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## **About the Regional and Ethnic Division of the Moldavian Hungarians**

It has been known from long ago, appearing already in the early mentions about the Moldavian Hungarians, that this ethnic group living east of the Carpathians, all through to the river Dnestr in the 15–18<sup>th</sup> centuries, mostly along the river Siret and its tributaries nowadays, *cannot be regarded as a uniform ethnographic group*. Of course, we can rightly use the term *Moldavian Hungarians*, as the name of a *regional group* delimited by geographic parameters.

This is what the hard-fated bishop Bandinus did, when he visited the Catholic settlements in Moldavia in 1646. Acknowledging his believers, the bishop named them Hungarians without any further differentiation (Domokos 1987: 334). In his report dated 1781, Péter Zöld wrote in a similar way: “they used to call and they still call themselves Csángó-Hungarians” (Domokos 1987: 92).

The ethnic division of the Moldavian Hungarians appeared in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, along with the reports arriving from that area. It is the *Answers* written by Incze János Petrás (1841) where it was mentioned for the first time that “The Hungarians settled in Moldavia are of two kinds: Csángós and those who immigrated from Transylvania, [...] and these Csángós get along quite well with the immigrant Szeklers, [...] but a Csángó girl would never marry a Szekler man.” “Similarly, or even with more difficulty, is it that a Csángó man gets himself a Szekler wife...” (Domokos 1979: 1328).

Yet these observations behold only generalities. Based on his fieldwork carried out in 1844 and 1845, János Jerney would be the one to distinguish for the first time the *Csángó-Hungarian* and *Szekler-Hungarian* population on the level of settlements (Jerney 1851: 152). The same goes for Gustav Weigand (1902: 131) at the turn of the century, who based his differentiation not on origins, but on linguistic specificities, distinguishing the Hungarians from Szeklers by the presence or absence of their “sibilant speech”. In his work, he concretely talks about the *sz-villages*. Gábor Lükő primarily differentiates also *Moldavian Hungarians* and *Moldavian Szeklers* (Lükő 1936: 39), because he considers all Moldavian Hungarians Csángós (map no. 1.). Without questioning the Hungarian being of the Szeklers, in the maps of his book, but also in the text, he writes about *Hungarian* and *Szekler*, besides *other Hungarian* settlements, underscoring that “the Moldavian Hungarian settlements from the region are older than those of the Szekler-Hungarians”. These two ethnographic groups were further differentiated by the success of the approach of linguistic geography. Attila T. Szabó talks about *Northern* and *Southern Hungarians* (Szabó T. 1972: 126), thus distinguishing already three regional and ethnic groups of the Moldavian Hungarians: *Northern Csángó*, *Southern Csángó* and *Szekler Csángó*. This

is what we can consider *the classic ethnic differentiation* of the Moldavian Hungarians, the one used up to the present by both ethnographers – for example Béla Gunda (1988: 12–13) – and linguists – for example Loránd Benkő (1990: 3) –, to mention just the most renowned ones. But those who spent lots of time among the Moldavian Hungarians and visited many of their villages have to notice that *the regional and cultural division of the Moldavian Hungarians is much more complex than that*. Already the maps of the *Hungarian Ethnographic Atlas* signalled the more accentuated differentiation of this group, in spite of the fact that only the data of eight settlements were included, without a total appearance in most of the themes, and *The Atlas of the Moldavian Csángó Dialect* – unfortunately no synthesising work has been done on its most valuable maps – suggests a more accentuated regional differentiation from a dialectological point of view.

I started to ponder this question myself for the first time when analysing the hemp work of the Moldavian Hungarians; I had to face the fact that the tools needed, plus the names of the parts of the loom did not mirror at all the classic ethnographic differentiation with the three mentioned groups (maps no.2, 3, 4). Then I formulated my suggestions as follows, “Based on the processing of hemp and on the geographic differentiations of some of the related terms, we arrive at the conclusion that we should reconsider our previous views on the regional and ethnographic division of the Moldavian Hungarians. [...] Studying the four maps included, it is obvious that the Hungarians living along the rivers Oituz and Trotuș differ quite a lot from those living along the Siret. This is clear and it is in accordance with the existing theories. What is new is that in some cases those living along the Trotuș show many similarities with the so-called Northern Csángós around Roman, and in this case those from the surroundings of Bacău and those living between the Siret and the Tazlău definitely differ from the first ones” (Halász 1973: 89). Map no. 2 is confirmed at a larger scale by map no. 433 of *The Atlas of the Moldavian Csángó Dialect* (Gálffy–Márton–Szabó T. 1991: 433), presenting the geographical spread of the names of the *nagyoló tiló* [a tool for processing hemp] in the region. It can be seen that along the Trotuș and in the upper part of the Tazlău it is undoubtedly called *tiló*, while along the Siret, from Butea to Ploscuțeni, and along the Bistrița, the Trebeș and the lower part of the Tazlău its name is *ráktató*. (map no. 5).

Among the more than 600 maps of *The Atlas of the Moldavian Csángó Dialect* we would probably find plenty of such linguistic phenomena that would provide important data related to the regional and ethnic division of the Moldavian Hungarians. Their processing must be the task of linguists. Instead I have tried to collect relevant material on the level of social ethnography about how the Moldavian Hungarians themselves think about their situation, to which settlements they feel close, and with which ones they practice different manifestations to express their common belonging. My work refers to topics such as: specificities related to *origin*, experiences on the similarities or differences in *dress*ing, differences of *speech*, opinions (sympathy, antipathy) on the people *living in the other village*, *customs of marriage*, *mocking of the other villages*, the phenomena showing the similarities or differences between settlements expressed in the practices of *pilgrimage* and *going to the fairs*. Unfortunately the collected material is rather incomplete and not enough to draw a general image, thus I can outline only a few details.

### Division by Nationality

The population of the Moldavian settlements is differentiated in the strongest and clearest way by *nationality* and – practically meaning the same – by *religion*. This is such an obvious differentiation, existing mostly in our days too, that we have no use in dealing with it down to the details. We know countless signs, cases and phenomena related to it, so I shall refer here to some only to have a rough sketch on this issue.

The identity and Hungarian consciousness of the Moldavian Hungarians reflects a special case. This is due on the one hand to the historical lack of aristocracy, of middle classes and of intelligentsia in their case, and on the other hand to the circumstance that when they broke away from the Hungarian nation living within the Carpathian basin, they took with them the national consciousness of that age, not the one formed in the 19–20<sup>th</sup> centuries. (See more detailed: Halász 1991: 213–215) Therefore from this point of view the duality of national definition has an outstanding importance: on the one hand they define themselves in opposition with the surrounding Romanians, and on the other hand the Romanians draw a limitation line between themselves and the Catholic Hungarians. *They did not mix with each other before – says a man from the mixed village of Frumoasa. Now the boys dance along with the Romanians, but not in the past. Hungarians on their own, and Romanians also on their own. The former were sitting in one pub, the latter in the other one. The Hungarians had the pub of Ráduj, while the Romanians' was up here, the Prészuj.*

The differentiation was represented also in mutual mocking. These texts do not refer to the inhabitants of a certain village, but to the other nationality in general. At Lespezi for example Hungarians say to the Romanians:

<i>Moldovan, Bolokan,</i>	[Moldavian, Boldavian
<i>Trage, fuge lagioian</i>	Runs after the oxen.]

In response, Romanians (especially children) yelled the following:

<i>Ungur, bungur, ceape-n cur,</i>	[Hungarian, Bunganian, onions in the ass,
<i>Din paharu, de la cur!</i>	Drink from the glass of my ass!]

This is how they have been mocking and joking with each other without any serious conflicts, since the annoyance was mutual. Anyway, the mechanism of mocking or even judging the customs, characteristics or actions of the other ethnic group, that could not be understood for some cause, has been working in the case of the Moldavian Hungarians, too. István Kaszáb from Pustiana, being very sensitive to details due to his outstanding intelligence, told us how the inhabitants of his village – considering themselves superior – regarded their neighbours. *Those from Grigoreni are Romanians, but they are good farmers. Their livestock was good, but they still couldn't reach the people from Pustiana. They had lots of land. When they took the cow to the grazing ground, they didn't hold*

*back the calf. When it came back in the evening, they milked whatever they could get, and then they separated the calf from the cow, and they milked it again in the morning. This was so weird for the farmers from Pustiana, that they called those from Grigoreni “dodányok”, meaning that they are backward.*

But when it comes to serious topics, the Moldavian Hungarians know their place on the palette of nationalities determined by political points of view. A man from Frumoasa once said: *People always say about us that wherever we go, we have a harder step. Whenever we are several people together, we have to be somehow inferior. If the two or three of us are having a conversation, we cannot be right, as the Romanians are. These rural people consider that we are worse than the Romanians. We came from elsewhere. “Banghins” is what we are. That means, we still belong to the Hungarians, so we cannot be right, as they are. When they become angry, they would say even: “Bozgor”. They say it, because they do not understand Hungarian, so they say that we are “bozgoring”.*

From the aspect of the duality in mutual differentiation and in the recognition and undertaking of otherness, it is interesting and at the same time illuminating how the inhabitants of the villages – especially north of the city of Roman – where people have lost their previous mother tongue, speaking only Romanian, still do not consider themselves Romanian, and even the inhabitants of the surrounding Romanian villages call them *Catholics* and *Hungarians*. I had a more than edifying experience about this back in 1996. Halfway between the former Hungarian, nowadays just Catholic village of Rotunda, and the Orthodox Romanian village of Doljești there is a monument which – according to the locals – reminds people about the clash between the Moldavian prince Ștefan cel Mare (1458–1514) and the Romans (!). I asked the Romanian women, who were hoeing nearby what happened to the placket, who had destroyed it. They said that the Catholic children from Rotunda or Adjudeeni, because they were much more mischievous than the Orthodox ones. *Because, well, forgive me if you are a Catholic yourself, because there is only one God, but these Catholic children are, you see, more mischievous.*

Thus Moldavian Romanians clearly distinguish themselves from the Csángó Hungarians, and even from the Catholics of Hungarian origin. This way of thinking is clearly expressed by the confession of Péter Erdős Szászka from Săbăoani: “We don’t say nation around here. People say that they are Catholics. They know if someone is Catholic, he/she is not Romanian. Whoever is Orthodox is Romanian, too. They know that they are Hungarians, but they don’t say it. They don’t really say it. They say: I am a Catholic. Then people know, he/she is Hungarian. And Romanians know this as well. Here is Adjudeeni, Tămășeni and Butea, all Catholic villages, but people don’t speak Hungarian. And they are like punished by Romanians, because they are not called by them Romanians! They don’t speak a word in Hungarian, but they are also referred to by the Romanians as Hungarians!” (Gazda 1993: 9)

### Division within Nationality

It is not easy to observe the often just nuanced differentiations within the Moldavian Hungarian ethnicity. Thus, they often only feel or can suggest these differences. In the following I shall try to enumerate the components of these nuances, based on my observations, but mainly on the opinion of Csángó Hungarians.

1. A generally recorded factor of differentiation must be *origin*, the circumstances of this population's settlement. The so-called *Szekler* or *Szekler Csángó* communities usually distinguish themselves from the *Southern Csángós* living along the Siret, although they consider themselves more like *Hungarians* than *Szeklers*. They observe and make observed the differences, because due to their later emigration from the Carpathian basin, they carry much more accentuated characters of the *Hungarians*. The oral knowledge of the already quoted István Kaszáp coincides with the standing of science related to the history of these settlements: *We are of two different origins, like we, who came from here, we inherited this word: Csángós. We consider that we are Hungarians; Lespezi, Pustiana, Florești, Frumoasa – these are all Hungarians. In Comănești there are Cumanians, but we regard them as Hungarians, too. Ciugheș is Hungarian, Dărmănești is Hungarian. If we head east, only Lespezi belongs here. Those from Luizi-Călugăra don't match with us, they were here earlier, and they are "răzeș" [a free peasant working on his own parcel]. We came here after the repression from Siculeni. When we talk about these people living along the Tazlău, we know, they are all Hungarians.*

However, the locals perceive further differentiation related to their origin, according to their immediate direct or indirect settlement following the events from Siculeni. For example, we know that the villages of Pustiana and Frumoasa, situated in the valley of the Tazlău, were founded by exiled *Szeklers*, but even so, the inhabitants of Frumoasa do feel some differences suggesting that they might have arrived within a wave of secondary migration: *Those from Pustiana are Csángós, too, but their arrival was different from ours. Because that's how we have arrived, some of us earlier, others later. But not them.*

Especially the older Moldavian Hungarians have retained the oral history of their village, which usually coincides with the written sources. According to our knowledge (Halász 1994: 4), the village of Fundu Răcăciuni was founded within the secondary migration of the *Szeklers*, and the inhabitants say that *the oldest family was the Kanton family, arriving from Valea Mare. They were the first here: Gergely and János Kanton. My grandmother was also a Kanton, but they had no son, so the name vanished. There also came people from Cleja, Fărăoani and Valea Seacă. None was Romanian.* In a similar way, in Săbăoani people still recall that the population of the nearby Traian and Bălușești originates from their own village.

The institution of the "răzeș" – a social condition that is really considered by the locals – is also related to the question of historical origins. If it is said about a settlement that he/she is "răzeș", it means that people own (or at least used to own) large stretches of

land and that it is generally inhabited by wealthier farmers. This also defines some kind of affinity, meaning that “they are as wealthy (or poor if they are not “răzeș”) as us”. The already known István Kaszáb presented the surrounding villages of his native village in the following way: *Those from Luizi-Călugăra were here before us and they are “răzeș”. The people of Pustiana had been proletarian until 1864, when they received some land. But not only them, also those from Câmpeni and Pârjol. But not those from Băsești, they have been “răzeș”. Scorțeni is “răzeș”, Grigoreni is “răzeș”. Tărăța is not “răzeș”, Frumoasa neither, nor are those from Lespezi, because they share the same fate as us.*

2. The Moldavian Hungarian settlements differ quite well in their *traditional costume*. The inhabitants of Szekler villages, especially those crossing the Carpathians in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, had been wearing the “*csepesz*” [traditional kerchief] until the 1950s, while the ones from the Csángó villages had been wearing a long, white, home made “*kerpa*” [a different kerchief]. This difference had its role in the mocking formulas as well, for example, the people of Vladnic used to call those of Arini “*kerpások*”, *big hat Csángós*, while in return they were addressed as *Szeklers*, *horse-knee* because – as they used to say – “their bonnet looked like the knee of a horse” (Halász 1981: 4). But there were other differences, too. *In Vladnic the women’s shirt is “ingvállas”* [a long shirt with a wide neck], *while in Arini it is “plátkás”* [also a long shirt, but with a tighter neck and different cutting]. *Those from Vladnic have always been different. Those from Văleni were similar to ours, just as those from Hordești* – claimed a man from Arini. A similar differentiation based on head-wear was known among the Szeklers living along the Tazlău and Bistrița, and among the Csángós living along the Siret.

The regional and historical differences in the costume of the Moldavian Hungarians drew the attention of Jenő Nagy, too, who studied this issue during the 1950s (Kós-Szentimrei-Nagy 1981: 362): “Although costume included the Csángós in some kind of ethnic unity among the Romanians, we can still discover differences between them on the level of regions and villages. The most outstanding differences can be seen between the newer Szekler villages, Lespezi along the Bistrița and the villages along the Trotuș (Onești, Satu Nou, Tuta, Oituz), and the Csángó villages along the Siret. [...] Thus we can still reveal the traces of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Szekler costume”. But the author did not choose to discuss these differences, instead he got to the conclusion: “we can analyse the degree of concordances and differences of the Csángó clothes from the perspective of the extent to which the village has maintained traditional Csángó specificities or assimilated the Romanian clothes”. Besides the unquestionable importance of time, I am also more than interested in the regional differences exposed by traditional costumes.

This issue asks for a detailed analysis, a comparison based on each and every colour and each and every motif, because even the inhabitants of these villages suspect or instinctively sense the differences rather than being able to precisely formulate them. The costume of the people from Valea Seacă – as they say – is like that of Luizi-Călugăra, only that it uses *a little bit more red*. The costume from Șomușca and Cleja is *the same* as the one in Fundu Răcăciuni. Very few differences could be seen in the costumes from

Ciucani, Cacova and Valea Mare, only in the aspects of embroidery. Pildești used to stand out from the crowd. Their costume had different colours, it was made with other techniques. When people used to go to pilgrimage to Săbăoani, to Tețcani or to Gherăești... Pildești was different.

It is very illuminating how people see the differences between the surrounding settlements from the village of Galbeni, situated south of Bacău, at the confluence of the Bistrița and the Siret. Their estimation includes the valuation of their own as well: the women from this poor village of fishermen considered their outfit inferior to that of others. *When the women from Valea Seacă washed the shirts, they used to put them is a little bit of blue. They didn't like it to be snow white, but a little bit blue. And they sewed them in a different way. At Gioseni they used to cut the shirts differently, it resulted in a different piece, you could tell that any time. In Valea Seacă and Bălcescu people used to wear the shirt outside the skirt, therefore it was nicely embroidered. But we are more lazy than that, why should we bother with the embroidery!?* Just like those in Luizi-Călugăra and Lespezi, they used to embroider the bottom of their shirt. In Luizi-Călugăra they love that very strong red. *When we bought this material, we went for this strong red from Călugăra. This beautiful red colour. Then we gave up, but those from Călugăra went on until they found that specific red colour. Well, those from Lespezi used to wear lost of pearls around their neck. The women from Valea Seacă were beautiful, so beautiful, their skirt with nice black stripes, not like the grey ones of ours. And their skirts were stiff, they didn't slip down their butts. They had beautiful things, so we kind of learnt from them. When they were weaving their beautiful skirts, we spied on them. Their skirts were so stiff, that if you put them on the ground, they would stand on their own. The margins were sewed with blue, just like in the case of those from Cacova and Cleja. The girls from Cleja braided their hair like this, in two directions behind their head. And when they braided it behind their ears, they also tied some textiles on it. Even here, in our village, if one had braided her hair like this, people would have said that she arranged her hair in a Clejan way. In Valea Seacă and Cacova girls used to pull together their hair in one spot, at the back of their head, and then they drew out their kerchief, that's how we knew that they were from Valea Seacă or Cacova. In Chetriș women used to wear another type of skirt. In the past they used the same one as us, but it had only a spot of black in it, just like in the case of Găiceana, Vladnic or Gioseni. In all these places the shirts were "plátkás".*

Thus the inhabitants of the Csángó villages from the two banks of the Siret recorded some differences in each others' costumes, and they used it also in the mocking formulas. People from Gioseni used to call those from Cleja "cibrések", and in return they were called "kosornyások". *However, I had a lover from there – told me Jánosné Benke (born in 1906 in Gioseni). I asked him, how do you call us? He said: "kosornyások". And you, he said, you call us "cibrések"? Well – I said – you are so. But why? – he asked me. – Because your shirt is that long! In our village we had different shirts, nice ones.*

There were some differences even in the satchels, although they were very similar. *The ones from Frumoasa were special, so were those from Pustiana and those from Lespezi. You could recognize them all, you couldn't mix them up.*

3. One of the main aspects of differentiation must be the *language* of the Csángó villages. I am not talking about the specificities published in *The Atlas of the Moldavian Csángó Dialect*, but the ones that are perceived and recorded by the inhabitants themselves. But even they are often unable to formulate these differences precisely, they just sense it somehow. As a woman from Valea Seacă used to say: *Those from Luizi Călugăra are also Csángós, but our speech doesn't match.* It is not accidental that the inhabitants of Valea Seacă are called *lispig* for their specific speech. Or a woman from Fundu Răcăciuni said: *the people from Șomușca and Cleja speak like us, but those from Gheorghe Doja speak more the Csángó-like. We don't really understand everything they say.* Another woman, this time from Valea Mare, stated: “those from Cacova use the sound *s* more, while we, here in Valea Mare use the sound *sz*. Our speech doesn't match. Those in Cleja also use the *s*. The people from Fundu Răcăciuni speak like half the Szeklers do. So do those from Ciucani. We are all mixed up here.” (Gazda 1993: 13–14)

Of course, these differences of speech formulated by the locals in their own words are no scientific observations. Cause and effect are not really clear either. Many times they do not consider the people from another village different because of their speech, but they feel it on a deeper level, and they explain through differences of speech many other things, they cannot express otherwise. We can perceive this fact in the explanations given by a woman from Săbăoani. *In the case of Pildești, even their speech is different. It is the same as of those from Iugani. People from Iugani are darker skinned and flatter, and they speak differently.* Sometimes it is only the pronunciation of a word or two, but people do record that and they keep it in mind. According to someone from Frumoasa: *our speech doesn't match at all the speech of those from Pustiana. We say “palló” [floor], they say “padló”. We say “espitál” [hospital], they say “espitáj”. Even if they speak Romanian, we can still distinguish who is from where.* At Bogdănești, near Pustiana, someone said that: *our speech is the same as in Florești or in Lespezi, but south from Bacău Hungarian is spoken differently, those people are Csángós.* A man from Fundu Răcăciuni claimed: *Șomușca, Cleja, Cacova and we have the same speech, and that of Valea Seacă is a little bit different. They call meat: roast. People from Gheorghe Doja speak like those from Ciucani.* While a man from Arini said that: *people from Ploscuțeni can be identified only by their pronunciation, because their clothes is identical with that of the people from Găiceana.*

An especially important difference can be noticed between the speech of the Csángós from the Bacău and the Roman regions, so it is not accidental that when they meet, they usually speak to each other in Romanian. It is worth noticing how they accuse each other of “not being intelligible”. A person from Valea Mare shared his opinion on the inhabitants of Săbăoani with us: “We do understand them, but who had never met them before cannot understand them too well. They speak Hungarian, but they mess it up. I used to go around Săbăoani with a wagon. If you don't listen really well, you won't understand what they say.” (Gazda 1980: 357) From Pildești the Southern Csángós are seen like this, “Around Bacău there are many villages, the people from there are of a different kind, they speak in a different way, they speak Szekler-like. Those don't match with us.” (Gazda 1980: 357)



4. There is a field of human and communal relationships, feelings and opinions which due to their complexity cannot be easily defined, and their motives practically cannot be analysed. We could describe it somehow with the opposition of *sympathy–antipathy* or maybe with the emotional categories of *sameness–otherness*. It includes all nuances of human and communal relations situated between these – in this case only apparently opposite – notions. What this is really about cannot be expressed better than by the following song, which was collected from Jánosné Benke, who was born in 1906 in Gioseni, and who was considered as one of Galbeni, but I talked to her at her last home from Szárász (Baranya county, Hungary).

*A trunki leányok  
Porondi virágok  
És a trunki lányok  
Porondi virágok*

[The girls of Galbeni  
Are flowers of the field,  
And the girls of Galbeni  
Are flowers of the field.

*A dzsoszéni lányok  
Buzori virágok,  
S a dzsoszéni lányok  
Buzori virágok.*

The girls of Gioseni  
Are flowers of the bush,  
And the girls of Gioseni  
Are flowers of the bush.

*A ketresti lányok  
Őszirózsa szálak,  
S a ketresti lányok  
Őszirózsa szálak*

The girls of Chetriș  
Are like asters,  
And the girls of Chetriș  
Are like asters.

*A hordzsesti lányok  
Nagyhegyi virágok  
A hordzsesti lányok  
Nagyhegyi virágok.*

The girls of Horgești  
Are flowers of the mountain,  
And the girls of Horgești  
Are flowers of the mountain.

*A lányiki lányok  
Erdei virágok,  
A lányiki lányok  
Erdei virágok.*

The girls of Vladnic  
Are flowers of the forest,  
And the girls of Vladnic  
Are flowers of the forest.

*A gajcsáni lányok  
Nagyhegyi virágok,  
A gajcsáni lányok  
Nagyhegyi virágok.*

The girls of Găiceana  
Are flowers of the mountain,  
And the girls of Găiceana  
Are flowers of the mountain.

*Nagypataki lányok  
Pataki virágok,  
Nagypataki lányok  
Pataki virágok.*

The girls of Valea Mare  
Are flowers of the stream,  
And the girls of Valea Mare  
Are flowers of the stream.

*Somoskai lányok  
Botosvirág-szálók,  
Somoskai lányok  
Botosvirág-szálók.*

The girls of Şomuşca  
Are upright flowers,  
And the girls of Şomuşca  
Are upright flowers.]

The flowers included in this song probably bear some differences only on the level of nuances, and maybe they express the motivations from deep inside in their judgement of one another. And even if the motif of *challenging flowers* is revealed, the song also expresses that flowers are neither enemies nor opponents of each other. Their great variety makes the picture of the blooming field complete. Among these attributive references we might find obscure guess and clear recognition, occasional characterisation and furthermore, the collective opinion crystallized into concrete mocking formulas. In the following section I will try to enumerate and discuss these related to certain regions, descending from north to south on the virtual map.

4.1. The settlements from the *Roman area*, where the inhabitants speak only Romanian, express their cultural unity by the fact that among other – real or just supposed – characteristics, their language loss rarely appears.

The inhabitants of *Săbăoani* usually say about themselves that everybody in the village is a Catholic, *except the teaching staff, who is Valachian/Romanian. The wagons from our village had wooden shafts, that's why others used to call us wooden shafted people.* They also strongly distinguish the other surrounding Csángó villages. *Those of Pildeşti are kulaks, they have always had lots of land, and they mock us. Clever people they are, just that they live different. Those in Tămăşeni speak only Romanian, and they used to fight a lot. Well, that's how it is, all these "gradients" used to fight.* They call "gradients" [meaning people who live on sloping places] all the inhabitants of the villages situated on the bank of the Siret (Răchiteni, Adjudeni, Tămăşeni).

The Csángós of Pildeşti also consider themselves different and superior to their neighbours. *We are different kinds of people. When people used to wear their traditional costumes, those from Pildeşti were the really outstanding ones. I won't praise it like the Gypsy does his horse, but it was more beautiful than the others.* [The people from Săbăoani] *drink more, they don't work like us. Those from Corhana mixed up with the Valachians. Those from Tămăşeni speak no Hungarian either, but they are arrogant, ambitious people. The people from Gherăeşti are hard working, but they also drink a lot. Those from Iugani are nice people, they are also Hungarian. Those from Butea are also good people and ambitious ones. The people from Teţcani are also nice.*

The inhabitants of Butea, having lost their Hungarian mother tongue almost a century ago, are called *naked asses* by others, but they also have their opinion on their neighbours. They also call the people from Săbăoani *wooden shafted*, while those from Răchiteni are called *onionaires*. They consider that the inhabitants of Adjudeni are agile and impulsive, so they call them *quick ones*. In their opinion the people from Iugani are *Hungarians*, those from Buruienești are *ragged*, those from Oțeleni are *foresters*, because they had lots of parcels in the forest, those from Miclăușeni (mostly Orthodox people) are *ragged Gypsies*, those from Tămășeni are *arrogant and poor*, while the people from Traian are also *Hungarians*.

The inhabitants of Rotunda were mocked by those from Butea with the following formula: *At Rotunda, at Rotunda, there's maize porridge*. If the girls from Buruienești and Tămășeni went for a swim, they couldn't really spare each other. The former would yell:

<i>Fetele din Tămășeni</i>	[The girls from Tămășeni
<i>Sînt iernate cu strujeni.</i>	Winter on maize-stalk,
<i>Și-nnorate cu tărîțe,</i>	Are morose with bran,
<i>Le curg ochii cu la mîțe.</i>	Rheumy eyed like a cat.]

The girls from Tămășeni returned the favour:

<i>Fetele din Buruienești,</i>	[The girls from Buruienești
<i>Poartă cocuri boierești,</i>	Wear buns like boyar women,
<i>Cocul lui ca la fundu porcului.</i>	Ones like the bottom of a pig.]

Based on the facts presented above, we can outline some characteristics of the division of the Csángós from the Roman area. More exactly, the self confident people of Pildești are seen as eminent by others, too, while the inhabitants of Săbăoani perceive their own poorness and lack of land, and that is what the others state about them as well. At the same time the people from Săbăoani, Iugani, Tețcani and Gherăești consider the population living on the banks of the Siret (the “gradients”) a compact group, being the main producers of vegetables. They also record the fact that the people of Săbăoani and Pildești speak more or less Hungarian, but in most of the other villages this language disappeared three or four generations ago.

4.2. The next group would be the *Bacău area*. Locals and others altogether consider that Galbeni and Bălcescu had been formed by people coming from Valea Seacă, but it has developed into a unified village only in the last one hundred years. The three mentioned villages are the closest to each other, but this is not stopping them to mock each other. In Bălcescu and Valea Seacă the fishermen from Galbeni are called *pikes*, because they have been living near water. But in Gioseni they are called “*cibrések*”, expressing their underestimation, while in return they are called “*pozdorjások*”, because they wear sandals

and foot cloth made of straw. They also underestimate the inhabitants of Chetriș, and it is true that there are quite many Gypsies in the village. In Galbeni the people from Valea Seacă and Bălcescu are called “*bullánok*” or “*freszenák*”, referring to one certain part of their village. Those from Valea Seacă are also called *smokies*, because there was a little bit of blue in the colour of their shirt. The inhabitants of Valea Mare are called “*apityák*”, because that is what they used to say [daddy’o] instead of father. The people from Luizi Călugăra are called “*pityik*” [peck] also because of their speech. They consider that those from Fundu Răcăciuni and Ciucani are alike, but in the case of the latter they keep in mind the ornaments on the boys’ hats, so they would be the *hairy people of Ciucani*, showing also their appreciation for them.

The people in Valea Seacă are aware of the fact that they are called *lisping*, because of their speech. In return they call the people from Fărăoani *swarming*, those from Valea Mare *flans*, those from Galbeni *pikes*, those from Lărguța *bushy* (they have been living near the forest), those from Cleja *plumy*. Anyway these people feel that they belong to the same group as people in the villages of Valea Mare, Fărăoani, Galbeni, Bălcescu: *we belong to them. We match with them in the costumes, too. We use the same embroidering. We have the same skirts as well. We are all Csángós. Those from Luizi Călugăra are also Csángós, but our speech won’t match.*

In these villages the Csángó population calls the inhabitants of Cleja *Szeklers*, and we know from history that there were Szeklers who settled in Cleja at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In return, the people from Cleja call those from Fărăoani, Valea Mare and Fundu Răcăciuni *Csángós*.

At Fundu Răcăciuni people consider that the population of Berindești, Ciucani and Șomușca are equal to them. The people from Răcăciuni are *badgers*, those from Ciucani are *ladder-men*, those from Șomușca are *Szeklers*. It is interesting that they consider exactly the speech of the people of Ciucani of being Szekler-like, and the speech of those from Gheorghe Doja of being Csángó-like: *It seems that the people from Ciucani are arrogant, as if they wanted to speak down to you.*

East of the river Siret we can still find some Hungarian settlements. From a geographical point of view these are isolated not only from the villages situated on the right bank of the river, but also from those situated on the left bank, although – as we will see – we cannot talk about a complete isolation. We can observe in this case too, that the phenomenon of division is not really influenced by the loss of previous mother tongue. Arini considers itself a Csángó village, and so do the surrounding villages, mocking them with the term *big hat Csángós*. They also consider the inhabitants of Vladnic *Szeklers* (Halász 1981: 4). *They are good people – they say – and we used to call them “csekék”, but I don’t know what that is. They had been wearing long, white stockings, and they had such a big belt with a big clasp, that’s why they were also called clasps. We used to mock them, because we had only small clasps.*

They also hold the inhabitants of Horgești and Văleni Csángós, because even if they do not speak Hungarian, *they have costumes just like ours*. In their opinion the people from Gioseni are Csángós as well, just like those from Ploscuțeni, the latter being *real Csángós*,

because their speech is even more difficult to understand. They have been called *hairy tongues*, because they use many sibilants.

The people from Vladnic accept their *Szekler* being, and they consider those from Găiceana, Ploscuțeni, Horgești and Văleni Csángós. The elders can still remember that once the Csángós from Văleni used to wear the traditional kerchief and skirt. Those from Găiceana wore a more Csángó-like shirt, while that of the people from Vladnic was a Hungarian-like piece of clothing. *Those from Văleni – say the people of Vladnic – are hard-working, good-hearted but more false people than we are. Those from Horgești are even more false.*

4.3. The Catholics living *along the Tazlău and Bistrița* (the villages of Frumoasa, Cucuieti, Pustiana, Tărâța, Florești and Lespezi) consider themselves *Hungarians*, and they distinguish themselves from the Csángós living along the Siret. With the words of István Kaszáb: *We stand for our Hungarian being, and we heard from our fathers that the others are Csángós. Those from Luizi-Călugăra and the others don't match with us, no matter that they are Hungarians, we call them Csángós.* Of course, the communities he was speaking about also have been mocking each other, expressing their opinion. About Himius it is said that its inhabitants are *newcomers*, arriving from the surrounding villages in the last years. They say about the people from Lespezi that in 1948 they were of two kinds, because some rejected the introduction of Hungarian-language education. The people from Frumoasa are called *mushroom heads*, because they have been working in the forest, and they have been wearing those small, round hats. *Their hat had the size of a mushroom.* Those from Florești are said to paint their lips and fingernails, so their name was *painted*. *Those from Florești had been living near that big road, and then, when their women lead the cows to the pasture... the cow was shaky like this, with the bristles in the wind. But their lips were painted, and even their fingernails, too.* The people from Florești deny it, probably only a few women “committed” this act, but it became public, and in a way stigmatised them.

5. Sometimes the characteristics of the relations between different villages can be measured through the extent to which *they visit each other's patronal festivals*. This is evidently determined by geographic distances and morphological relations as well, but in some cases, when it is about communities with a strong common identity, not even the higher mountains or the larger rivers could prevent them from visiting.

It is worth observing how the Catholics of some villages – in spite of the considerable distance – would travel 40–50 km to attend pastoral festivals. The festival of Fîntînele Vechi, Iazu Porcului – situated north of Iași – was attended by the people of the nearby villages of Belcești and Săveni, just as by the Catholic Csángós from the distant (40 km and more) settlements of Cotnari, Mircești and Hălăucești. In the case of the larger villages near Roman the Catholics mutually visit their patronal festivals.

The Szeklers arriving in Moldavia after the repression in Siculeni have lived especially along the Tazlău and Bistrița, tied together by a natural historical self-conscience When

they visit each other's festivals on the days of St. Stephen and St. Anna, they have to cross the Bălăceanului Mountain that separates the two valleys, a mountain covered with forest. In a similar way, the people from Lespezi, Pustiana and Frumoasa would visit each other's festival crossing the 450–500 metres high Chicera Mare and Dealu Bălăceanului. The Szeklers from Cucuieti, Tărăța and Florești also meet on the day of their festivals.

The Csángós from the villages situated south of Bacău have also been visiting each other's festivals, and in this case the river Siret has never meant a real obstacle. However, we can observe minor differences between the villages: Whether the younger pilgrims would stay or not overnight in the disco of one or the other village. For example the people from Galbeni usually underestimate those from Chetriș, calling them *Gypsies*, because there are many Gypsies living there. *We usually go to the patronal festivals – said a 23-year old girl from Galbeni –, but we won't stay in the disco at Chetriș, we will always come home. But when it is in Valea Seacă or Gioseni, we stay. There are many people going to the disco from Gioseni anyway. We won't go to the disco from Valea Mare, unless it is their patronal festival, because we can't stay there overnight.*

Considering this topic, there is an often returning element, according to which usually the mutual visit of festivals emerge in cases when there are relatives living in those very villages. But this aspect can be reversed: the formation of different familial relations is stronger where people often go to pilgrimage. From the point of view of regional and ethnic division, these two relations are activated as two factors with mutual determination.

6. Ethnography is familiar with the method of *marriage customs* research, used for the definition of ethnic division and communal identity. This means analysing how the included settlements get related under the aspects of marriage, where the brides or the bridegrooms are from, how often these practices can be observed and so on. With the help of this method, even if it cannot be considered an exclusive one, we were able to outline the borders of one or the other ethnic group. With the help of the registers we can also reveal the changes that have emerged in time, and with the quite considerable amount of data statistical methods can be put in practice. But in the case of the Moldavian Hungarians, due to the inimical or obstructive attitude of the clergy and the local officials, the clerical and civic registers cannot be consulted. Thus – at least for the time being – we have to give up the use of statistical methods, we can rely only on the data provided by our informants. Therefore it is more than difficult to reveal the changes in time.

Our observations so far show that earlier it was endogamy that characterised these communities, probably due to the rare occasions the younger generations had to meet with each other. This was especially the case of more isolated villages or groups of villages. On the contrary, the row of close villages along the river Siret had several occasions to meet, starting with the patronal festivals, the common milling and the farming lease. But in the absence of considerable data, we cannot guess the extent of endogamy and its change in time.

Through the customs related to marriage, more precisely through the habit of bringing the bride from another village or sending her to another village, I would like to underscore some phenomena observed within well determined territorial frames.

The *Roman region* with the group of so-called Northern Csángó villages presents a good possibility for exogamy among these settlements. These people are on such level of assimilation that their language loss does not interfere within the customs related to marriage. This is no surprise, because at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century only Pildești and a part of Săbăoani kept its Hungarian mother tongue, and if they were getting married among themselves, it would reach the verge of incest. It is obvious that in this case the customs related to marriage had developed long before the language loss, and further more, among the Moldavian Hungarians – as a result of their specific history –, communal identity is determined by religion instead of language (Halász 1991). Therefore the inhabitants of *Oțeleni, Gherăești, Buruienești, Butea, Răchiteni, Adjudeni, Fărcășeni, Hălăucești, Iugani, Pildești, Tețcani, Corhana, Mircești, Nisiporești, Rotunda, Săbăoani, Scheia, Tămășeni, Traian* have always been in close relation when it came to customs of marriage; as they put it, *it is important for him/her to be a Catholic*. Unfortunately we do not have enough data about the customs related to marriage in the case of the wide-spread partly or entirely Catholic northern villages (*Borgovani, David, Fântânele Noi, Focuri, Iazu Porcului, Cotnari, Sipote, Talpa* etc). A specific case is that of Bălușești, a village situated south east of Roman, founded by former inhabitants of Săbăoani. Its inhabitants used to bring wives both from the north (Săbăoani) and from the south (Călugăreni).

Anyway, the northern villages have been traditionally related to each other under the aspect of marriage, but they had no connections in this matter either with Orthodox Romanian villages or with the Csángó or Szekler ones from the Bacău region. But nowadays the youth from these villages get married with Romanians and also with Csángós from the southern villages. In Butea it is well known that three girls moved to Cleja as young brides, while at Buruienești there are women from Luizi-Călugăra and Fărăoani, and in Adjudeni there lives a woman from Doja. This does not mean that the relations are getting stronger between northern and southern villages, but they have become more and more open, so the young Csángó persons studying or working in the cities might find each other easier. A specific example of this is a recent marriage between a young man from Lespezi and a girl from Pildești, both students in Budapest.

The Szekler villages *along the Tazlău and Bistrița* are also related from this point of view. The inhabitants of *Frumoasa, Himius, Tărăța, Cucuieți, Lespezi, Pustiana, Ripa, Florești* have been getting married with each other not only because of the geographical closeness, but also because of the consciousness of common origins. Though for the people of Lespezi Mărgineni and Trebiș it would be closer and easier to get there, they visit their patronal festivals, but they rarely marry someone from there. It is also true, that from Frumoasa or Pustiana to the “backward” villages of Cucuieți or Ripa only *the most cursed people* would go.

At the same time geographic distances can also be factors of customs related to marriage, as Ciucani or Vladnic – villages founded also by the Szekler refugees – cannot be an option for those living along the Tazlău. Because these eight settlements with their 4 800 inhabitants (data from 1930) were not able to avoid total endogamy, and because there have been reachable villages due to pilgrimage or fairs, more or less often there were

marriages among them. For example in 1995 in Pustiana it was known that there was a woman from Turluian and one from Mărgineni, plus there was a man from Bălcescu and one from Cleja. Some people left Pustiana for Cleja, Mărgineni, and of course for Târgu Ocna, Bacău, Dărmănești, Comănești, Moinești and Onești, but in the case of the latter ones, they entered no communities but industrialised cities providing plenty jobs. *With this communist thing many-many people have been spread all over the country. More and more are getting married with Romanians* – summed up the changes a man from Pustiana.

The villages south of Bacău are clearly divided into two groups according to their situation on the left or on the right bank of the Siret. The ones on the right bank – *Valea Seacă, Nicolae Bălcescu, Galbeni, Valea Mare, Fărăoani, Cleja, Șomușca, Ciucani, Cacova, Fundu Răcăciuni, Berindești, Gheorghe Doja*, plus *Gioseni* on the left bank – are characterized by endogamy, the marriages taking place inside these highly populated settlements, or if not, one of the new pair might come from a village listed above. Of course, distance is also a determining factor in the frequency of exogamic marriages, for example young men from Fundu Răcăciuni have been getting their brides much more often from Cleja or Șomușca, or girls have been going to Ciucani, Berindești and Cleja rather than to other villages situated farther than that.

A separate group is formed by settlements from the left bank of the Siret, namely *Ploscuțeni, Arini, Vladnic, Văleni, Horgești, Chetriș*, plus the village of *Gioseni*, the latter having marital relations with settlements on both sides of the river.

Strong marital relations can be observed also between the Hungarian settlements situated on the banks of the Lower Trotuș: *Târgu Trotuș, Tuta, Pârgărești, Nicorești, Satu Nou, Bahna, Onești, Oituz, Valea Seacă, Borzești, Pralea, Vizantea*, plus some people from *Sascut-Sat* and *Capăta*.

In the marital relations of the latter two groups we can observe further specificities.

At the confluence of the Tazlău and the Trotuș, on the outskirts of Onești, it is obvious that villages showing marital relations also differ on the aspect of whether the bride *is brought there* or *taken from there*. It is evident that a settlement gains prestige if it attracts as many brides as possible. Accordingly we can enumerate several examples for one-way relations between two settlements: one of the two might attract many persons, but it does not really work vice versa. Map no. 6 shows the marital customs of the inhabitants of Onești: where they get brides from, and where the local girls are taken. It seems that distance is an influencing factor, but is not an exclusive one. There is obviously another factor, a kind of hierarchy among the villages that corrects the system of values measured by geographic distance. We can relate to this the observation that between two settlements marital relations can be absolutely unilateral. For example, many girls have come from Tuta to Onești, but no girl has gone from Onești to Tuta. Or the case of Valea Seacă, from where no young man from Onești brought any bride, but where many girls from Onești went to, but as they said, only the *most villainous ones*.

On map no. 7 we notice connections of other nature. The Hungarian settlements beyond the Siret are quite far from each other, and opposite to those situated along the



Tazlău, they do not appertain to a unified ethnic group: Vladnic and Chetriș – according to Lükő's map (1936) – are *Szekler*, Gioseni, Horgești and Văleni are *Hungarian*, Ploscuțeni is a “true” *Northern Csángó*, Găiceana in Lükő's opinion is also *Szekler*, but probably a part of its inhabitants settled down earlier (Halász 1981: 3–4). So – except for Chetriș, which is situated at a considerable distance, with its inhabitants speaking Hungarian no more – Vladnic is the one and only *Szekler* village among the Hungarian ones situated south-east of Bacău, on the left bank of the Siret. The elder of Vladnic used to say that *no bride was brought here in the past, but no one was taken away either. We have been living in this hole, we were born here and we got married here. Only now, after the big fight did people start bringing brides from other places, from Găiceana, Văleni, Horgești. But only Catholics.* Therefore geographic isolation and the urge to break out from it dissolve the previous cultural frontiers. Studying the marital customs on map no. 7 we notice a process within which ethno-cultural orientations are changed, or at least influenced, by geographic influences. This way the presented area – including Northern, Southern and *Szekler Csángó* villages – shows how regardless of the differences in origins, the Catholic population has developed such communal relations that emerged in the possibilities of marriage.

7. *The system of relations* based on different phenomena (costume, language, sympathy, mocking, pilgrimage, marriage) formed between the Hungarian settlements in Moldavia inspires a more nuanced division than the traditional threesome. In the following I shall present some of the phenomena related to ethnical division that could be illuminating from the methodological point of view of the future researches.

I analysed the way the locals themselves – for example those from Fundu Răcăciuni – sense the classical division of Lükő in the context of social relations. Map no. 8 presents the *Hungarian* Fundu Răcăciuni and fourteen other settlements situated along the Siret. I used a different symbol for the villages considered by Lükő *Hungarian* and *Szekler*, and these are tied to Fundu Răcăciuni with continuous or broken line according to how the locals consider: whether they are or are not similar to the inhabitants of these villages. If we show a little bit of generosity in the question of percentage, we can say that the opinion of the locals from Fundu Răcăciuni overlaps the *preconception* in 50% of the cases, meaning that they consider the *Hungarian* settlements similar to them and the *Szekler* ones different from them. In the case of the remaining seven villages, they delimitate themselves from five *Hungarian* ones and consider themselves similar to two *Szekler* ones. In this latter case the geographic point of view comes into the picture: they are less attracted to the *Hungarian* settlements situated farther away. In addition, they feel like being close to two *Szekler* villages situated at short distances, but not to three others, situated approximately at the same distances as the previous two.

The same question raises different aspects in the case of Cleja. The locals distinguish themselves from the inhabitants of the nearby *Szekler* villages of Ciucani and Berindești (Halász 1986: 14), although we know that a part of them is of *Szekler* origin. This is expressed by a folk song from Cleja collected by János Petrás Incze (Domokos 1979: 1410):

<i>Eme széjekely legénynek</i>	[See this Szekler fellow,
<i>Sziszd ki szemét szegénynek,</i>	Burn out his eyes,
<i>E klézsei legénynek</i>	See this Clejan fellow,
<i>Szisz pogácsát szegénynek.</i>	Bake him some scones.]

In other cases geographic distances work exactly in the other way. Among the Northern Csángó villages from the Roman region Pildești proves to be an outstanding one from every possible point of view. Not only is the local speech close to that of the Csángó villages in the Bacău area, but they are wealthier than the surrounding villages, so they place themselves above all the others. If they include the surrounding villages, they make negative observations to all of them. No matter what villages we are talking about, *the people of Pildești stand out from all villages*. It is interesting that this superiority is admitted by most settlements, too. At least all my informants stated the same. Especially the people from Săbăoani have a feeling of inferiority in relation with them.

It is also very interesting to which settlements the outstanding people of Pildești feel close. Map no. 9 suggests that especially with those which are situated at a considerable distance from them. At the same time with the four closest villages they underscore first of all the differences. But there can also be other connections. We know that practically Săbăoani and Licușeni have been united, while Traian was founded by former inhabitants of the former. If we ignore the village of Corhana, map no. 9 might express how the people from Pildești distinguish themselves from Săbăoani and its satellites, while they feel close to the other Csángó settlements. In fact the same situation, or at least a similar one, is expressed by map no. 10 too: the inhabitants of Săbăoani consider the other villages, the *gradients* – as they say, including those that are close to Pildești, *different*, or more precisely *quarrelsome*. The term *gradient* refers to the fact that the three settlements marked with 0 on map no. 10 are situated on the slopes of the Siret, facing Săbăoani. Map no. 11 reveals the ethnic relations from the standpoint of Pustiana. The Szekler people of this village sense some similarities with the Szekler villages situated along the Tazlău and Bistrița, but distinguish themselves from the people of the villages situated right of the Siret, on the *plains*, regardless of their “*Hungarian*” or “*Szekler*” origin.

Otherwise the inhabitants of Pustiana, just like those of Frumoasa and Lespezi, do not consider themselves Szekler, but Hungarian, who differ from the people living on the plains, because – in their opinion – their speech is full of sibilants. Of course, we can imagine that the former distinguish themselves from the latter because of the geographic distance. But it is not impossible that the differences are sensed only by the locals, and are not revealed by science yet.

8. I wanted to expose only a few points of view on the ethnical and cultural division of the Moldavian Hungarians. As I have already mentioned, I am only at the starting phase of this research. And as I try to expose all the analysed aspects from above on one single

map, I do it first of all to make the outlines of all those regional groups possible which are worthy of further research and analysis.

According to map no. 12 it is obvious that the so-called Northern Csángó group in the Roman area differs in every aspect from those situated south of them. But, as we could see, not even this area can be regarded a united one on the bases of ethno-cultural aspects and identity.

There is another *group* outlining *north-west of Bacău*, with the major settlements of Frumoasa, Pustiana, Lespezi and the villages formed by the former inhabitants of the enumerated ones.

A clearly delimited group is represented by the *series of villages situated south of Bacău, on the left bank of the Siret*, and although we know that they cannot be considered a unity based on historical, dialectical factors, or on those related to their costume, they have a stronger relationship with each other than with the villages from the right side of the Siret or the western villages along the Tazlău.

The map also shows that the *so-called Southern Csángó block situated south of Bacău* is clearly divided in two by the Siret, and in spite of all the cultural similarities there are no considerable social relations between the two banks. And finally there is the *group of Hungarian settlements from the confluence of the Trotuș and the Tazlău*.

The exposed points of view and the maps do not have to overshadow the most important characteristic of the Moldavian Hungarians, namely their delimitation from the surrounding Romanian communities by religion and language. Plus their inner division is probably much more influenced by regional factors than science has ever considered it, mainly because of their different local history.

In my study I have tried to complete our knowledge regarding the regional and ethnic division of the Moldavian Hungarians based on my fieldwork covering more than fifty settlements. But this is only a small part of the Hungarian or of Hungarian origin Catholic settlements from the territory once called Etelköz. With further locations and with the deepening of the used method we could probably make further differentiations on this quite sketchy image.

Furthermore, I shall venture to say that in the specific case of the Moldavian Hungarians, due to their gradual settlement along history, time becomes a very important factor in the inner division of this population. *Time*, which is still working today, forming and transforming the ethnic division of the Csángó Hungarians.

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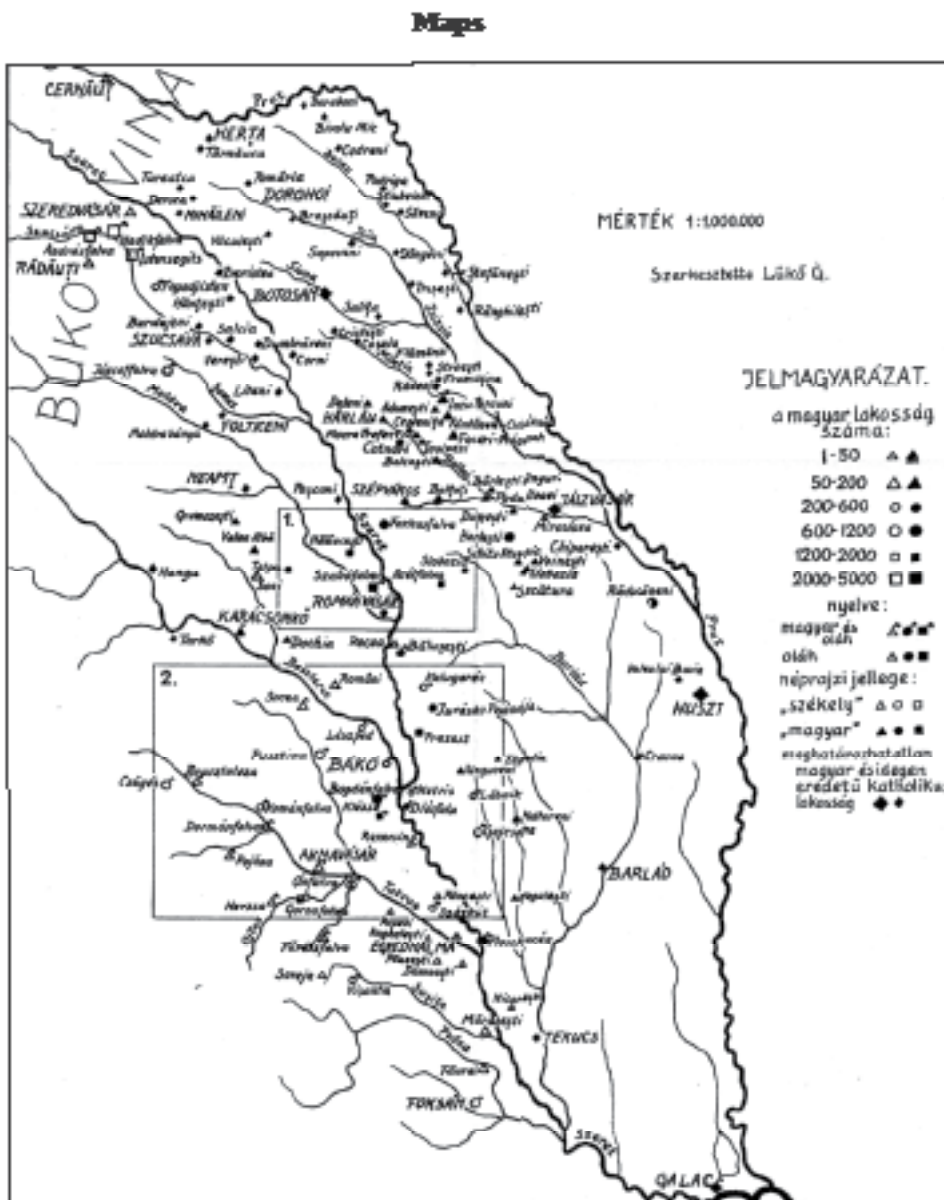
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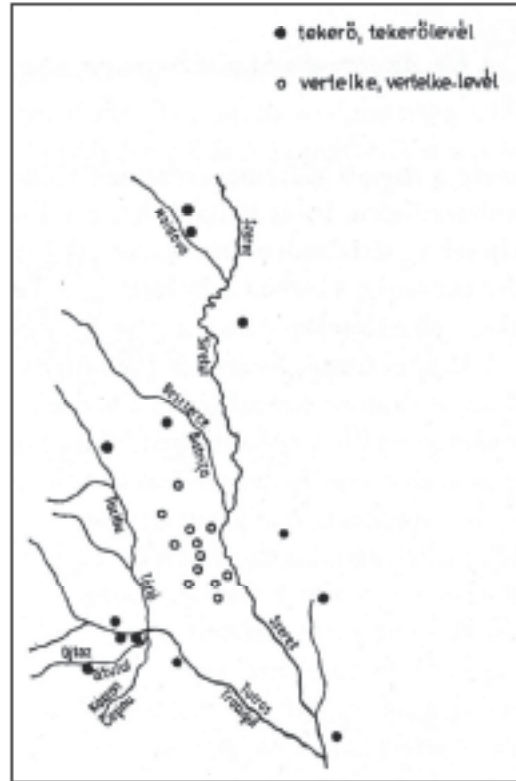
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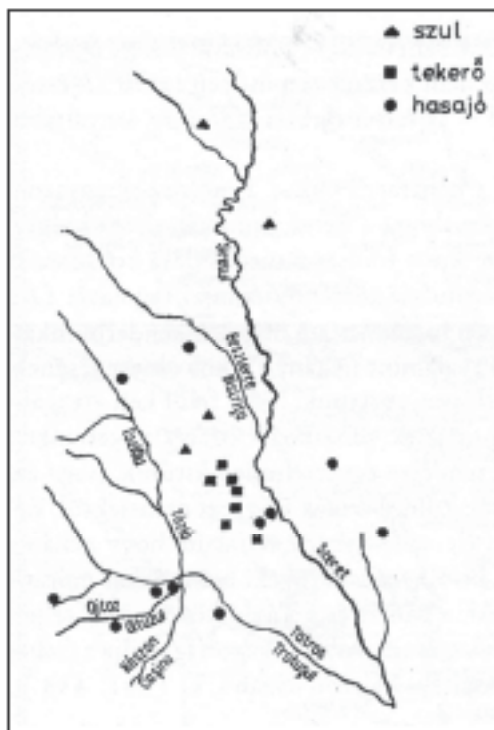
**Map no. 1:**  
**The ethnographic map of the Moldavian Csángós (Lukács 1936)**



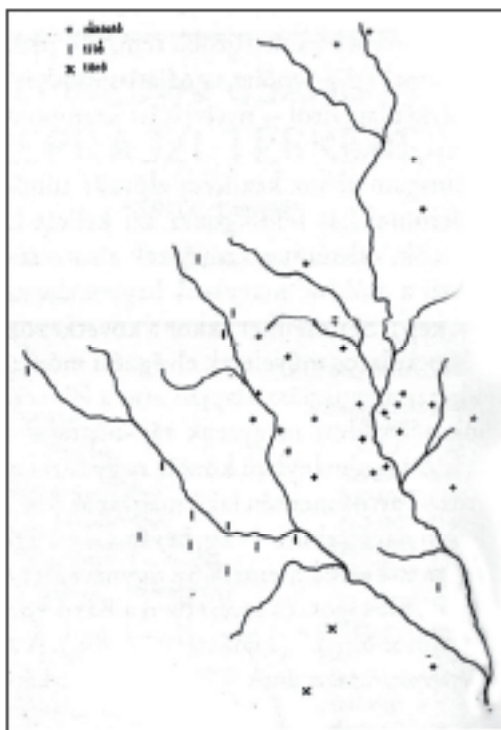
Map no. 2:  
The name of the tool for  
processing hemp (+ ráktató, – táló)



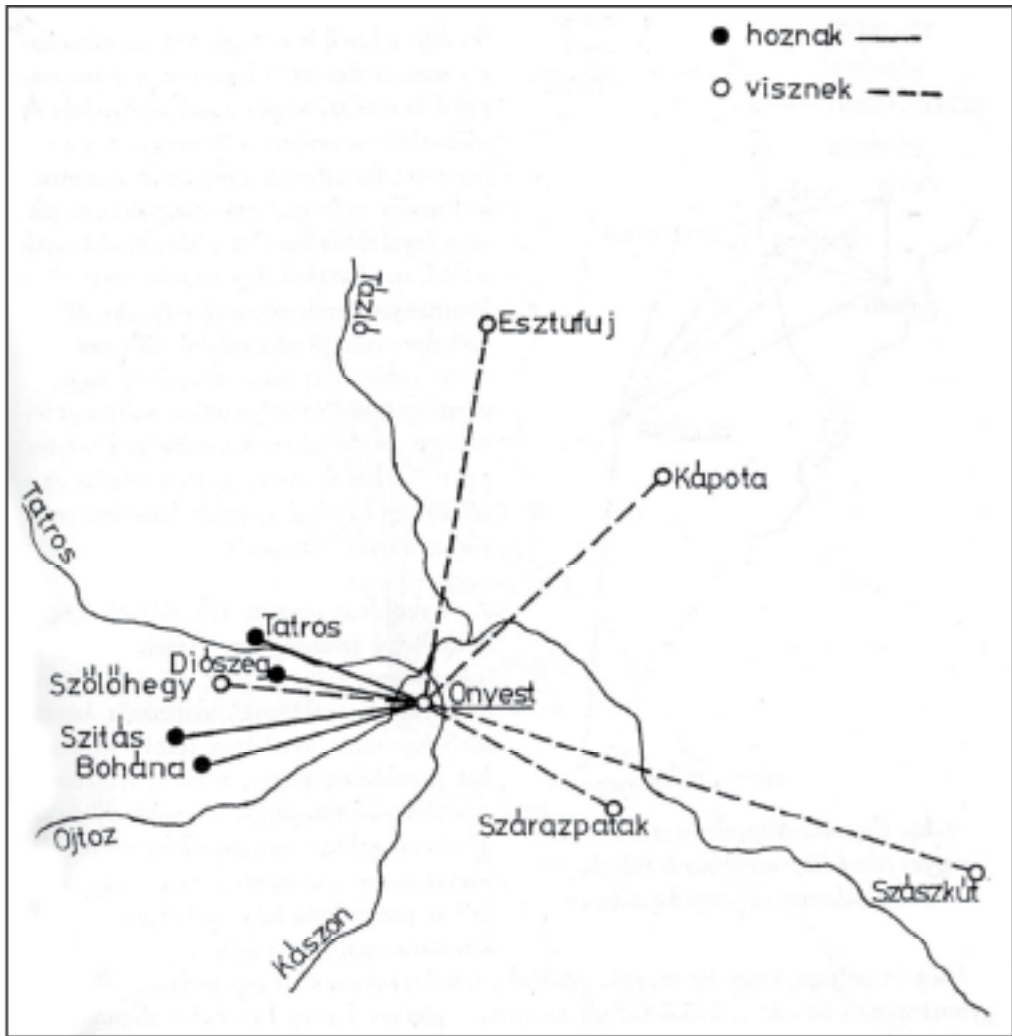
Map no. 3:  
The name of the tool  
for spinning the yarn



**Map no. 4:**  
The name of the  
loom's back roller

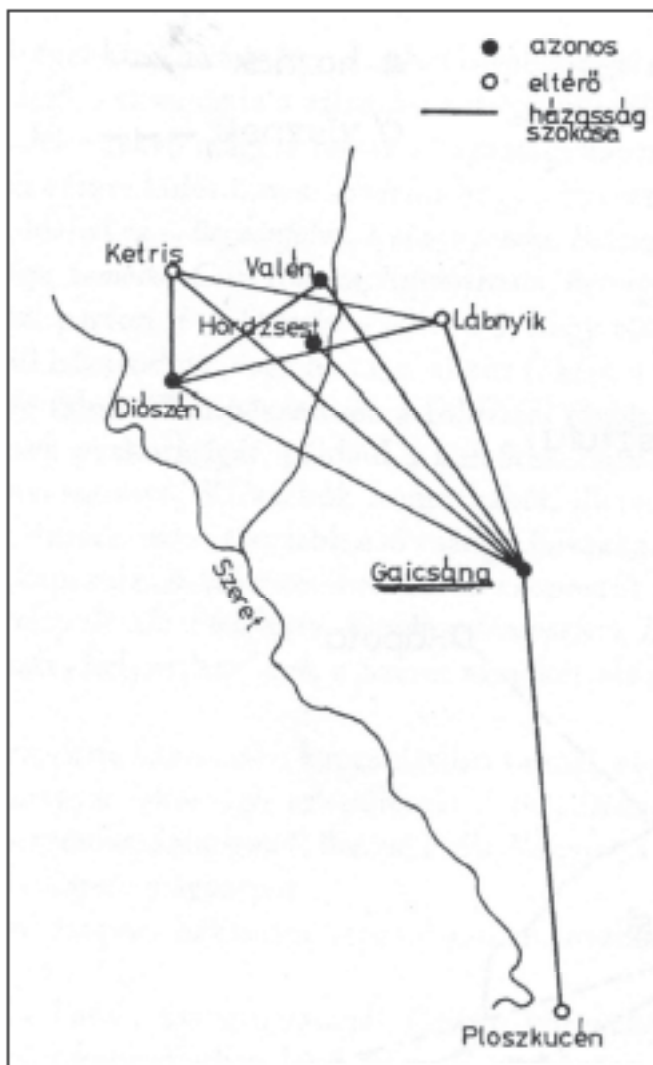


**Map no. 5:**  
The spreading  
of the *nygyoló nő's* 'tongue'  
(Gálffy–Ménfő–Szabó T. 1991: 431).



**Map no. 6:**  
**The mental costumes of the inhabitants of Ónyest**





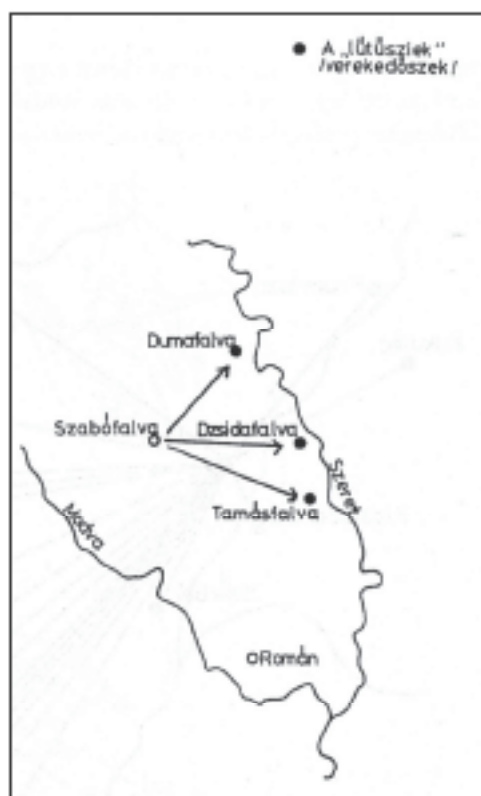
**Map no. 7:**  
**Marital relations between Arimi**  
**and the surrounding villages,**  
**the conscience on similarities and differences**



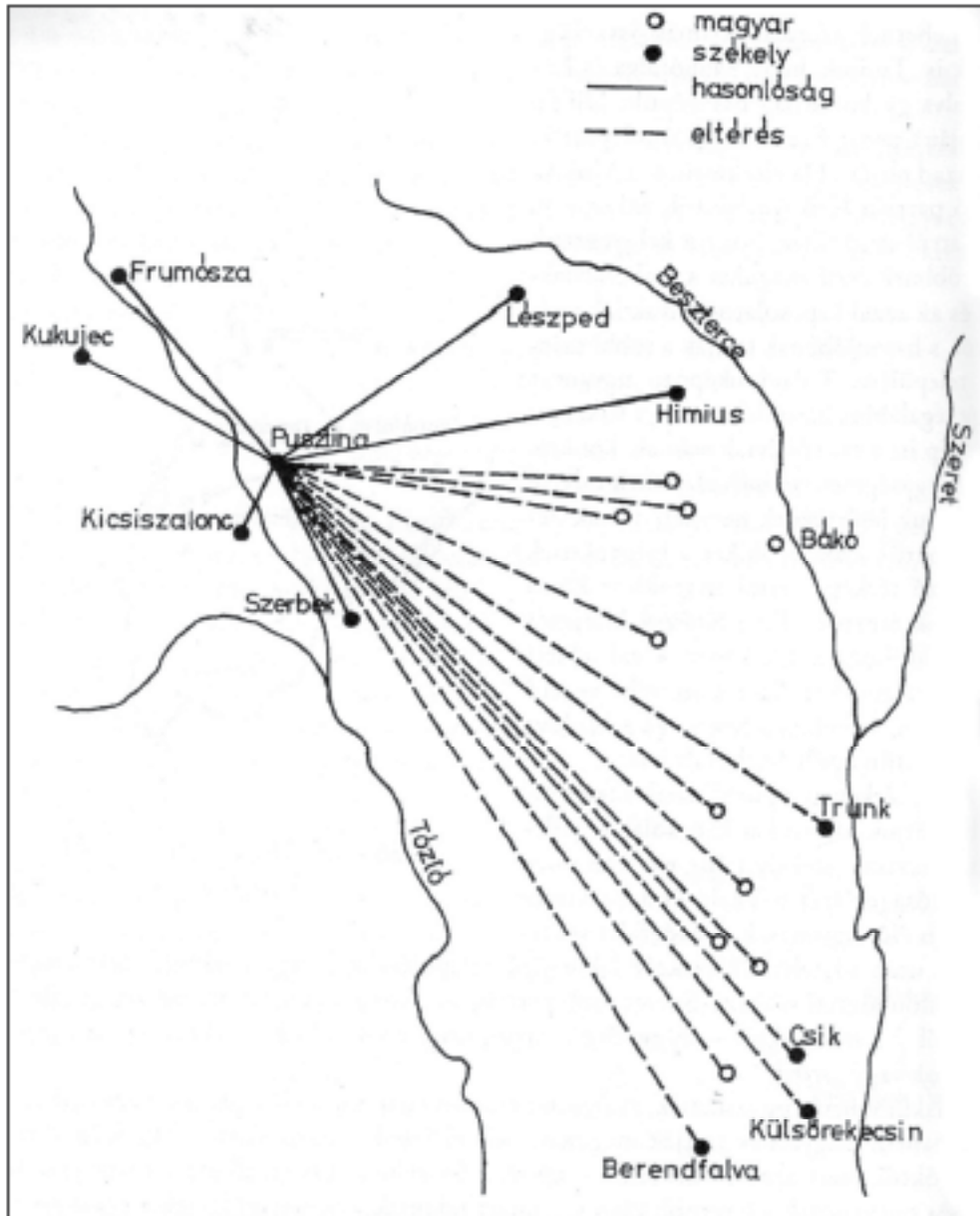
**Map no. 8:**  
**Similarities and differences undertaken by the inhabitants**  
**of Fehér, Rákosmenti regarding Székely and Hungarian villages**



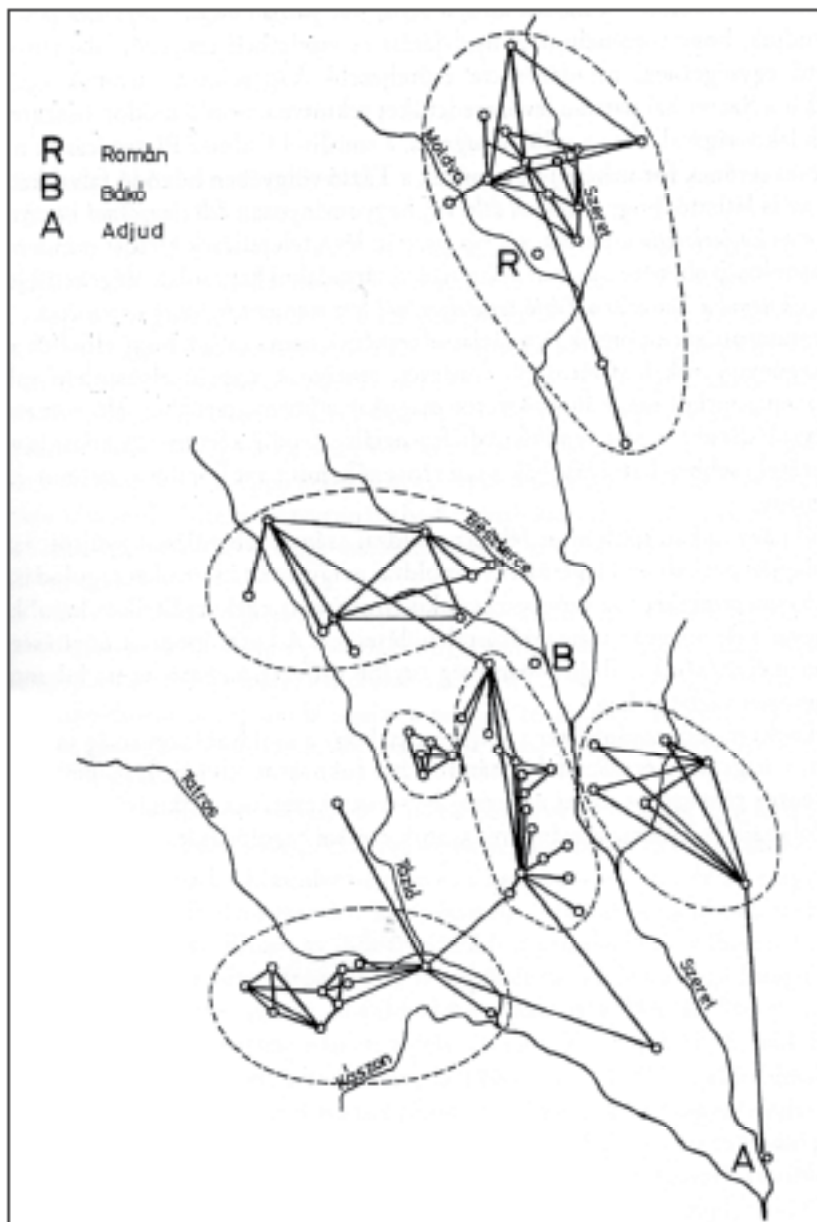
**Map no. 9:**  
The relations between Fildești  
and the surrounding villages



**Map no. 10c:**  
The relations between  
Sibăncani and the gradients



**Map no. 11:**  
**The conscience on similarities and differences**  
**between Pusztina and the Szekler and Hungarian villages**



**Map no. 12:**  
**The outlines of the Moldavian Hungarians' regional and ethnic division.**