough to be swindled by its agent (Molinero 1978). In the comarca of Roa today, of the seventeen villages studied by Molinero (1977), only ten still possess any common land. In Hoyales, the municipality still own 15.66 Has. of farming land and three houses in the village. These are leased periodically on short-term contracts to the highest bidder: "The village communes have at all times appeared as landlords, leasing the lands ... to meet their own administrative expenses" (Naval Intelligence Division 1944:202).

In the Roa comarca, the disentailment did not really produce any dramatic changes in the distribution of private property (Molinero 1977:36). A glance at Figure I (Chapter VII) shows that three new latifundia were created. There has been a decrease in the proportion of land belonging to medium and large peasants (possibly the long-term effect of divisive inheritance). And due to the availability of new private land, there was a large long-term increase in the total number of proprietors--mostly

small peasants. Basically though, the unequal distribution of property has remained, or eventually polarized further.

Hoyales in Perspective

The distribution of property in the comarca of Roa is very even, compared with the province of Burgos as a whole: 1% of the farmers work 35.3% of the land (I.N.E. 1974:B:9:25). And Burgos compares favourably with Spain as a whole: nationally, 1.2% of farmers own 48% of the land; the 3.4% of medium farmers have 18.1%; and the remaining 33.9% of the land belongs to 93.6% of the farmers (Tamames 1976:98).

The distribution of property in Hoyales, which we know to be very unjust, is more equitable than in the comarca as a whole. And compared with national land distribution, the situation in Hoyales is just beautiful. As a microcosm, Hoyales even has a large group of medium farmers. It is perhaps no wonder that resistance to structural change is a little stronger here than in many other villages.

Regardless of this resistance to structural change in Hoyales, something somewhere has to give. Production costs are continually higher relative to produce prices (c.f. Hermet 1973: 129). Mechanization today is just about obligatory (indeed almost all farmers now have a tractor), yet many of the farms are too small for machinery to be really viable. For most of the latter, production cooperatives offer perhaps the only solution for survival, yet the notion is not even considered. It seems that

"the relations of production are of greater importance to the Spaniard than the materials" (Aceves 1974:47).

Due to rural depopulation, the farmers remaining have more social mobility, and access to the means of production is more open and equitable than ever before. Ironically however, control of land is no longer important. With production for the market, control of the market is becoming control of the means of production. The individualist commercial farmer is completely at the mercy of a remote, anonymous power. His independence as a free-agent farmer is an illusion, and a very frustrating one at that. The logical formation of producer-marketing cooperatives is obstructed by the legacy of the historical conditions of the peasantry.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

"Development brings freedom if people free themselves, and the development of the people can only be done by the people" (Julius Nyerere).

In this thesis I have attempted to explain, within the dominating context of the nation-state and its history, the development and eventual crisis of minifundist agriculture, typified by the example of a medium-sized, mixed-farming village in Old Castile, whose inhabitants are conditioned in their culture by their historical experience and material conditions of existence.

In common with all other ethnographic studies of communities in complex societies, the present study has very many gaps and drawbacks. One limitation may be in its obligatory comparability: this report cannot stand on its own. To complete the cultural picture it is necessary to refer to the excellent descriptive ethnographies of other villages in the Peninsula, and of Castilian villages in particular. In the same way, of course, this report, with its different approach, is itself a further modest contribution to Spanish ethnology.

All anthropological research in Spanish communities has

been carried out during the present crisis period of modernization, and every study has in some way been concerned about the effects of the process. The present problems and future prospects of rural Spain are largely determined by the essence of the process of modernization.

"Modernization refers to the process by which an under-developed region changes in response to inputs from already established industrial centers" (Schneider, Schneider & Hansen 1972:340). "The dependence of the region in question" is strengthened, "without a radical reordering of either society" (343). A major consequence of this is that the countryside has suffered both emigration and mechanization without fundamental change in the pre-industrial structure. This is the basic problem in minifundist agriculture.

"Political alienation" (Pérez-Díaz 1976:137) is the deficiency in self-organization of rural communities, divided into familistic units. Since the vestiges of communal organization were dealt the death blow by the enclosures of a century ago, villages have been forced to rely upon the state for organization and aid. Even the recent politicization, resulting in the novelty of municipal elections and farmers' unions, is, for rural communities, an effect of democracy from above, that is, from the urban metropolis and its interest groups.

The structural conservatism of the Spanish state is a cause, as much as an effect, of the nation's dependence on foreign developed countries. The weakness and lack of independence of

Spanish bourgeois entrepreneurs indicate the hollowness and instability of Spanish capitalism and industry. Pitt-Rivers speculates that the destiny of many urbanized countrymen is to be "thrown back into the country like mutilated frogs into the pond" (1976:ix). The solution of reduced emigration by rural structural change is of course unlikely, given the reality of dependency.

Modernization has also changed the method of appropriation or disposal of the surplus produce of the countryside. Formerly, feudal dues took care of most or all of the surplus, after consumption by the producers. The entire production is now destined for sale to the dominant metropolis. As almost everything consumed has to be purchased from outside the rural community, which is no longer at all independent, it would seem as if 'surplus' has now become the entire production. The villager is now dependent on the city for clothes, food, fuel and building materials; agricultural machinery, seed, and fertilizer; education of the children, and communications.

The costs of modernization fall overwhelmingly on the savings and taxes of the rural population; but little of this capital is ever reinvested for the benefit and development of agriculture. Most of the profits of farmers go to pay for all the services received from the city, and to emigrant villagers for land rental. Community taxes and special contributions are spent almost entirely on the support of urban professionals resident in the village. And the best educated youths rarely return, to make a contribution to agriculture. One basic fact of

a farmer's existence has not really changed much throughout history: the rural surplus has always gone to the dominant urban society.

Modernization at the national level is leading to the development of capitalist relations of production at the village level. The contradictions between these and traditional peasant relations are too strong. Profound structural change must eventually come to Hoyales.

REFERENCES CITED

- Aceves, Joseph B.
 1971 a Social Change in a Spanish Village. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman.
 1971 b El Concepto del mundo del campesino castellano y su relación con el mundo rural, una hipótesis. *Ethnica* 1:14-28, Barcelona.
 1973 Planning Ideologies, World Bankers and Castilian Peasants. *Iberian Studies* II:92-97. University of Keele.
 1974 First Person Singular: Spanish Individualism Reconsidered. *Iberian Studies* III:43-48.
- Aguilera, Francisco Enrique
 1978 Santa Eulalia's People: Ritual Structure and Process in an Andalusian Multicommunity. *American Ethnological Society Monograph* 63. St. Paul: West.
- Banfield, Edward C.
 1958 The Moral Basis of a Backward Society. New York: Free Press.
- Barrett, Richard A.
 1972 Social Hierarchy and Intimacy in a Spanish Town. *Ethnology* XI:386-398.
 1974 Benabarre: The Modernization of a Spanish Village. Holt, Rinehart & Winston: New York.
- Boserup, Esther
 1965 The Conditions of Agricultural Growth. Chicago: Aldine.
- Brandes, Stanley H.
 1972 El impacto de la emigración en un pueblo de la Sierra de Béjar. *Ethnica* 4:9-26.
 1973 Social Structure and Interpersonal Relations in Navanogal (Spain). *American Anthropologist* 75:750-765.

- 1975 Migration, Kinship and Community: Tradition and Transition in a Spanish Village. New York: Academic Press.
- 1976 La Soltería, or Why People Remain Single in Rural Spain. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 32:205-233.
- Brenan, Gerald
- 1950 a The Spanish Labyrinth: An Account of the Social and Political Background of the Civil War. Second ed. Cambridge: University Press.
- 1950 b The Face of Spain. London: Turnstile Press.
- Cámara, Teófilo de la
- 1959 Hoyales de Roa. In *Diccionario Geográfico de España*, Vol. 10:672-673. Madrid: Ediciones del Movimiento.
- Campo, Salustiano del, and Manuel Navarro
- 1976 Crítica de la planificación social española: 1964-1975. Madrid: Castellote.
- Cantera, Manolo P.
- 1977 La vivienda al sur de Castilla la Vieja (Housing in the South of Old Castile). Dissertation, Anthropology Dept., Universidad Complutense, Madrid.
- Caro Baroja, Julio
- 1968 Honor y vergüenza: Examen histórico de varios conflictos. In *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society*, J. G. Peristiany, ed., J. M. García de la Mora, trans. pp. 77-126. Barcelona: Labor.
- 1975 Los Pueblos de España. 2 vols. Second ed. (First ed. 1946). Madrid: Istmo.
- 1974 Prólogo. In *Estudio antropológico social de un pueblo del Sur*. E. Luque Baena. Pp. 11-14. Madrid: Tecnos.
- Carr, Raymond
- 1974 Spain Since 1700. In *History of Spain*. Pp. 433-443. *Encyclopaedia Britannica, Macropaedia*, Vol. 17. Fifteenth ed. Chicago.
- Christian, William A., Jr.
- 1978 Religiosidad Popular (Person and God in a Spanish Valley). E. Luque Baena, trans. Revised Spanish ed. Madrid: Tecnos.

- Constitution of Spain
1967 Fundamental Laws of the State. In Constitutions of the Countries of the World. A. P. Blaustein & G. H. Flanz, eds. New York: Oceana, 1974.
- Contreras Hernández, Jesús
1972 Review of I. Moreno Navarro 1972. *Ethnica* 3:229-235.
- Costa, Joaquín
1915 *Colectivismo Agrario en España, Part II: Hechos (Events)*. Second ed. Madrid.
- Crespo, Jesús
1978 Orígenes de los problemas del campo de Castilla (Origins of Problems of Castilian Countryside). Conference. Roa: Casa de la Cultura.
- Díaz-Plaja, Fernando
1969 *El Español y los siete pecados capitales (The Spaniard and the Seven Deadly Sins)*. Barcelona: Círculo de Lectores.
- Dobby, E.H.G.
1936 Agrarian Problems in Spain. *Geographical Review* XXVI: 177-189. New York.
- Douglass, William A.
1969 Death in Murelaga: Funerary Ritual in a Spanish Basque Village. *American Ethnological Soc. Monograph* 49. Seattle: University of Washington.
- 1971 Rural Exodus in Two Spanish Basque Villages: A Cultural Explanation. *American Anthropologist* 73:1100-1114.
- Drain, Michel
1971 L'économie de l'Espagne. Second ed. Que sais-je? No. 1321. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Esteva Fabregat, Claudio
1971 Para una teoría de la aculturación en el Alto Aragón. *Ethnica* 2:9-75.
- 1972 L'étude du village en Espagne. *Ethnologia Europaea* VI: 74-85.
- Foster, George M.
1953 Cofradía and Compadrazgo in Spain and Spanish America. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 9:1-28.
- 1965 Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good. *American Anthropologist* 67:293-315.

- 1972 A Second Look at Limited Good. Anthropological Quarterly:57-64.
- Freeman, Susan Tax
- 1968 a Religious Aspects of the Social Organization of a Castilian Village. American Anthropologist 70:34-49.
- 1968 b Corporate Village Organisation in the Sierra Ministra: An Iberian Structural Type. Man (N.S.) 3:477-484.
- 1970 Neighbors: The Social Contract in a Castilian Hamlet. Chicago: University Press.
- 1973 sub-ed.: Studies in Rural European Social Organization, Introduction. American Anthropologist 75:743-750.
- García Mercadal, J., comp.
- 1959 Viajes de Extranjeros por España y Portugal (Journeys by Foreigners through Spain and Portugal). 2 Vols. Madrid: Aguilar.
- Gilmore, David
- 1976 Class, Culture, and Community Size in Spain: The Relevance of Models: Anthropological Quarterly 49:89-106.
- 1977 The Social Organization of Space: Class, Cognition, and Residence in a Spanish Town. American Ethnologist 4:437-450.
- 1978 Varieties of Gossip in a Spanish Rural Community. Ethnology XVII (1):89-99.
- Goldkind, Victor
- 1965 Social Stratification in the Peasant Community: Redfield's Chan Kom Reinterpreted. American Anthropologist 67:4.
- Greenwood, Davydd J.
- 1972 Tourism as an Agent of Change: A Spanish Basque Case. Ethnology 11:80-91.
- Hansen, Edward C.
- 1969 The State and Land Tenure Conflicts in Rural Catalonia. Anthropological Quarterly 42:214-243.
- 1974 From Political Association to Public Tavern: Two Phases of Urbanization in Rural Catalonia (Spain). Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 220 (6):509-521.
- 1977 Rural Catalonia Under the Franco Regime: The Fate of Regional Culture Since the Spanish Civil War. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Harding, Susan
1975 Women and Words in a Spanish Village. In Toward an Anthropology of Women. Rayna R. Reiter, ed. Pp. 283-308. New York: Monthly Review.
- Hermet, Guy
1973 Tendances et Limites de la Mobilité Sociale en Espagne (1960-1965). In Social Stratification and Development in the Mediterranean Basin. Mubeccel Kiray, ed. Mouton.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística
1962 Primer Censo Agrario (First Agrarian Census), vol. 9: Burgos. Madrid 1964.
- 1970 Censos de la Población, de la Vivienda, y de los Edificios en España (Censuses of Population, Housing and Buildings), I:9: Provincia de Burgos. Madrid 1972.
- Características de la Población (Features of the Population), Vol. II:9: Provincia de Burgos. Madrid 1973.
- 1972 Censo Agrario de España, Serie A. Primeros Resultados (Preliminary results), 9: Burgos. Madrid 1973.
- Serie B: Cuadernos Provinciales (Provincial totals), 9: Burgos. Madrid 1974.
- Kamen, Henry
1978 The Decline of Spain: A Historical Myth? Past and Present 81:24-50.
- Kant, Immanuel
1974 Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View. Second ed. Vol. II:C: On the Character of Nations. Mary J. Gregor, trans. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. (First ed. 1800).
- Kasdan, Leonard
1965 Family Structure, Migration and the Entrepreneur. Comparative Studies in Society and History VII:343-357.
- Kenny, Michael
1960 Patterns of Patronage in Spain. Anthropological Quarterly 33:14-23.
- 1966 A Spanish Tapestry: Town and Country in Castile. Second ed. New York: Harper & Row.
- 1972 a The Role of Social Anthropology in the Social Sciences in Spain. Iberian Studies I:27-33.

- 1972 b Further Notes on Research by Social Anthropologists
in Spain. Iberian Studies I:82.
- Koenigsberger, Helmut Georg
1974 Spain from 1479 to 1700. In History of Spain.
Pp. 420-433. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Macropaedia,
Vol. 17. Fifteenth ed.
- Kroeber, Alfred L.
1966 What Ethnography Is. In An Anthropologist Looks at
History. Theodora Kroeber, ed. Pp. 131-151. Second
ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- La Souchère, Eléna de
1964 An Explanation of Spain. Eleanor Ross Leveux, trans.
New York: Vintage. (Original: Explication de
l'Espagne. Grasset, 1962.)
- Lattimer, Kathryn
1969 Spain: An Introductory Bibliography. In Circum
Mediterranean Peasantry: Introductory Bibliographies.
L. E. Sweet & T. O'Leary, eds. Pp. 43-48. New
Haven: HRAF.
- Lazo, Sebastián, ed.
1935 Memorias del Alcalde de Roa, Don Gregorio González
Arranz (1788-1840). Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- Lisón Tolosana, Carmelo
1966 Belmonte de los Caballeros: A Sociological Study of
a Spanish Town. Oxford: Clarendon.
- 1973 Some Aspects of Moral Structure in Galician Hamlets.
American Anthropologist 75:823-834.
- Loperráez Corvalán, Juan
1788 Descripción histórica de la Diócesis de Osma, Vol. II.
- López Mata, Teófilo
1963 La Provincia de Burgos en la Geografía y en la Historia.
- Luque Baena, Enrique
1974 Estudio Antropológico Social de un Pueblo del Sur.
Madrid: Tecnos.
- Madoz, Pascual, ed.
1845-50 Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de
España y sus posesiones de Ultramar. 16 vols.
Madrid.

- Martínez-Alier, Juan
1974 Review of Victor Pérez-Díaz 1972. Peasant Studies Newsletter III:20-21.
- Menéndez Pidal, Ramón
1950 El Cid Campeador. Madrid: Austral.
- Miguel, Amando de
1969 Social and Geographic Mobility in Spain. Journal of International Affairs XIX:259-275.
- Miñano, Sebastián de
1826-29 Diccionario geográfico de España y Portugal. 11 vols. Madrid.
- Ministerio de Agricultura
1967 Servicios para el agricultor. Publicaciones de capacitación agraria No. 333. Madrid.
- Ministerio de Obras Públicas
1974 Confederación hidrográfica del Duero: Memoria. Valladolid.
- Mira Casterà, Joan F.
1972 Cambio social y organización familiar: un caso valenciano (Social Change and Family Organization: a Valencian Example). Ethnica 3:101-120.
- Molinero Hernando, Fernando
1977 Una comarca vitícola tradicional en transformación: La comarca de Roa (A Traditional Viticultural Comarca in Transformation). Dissertation, Geography Department, University of Valladolid.
- 1978 La Tierra de Roa. Conference. Roa: Casa de la Cultura.
- Moreno Navarro, Isidoro
1972 a Propiedad, clases sociales, y hermandades en la Baja Andalucía: la estructura social de un pueblo del Aljarafe (Property, Social Classes and Brotherhoods in Lower Andalucía). Madrid: Siglo XXI.
- 1972 b El trabajo de campo etnológico en España y el problema de la elección de comunidad (Ethnological Field Work in Spain and the Problem of Community Selection). Ethnica 3:165-180.
- Moss, Robert
1973 Spain after Franco. The World Today: 324-336.

- Naredo, José Manuel
1974 La evolución de la agricultura en España: Desarrollo capitalista y crisis de las formas de producción tradicionales. Second ed. Barcelona: Laia.
- Naval Intelligence Division (Great Britain)
Spain and Portugal. 3 vols. Geographical Series B.R. 502 (Restricted).
- 1941 Vol. I: The Peninsula.
- 1944 Vol. III: Spain.
- Nomenclátor de España
1860, 1873, 1877, 1887, 1897.
- Nomenclátor de la Provincia de Burgos
1860, 1900.
- O'Callaghan, Joseph
1974 Christian Spain, c.500-1479. In History of Spain. Pp. 406-414. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Macropaedia, vol. 17. Fifteenth ed.
- Parain, Charles
1941 The Evolution of Agricultural Techniques. In Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages, III:132-135. Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. I. J. H. Clapham & E. Power, eds.
- Pérez Díaz, Victor M.
1972 Estructura social del campo y éxodo rural: Estudio de un pueblo de Castilla. Second ed. Madrid: Tecnos. (First ed. 1966.)
- 1976 Process of Change in Rural Castilian Communities. In The Changing Faces of Rural Spain. Joseph B. Aceves & William A. Douglass, eds. Pp. 123-141. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman.
- Pilapil, Vicente R.
1971 Opus Dei in Spain. The World Today, vol. 27:211-221.
- Pi-Sunyer, Oriol
1974 Spain: A Working Bibliography of Sources in English. Mimeo. Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Pitkin, Donald S.
1963 Mediterranean Europe. Anthropological Quarterly 36:120-129.

- Pitt-Rivers, Julian A.
1968 Honor y categoría social. In Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society. J. G. Peristiany, ed., J. M. García de la Mora, trans. Pp. 21-75. Barcelona: Labor.
- 1971 Los hombres de la Sierra: Ensayo sociológico sobre un pueblo Andaluz. Angel Arnau, trans. Barcelona: Grijalbo. (Original: The People of the Sierra, fourth ed., Chicago, 1969).
- 1976 Preface. In The Changing Faces of Rural Spain. Joseph Aceves & William Douglass, eds. Pp. vii-x. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman.
- Price, Richard and Sally
1966 a Noviazgo in an Andalusian Pueblo. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 22 (3):302-324.
- 1966 b Stratification and Courtship in an Andalusian Village. Man (N.S.) 1:526-533.
- Redclift, M. R.
1973 The Future of Agriculture in a Spanish Pyrenean Village and the Decline of Communal Institutions. Ethnology XII (2):193-202.
- Romero Plaza, Gonzalo
1972 Caracterización socioeconómica de la población provincial. Mimeo. Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Burgos.
- Sacristán de Lama, José David
1978 Cuando Rauda era Roa (When Rauda was Roa). In Official Festival Program, Roa.
- Sánchez Albornoz, Claudio
1966 Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero. Universidad de Buenos Aires.
- Schneider, Peter, Jane Schneider and Edward Hansen
1972 Modernization and Development: The Role of Regional Elites and Noncorporate Groups in the European Mediterranean. Comparative Studies in Society and History 14:328-350.
- Serrano García, Carmen
1975 Evolución del papel de la mujer en el medio rural (Evolution of Woman's Role in the Countryside). IRYDA Información 16:53-62. Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura.

- Servicio de Extensión Agraria
1973 Descripción de la Comarca de Roa. Mimeo. Ministerio de Agricultura, Agencia Comarcal de Roa.
- Shanin, Teodor, ed.
1971 Peasants and Peasant Societies. Penguin.
- Smith, T. Lynn
1959 Fragmentation of Agricultural Holdings in Spain. Rural Sociology 24 (2):140-149.
- Spain, Presidency of the Government, Commission for Economic and Social Development Planning.
1965 Economic and Social Development Program for Spain, 1964-1967. John Hopkins Press.
- Sweet, Louise E.
1969 a Preface. In Circum-Mediterranean Peasantry: Introductory Bibliographies. Louise Sweet and Timothy O'Leary, eds. Pp. v-xxii. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files.
- 1969 b Child's Play for the Ethnographer. Behavior Science Notes 3:237-245.
- Tamames Gómez, Ramón
1976 Introducción a la economía española. Tenth ed. Madrid: Alianza.
- Terrades Saborit, Ignasi
1972 Review of J. B. Aceves 1971a. Ethnica 3:219-220.
- 1973 Antropología del campesino catalán I: Del modo de producción feudal al capitalista. Barcelona: Redondo.
- Terrades, Ignasi, and Laura Fernández
1973 Antropología del campesino catalán 2: Socialización, Economía, y Sexualidad: Un estudio de comportamiento mágico. Barcelona: Redondo.
- Vicens Vives, Jaime, and Jorge Nadal Oller
1969 An Economic History of Spain. F. M. López-Morillas, trans. Princeton: University Press. (Original: Historia económica de España, third ed., Barcelona, 1964.)
- White, Peter T.
1978 Spain. National Geographic Magazine, March 1978:322.
- Wolf, Eric R.
1966 Peasants. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Zamora Lucas, Florentino

1965

La Villa de Roa: Su historia; su colegiata;
varones ilustres. Madrid: E. G. Salesiana.

Zulueta y Enríquez, Manuel María de, and José López de Sebastián y
Gómez de Agüero

1966

Estructura social de las comunidades rurales de la
Cuenca del Duero: Valladolid. Madrid: I.N.I.A. y
E.T.S.I.A.

Note: All translations into English in the text, other than noted
above, are mine.

ARCHIVES

Hoyales

Municipal archives

Parish archives

Hermanidad de Labradores (Farmers' Brotherhood)

Burgos

Casa de la Cultura

Diputación Provincial

Delegación Provincial de Hacienda

Segovia

Delegación Provincial del Ministerio de Hacienda

Valladolid

Real Chancillería

Delegación Provincial del Instituto Nacional de
Estadística

Simancas

Archivo General