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To Face
the Differences
and Similarities
– Cultural Memory
by the Range
of the Carpathians

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To Face the Differences and Similarities
– *Cultural Memory by the Range of the Carpathians*

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TO FACE THE DIFFERENCES AND
SIMILARITIES

Cultural Memory by the Range of
the Carpathians

*International Romanian–Hungarian,
Interdisciplinary Conference*

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Introduction

To Face the Differences and Similarities – Cultural Memory by the Range of the Carpathians

At the beginning of the 21st century, the establishment of efficient cooperation between related branches of knowledge and the implementation of successful interdisciplinary research projects are very much part of the challenges faced by academic circles specialized in social and cultural studies. The interdisciplinary rapprochement guided by novel conceptions of science makes it possible to build bridges spanning geographical and intellectual borders. The Romanian-Hungarian conference organized in the spirit of fostering professional relations between neighboring countries as well as their interdisciplinary cooperation was meant to present the cultural traditions and social characteristics of the two parties.

It is considered important that dialogue and integrated research cooperation develop between Romanian and Hungarian professional fields and scholarly workshops. Not only do we preserve different cultural heritage, edit different histories and organize our national identity along different patterns of memory, but we also *perceive differently* the *shared geographical space* that marks the physical borderlines of the two nations. The Romanian and Hungarian approaches to the regional arrangement of the environs of the Carpathians reveal different symbolic national regions. *An example:*

Between the two world wars, the principle of equating nature with nation permeated the attempts to draw regional arrangements in the Carpathian Basin. The borders of the natural regions effectively legitimized the historical ones (as they did the Hungarian territory of state before the peace treaty of 1920).

Naturally, the same approach was embraced in the process of Romanian nation building but, of course, in a *reverse* system of interests. Not only did the Union of *Gyulafehérvár* (December 1, 1918) mark “the return of Romanians living in Hungary” to the motherland but the unified territorial construction of Transylvania and Hungary from the nature geographical aspect *as well:*

“Romanian and Hungarian perceptions of regions are markedly distinct in several respects. Romanian authors usually discuss their country moving from the mountains towards the lowlands, in a centrifugal system. They blur the distinction between the two sides of the Carpathians [...] The Hungarian perception of regions emphasizes the differences between the two sides of the Carpathians [...] The nation-state origin can be grasped in both perceptions inasmuch as they do not pay enough attention to the links spanning borders.”¹

In other words, both the Romanian and Hungarian perceptions of regions are undoubtedly focused on national boundaries. To Hungarians, the eastern ranges of the Carpathians constituted an “untouchable” national as well as a regional frontier until the Treaty of Trianon [also known as the Paris Peace Treaty or Versailles Peace Treaty] (1920). Romanian academia, on the other hand, considers the range of the Carpathians a mere natural entity the two sides of which reflect natural *parallels* rather than differences:

“Romanian authors [...] refer to the Central Transylvanian Range as »Western Carpathians«. Categories of height are set according to the »ideal« ratio of $\frac{1}{3}$ – $\frac{1}{3}$ – $\frac{1}{3}$ of mountains, hilly areas and lowlands, respectively. By the same token, the Hungarian perception (which is embraced by most Hungarian scholars based in Transylvania) [...] regards the Central Transylvanian Range as an inner wall of partition and splits up the Carpathians into sections starting from the center of the basin and according to the points of the compass.”²

Therefore, the Hungarian regional survey considers Transylvania in a way different from the Romanian arrangement. It is a matter of perspective how we *classify* geo-factors and create natural regions believed as exact. Indeed, rearranging regional factors may result in totally different regional borders within the same area (which may as well align with national frontiers).

It is in this spirit that Romanian cartography wrote about the country’s (Romania’s) territory after the second Vienna Award (1940), complaining that the annexation enforced by Hungary harmed the country’s natural layout. What is more, the lost territory did not seem to harmonize with Hungary’s natural regions (*the puszta*) the grassy lowlands: the alluvial plains of the *Tisza* River), therefore Hungary was awarded control of an alien, *inorganic* natural

¹ Hajdú-Moharos–Sasi–Erős 1993: 16.

² Hajdú-Moharos 1997: 197–198.

region. Consequently, the Vienna Award united inherently distinct regions in an artificial framework.³ The Hungarian party, of course, stuck to its position as well. The attempts to divide the nation's territory in the period between the two world wars adhered to the concept of "the Carpathians as a firm natural borderline" as the ideal framework of space. Proponents took meticulous care to provide evidence for their cause.

There can be little doubt that the reasoning behind these regional arrangements/divisions is completely sound. Hungary had to legitimate the continuity of a dissolved framework of statehood. Romanian geography, on the other hand, intended to prove the integrity of a new, heretofore non-existent territory of state. It is obvious that nature geography was called on to serve the purposes of developing a (new) unified Romanian state out of completely different historical, geographical and cultural traditions.

Contemporary Romanian and Hungarian geographers *gradually realize* that *they ought to step over* the mythicized regional arrangement aligned with state territory and based on national interests. A harmonized regional arrangement would consider Romanian scientific results as well as nomenclature and classify both sides of the Carpathians on the basis of the *same regional factors* and to *equal detail*.⁴ True, contemporary geography debates how to locate certain meso- and micro-regions. These debates, however, tend to find their appropriate place, that is, within the bounds of science proper (irrespective of ethnicity): "The Southern Carpathians. [...] The eastern border of the range is questioned by many. [...] The complexity of the dividing line is shown by the fact that the crystallized mass of the *Leaota* shows similarities with the crystallized nature of the *Fogarasi Havasok* [the Alpine Region of *Fogaras*]. Opinions in Romanian geo-morphological literature are also divided. Certain geologists as well as old-timer geographers also drew the line at the *Törösvár* Pass [...] (Emm. De Marton, G. Válsán, M. David)."⁵

A nagging question, however, still begs of how to build a social/cultural projection upon this geo-morphological basis. How to match natural regions/areas with societal categories of space and leave behind rigid myths of nation building?

³ The Historical and Ethnic... 1942: 44.

⁴ For map and overview of Romanian literature see Hajdú-Moharos–Sasi–Erős 1993; Karátson (Chief Ed.) 2002: 281–282. For Romanian regional arrangement see Monografia... 1960. XXVII.

⁵ Pinczés 1995: 4–5.

This is how: Not only do we *also* present ossified historical/ethnographical regions as distinct natural units but, regardless of ethnic affiliation, we also examine interfaces and parallels existing between the spaces marked with “exact geo-factors.” Ethnography/culture-geography, after all, has unearthed lifestyle equalities reaching beyond precisely set minor natural regions (micro-level) and organizing several regions into a single economic unit (meso-level). This is amply exemplified by a scientific result refuting the insulating nature of the most mythical border section of all, the Eastern Carpathians. The range of the Carpathians is not a clear dividing line. Field work in the Romanian-Hungarian contact zone of the *Gyimes* region did *not* find any *dividing* influence. On the contrary, it proved to be a *binding* factor with regard to lifestyle.⁶

In the spirit of this *close cultural interdependence*, our conference attempted to provide a forum for the following: presenting the various scenes of cultural memory preserved in the region of the Carpathians; the social, ideological-historical and cultural characteristics; the local heritage; and the intercultural relations of the regions and ethnicities *inhabiting* the two sides of the Carpathians. It must not be forgotten that, because of the historical legacy, the relationship between the two nations is burdened with majority-minority complexes as determinant factors. It is also important, however, that Romanian and Hungarian societies nurture different kinds of cultural heritage. By the same token, they mutually exert influence on each other at economic, social and cultural levels because of their everyday coexistence. In consequence, the conference attempted to present the mentalities, value systems and workshop activities of academics specializing in the traditions of the Romanian and Hungarian nations. Another goal was to bring about opportunities for scholars analyzing cultural heritage by means of ethnography and anthropology to get together and cooperate.

* * *

Flavius Solomon's study explores the demographic changes exerted by history on the Russians of Bessarabia. The paper interprets the interrelationship between the Russian and Romanian languages. It also analyses the situation after the collapse of the Soviet Union and how the Russian language was driven back.

⁶ Ilyés 2004: 189–212.

Elek Bartha writes about the buffer zone between East and West as well as the Greek Catholics, describing how this denomination fared in various countries. *Melinda Marinka's* paper presents a model of coexistence between Romanian and German/Swabian ethnicities in *Szatmár* County of Romania. *Katalin Bottyán* applies one of the narrative-identity theories, more particularly *Tengelyi's* concept of fate-event, to process the life history of a mercenary deployed to the Balkans. *Maria Godyń-Wrzesień* compares the villages of *Bözödűjfalu* and *Maniowy* in her study. Both were deluged with water, the inhabitants displaced. The paper explores the identity linked to region and village by means of interviews made with former village dwellers.

Gabriel Benedek investigates Romanian-Hungarian relations between the two world wars paying special attention to the so-called Optant Affair. The land reforms of successor states did not compensate big and medium landowners for their expropriated estates if they had opted for Hungarian citizenship. This involved well over 100,000 acres of land in Romania. Based on British news items published between 1927 and 1928, the study analyses the Romanian perspective of debates that broke out in the wake of the affair. *Radu Filipescu* interprets the same era. His paper discusses Romanian parliamentary debates about issues concerning the western border. This section of the frontier posed exactly as big a problem for the Romanian state as the eastern borderland. Certain Romanian politicians considered Romania's eastern border the final frontier of European civilization. *Laura Stanciu* analyses the activities of *Petru Maior* (1760–1821), a Romanian intellectual from Transylvania who lived at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. The paper focuses on how these activities fit in the Central European legacy.

Emília Martyin writes about research on ethnic Romanians in Hungary. She opines that although ethnographic research on Hungary's Romanian minority has been done for only 35 years, numerous results can be cited. *Cătălina Mihalache* examines the processes of school reform implemented after 1989 and summarizes the aspects of the post-socialist crisis in educational life. The paper attempts to unearth differences, choices, dysfunctions and opportunities from behind official documents. The aim is to perceive the processes of change, more particularly their elements having to do with ethnic identity. *Agnieszka Barszczewska* analyses the similarities and differences in the development of ethnic identity in two minorities: the *Csángós* of *Moldavia* (Romania) and the *Ruthenians* inhabiting the southern slopes of the Carpathians. Basically both groups reveal similar characteristics: they are not homogeneous; they live

in isolated and underdeveloped regions; their religious affiliation differs from the respective state religions; they show “peasant character”; and their communities had not had an intellectual class of their own up to the early 20th century. The major tenet of the study is this: Influenced by historical events, cultural impacts or other factors shaping ethnicity, the self-awareness of people initially inhabiting regions of “twin identities” may be manifested in totally different forms. The study by *Veronika Lajos* also focuses on analyzing the lifestyle of the *Csángós* of *Moldavia*. She interprets the process of modernization through examining bathroom and cleaning facilities.

Róbert Keményfi explores the historical background of the usage of the concept of diaspora. He presents the process of how this notion has become a sensitive term in Hungarian research on minorities.

Reporting on some important anthropological aspects of the field, *Gábor Biczó* outlines contemporary assimilation research in Eastern Europe. He elaborates on two examples of his work: the villages of *Teke* and *Domokos*. He investigates three levels of identity in these villages such as local, ethnic and linguistic identities. *József Kotics* writes about the Roma population of the Transylvanian village of *Zabola*. The study analyses the inhabitants’ preconceptions about Gypsies as well as the prevailing cultural patterns and attitudes towards them. Finally, *Csilla Farkas* presents her examination of the changing Romanian identity in the Hungarian village of *Vekerd*. She is of the opinion that Romanian identity is present in everyday life in a latent way: emblems in somebody’s life history and attachments to the past constitute no binding force in the life of local society.

* * *

Debrecen is the Hungarian center of the *Bihar* region, which spans the Romanian-Hungarian border. The gradual process of shaping the natural and cultural environment, shorter or longer periods of coexistence enriched with local color jointly populated but geographically not contiguous regions: the borderland, Transylvania and some enclaves populated by Hungarians in the Trans-Carpathian areas. This conference was organized to serve as a means of introducing the cultural characteristics of two prestigious university towns, Iași and Debrecen. It was also meant to present opportunities to establish professional and personal relations. Our only goal should be to develop a common European mentality and value system. Along the lines of this, our disci-

plines, ethnography and cultural anthropology, should undertake the task of preserving national traditions. But in addition to nurturing our own heritage, an equally important role should be assigned to getting to know and respecting the individual colors of cultural, historical and social traditions of other nations.

Róbert Keményfi

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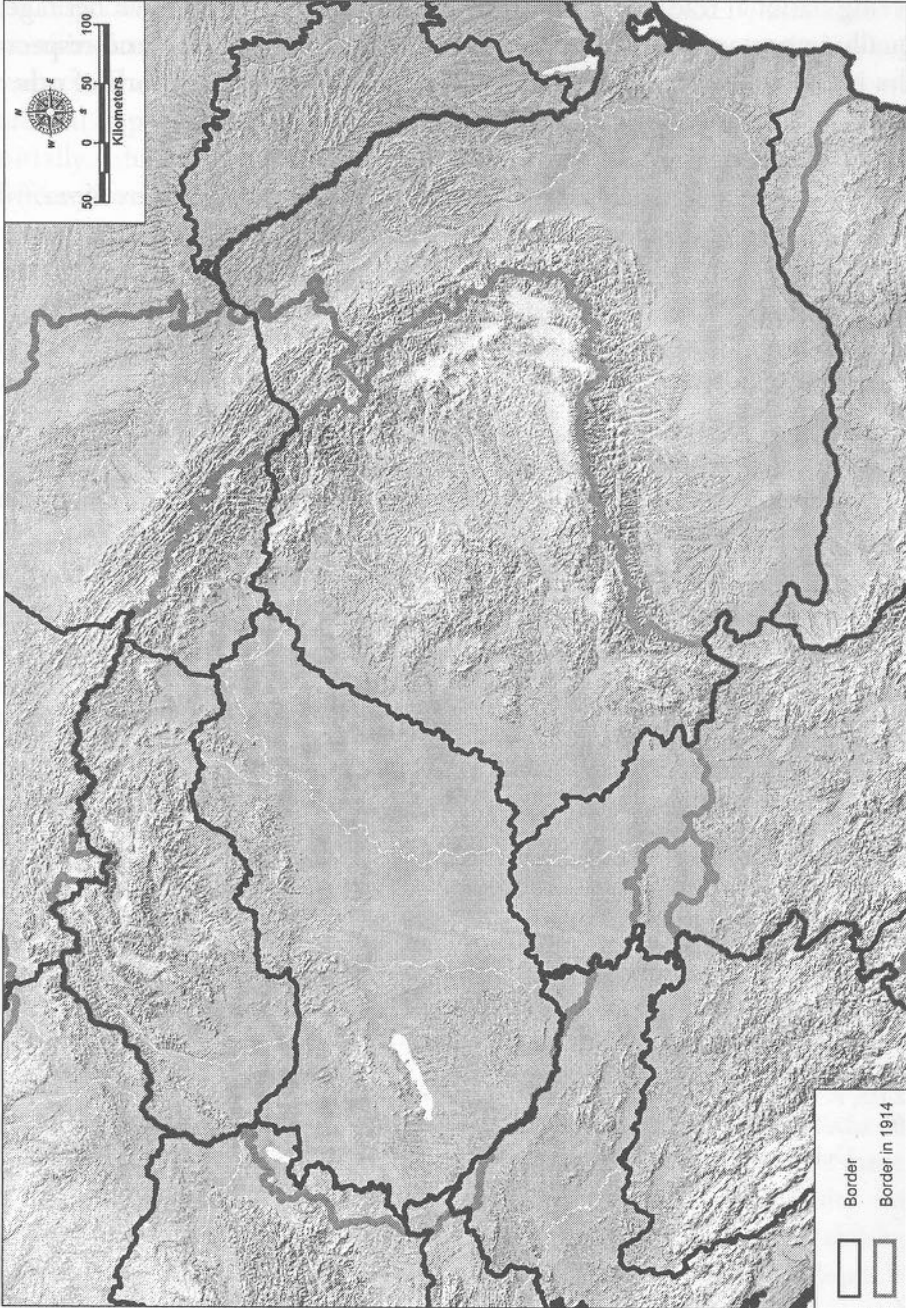
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The two sides of the Carpathians. The sovereign territories of the two nations.

Quantitative Bases: Space and Statistics

FLAVIUS SOLOMON

Die Russen in Bessarabien und in der Republik Moldau. Abriss einer 200-jährigen Geschichte

Demographische Entwicklung

Vor 1812 gab es auf dem Gebiet Bessarabiens bloß einige russische Dörfer in den Bezirken Orhei, Soroca, Lăpuşna, Hotin. In diesen waren seit Beginn des 18. Jhs. die Altgläubigen (russisch: *Raskolniki*, *Lipowaner* oder *Russen „nach altem Ritus“*) ansässig. Mitte des 18. Jhs. ließen sich unter dem Ataman Ignatij Nekrassow und mit Unterstützung des Osmanischen Reiches im Süden Bessarabiens auch ein Teil der kosakischen *Raskolniki* aus dem Donbecken nieder. Dieser Bevölkerung gesellten sich Anfang des 19. Jhs. ca. 2.000 russische *Raskolniki* aus der Moldau westlich des Pruth hinzu. Zu Beginn des 19. Jhs. lebten auf dem Gebiet Bessarabiens einige Tausend Russen, also weniger als 1% der Bevölkerung dieser Region.

Aus dem 18. Jh. stammen auch die ersten russischen Siedlungen östlich des Dnjestr in der gegenwärtigen Republik Moldau. Nach der Annexion der Region zwischen Dnjestr und Bug durch das Russische Reich (1791) begann man das Territorium Transnistriens auch mit Bauern aus innerrussischen Gubernien (vor allem mit Mitgliedern verschiedener religiöser Sekten) und mit Kosaken aus Ekaterinoslav zu kolonisieren.

Eine größere Ansiedlung von Russen in Bessarabien setzte erst mit der Annexion durch das Zarenreich ein. Zwischen 1812 und 1824 ließen sich in Bessarabien vor allem altgläubige Bauern bzw. Leibeigene nieder, für die Bessarabien eine besondere Anziehungskraft besaß, weil es hier keine Leibeigenschaft gab. Ab 1824 begann auch eine organisierte Kolonisation mit Staatsbauern. Gemäß einem in jenem Jahr von M. S. Worontsow, dem Verwaltungschef der Region Bessarabien, bewilligten Projekt sollten hier ca. 20.000 Staatsbauern aus den innerrussischen Gubernien angesiedelt werden. In den Jahren von 1827 bis 1830 kam die Mehrheit der Kolonisten aus den Gubernien Kursk, Rjazan, Orlow, Tschernigow. In der gleichen Zeitspanne wurde im Süden Bessarabiens Land auch an Soldaten und Offiziere niedrigeren Ranges verteilt. Bis Mitte des vierten Jahrzehnts des 19. Jhs. wurden in den Kreisen Bender,

Akkerman und Izmail mehrere russische Dörfer gegründet. 1827 wurden im Süden Bessarabiens ca. 10.500 Russen gezählt. Ab 1825 ließen sich eine bedeutende Anzahl russischer Bauern auch im Zentrum und im nördlichen Teil Bessarabiens nieder (Tab. 1, Tab. 2). Über die Zahl der Russen in Bessarabien um die Mitte des 19. Jhs. gibt es keine genauen Angaben. Nach den Kirchenbüchern lebten hier um das Jahr 1855 ca. 36.000 Russen (Tab. 1): 700 in Kreis Hotin (0,5% der Gesamtbevölkerung); 600 in Kreis Iași (Bălți)/Jassy/Bel'cy (0,8%); 1200 in Kreis Soroca/Soroki (1,2%); 100 in Kreis Orhei/Orgeev (0,1%); 2100 in Kreis Chișinău/Kišinev (1,9%); 3100 in Kreis Bender/Bendery (5%); 12 600 in Kreis Izmail (9,6%); 15 600 in Kreis Akkerman (14%). Nach den Berechnungen von A. O. Zaščuk (Generalstabsoffizier der russischen Armee) betrug die Zahl der Russen in Bessarabien Ende der 1850er Jahre rund 20 000 Personen (2,1% der Gesamtbevölkerung). Anderen Schätzungen zufolge lebten Anfang der 1860er Jahre in dem bei Russland verbliebenen Teil Bessarabiens 43 000 Russen, davon 19 300 im ländlichen und ca. 24 000 im städtischen Bereich. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt lebten auf dem gesamten Gebiet Bessarabiens (einschließlich der Kreise Akkerman und Izmail) ca. 60 000 Russen.

In der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jhs. wurde die Kolonisation auch der Kreise Balta, Ananiev (Gubernie Podolien) und Tiraspol (Gubernie Herson) auf der linken Seite des Dnjestr mit russischen Bauern fortgesetzt. Der größte Teil der von den Russen in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. und in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jhs. in Bessarabien oder in den gegenwärtigen östlichen Rayons der Republik Moldau gegründeten Dörfern (vor allem jene der Raskolniki) haben sich bis heute erhalten.

Im 19. Jh. und zu Beginn des 20. Jhs. stellten die Städte Bessarabiens und Transnistriens ein weiteres wichtiges Ziel für die russische Migrationsbewegung dar. In den Städten östlich des Dnjestr, in Tiraspol, Dubăsari/Dubosary und Grigoriopol begannen die Russen sich bereits Ende des 18. Jhs. niederzulassen, in den bessarabischen Städten Chișinău/Kišinev, Orhei/Orgeev, Soroca/Soroki, Bender/Bendery, Bălți/Bel'cy, Izmail, Akkerman und Cahul/Kagul jedoch erst nach 1812. Die Mehrheit der russischen Stadtbevölkerung bestand anfangs vor allem aus Beamten, Offizieren und sektiererischen Bauern. Ab 1832 wurde die Niederlassung auch russischen Bauern, die ein Handwerk ausübten, im städtischen Bereich genehmigt. Mitte des 19. Jhs. lebten in den Städten Bessarabiens mehr als 7000 Russen, davon 2100 in Chișinău/Kišinev (8,4% der Stadtbevölkerung); 1600 in Bender/Bendery (10,2%) und 1600 in

Tiraspol (34,3%). In anderen wichtigen Städten (Bălți/Bel'cy, Orhei/Orgeev, Soroca/Soroki, Akkerman, Izmail) schwankte die Zahl der Russen zwischen hundert und sechshundert Personen. In der zweiten Hälfte des 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jhs. stieg die Zahl der Russen in den Städten Bessarabiens und Transnistriens auf Grund der Eingliederung von umliegenden Dörfern in den Stadtbereich sowie durch Zuwanderung von Arbeitern aus den russischen Gubernien (Tab. 3).

Bei der Volkszählung von 1897, die erstmals die Sprache berücksichtigte, wurden in Bessarabien 155.774 Velikorussen (Großrussen) (8,04% der Gesamtbevölkerung) registriert (Tab. 1), davon lebten 84 153 (5,12% der Gesamtbevölkerung) auf dem Lande (Tab. 2) und 71 621 (24,41%) in Städten (Tab. 3). Die Angaben dieser Volkszählung in Bessarabien werden jedoch von vielen russischen und sowjetischen Wissenschaftlern angefochten. Diese heben beispielsweise hervor, dass unter der Rubrik Großrussen sehr viele Ukrainer, Moldauer/ Rumänen oder gar Juden registriert worden waren. In den offiziellen Ergebnissen der Volkszählung von 1897 tauchen zum Beispiel auch „Velikorussen“ mosaischen Glaubens auf. Gemäß den Untersuchungen des Ethnographen V. N. Butovič, die von L. S. Berg bearbeitet und 1907 veröffentlicht wurden, lebten im ländlichen Bereich Bessarabiens 38 227 Russen: 2505 in Kreis Hotin (0,8% der Kreisbevölkerung); 3141 in Kreis Soroca/Soroki (1,4%); 652 in Kreis Bălți/Bel'cy (0,3%); 446 in Kreis Orhei/Orgeev (0,2%); 726 in Kreis Chişinău/Kišinev (0,4%); 3484 in Kreis Bender/Bendery (1,8%); 13 238 in Kreis Akkerman (4,9%); 14 043 in Kreis Izmail (6,8%). Anfang des 20. Jhs. lebten im städtischen Bereich weniger Russen, als die Angaben der Volkszählung von 1897 nahe gelegt haben. In seiner Schrift *Russkoe naselenie Moldavii* (Chişinău, 1990) schätzte I. V. Tabak die Zahl der russischstämmigen Personen in Bessarabien zu Beginn des 20. Jhs. auf insgesamt 100 000 (ca. 40 000 auf dem Lande und ca. 60 000 in Städten) (Tab. 2, Tab. 3). Noch schwieriger ist es, für diese Periode die Zahl der Russen in den Rayons östlich des Dnjestr, im heutigen Transnistrien festzulegen. Der Volkszählung von 1897 nach lebten in Kreis Tiraspol der Gubernie Herson 240 100 Personen, von denen ca. 40 700 Russen waren.

Die Agrarreform von 1906 löste in Bessarabien eine Auswanderungsbewegung der armen Bauern in die östlichen Regionen des Russischen Reiches aus, auch wenn sie in ihrem Umfang viel kleiner ausfiel als in anderen Gubernien. Es gibt keine Angaben zur ethnischen Struktur der ca. 60 000 Bauern, die bis 1914 Bessarabien verlassen haben. Es ist allerdings bekannt, dass fast

die Hälfte von ihnen nach Bessarabien zurückkehrte, weil sie mit den Lebensbedingungen in den Regionen, in denen sie Land bekommen hatten (vor allem in Sibirien und Kasachstan) unzufrieden waren. Die Ethnostruktur der Bevölkerung Bessarabiens wurde auch vom Ersten Weltkrieg beeinflusst.

Nach den Berechnungen von G. Murgoci gab es in Bessarabien zum Zeitpunkt der Vereinigung mit Rumänien (1918) 51 500 Russen (30 000 im ländlichen und 21 500 im städtischen Bereich) (Tab. 1–3); nach C. Filipescu und Eugeniu N. Giurgea jedoch rund 134 000 Russen (davon 86 000 auf dem Lande und 48 000 in Städten). Filipescu und Giurgea teilten die russische Bevölkerung Bessarabiens auf in „Velikorussen“ (75 000 im städtischen, 40 000 im ländlichen Milieu) und „Lipowaner/ Kosaken“ (59 000, davon 41 000 im ländlichen und 18 000 im städtischen Bereich). Nach der Volkszählung von 1930 lebten in Bessarabien 351 900 Russen (12,3% der Gesamtbevölkerung), davon 99 500 in Städten und 252 400 in Dörfern. Während die Zahlen zur russischen Stadtbevölkerung realistisch sind, erscheinen die Angaben über die russische Bevölkerung auf dem Lande etwas irreführend. Verschiedene Anzeichen sprechen dafür, dass ein Teil der ukrainischen Bevölkerung im Norden Bessarabiens (in den Kreisen Bălți und Hotin) als Russen registriert wurde.

In der Zwischenkriegszeit bildeten die Russen die numerisch drittstärkste ethnische Gruppe in der MASSR (Transnistrien), nach den Ukrainern und den Moldauern. Nach der Volkszählung von 1926 wurden in der MASSR 48 900 Russen (8,5% der Gesamtbevölkerung) registriert (Tab. 1), wovon 29 600 auf dem Lande und 19 300 in Städten lebten. Im ländlichen Bereich waren Russen vor allem in den Dörfern ansässig, die bereits Ende des 18. bis Anfang des 19. Jhs. gegründet worden waren, vor allem im ehemaligen Kreis Tiraspol. Urban bildeten die Russen eine bedeutende Bevölkerungsgruppe in Tiraspol (12 000; 55% der Stadtbevölkerung), Balta, Ananiev und Birzula (Kotovsk). Auf das heutige Territorium Transnistrien bezogen betrug 1926 die Zahl der Russen 15 100 (7,3% der Gesamtbevölkerung), neben 106 900 Moldauern (51,6%) und 56 600 Ukrainern (27,3%).

Im Oktober 1940 lebten auf dem Territorium der MSSR 188 311 Russen (7,2% der Gesamtbevölkerung), davon 150 345 westlich des Dnjestr und 37 966 östlich dieses Flusses (Tab. 1). Nach dem Einmarsch der rumänischen und deutschen Armee in Bessarabien und Transnistrien flüchtete ein Teil der Russen. Im August 1941 registrierten die rumänischen Behörden in Bessarabien 158 088 Russen (6,6% der Gesamtbevölkerung) (Tab. 1).

Im Zeitraum von 1944 bis 1979 hatten die Russen durch Zuwanderung die höchste Zuwachsrates innerhalb der Gesamtbevölkerung der MSSR. Bei der Volkszählung von 1959 registrierte man in der Republik Moldau 292 900 Russen (10,2% der Gesamtbevölkerung), 1970 414 400 (11,6%), 1979 505 700 (12,8%) und 1989 562 000 (12,95%) (Tab. 1). Für den Zeitraum von 1959 bis 1989 betrug der Zuwachs der Russen in der MSSR 91,8%, bei einer durchschnittlichen Bevölkerungszunahme von 50,3% bei allen anderen ethnischen Gruppen. In den ersten Nachkriegsjahren waren es vor allem Offiziere und Angehörige der sowjetischen Sicherheitsbehörden, im Zeitraum von 1950 bis 1970 zunehmend Arbeiter und Ingenieure aus anderen Regionen der UdSSR, die in die Moldau eingewandert waren. Zusammen mit den Ukrainern stellten die Russen das größte Zuwanderungskontingent, so für die Zeit von 1959 bis 1970 34% der 226.800 in die MSSR eingewanderten Personen. 1989 waren von den 562 069 Russen, die in der Republik Moldau lebten, 48% (269 946) außerhalb der MSSR geboren (199 913 in Russland, 40 158 in der Ukraine, 10 985 in Kasachstan, 3115 in Weißrussland, 10 071 in anderen Sowjetrepubliken und 5704 außerhalb der UdSSR).

Die Migrationsbewegung nach 1944 bestimmte zu einem großen Teil auch die Verteilung der russischen Bevölkerung auf den ländlichen und den städtischen Bereich. Während in der Sowjetzeit die Zahl und der Anteil der Russen im ländlichen Bereich stagnierte und allmählich sogar abnahm, von 4,4% der Gesamtbevölkerung 1959 auf 3,9% 1970, 3,6% 1979 und 3,4% im Jahre 1989, war der dynamische Zuwachs im städtischen Bereich besonders hoch: von 195 100 Personen im Jahr 1959 auf 413 000 im Jahr 1979 und 483 700 im Jahr 1989, so dass zu dem letztgenannten Zeitpunkt bereits 86,1% aller Russen in Städten ansässig war und sie in den Städten mit mehr als 100 000 Einwohnern die zweitgrößte ethnische Gruppe bildeten: 174 577 (26% der Gesamtbevölkerung) in Chişinău/Kišinev, 74.687 (41%) in Tiraspol, 55 033 (42%) in Bender/Bendery und 38 309 (24,5%) in Bălţi/Bel'cy.

Die Zuwanderung der Russen in die MSSR hat jedoch bereits Ende der 1970er Jahre ihren Kulminationspunkt erreicht und nahm nach 1985 deutlich ab, um sodann nach 1989 einer Abwanderungsbewegung Platz zu machen. Im Zeitraum von 1989 bis 1996 verließen 87 979 Russen die Republik Moldau in Richtung Russische Föderation. Allerdings kamen in der gleichen Zeitspanne 44 138 Russen aus der Russischen Föderation in die Republik Moldau. Für die abgewanderten Russen war neben allgemeinen wirtschaftlichen Gründen die

Änderung der Sprachgesetzgebung ausschlaggebend dafür, das Land für immer zu verlassen. Denn die obligatorische Verwendung der rumänischen Sprache im öffentlichen Leben sowie in der Verwaltung erschien ihnen offenbar unzumutbar. Bei der Volkszählung vom Oktober 2004 wurden in der Republik Moldau (ohne Transnistrien und die Stadt Bender/Tighina) 198 444 Russen registriert (5,8% der Gesamtbevölkerung), 97 274 in Chişinău und 24 320 in Bălţi.

Angaben zur Siedlungsgeschichte und zur Gruppengeschichte

Die „Lipowaner“

Die ersten Gruppen von Russen, die sich bereits Anfang des 18. Jhs. auf dem Territorium Bessarabiens niederließen, setzten sich aus orthodoxen Christen nach altem Ritus zusammen, die aus Russland geflüchtet waren, weil sie sich geweigert hatten, die Reform des Patriarchen Nikon (die Bibelkorrektur und die Anpassung des Ritus in der Russischen Kirche an die Praxis der anderen orthodoxen Kirchen) anzunehmen. Im 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jhs. waren die orthodoxen Christen nach altem Ritus in Bessarabien mehrheitlich Anhänger der „priesterlichen Eintracht“ (russ: *popovskogo soglasija*), genannt auch Anhänger der Hierarchie von Kloster Fântâna Albă (rum.)/ Fontina Alba (deutsch)/ Bila Kernycia (ukr.) (heute im Rayon Gliboka/ Hliboca, Region Czernowitz, Ukraine). Diese erkannten die Institution der Priesterschaft und die Autorität des Zaren an. Die Hierarchie von Fântâna Albă/ Bila Kernycia wurde 1844 von den österreichischen Behörden anerkannt und war eine Zeitlang das Zentrum der orthodoxen Gläubigen nach altem Ritus in der Habsburger Monarchie, in Russland und im Osmanischen Reich. In den Jahren 1860 teilte sich die Hierarchie von Fântâna Albă/ Bila Kernycia in zwei Strömungen (russ: *okružniki* und *protivookružniki*), existierte aber formell weiterhin bis 1944. Andere zwei wichtige Gruppen waren die Anhänger der „flüchtigen Priester“ (russ: *beglopovcy*; diese akzeptierten die Priester, die sich von der offiziellen orthodoxen Kirche gelöst hatten) und jene der „einigen Gläubigen“ (russ: *edinovercy*; sie erkannten die offizielle Hierarchie der Russischen Orthodoxen Kirche an, bewahrten jedoch die Riten bis zur Reform

des Patriarchen Nikon). Unter den russischen orthodoxen Christen nach altem Ritus gab es auch Gruppen, die die Autorität der Priester nicht anerkannten (diese wurden von Predigern ersetzt). Vom Namen einer solchen Gruppe (den Filipowener) scheint auch der Name der „Lipowaner“ zu stammen, wie die ortsansässige Bevölkerung in der Moldau die Russen nach altem Ritus nannte. In der zweiten Hälfte des 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jhs. erschienen innerhalb dieser Gruppen auch andere, kleinere Sekten. Neben den Ukrainern befanden sich unter den Mitgliedern der religiösen Gruppen nach altem Ritus auch einige russische Händler aus Bessarabien. Laut kirchlichen Quellen existierten in den Jahren 1880 in Bessarabien ca. 20 000 russische Gläubige nach altem Ritus: Kreis Hotin – 3000; Soroca/Soroki – 3000; Bălți/Bel'cy – 200; Orhei/Orgeev – 1500; Chişinău/Kišinev – 1000; Bender/Bendery – 2000; Akkerman – 300; Izmail – 9000. Bei der Volkszählung von 1887 wurden 28,5 Tausend orthodoxe Gläubige nach altem Ritus registriert (18 000 im ländlichen und 10 500 im städtischen Milieu), darunter sich außer Russen auch eine kleine Anzahl von Ukrainern und Moldauer/ Rumänen befanden. 1905 erkannten die russischen Behörden das Recht der Gläubigen nach altem Ritus an, sich in separaten religiösen Gemeinden zu organisieren.

Nach 1918 fanden in Bessarabien eine bedeutende Anzahl von Hierarchen der orthodoxen Kirche nach altem Ritus aus Russland Zuflucht. Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg fuhr die MSSR fort, ein wichtiges Zentrum für die orthodoxen Gläubigen nach altem Ritus zu sein, auch wenn sie mehr als andere religiöse Gemeinschaften unter Repressalien zu leiden hatten. Viele gegenwärtige Hierarchen der orthodoxen Kirche nach altem Ritus Russlands stammen aus der Republik Moldau. Zurzeit gibt es in der Republik Moldau eine Eparchie der orthodoxen Gläubigen nach altem Ritus, an deren Spitze sich Zosima, Bischof von Chişinău und der gesamten Moldau, befindet. Aus der kirchenrechtlichen Perspektive untersteht dieses Bistum der Metropole von Moskau und ganz Russland. Bedeutende Gemeinden mit orthodoxen Gläubigen nach altem Ritus gibt es in Städten wie Chişinău, Tiraspol, Bender, Bălți, Cahul, Orhei und in einigen Dörfern in den Rayons Orhei, Soroca, Floreşti. 1992 funktionierten in der Republik Moldau 14 Kirchen und ein orthodoxes Kloster nach altem Ritus.

*Die Russen im politischen und wirtschaftlichen
Leben Bessarabiens und der Republik Moldau*

In der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jhs. unterschied sich die überwiegend bäuerliche Sozialstruktur der Russen in Bessarabien kaum von der der Moldauer. Mit der Modernisierung der Verwaltung, des Unterrichtswesens und des Gesundheitssystems nahm der Anteil der Russen in diesen Bereichen stark zu. Zum Ende des 19. Jhs. stellten die Russen mehr als 60% aller Angestellten in der Zentral-, Regional- und Kommunalverwaltung, in Justiz und Polizei. Unter den Lehrern betrug der Anteil der Russen 20%, und unter den Literaten, Journalisten und Ärzten ca. 37%. Andererseits waren die Russen Ende des 19., Anfang des 20. Jhs. in Handwerk und Industrie weiterhin relativ schwach vertreten.

Die Vereinigung Bessarabiens mit Rumänien im Jahre 1918 stellte sehr viele Russen vor die Entscheidung, entweder sich an den Herrschaftswechsel anzupassen oder die Provinz zu verlassen. Von den rumänischen Behörden wurde die restriktive Politik gegenüber der russischen Minderheit mit den territorialen Ansprüchen der Sowjetunion begründet. Für die ganze Zwischenkriegszeit entwickelte sich die Frage des Kirchenkalenders zu einem Spannungselement zwischen den russischen orthodoxen Christen und den rumänischen Behörden. 1924 übernahm die Rumänische Orthodoxe Kirche die gregorianische Zeitrechnung, was jedoch vor allem in Bessarabien nicht von allen orthodoxen, insbesondere von den russischen Gemeinden akzeptiert wurde. Die russische Intelligenz kritisierte die Zensur in Presse und Theater. Denn ab 1928 waren alle Theater, die in einer anderen als der rumänischen Sprache spielten, dazu gezwungen, eine Sondergenehmigung einzuholen. Andererseits war nach der Oktoberrevolution für viele Angehörige von Intelligenzberufen und für Priester Russlands Bessarabien ein Zufluchtort vor sowjetischer Verfolgung. Sie vermehrten damit auch die Zahl der Journalisten der russischsprachigen Zeitungen, die die ganze Zwischenkriegszeit über eine höhere Auflage als die rumänischen hatten. Das Kulturleben der russischen Gemeinschaft in Bessarabien profitierte zwischen 1918 und 1940 auch von zahlreichen Tourneen großer Künstler der russischen Emigration (F. Schaljapin, A. Mozjuhin, G. Pirogow, N. Plewickaja, I. Kremer, Ju. Morfessi, A. Borowskij usw.).

Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg bildeten die Russen in der MSSR die dominante politische Gruppe. Im Jahre 1959, als sie bloß einen Anteil von 10,2%

der Bevölkerung ausmachten, stellten die Russen 55,5% der Mitglieder des Zentralkomitees der KP der MSSR und zwischen 40% und 65% der Angestellten in der Zentralverwaltung. Im Studienjahr 1965/1966 waren beinahe 20% aller Studenten Russen, obwohl ihr Anteil an der betreffenden Altersgruppe der 18 bis 30jährigen weniger als 10% betrug. Mitte der Jahre 1970 arbeiteten 48% der Russen in der MSSR im kulturellen Sektor, 9,8% als Angestellte, 18,8% als Facharbeiter und 23,4% als Hilfsarbeiter und Bauern. Das Monopol der russischen Sprache in Wirtschaft, Verwaltung, Unterrichtssystem, Kultur und Medien führte zur Russifizierung eines erheblichen Teils der nichtrussischen Bevölkerung. 1989 gaben außer den 557 146 Russen 47 872 (72,8%) Juden, 10 924 (55,7%) Weißrussen, 220 129 (36,6%) Ukrainer, 16 002 (18%) Bulgaren, 11 365 (7,4%) Gagausen und 120 368 (4,3%) Moldauer Russisch als ihre Muttersprache an, und die Zahl jener, die im alltäglichen Leben ausschließlich die russische Sprache verwendeten, betrug 1 003 563 (23,15% der Gesamtbevölkerung). 1989 sprachen mehr als 80% der Moldauer fließend Russisch. Im gleichen Jahr betrug der Anteil der Russen mit Kenntnis der rumänischen Sprache nur 12%. Aufgrund einiger soziologischen Untersuchungen gebrauchten im Jahre 1989 in Chişinău/ Kişinev nur 7,7% aller Angestellten im öffentlichen Dienst die rumänische Sprache.

Die Erwerbsstruktur der Russen im städtischen Bereich gestaltete sich nach der Volkszählung von 1989 wie folgt:

| | In % |
|--------------------------|-------|
| Industrie | 38,0 |
| Bauwesen | 10,3 |
| Transport, Kommunikation | 7,8 |
| Landwirtschaft | 3,0 |
| Handel, Dienstleistungen | 12,4 |
| Gesundheitswesen | 5,3 |
| Bildung | 8,8 |
| Kultur, Wissenschaft | 4,9 |
| Verwaltung | 6,2 |
| Andere Bereiche | 3,3 |
| | 100,0 |

In der Industrie verfügten die Russen bei den leitenden Funktionen über einen Anteil von 30% und dominierten in den Großbetrieben der Städte Chi-

șinău/ Kišinev, Tiraspol, Bender/ Bendery und Bălți/ Bel'cy, die direkt den Unionsministerien unterstellt waren. Die Angestellten dieser Betriebe bezogen Löhne, die den Durchschnittslohn in der Republik Moldau weit überstiegen, und sie erfreuten sich überdies verschiedener Privilegien (leichteren Zugang zu staatlichen Wohnungen, Kindergärten, billigen Urlaubsmöglichkeiten in Sanatorien und Erholungsheimen). Hingegen stellten die geringer bezahlten Moldauer die Mehrheit der Arbeiter in den Fabriken der Leicht- und Lebensmittelindustrie, die viel schlechter ausgestattet waren.

Auch wenn nach 1989 die Sprachgesetzgebung formal gesehen die russische Minderheit begünstigte, da neben der rumänischen/ moldauischen auch die russische Sprache als „Kommunikationssprache unter den Völkern der Republik Moldau“ anerkannt und auch innerhalb der Verwaltung offiziell berücksichtigt wurde, unterlag diese Minderheit wie alle anderen einer Politik der Desowjetisierung und der Rumänisierung, die auf eine in der Alltagspraxis immer spürbarere Diskriminierung hinauslief. Bis in den Sommer 1990 erfolgte eine Rumänisierung wichtiger politischer Institutionen, die oft nach Vorkriegsmodellen konzipiert war. Häufig kam es zu ethnisch bedingter Absetzung von Amtsträgern, wobei die Unkenntnis der rumänischen Sprache das entscheidende Kriterium bildete. Bereits 1991 waren 90% aller Stellen in der staatlichen Verwaltung von Moldauern besetzt. Dazu gehörten alle wichtigen Positionen im neu gewählten moldauischen Parlament. Von den neu ernannten 143 Staatsanwälten waren nur zwei keine Moldauer. 1991 waren von den 1500 Angestellten der staatlichen Rundfunk- und Fernsehstationen nur mehr noch 30 russischsprachige.

Obwohl sowohl die Sprachgesetze als auch das Staatsbürgerschaftsgesetz verhältnismäßig liberal ausfielen, trugen vor allem die den Gesetzgebungsprozess begleitenden Diskussionen mit ihren überhitzten nationalistischen Tönen dazu bei, die Ängste vor einer drohenden Ausgrenzung durch die junge Mehrheitsdemokratie der Moldauer zu schüren und das Vertrauen in den damit verbundenen Demokratisierungsprozess seitens der Minderheiten zu untergraben. Dem sich abzeichnenden Marginalisierungsprozess suchten die beiden Minderheiten, die über relativ kompakte Siedlungsgebiete verfügten, nämlich die russische und die gagausische, durch die Bestrebungen nach Separation und Autonomie und einer dadurch gewährleisteten Selbstverwaltung zu begegnen.

Durch das Gesetz betreffend die Rechte der Personen, die den nationalen Minderheiten angehören etwa wird die russische Sprache ihrem Status nach

praktisch gleichgesetzt mit jenem der Staatssprache. Wenn für die anderen wichtigen Minderheiten (die ukrainische, die gagausische, die bulgarische und die jüdische) der Staat sich bloß dazu verpflichtet „die Bedingungen zur Verwirklichung ihres Rechtes auf Bildung und Ausbildung in der Muttersprache zu schaffen“, wird für die russische Minderheit „das Recht auf vorschulische Ausbildung, auf Grundschul-, Mittelschul- (allgemeine und berufliche), Hochschul- und postuniversitäre Ausbildung garantiert“. Andere Verfügungen des betreffenden Gesetzes, die praktisch darauf verweisen, dass die russische Sprache den Status einer offiziellen Sprache besitzt, sind: 1. die Veröffentlichung der Normativakten, der offiziellen Kommunikés und anderer Informationen in moldauischer und russischer Sprache; 2. die Ausschilderung der Ortschafts-, Straßen-, Institutionsnamen sowie jener der öffentlichen Diensten in moldauischer und in russischer Sprache; 3. die Aushängung der Informationen öffentlichen Charakters (in Ministerien, medizinischen Einrichtungen, in Verkehrsmitteln, Omnibus- und Eisenbahnhöfen, in Häfen und auf Flughäfen, auf Autobahnen usw. in moldauischer und in russischer Sprache. Alle vom Parlament oder von der Regierung der Republik Moldau angenommenen Dokumente werden in rumänischer und in russischer Sprache unterschrieben und veröffentlicht. Desgleichen werden ca. 25% der Rechtsakten in russischer Sprache verfasst.

Die Proteste der russischen Bevölkerung in der Republik Moldau nach 1989 waren eher der Ausdruck der Weigerung, die Herstellung eines Gleichgewichts zwischen den Interessen aller ethnischen Gruppen in der Republik Moldau (einschließlich durch die verhältnismäßige Repräsentierung in den Machtstrukturen und das Recht, die Muttersprache in allen Bereichen zu verwenden), als die Folge wirklicher Diskriminierungen. Für die Mehrheit der Meinungsmacher der russischen Gemeinde in der Republik Moldau bedeutete zwischen 1989 und 1991 jeder Versuch der moldauischen Behörden, den politischen, kulturellen oder gar wirtschaftlichen Status quo aus der Sowjetzeit zu verändern, automatisch eine „Diskriminierung der russischsprachigen Bevölkerung“. Sogar in Fragen, die keineswegs direkt oder bloß den Status der russischen Minderheit betrafen (der Übergang der moldauischen Sprache zum lateinischen Alphabet; die Auswahl neuer Staatssymbole; die Liquidierung von Monumenten mit Anführern der kommunistischen Bewegung; die Öffnung der Republik Moldau zu Rumänien und gen Westen hin; die Versuche der moldauischen Behörden, Schulklassen mit Unterricht in Jiddisch, Ukrainisch und Bulgarisch einzurichten; der Übergang von der Zeitzone GMT +3

zu GMT +2; usw.) wurden alle mit Protesten seitens der wichtigsten Organisationen der Russen begleitet: Interfront; Edinsto; Einheitsrat der Arbeiterkollektive (OSTK – Ob`edinennyj Sovet Trudovyh Kollektivov). Nach 1989 blieb die Zahl und die Repräsentierung der Russen in den politischen, administrativen, schulischen und kulturellen Strukturen in der Republik Moldau weit über dem Anteil dieser ethnischen Gruppe innerhalb der Bevölkerungsstruktur. 1992, ein Jahr, das für einige der russischen Autoren, die sich mit interethnischen Beziehungen beschäftigen, als Bezugsjahr in Sachen Diskriminierung der russischen Minderheit der Republik Moldau gilt, stellten die Russen beispielsweise 16% der Angestellten in der Struktur des Justizministeriums, 13,2% im System der Staatsanwaltschaft, 28% im Ministerium für Nationale Sicherheit, 19,4% Abgeordnete im Parlament, 19,2% der Lehrkräfte an der Staatsuniversität der Moldau.

Nachdem die Demokratische Agrarpartei an die Macht kam, deren Sieg bei den Parlamentswahlen im Februar 1994 auch Dank der massiven Unterstützung seitens der russischsprachigen Bevölkerung möglich war, festigte sich die Stellung der russischen Sprache Schritt für Schritt, und in vielen Bereichen kehrte man praktisch zu der Situation von vor 1989 zurück. Der privilegierte Status der russischen Sprache im Vergleich mit anderen Minderheitensprachen wurde auch in der im Juli 1994 angenommenen Verfassung festgehalten. Der Beschluss der Agrarierregierung, die Zahl der Personen zu reduzieren, die verpflichtet waren, in ihrem Berufsleben die Staatssprache zu verwenden, und die Aufschiebung der Prüfungen zur Kenntnis der moldauischen Sprache führten zu einer Abnahme der Zahl jener Russen, die gewillt waren, die Staatssprache zu erlernen. Soziologischen Forschungen zu Folge betrug 1995 der Prozentsatz der russischsprachigen Bürger in der Republik Moldau, die die rumänische Sprache nicht beherrschten und weder Rumänisch lernten, noch vorhatten, es zu erlernen, 56%. Im Jahre 2000 sprachen in den Betrieben in Chişinău 68% der Russen und 16% der Moldauer während ihrer Dienstzeit ausschließlich Russisch, während bloß 5% der Russen und 64% der Moldauer exklusive die rumänische Sprache sprachen. In der Legislatur 2001–2002 versuchte das von der Partei der Kommunisten dominierte Parlament sogar, der russischen Sprache den Status der Staatssprache zu verleihen. 2001 wurde durch einen Beschluss des Unterrichtsministeriums das verpflichtende Studium der russischen Sprache in den moldauischen Schulen ab der zweiten Klasse eingeführt. Die Abänderung der Sprachgesetzgebung und der Lehrpläne scheiterte jedoch in Folge von andauernden Straßenprotesten der moldau-

schen Opposition, an denen auch sehr viele Schüler und Studenten teilgenommen haben.

Tab. 1

Russen in Bessarabien, in der Moldauischen Autonomen SSR (MASSR, Transnistrien), in der MSSR und in der Republik Moldau, 1817–2004

| Jahr | Gebiet | Zahl | %-Anteil an der Gesamtbevölkerung |
|----------------------|---|-------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1817 ¹ | Bessarabien | ca. 10 000 | 2,00 |
| 1835 ¹ | Bessarabien | ca. 15 400 | 2,10 |
| um 1855 ² | Bessarabien | 36 049 | 4,28 |
| 1897 ³ | Bessarabien | 155 774 | 8,04 |
| 1897 ⁴ | Bessarabien | ca. 123 100 | 6,40 |
| 1918 ⁵ | Bessarabien | ca. 51 500 | 1,88 |
| 1926 ⁶ | MASSR | 48 868 | 8,50 |
| 1930 ⁷ | Bessarabien | 351 912 | 12,28 |
| 1940 ⁸ | MSSR | 188 311 | 7,2 |
| 1941 ⁸ | Bessarabien | 158 088 | 6,6 |
| 1959 ^{9,10} | MSSR | 292 930 | 10,15 |
| 1970 ¹⁰ | MSSR | 414 440 | 11,60 |
| 1979 ¹⁰ | MSSR | 505 730 | 12,80 |
| 1989 ¹⁰ | MSSR | 562 069 | 13,00 |
| 2004 ¹¹ | Republik Moldau ohne Transnistrien und die Stadt Bender/Tighina | 198 144 | 5,80 |

Quelle:

- ¹ V. S. Zelenčuk: *Naselenie Bessarabii i Podnestrov'ja v XIX v. Etničeskie i social'no-demografičeskie processy*. Kišinev 1979, S. 158.
- ² V. M. Kabuzan: *Narodonaselenie Bessarabskoj oblasti i levoberežnych rajonov Pridnestrov'ja (konec XVIII-pervaja polovina XIX v.)*. Kišinev 1974, S. 54–55.
- ³ Nach der Volkszählung von 1887, siehe G. Murgoci: *La population de la Bessarabie. Étude démographique*. Paris 1920.
- ⁴ Nach den Berechnungen von V. S. Zelenčuk, siehe Anm. 1.
- ⁵ G. Murgoci: *La population de la Bessarabie. Étude démographique*. Paris 1920.
- ⁶ *Vsesojuznaja perepis' naselenija 1926 goda*. T. XIII. *Ukrainskaja Sovetskaja Socialističeskaja Respublika*. Moskva 1929, S. 39.

- ⁷ Recensământul General al Populației României din 29 Decembrie 1930. Vol. II: Neam, Limbă Maternă, Religie. București 1938.
- ⁸ V. S. Zelenčuk: Naselenie Moldavii. Demografičeskie processy i etničeskij sostav. Kišinev 1973, S. 40, 41.
- ⁹ Itogi vsesojuznoj perepisi naselenija 1959 goda. Moldavskaja SSR. Moskva: Gosstatizdat CSU SSSR 1962, S. 92.
- ¹⁰ Totalurile recensământului unional al populației din RSS Moldova din anul 1989. Culegere de date statistice. Vol. 1, cartea 1. Chișinău: Comitetul de Stat pentru Statistică al RSS Moldave 1990, S. 91.
- ¹¹ <http://www.statistica.md/recensamint.php?lang=ro>.

Tab. 2
Russen im ländlichen Bereich Bessarabiens/der MSSR 1855–1989

| Jahr | Gebiet | Zahl | %-Anteil an der Gesamtbevölkerung |
|----------------------|-------------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| um 1855 ¹ | Bessarabien | ca. 11 200 | ca. 1,50 |
| 1897 ² | Bessarabien | 84 153 | 5,12 |
| 1907 ¹ | Bessarabien | 38 227 | 2,10 |
| 1918 ² | Bessarabien | ca. 30 000 | 1,26 |
| 1930 ³ | Bessarabien | 252 412 | 10,12 |
| 1959 ⁴ | MSSR | 97 781 | 4,36 |
| 1970 ¹ | MSSR | ca. 95 200 | 3,9 |
| 1979 ¹ | MSSR | ca. 87 000 | 3,6 |
| 1989 ⁵ | MSSR | 78 327 | 3,38 |

Quelle:

- ¹ I. V. Tabak: Russkoe naselenie Moldavii. Čislennost', rasselenie, mežetničeskie svjazi. Kišinev 1990, S. 32, 59, 77.
- ² Gemäß der Volkszählung von 1887, siehe G. Murgoci: La population de la Bessarabie. Étude démographique. Paris 1920.
- ³ Recensământul General al Populației României din 29 Decembrie 1930. Vol. II: Neam, Limbă Maternă, Religie. București 1938.
- ⁴ Itogi vsesojuznoj perepisi naselenija 1959 goda. Moldavskaja SSR. Moskva: Gosstatizdat CSU SSSR, 1962, S. 92.
- ⁵ Totalurile recensământului unional al populației din Republica Moldova din anul 1989. Culegere de date statistice. Vol. 3. Chișinău: Comitetul de Stat pentru Statistică al Republicii Moldova 1992, S. 140–145.

Tab. 3
Russen in den Städten Bessarabiens/der MSSR 1860–1989

| Jahr | Gebiet | Zahl | %-Anteil an der Gesamtbevölkerung |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|
| um 1860 ¹ | Bessarabien | ca. 37 000 | ca. 6,40 |
| 1897 ² | Bessarabien | 71 621 | 24,41 |
| 1918 ² | Bessarabien | ca. 21 500 | 6,70 |
| 1930 ³ | Bessarabien | 99 500 | 26,80 |
| 1959 ⁴ | MSSR | 195 149 | 30,38 |
| 1970 ¹ | MSSR | ca. 319 200 | 28,20 |
| 1979 ¹ | MSSR | ca. 413 000 | 27,30 |
| 1989 ⁵ | MSSR | 483 742 | 23,94 |

Quelle:

- ¹ I. V. Tabak: Russkoe naselenie Moldavii. Čislennost', rasselenie, mežetničeskie svjazi. Kišinev 1990, S. 55, 77.
- ² Gemäß der Volkszählung von 1887, siehe G. Murgoci: La population de la Bessarabie. Étude démographique. Paris 1920.
- ³ Recensământul General al Populației României din 29 Decembrie 1930. Vol. II: Neam, Limbă Maternă, Religie. București 1938.
- ⁴ Itogi vsesojuznoj perepisi naselenija 1959 goda. Moldavskaja SSR. Moskva: Gosstatizdat CSU SSSR, 1962, S. 92.
- ⁵ Totalurile recensământului unional al populației din Republica Moldova din anul 1989. Culegere de date statistice. Vol. 3. Chișinău: Comitetul de Stat pentru Statistică al Republicii Moldova 1992, S. 140–145.

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Dear Mr. [Name]:

I have your letter of August 28, 1957, regarding the [subject]. I am sorry that I cannot give you a more definitive answer at this time, but the [department] is currently reviewing the [matter].

I will contact you again once a final decision has been reached. Thank you for your patience.

Sincerely,
 [Name]

[Name]
 [Title]
 [Department]

[Address]
 [City, State, Zip]

cc: [Name]
 [Address]
 [City, State, Zip]

The Issue of Cultural Diversity

ELEK BARTHA
MELINDA MARINKA
KATALIN BOTTYÁN
MARIA GODYŃ-WRZESIEŃ

The House of Commons

REK BARRETT
LINDA MARRAS
MALLIN ROY
ODD-
/

Diversity of Religious Culture in a Central-European Region

The line of the territorial contact between the Eastern and the Western branches of Christianity runs across the geographical middle of Europe. Along this borderline there is a buffer-zone of religions (churches, denominations) and cultures. The more than one thousand years old contact zone of Orthodoxy and Western Christianity starts from the North between the Russian Olonec Government and Viipuri of Finland, and it draws across several countries and regions, and it ends at the Croatian border of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

“East” and “West” meets in these regions. Various aspects prevailed in the geographical evaluation of the meeting between East and West in the 20th century. The political interpretation of the past few decades have been losing significance, giving way to a conception supported by geographical, cultural and partly historical arguments.

In the followings I give a short overview about a typical cultural-political-confessional phenomenon of the Central-European states of Europe Between, across the territory of which the so called “orthodox rift” is drawing, and the peoples of which have experienced the encounter of the two great Church tradition in historical perspectives.

The geographical line of the encounter between Western Christianity and Orthodoxy has not only been a contact-zone of Churches, but also the cultural and political buffer-zone of the Eastern and the Western part of Europe. In respect that the question is rather manifold and the spectre of historical, church-historical, ethnographic and folklore sources and scientific treatments is rather extensive, my sole aim with the following paper, is to present the wider historical and geographical situation, the political environment in which the Church of this zone: the Uniate or the Greek Catholic Church and the Greek Catholic population (some million people) attempted to find their place, their confessional and ethnic identity, to which they were closely attached through their practising. I try to prove that the encounter between Orthodoxy and Western Christianity in this macro-region could create similar circum-

stances, could develop similar situations and challenges among people of different cultures. And there are parallels and similarities in the cultural responses given to these challenges. There are other forms of the encounter: in the North, etc.

The Greek Catholic Zone

Poland

In Poland, the encounter between Western Christianity and Orthodoxy follows the model characteristic of Central Europe. The basis of this model is that the historical Uniate Church, which functions as the “buffer” zone between Eastern and Western Christianity, has been operating here for centuries.

In the past centuries the life of the Greek Catholics in Poland in the framework of the Habsburg Empire showed similarities in several aspects with that of their Hungarian neighbours. In the 19th century and even in the years following the turn of the 20th century, the inflow of Polish worshippers into the Orthodox church is clearly demonstrable, especially in regions with few Roman Catholic churches, although the confession remained decisively represented by Ukrainians. In the 20th century, especially in the second half, this process came to a halt. The Greek Catholicism took a definitively ethnic character, and became the religion of the Ukrainian minority in the first place. That is well reflected in its designation: *Byzantine-Ukrainian*, or since the political change the more frequent *Ukrainian Catholic* has been in use. Their relationship with the Polish majority is not without conflicts. The relevant statements of scholarly works are supported by the experience of the most recent fieldworks. The Catholicism of Byzantine rites have always preserved its minority characteristics both in confessional and ethnic aspects.

After World War II the activities of the Catholic Church of the Eastern rites were banned in Poland, like in the other neighbouring countries. But from the second half of the 1950s the practicing of the Greek Catholics was permitted again. It is typical though, that even in the statistics on religions made in the second half of the 1980s the existence of Greek Catholics was ignored.

The Greek Catholics in Poland preserve their Catholic religion from a confessional point of view, but their ethnic identity is Ukrainian, Lemko and Ruthenian. The roots of their antagonism towards the Polish reach back to the events of the 19th century, while this antagonism was further intensified during World War II. From the point of view of religion conflicts are frequent with the Slavic Orthodoxy, mainly because of former political decisions, Slav Orthodox missions, dispossession of churches and local disagreements. The Greek Catholics of Poland have repossessed their sacred space again – although a space different from the one before the relocations –, but they have to share it with the Catholics and the Orthodox in many places.

Canadian relationships were lively in the past, as they are still continuous today, expressed in the form of present day emigrations, and sparse, mainly old-age repatriations, as well as in the form of subsidies coming from Ukrainian Greek Catholic centres in Canada.

The religious life and culture of the Greek Catholics in Poland was and still partly is characterized by processes and tendencies similar to those of Greek Catholics in Slovakia and Hungary. These are Latinization and the revitalization of Byzantine roots between times, the centuries long cultural fall-back of priesthood and believers, and the efforts to work it off, the relative poverty of Greek Catholic regions, the supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church and the Roman Catholic priesthood, the variability of the liturgy and religious life, and the close correspondences of ethnic and confessional identities.

Ukraine

The Western region of the Ukraine is the Northern central area, and Northern and Eastern periphery of the Greek Catholic space. Millions of Byzantine rite Catholics lived in the area of the Galicia and Hungarian Transcarpathia of the Habsburg Monarchy, the “Transcarpathian” areas of Ukraine today. The rich Polish sources inform us about the historical and church-historical role of Galicia until World War II. In the Western part of Transcarpathia, the Greek Catholics managed to populate majority areas by the beginning of the 1990s.

After World War II the activities of the Greek Catholic Church were banned in the Soviet Union, and it was merged into the Orthodox Church.

The bishops and priests who refused to cooperate in the reunion were arrested and deported, and the bishop of that time (Tódor Romzsa) was murdered. Churches were closed and used as warehouses, or buildings with similar purposes, or, in other cases, they were demolished. It is a typical example that in the 18th century wooden church of *Zúgó* (Huklive) a museum of atheism worked during this period.

There was the possibility for the believers to join individually the Roman Catholic confession after their Church was banned – a phenomenon common among the Polish and Transcarpathian Hungarian worshippers – but this alternative was more available in the larger settlements and towns where there were Roman Catholic churches. In this period, those deprived of their confession joined in great numbers to various neoprotestant churches.

In the years following World War II the Greek Catholic Church worked almost as a “church of catacombs” during the decades of the Soviet regime. The congregations retained the illegal services of their banned Church in great numbers. Among the states sharing the Greek Catholic central area, secret practising seems to have been the most general in the parsonages of Ukraine. In those parishes which, as a whole, accepted “reuniting”, religious life continued as usual, preserving several elements of the earlier rites. In other places the Greek Catholics went to services held in deserted churches and chapels. With the connivance of the local authorities, on Saturday night the wares were taken out from the churches that were transformed into warehouses, and they were cleaned up by Sunday morning for the Holy Liturgy. Masses, the Holy Liturgy, vespers, were conducted by otherwise hiding priests, or by the church members themselves. The Greek Catholic priest who secretly baptized, celebrated marriage or funeral services during his travels became a characteristic figure of the West-Ukrainian society from the end of the 1940s.

The Ukrainian Catholics, similarly to their Romanian counterparts, regarded themselves as delegates of Western, European culture, and their confessional distinction from the Ukrainian Orthodoxy is not always ethnic in its nature (although the Ruthenian identity and the national revival resulted in significant processes, conflicts in this field as well), but also politically–culturally rooted. From the aspect of political attachment, there are considerable differences between the Orthodox and the Uniate Ukraine, as it is clearly demonstrated in historical and more recent examples. An important material and spiritual base of the Uniate Church was established between the Ukrainian

and the Ruthenian emigrations, which supported the religious and national endeavours according to their capabilities.

Slovakia

The Slovakian Greek Catholics can be referred to since the foundation of the state of Czechoslovakia, after World War I. Slovakia was established in a land separated from Hungary. The Eastern part of the new state, which comprised Transcarpathia (today: West-Ukraine) too, was inhabited by a significant Ruthenian Greek Catholic population besides the Slovakian and Hungarian Greek Catholics, the Ruthenian Orthodox people, the Slovakian and Hungarian Catholics, the Hungarian Protestants, and a significant number of Jews as well. The inter-confessional communication between them was realized on local, community levels along the regional contact-zones. The state Czechoslovakia attempted to promote the conversion of the Uniates to Slavic Orthodoxy from the beginning, with the Pan-Slavic nationalism in the background. The Czech government led by Masaryk explicitly supported the Pan-Slavic movements. This endeavour reached its peak in the era between 1950 and 1968, during the banning of the Greek Catholic Church. The fate of the priests refusing Orthodoxy was persecution, like in Romania and in the former Soviet Union.

There were two decisive factors in the Slovakian position of the Byzantine rites. One was the relative tolerance towards the Ukrainian/Ruthenian minority.

The other important factor was the highest appreciation of the legitimacy of the Greek Catholicism: the Pope commemorated Péter Pál Gojdic, the former bishop of *Eperjes* (Presov) during his Slovakian journey.

Hungary

In the area of Hungary, at the encounter between the Eastern and Western branches of Christianity, along with Catholicism, the Protestant Churches and a negligible – very small – proportion of the Orthodox creed, the Byzantine rite Catholics represent the transitional form of religion and culture. The Greek Catholic communities living in the country belonged to the western periphery

of the Greek Catholic space or regions of Central Europe and of the historical Hungary. Mostly assimilated Hungarian parishes established on Ruthenian ethnic bases formed the majority of the Greek Catholic population of the Hungary of Trianon. Besides that, there are Greek Catholic parishes of Romanian ethnicity in Eastern Hungary that have started to assimilate during the 20th century. According to the data of 1910 the more than 2 million Greek Catholics of Hungary comprised 56% Romanian, 23% Ruthenian, 15% Hungarian and 4% Slovakian worshippers.

Confessional affiliation has always been an important question of ethnic identity for the Greek Catholics in Hungary. The presence of the Hungarian ethnic element could be recorded in the denomination during the 17th and 18th centuries and it acted as a catalyser in the Ruthenian assimilation processes.

When discussing the Hungarian presence of the Eastern Christianity, one has to mention the Orthodoxy in Hungary as well, albeit that the proportion of which is negligible inside the today's borders.

Orthodoxy in Hungary is shared between various ethnic groups. They formed Serb and Romanian dioceses and Russian and Greek diasporas and dioceses in the 1970s. The ethnic basis of the Orthodoxy has always been and still is Romanian and Serbian.

Romania

In Romania the contact of Eastern and Western Christianity was accomplished in the framework of the Central European model through inserting a transition zone with the appearance and continuous presence of the Greek Catholic Church representing transition through its existence. In the meanwhile the Orthodoxy as a permanent neighbour had to be reckoned with, as well as the centuries long, constantly renewing, intensifying and receding history of mass conversions and desertions, and of migrations back and forth between the Greek Catholic Church and the Orthodoxy. In this historical situation there are several parallels with the Polish example.

Of the 2 million Greek Catholics who lived in Hungary at the turn of the 20th century, more than 1 million were of Romanian nationality, the majority of whom lived in historical regions, in Transylvania and the Partium that belong today to Romania. Despite the demographic increase in the period since then, their present numbers are less than in that time, because after the political change many of the new generations refused to return to the Catholic

Church from the Orthodoxy, which is generally regarded as the state-religion of Romania.

The most influential events of the 20th century history of the Romanian Greek Catholics were the decades determined by the forbidding of their Church and its melting into the Orthodox Church. The forbidding of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church (1948) led to conflicts, internal tensions that are still influential, but which are rooted in the past centuries and which were retraceable at the end of the century too – and it has led to open hostilities today especially at the 90th.

The Greek Catholic Church has been a significant actor in the Romanian politics in Transylvania since the starts. One trend of it was that the Church and the priests took the lead of national movements. The other trend was a sort of an endeavour for European integration also rooted in the 19th century. For the Romanian Greek Catholics their religion was also the symbol of and the means of belonging to Europe. This is also reflected in the results of the elections in Romania in the 1990s. They regarded and still regard themselves as representatives of such a church that links Romania and the Romanian people to Western Christianity, to the peoples of Europe.

During the years spent in the framework of Orthodoxy the majority of the converted priests carried on working according to their former routine. The worshippers could not really feel the difference on the level of religious practice. Practice on the local level preserved several ethnographic elements from the Greek Catholic tradition of the earlier centuries that could hardly correspond to the Orthodox liturgy.

The process of space-occupation manifested in building Greek Catholic and Orthodox churches and monasteries in Transylvania was started between the two World Wars. Since the 1990s, that process has brought about the large-scale internal, diffuse expansion of the Eastern rites.

The successor-states of Yugoslavia

The state of the former Yugoslavia was also the territory of the encounter of several religious cultures. In Vojvodina besides the largely Roman Catholic (mostly Hungarian, partly German) communities, the confessional differences also mean ethnic differences. Hungarian Calvinist congregations and Evangelic (Lutheran) communities of other ethnic groups can also be found in the area.

This region of Europe, which is probably the most varied from the aspect of religion and ethnicity, would deserve more thorough investigations in terms of our topic. The Greek Catholic element in Serbia is primarily represented by some Ruthenian villages.

Orthodoxy was present in the territory of Croatia as well, in Eastern Slavonia, among the Serbs living there. With their migration, the number of the Greek Catholic population fell back to a minimal level. The centre of the Greek Catholics was Vukovar before the war in 1991. Apart from the above mentioned, it's worth mentioning that in the Orthodox Macedonia, there has been a Greek Catholic "Uniate" group of thousands of worshippers since the end of the 18th century.

* * *

The number of Greek Catholics in the world has been changing ever since the establishment of the Church. As a result of the continuous struggle with the Orthodoxy and the conversions to both directions, this number has been varying constantly. The changes were sometimes induced by political factors: the collapse of the Habsburg Empire, the consequences of the Trianon Treaty enhanced them, while the communist era that influenced all the states of the Greek Catholic space brought about fundamental transformations. After that, the political changes of the 1990s generated a significant correction.

Spuren der schwäbisch-ungarischen Lebensgemeinschaft in der Folklore der Sathmarschwaben*

Das ehemalige Komitat Sathmar,¹ dessen größter Teil heute in Rumänien liegt, hatte am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts sowohl ungarische und als auch rumänische Bewohner. Dieses vereinfachte ethnische Bild wurde um einen neuen ethnischen Farbfleck bereichert, nämlich die Sathmarer Schwaben,² die nach dem Ende des Freiheitskampfes von Ferenc Rakóczi II. (1711) angesiedelt wurden. Nach dem Ende dieses Krieges standen die Dörfer des Komitats Sathmar entvölkert und leer, und so erlangte Graf Sándor Karolyi – der größte Landbesitzer im Komitat Sathmar – die Erlaubnis des Kaisers Schwaben anzusiedeln. Die Ansiedler aus dem Gebiet des heutigen Baden-Württemberg kamen ab 1712 in die Umgebung von Großkarol.³ In den folgenden 100 Jahren kam es zur mehreren Umsiedlungen der Schwaben, die in Sathmar Steuerfreiheit und Boden erhalten hatten. Ab 1810 endete der Schwabenzug nach Sathmar.

Es entstanden 31 schwäbische Siedlungen, deren Mehrheit in Rumänien liegt, drei befinden sich im heutigen Ungarn. Neben der vermischten ungarischen und rumänischen Kultursphäre der schon ansässigen Bevölkerung wirkten sich geschichtliche Veränderungen auf die Lebensumstände und insbesondere auf das Gesellschaftsleben der Schwaben aus. Unter der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie wurde die ungarische Sprache offiziell eingeführt. Nach 1919 führten die rumänischen Behörden die deutschsprachige Schulung der Schwaben ein.⁴

* Die Forschungen der Autorin wurden vom Johannes – Künzig – Institut, Freiburg unterstützt.

¹ Das Gebiet des ehemaligen Komitates Sathmar befindet sich heute auf beiden Seiten der rumänisch-ungarischen Staatsgrenze.

² Mit dem Namen „Sathmarer Schwaben“ bezeichne ich die ehemaligen Umsiedler und die Nachkomme der Siedler, die bis heute in dem Sathmargebiet leben.

³ Großkarol war die ehemalige Zentrumsgemeinde des Besitzes der Familie Károlyi, deren Schloss man dort noch heute sehen kann.

⁴ Boros 2003.

Trotz der wechselnden Zeitläufte und der kulturellen Vermischung konnten die Nachkommen der Ansiedler über die Zeit einige „schwäbische Charaktermerkmale“ ihrer Vorfahren erhalten. Die Dörfer zum Beispiel unterscheiden sich schon äußerlich auf charakteristische Weise von Siedlungen anderer Volksgruppen. Die unterkellerten Häuser stehen auf der linken Seite der Bauplätze, so dass die rechte Seite Platz für den Pflanzen- und Kleingarten oder für ein kleineres Wirtschaftsgebäude bietet. Fast alle Nebengebäude sind an das Wohnhaus angebaut. Die Scheune teilt den Vorhof vom Garten und dient zur Lagerung von Arbeitsgerät, zur Futterlagerung und zur Haltung der Tiere. Der Hof und die Scheune sind Arbeitsplätze, dienen aber auch für Tanzabende oder andere Feste.⁵



Schwäbische Siedlungen in Sathmar⁶

Ich begann mit der Erforschung des gesellschaftlichen Lebens bei den Sathmarer Schwaben 2003 in zwei Dörfern: Schinal (Urziceni) und Petrifeld (Petrești). Schinal ist deswegen interessant, weil es wegen seiner Lage an der ungarisch-rumänischen Grenze schwäbische und ungarische Elemente aus

⁵ Farkas 1983.

⁶ Die Landkarte wurde von der Autorin gezeichnet.

ihrem ehemaligen traditionellen Kulturzusammenhang in Spuren erhalten konnte. Petrifeld ist mit Schinal verwandt, aber hier kann man mehrere Ausdrucksformen der schwäbischen Eigenschaften finden. So sprechen einige Bewohner des Dorfes noch heute schwäbisch. Während meiner Forschung untersuchte ich in diesen Dörfern das gesellschaftliche Leben, in dem sich Spuren der Eigenart aller ethnischen Minderheiten erhalten haben. Die befragten Personen gehörten zu derselben nachkommenden Generation⁷ schwäbischer Siedler, die heutzutage zwischen 70 und 80 Jahren alt sind und seit ihrer Geburt weniger Schwäbisch als Ungarisch gesprochen hatten. Diese Personen sind deswegen interessant, weil sie die sich veränderten Gesellschaftsformen des Dorfes durchlebten. Die Mehrheit dieser Personen spricht kaum Schwäbisch, erinnert sich aber an einige Motive ihres Gesellschaftslebens in dem sie noch beide Sprachen benutzte. Diese Motive kann man in der Folklore ihres Gesellschaftslebens recherchieren.

Während der Erforschung dokumentierte ich diejenigen Tanzabende und andere gesellschaftliche Feste, die die vermischte Identität der schwäbischen Nachkommen ausdrücken und die Mischung von Schwaben und Ungarn zeigen. Wegen des besseren Überblicks benutze ich die klassische Gruppierung des Lebenslaufes und beschreibe einige Motive der Folklore aus der Kindheit, dem Jugendalter und dem Erwachsenenalter dieser befragten Personen. Der zeitliche Rahmen dieses Beitrages reicht von den 1930er bis zu den 1960er Jahren. Ein Segment der Entwicklung der mehrseitigen Identität und die Veränderung des Gesellschaftslebens wegen und in der schwäbisch-ungarischen Lebensgemeinschaft werden dargestellt.⁸

Kindheit

Die Kindheit ist traditionell der wichtigste Teil des Lebenslaufes für die Entwicklung der Identitätsstruktur. Ein wichtiger Raum der Weitergabe von

⁷ Wenn wir die zeitliche Distanz seit der Umsiedlung bis zu meiner Feldforschung berücksichtigen und eine Generation mit 30 Jahren ansetzen (der allgemein akzeptierten Dauer einer Generation), dann gehören die von mir befragten Personen zu der 8–9 nachkommenden Generationen der umgesiedelten Schwaben.

⁸ Die Lieder, die hier auf Ungarisch mitgeteilt werden, wurden deswegen nicht übersetzt, damit man die Unterschiede zwischen den ungarischen und deutschen Varianten besser wahrnehmen kann.

schwäbischen Bräuchen war die Familie und deren gesellige Feste. Bei dieser Weitergabe spielten die Eltern und die Großeltern eine sehr bedeutende Rolle. Sie waren die Personen, von denen ein Kind die Verhaltensformen und -regeln übernahm, die es in seinem Leben und in seiner Gesellschaft befähigen, den Verhaltensnormen zu entsprechen. In der Kindheit spielte auch die Erlernung des Rhythmusgefühls eine wichtige Rolle. Dabei halfen den Eltern und Großeltern Verse, Schlaflieder und das Schaukeln in der Wiege.⁹

Da meine Interviewpersonen in dieser „Kultursphäre“ nur schwäbische Wörter hörten, erlernten sie bis ihr sechstes Lebensjahr fast nur schwäbische Kinderreime, wie zum Beispiel:

ZUM STORCH

Stoark, Stoark, Schnibalabui,
trag mi mit dr Geiga hui,
wenn du mi it vrtraischt,

nimm a Roß un a Waga,
du werscht mi scho vrtraga.¹⁰

ADAM UND EVA

Adam Eva Send in Garte gange
wievie Vogel hond se g' fange?
ujn, zwee, drei,
du bischt frei!
Dr Hätt und Wätt
Hot niea nicks ghätt.
Dr Hätt hot a mo a
kleins Seile ghätt
Sea ischt am a no g'freckt
So hot 'r nia nicks ghätt.¹¹

Einen Wendepunkt bildete die Schule, in der die Kinder zusammen mit den Altersgenossen eigene gesellige Feste feierten und eine eigene Gemeinschaft

⁹ Solche Lieder sammelten Helmut Berner und Claus Stephani in ihrem Werk „Volksgut der Sathmarschwaben“. Berner–Stephani 1985.

¹⁰ Berner–Stephani 1985: 301.

¹¹ Berner–Stephani 1985: 302.

bildeten. In dieser Situation kam es öfters vor, dass während des Spiels die ungarischen und schwäbischen Kinder Motive ihrer Sitte unter einander austauschten. So kam es vor, dass ein Kind ein Spiel in beiden Sprachen und mit veränderter Melodie kannte. Zum Beispiel bei den Rundspielen, bei denen die Kinder in einem Kreis herumliefen und sangen:

Körbe áll egy kisleány
Lássuk ki lesz a párja
Kit szeret és kit szeret jobban
Ahhoz fordulok gyorsan.
Ezt szerettem legjobban
Ehhez fordulok gyorsan
Ezt szeretem, ezt szeretem
Ahhoz fordulok gyorsan.

Eine schwäbische Variante des Spieles:

Im Keller, im Keller ist dunkel,
Warum soll es so dunkel sein?
Scheint kein Mond, kein Sonnenschein.
Schließt zu, auf welchem Steine sitztest du?

Diese Spiele waren schon Vorbereitungen auf das gesellschaftliche Erwachsenenleben, die Kinder lernten nämlich auf diese Weise tanzen, und konkurrierten darum auf dem Kinderball der beste Tänzer zu sein. Der Kinderball fand immer am letzten Donnerstag des Faschings statt. Er wurde im Allgemeinen privat bei jemandem zuhause in einem Zimmer organisiert, aber es kam auch vor, dass für die größeren Kinder ein eigener Tanzsaal gemietet wurde. Für sie nahm man noch keine Zigeunerkapelle, deswegen tanzten die Kleinen zu der Musik einer Harmonika. Ein Erwachsener war bei den Kindern immer anwesend, der auf sie aufpasste.

Sonntagnachmittags spielten die schwäbischen und ungarischen Kinder zusammen auf einem Hof. Der Hof bot angemessenen Platz für den Spiel „Bigeeslé“.¹² Dieses Spiel habe ich in Schinal gefunden, wo es „Steka“ genannt wurde. Dies zeigt die Vermischung von schwäbischen und ungarischen Wörtern.

¹² Koch 1984: 86.

„Steka“ war im ganzen Karpatenbecken bekannt und verbreitet. Die Instrumente des Spiels waren ziemlich gefährlich, weshalb sie auf einigen Schulhöfen verboten wurden. Aber auf den Wiesen konnte es uneingeschränkt gespielt werden.¹³ Die Kinder aus Schinal brauchten zum Spiel einen Schläger, der aus Holz geschnitten war. Der Schläger war ein ungefähr 40–45 cm langes, flaches und glattes Holzstück, auf der einen Seite breit und auf der anderen Seite schmal. Am schmaleren Teil war ein Griff befestigt, der „steka“ genannt wurde. Man benötigte ein weiteres Instrument zum Spiel, das „bige“ genannt wurde. Das war ein Ast von ungefähr 20 cm Länge und 3 cm Durchmesser. Der Ast hatte die Form eines Zylinders und war an beiden Enden zugespitzt. Das Spiel verlief folgendermaßen: Das „bige“ legte man auf den Boden; es wurde mit dem „steka“ so getroffen, dass es in die Luft flog. Danach musste man mit dem „steka“ das „bige“ so fangen, dass dieses auf jenem zu liegen kam. Während man das „bige“ mehrmals in die Luft schlug, sagte man eine Reihe von Worten auf: „steka, bige, félbige, spitz, halba spitz, straubezili, mini straubezili“. Diese Wörter belegen die Vermischung verschiedener kulturellen Elemente der ungarischen und schwäbischen Tradition. Das Spiel beweist ausgezeichnet die Vermischung beider Volksgruppen, da die Kinder ein in Ungarn verbreitetes Spiel mit schwäbischer Sprache spielen. Ungarn übernahmen die schwäbische Sprache zum Spiel, Schwaben übernahmen das Spiel selbst, das sie später veränderten und in ihrer Sprache spielten.

Diese Spiel- und Tanzgelegenheiten der Kindheit waren auch deswegen sehr wichtig, weil die Kinder auch Verhaltensregeln dem anderen Geschlecht gegenüber erlernten, die in der Basierung der Identität eine bedeutende Rolle spielen und die sie im Jugendalter bald anwenden konnten.

Jugendalter

Bei der Untersuchung des Jugendalters und dessen Gesellschaftslebens stellte ich fest, dass die gesellschaftlichen Bräuche bei den schwäbischen Nachkommen im Sathmargebiet auch nach den 1950er Jahren ungarische und schwäbische Elemente enthielten. Das bedeutet, dass sie Lieder und Tanzformen aus der Kultur beider ethnischen Gruppen erlernten.

¹³ Hajdu 1971: 137.

Die Mädchen durften im 15. und 16. Lebensjahr und die Jungen im 17. und 18. Lebensjahr ihr jugendliches Gesellschaftsleben beginnen. An den arbeitsfreien Tagen trafen die Jugendlichen sich auf einem Hof, um dort Rundspiele zu spielen und zu tanzen. Dieser Tanz oder Tanzabend wurde „spontane Tanzgelegenheit“ genannt.¹⁴ Die „geordnete Tanzgelegenheit“ im Jugendalter war der Ball, so der Ernteball und der Weinleseball. Der Weinleseball wurde immer an einem herbstlichen Samstag im Kulturhaus veranstaltet. Die Jungen, die gemustert waren, waren die Ballwirte, von denen die Musikkapelle für den Ball schon viele Wochen zuvor engagiert und der Ball organisiert wurde. Die Veranstalter des Balles fuhren in ungarischer Tracht auf Wagen durch das Dorf, um die Bewohner des Dorfes mündlich einzuladen. Hier kann man sie Spuren der Vermischung auch sehen, da sich die Jugendlichen der schwäbischen Dörfer in ungarische Tracht kleideten. Sie eröffneten den Ball mit einem vorher zu einem bestimmten Lied eingeübten Tanzverlauf. Nach der Eröffnung spielte die Musikkapelle weiter und der Tanz fing an. Die Aufforderung zum Tanz war wegen der Tanzschulen ganz modern. Die Jungen sagten einfach: „Darf ich bitten?“. Es kam öfters vor, wenn zwei Mädchen nicht aufgefordert wurden, dass sie zusammen tanzten.

Weitere Spuren der Zusammenleben der ethnischen Gruppen kann man in den Tanzbräuchen beobachten. Bei der Rekonstruktion der Tanzordnung¹⁵ fand ich 5 Tänze. Die Tanzordnung vermischte sich aufgrund der schwäbisch-ungarischen Lebensgemeinschaft, so entstand in Petrifeld und Schinal eine Tanzordnung, in der man wechselweise schwäbische und ungarische Tänze und Lieder erkennt.

Der Eröffnungstanz der Tanzordnung war ein Walzer, der etwa 15 Minuten dauerte. Der Walzer stammte von den schwäbischen Siedlern, aber deren Nachkommen konnten einige Lieder des Walzers nicht nur schwäbisch, sondern auch auf Ungarisch singen. Ein Beispiel, das auf Ungarisch gesungen wurde, ist folgendes:

Eprező kislány a bokorban ül
Csöndes a zölderdő kívül belül
Mégis egy kismadár zeng az ágon
Aranyos lepke száll a virágon.

¹⁴ Ratkó 1996: 47.

¹⁵ Tanzordnung ist die Abfolge der Tänze.

Ki megfogná nekem a madárkát
Neki adnám én a teli kosárt
Ki megfogná nekem mind a kettőt
Meg tudnám szeretni szívemből őt.

Der zweite Tanz der Tanzordnung war die Polka, die eine halbe Stunde lang dauerte, und auch zu der schwäbischen Folklore gehörte.

Wegen der Tätigkeit der Tanzschulen wurden Fox und Tango in die Reihe der Tänze als dritter und vierter Tanz aufgenommen. Beides waren aber nur kurze Tänze, weil nur wenige Bewohner der Dörfer sie beherrschten.

Als letzter Tanz der Tanzordnung kam der von den Magyaren bekannte „Csárdás“. Der „Csárdás“ der Schwaben war ebenso, wie der der Ungarn im oberen Gebiet der Theiss im Tempo dreigeteilt: langsam, schnell und sehr schnell. Ein Beispiellied des „Csárdás“, das man in allen drei Tempi singen konnte, ist folgendes:

Temető kapuja
sarkig ki van nyitva,
Arra járnak a csanálosi lányok
rólam szedik a virágot

Szedjétek, szedjétek
rólam a virágot,
Csak azt az egy fehér liliomot
lányok le ne szakítsátok.

Ha leszakítjátok,
el ne hervassátok,
Ültessétek a sírom tetejére,
mélyen a fekete földbe.

Erwachsenenalter

Im Erwachsenenalter war die wichtigste Lebensstation und damit auch gesellige Veranstaltung die Hochzeit. Die Hochzeitsbräuche der schwäbischen Nachkommen zeigen ebenfalls die Mischung der Bräuche. Ähnlich der unga-

rischen Hochzeit gab es vor der Hochzeit eine einwöchige Vorbereitung, sie wurde an einem Samstag und keinesfalls in der Fastenzeit gehalten, die Reihenfolge des Abendessens war auch gleich und sie hatte eine ähnliche Tanzordnung.

Der Eigenheiten der Schwaben zeigt sich bei der Musikkapelle. Sie engagierten immer zwei Musikkapellen: eine Zigeunerkapelle und ein Blasorchester. Einen Unterschied gab es auch beim Brautführer, der bei den Ungarn eine wichtige Person war – bei den Schwaben gab es keinen. Fast alle Mitglieder der Hochzeits-Gesellschaft kannten die Bräuche und Verse, die bei der Hochzeit gesungen und gesprochen wurden, deswegen brauchten sie solch einen Organisator nicht. In Ungarn war der Brauttanz wichtig. Ein bedeutender Höhepunkt der Hochzeit bei den Schwaben war „die Einweihung des Ehepaares“. Diese Zeremonie wurde „Roseneinweihung“ oder „Myrtenabschnitt“ genannt und verlief folgendermaßen: Der Bräutigam trug einen Myrtenkranz an seinem Sakko. Dieser Myrtenkranz wurde aus dem Kranz der Braut gemacht und mit einem Teil des Kranzes der Braut verbrannt. Das Lied, das während dieser Zeremonie gesungen wurde, lebte in beiden Sprachen. Es gab zwei Lieder in zwei Sprachen, die eine große Rolle bei dem „Myrtenabschnitt“ spielten:

Jetzt blühet Ros,
Jetzt blühen Nelken,
Es blüht ein Männlein,
Vergisst mal ihn.
Darum sag' ich noch einmal,
Schön ist die Jugendzeit,
Schön ist die Jugend,
Sie kommt nicht mehr.
Ja, ja sie kommt, sie kommt nicht mehr,
Sie ist bei Militär
Schön ist die Jugend,
Sie kommt nicht mehr.

Ich hab' ein Männlein geliebt
Mit achtzehn Jahren,
Ich hab' ein Männlein geliebt
Zum Zeit vertreiben.

Drum sag' ich noch einmal,
Schön ist die Jugendzeit,
Schön ist die Jugend,
Sie kommt nicht mehr.
Ja, ja sie kommt, sie kommt nicht mehr,
Sie ist bei Herzen schwer
Schön ist die Jugend,
Sie kommt nicht mehr.

Neben der schwäbischen Melodie hat man auch ein Lied mit ungarischem Text gesungen:

Egyszer egy virágos kertbe
Zöld pacsirta lebeg benne
Egy kisasszony ott nyugodva
Koszorúval körül fonva.

Épp egy úrfi arra sétál
Amint látja, csak csodálja
Kérdi tőle szelídecske
Leány szólít vagy menyecske.

Nem vagyok én szelídecske
Sem leány szól, sem menyecske
Én az kertbe virág vagyok
Alig nyílok, már hervadok.

Ha te virág vagy az kertbe
Én meg harmat leszek benne
Este a virágra szálllok
Reggelig rajta maradok.

Rózsa, rózsa, piros rózsa
Nem vétettem neked soha
Ha vétettem is valaha
Bocsásd meg drága viola.

A violát akkor szedik
Reggel, mikor harmat esik
Az én szívem akkor nyugszik
Mikor véled mulatozik.

Nach der Weihe gab es nur einen einzigen Unterschied bei der Kleidung des Bräutigams: die Myrte war nicht mehr an seinem Sakko. In der Kleidung der Braut gab es auch ein Symbol dafür, dass sie nun eine verheiratete Frau war: sie nahm ihren Kranz und ihren Brautschleier ab.

Diese Beispiele zeigen uns, dass durch die Ansiedlung der Schwaben ein bereits vorhandenes ethnisches Bild (zuerst das Zusammenleben von Ungarn, später von Ungarn und Rumänen) bunter wurde: Es entwickelte sich eine schwäbisch-ungarische, eine schwäbisch-rumänische und eine ungarisch-rumänische Kontaktzone. Innerhalb dieser Formen des Zusammenlebens spielen die Begriffe von Verhältnis, Verbindung und Wechselwirkung eine Rolle. Nach Zoltán Ujváry ist ein Verhältnis der direkte Kontakt, eine engere Verbindung in Raum und Zeit mit der Gelegenheit der Übergabe und Übernahme von Kulturgütern.¹⁶ Dies gilt für die schwäbisch-ungarische Lebensgemeinschaft auch.

Das schwäbisch-rumänische Verhältnis ist eher als Berührung zu betrachten, da die Beziehung lockerer ist. So ist die Anzahl derjenigen kulturellen Elemente, die Übereinstimmung zeigen, sehr gering. In der Folklore aller drei Altersgruppen kann man eindeutig Elemente nachweisen, die die Völker voneinander übernahmen. Das schwäbisch-rumänische Zusammenleben wird zur Zeit untersucht. Ungeachtet dessen, dass das schwäbisch-ungarische Zusammenleben nachweislich eine starke Wirkung auf die schwäbische Tradition hatte, kann man beim Prozess der kulturellen Integration nicht von einer absoluten Assimilation sprechen. In der Identität der Sathmarschwaben sind die schwäbische Urheimat, Traditionen und Bräuche, die sie mitgebracht haben, bis heute noch vorhanden und revitalisiert wurden. Die Ereignisse in der Geschichte, die „Ungarisierung“ und „Germanisierung“ hat zwar schwäbische Kulturgüter bedeutend beschränkt, sie bekennen sich aber trotzdem als Schwaben. Obwohl heute viele von ihnen die Muttersprache nicht mehr kennen und sich als ungarischsprachige Schwaben identifizieren, ist die Zweiseitigkeit in ihrer geistigen Tradition klar zu erkennen. Ihre Sitten in der Folklore

¹⁶ Ujváry 1996: 28.

und das Gesellschaftsleben, das die Folklore beinhaltet, entwickelten sich zu einer organischen Einheit, die sich an zwei Sprachen knüpft und in der das Zusammenleben alter, mitgebrachter und neuer, übernommener Elemente zu beobachten ist.

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Katalin Bottyán

Crossing Borders: The Life Story of a Former Balkan Mercenary

“To raise the question of the nature of narrative is to invite reflection on the very nature of culture and, possibly, even on the nature of humanity itself.”¹

Research on subcultures, underprivileged social groups, and people living on the social periphery is a fairly important issue to social sciences. Individuals in these groups represent the “shadow” of society, thus, the stories of their lives can show a completely different face of the otherwise “well-known” world. Quite a few of them suffer from racial, ethnic or gender discrimination. Because of difficulties in their lives and lack of help, many of them are stuck in the same position. When facing serious challenges, perhaps, some of them have no choice and commit unlawful acts, like smuggling, or they become other kinds of legal offenders, even in their early youth. Some of them are eyewitnesses, victims, or perpetrators of historical events, like wars. While telling the stories of their personal life paths, they often touch upon their experiences in connection with traumas, abuses, or poverty. These narratives are also about how they try to break free of their destiny, why they have given up their attempts, or how scarce are the possibilities given them by society.

Nevertheless, these individual testimonies make up a part of the basis of collective memory: most of them are shared and turned over in the narrower or wider society. On the other hand, stories of the collective memory are important sources of the individual’s self-experience and self-consciousness. The personal life story comes into existence on the basis of a common narrative tradition about family, location, or nationality. *Through this collective memory, a group of people has access to the past events and deeds that have been reconstructed and recounted to them... Testimony of this sort, given and received, underpins a group’s collective memory, its “common knowledge.”²* Naturally, there are stories that are not turned up for a long time. Those of the victims of a

¹ White 1987: 1.

² Dauenhauer 2005.

dictatorship being in power or those of familial problems are often suppressed; but after the change of political or social circumstances, the epic basis can be constructed anew. At the same time, flux of traditions and lack of chance to share their messages bring about the claim of putting down in writing the knowledge of an individual or of a generation. The main traces to the past are documents (letters, diaries and memoirs) that record narratives and reports about their contexts.³ Thus, these personal documents and testimonies can inform the reader about collective and private issues at the same time.

In this paper, I wish to present the life story of a former Balkan mercenary soldier, called *F*. His particular story can be regarded as a typical instance of the representation above. However, his life has always been unique and sometimes flagrant because of his permanent crossings of social borders and rules. It will be demonstrated that, first of all, it is determined by his fate and familial circumstances. His experiences and desires toward a simple and calm life both forced him not to accept the position that he took up by birth but to try doing something else.

This study is based on Paul Ricoeur's theory of narrative identity, interpreted by László Tengelyi. Keywords and definitions come from both of them. Following a brief theoretical introduction and a description of the fieldwork and of the actual life story, I wish to present the most important twist, or event, of fate in *F*'s life with the help of a special document. This twist of fate is his participation in the war on the Balkans and the special document is the text of a voice message from the war.

Paul Ricoeur's narrative identity theory contends that personal identity can be regarded as the unity of one's life story.⁴ The continuity of the life story is imperiled by unexpected events and happenings. These represent gaps, as it were, and make the individual reconsider and rephrase his or her story. As a matter of course, there are several stories that can be told about one and the same life path.⁵ The unity of a life story is formed from the fabric of the narrated stories or, at best, from the fabric of the stories that could be narrated.

According to Ricoeur, the individual can be interpreted on the one hand as the totality of the features of this individual experienced internally. He calls

³ Keszeg 2004: 70–73; Dauenhauer 2005.

⁴ Tengelyi 1992: 204.

⁵ Tengelyi 1992: 204.

this selfhood or ipse in Latin.⁶ This is primarily a sensation, and it is hardly accessible from the aspect of language. The rather physical definition of selfhood by Ricoeur is used by Éva Kovács and Júlia Vajda in a broader and more psychological sense, and they call it *önmagaság*.⁷ Another aspect of the self, called sameness or idem in Latin,⁸ is what can be named, the story of which can be told. In effect, this is the social, or narrative identity.

According to László Tengelyi, the term “event of fate” denotes an event in consequence of which the fabric of the life story and that of reality disintegrate, and identity, together with the life story, would need to be re-constructed or constructed anew.⁹

The stories coming from a direct time experience, latently present but actually suppressed, fill in the spaces between the narratives as pre-narrative structures,¹⁰ and they attempt to find expression for themselves. The uttered or unuttered narratives make up the part of elementary life experience that the individual takes responsibility for: thus, narrative identity can be interpreted as the life story. While an *event of fate* is happening, the identity is changing as well, and these *pre-narrative structures* try to become realized. Thus, they try to take shape as stories taking part in the whole life story. At the same time, the personality can apply these when s/he is forced to construct his/her identity anew.

The *events of fate* of *F* stand out in the texts of the interviews as titles of narratives. He does not relate these as parts of a longer story. Rather, they surface as shorter stories narrated and the central points of larger and more significant pre-narrative structures. In other words, compared to their gravity, the narratives rendered to them are fairly short; however, they are surrounded with the unspoken stories connected to them. Perhaps, contemplating the metaphor of Daniel Dennett, *the self is a centre of narrative gravity*, we could see this phenomenon more clearly.¹¹ We could see the *selfhood*, (rather experience) as a gravity centre of a system of stories and pre-narrative structures of *sameness* (social or narrative identity) *revolving* round it. Telling or withholding

⁶ Ricoeur 2001: 15.

⁷ Kovács–Vajda 2002: 22. Common translation of the word *selfhood* is *őmagaság*. Kovács and Vajda use *önmagaság*.

⁸ Ricoeur 2001: 15.

⁹ Tengelyi 1998: 43.

¹⁰ Tengelyi 1992: 223.

¹¹ Dennett 1992.

these stories can be tools of self-knowledge and self-representation for the individual.

For a long time, it was impossible for *F* to share his story with anybody, thus the representation was unsettled. As *F* also indicated it numerous times, interrupting his stories, they were impossible to narrate, either because of fear or because words simply fail to express them properly:

Well, memory, ... memory, you know, the real thing is when we are doing it. Finally, years have run... well, well, but this is like making love: you know, this is to do and not to tell how nice it is. Well, you can say it in half a dozen words. However, what you are doing or feeling – is not a matter of words. I can see, or say, or detail, or tell – well, one has to experience it, has to live with it and in it, then one really knows how it is. – He said when he was asked about love.

Similarly, he had no adequate words about the war:

“It is no good talking about it. Because... I don’t say that you have to go through it, but those, who have gone through it, don’t like to talk about it. There are so many things which are unbelievable. Motion films cannot show that. But if you talk about it, I, personally, begin to see the same, begin to relive the same. And it is a horrible vision. But how much time has to pass by for someone to be able to describe it! To be able to say names, it is like tearing something out of someone again, which is already torn out. Pain. It is not easy for anyone, who has gone through it to talk about it. The balm is the grave for this. That heals those damaged souls and hearts, which carry something through an entire life, without ever expressing it to anyone. Because of fear. That is the case; people keep silent if they fear something. That remains till the end of life. Until the end of history or of the world. Because authority always exists. And there will always be those, supporting power.”

The reflex of suppressing these stories can also indicate that the narrator can sense exactly that the fabric of reality has become disrupted at these points and the things he finds or can see are perhaps dangerous or shameful. He notices another reality, another story within the story, subjected to new rules and, in line with the notion of narrative identity, another face or image of his selfhood. However, talking about these experiences could also constitute an important part of a psychological recovery after a trauma.¹² He does not dare to, want to, and sometimes is not able to share these with us.

¹² Judith Herman contends, that there are three main parts of recovery after a trauma (and these has several names in psychiatry): the first one is “getting safety,” the second one is telling or narrating, while the third one is actual recovery. (Herman 2003: 189, 211–234.)

The fieldwork was conducted from January through March 2003 in a small peripheral village in Hungary. Questions were asked of oral history of the 20th century, and *F*'s house was the first that I went in. I scraped acquaintance with his family, too, and made some structured life course interviews with them. Some very interesting ethnographical documents were gathered, like manuscripts of numerous folk songs, popular costumes, prayers, etc. At first, *F* himself wanted to narrate everything about his life and the war. Then, he became unsure if that would be a good idea and, a few occasions later, he suddenly asked me to stop the interviewing process and to end even the relationship between us.

In this paper, I will rely on the unstructured interviews made with *F* and the relevant parts of the collected family documents, including letters and diaries. These would represent the basis for the reconstruction of the life path. Great importance will also be attached to a rather personal piece of document; a voice message prepared by *F* for his girlfriend at the time, recorded on board a helicopter during deployment. He gave this voice message to me on an audiocassette during our last encounter. The transcript of the full text is roughly 6 typed pages long.¹³

At this stage, I will briefly outline the main stops along the life path, which are his events of fate, on the basis of the interviews and the family documents. (Due to the fact that his mother was a prostitute, he lived with his father after his parents had divorced.)

"Unfortunately, the reason why they had divorced, in the especially woman-centric Kádár-system... It was a very rare situation, if the father was given custody of all the children. That must have been a very serious reason. In 1966, my father was given custody of all the children under age by the court."

He was 8 years old when he had to witness how his beloved father died.

"My father, who died, there were the two of us, he died next to me, I witnessed that. I can explain it, of course I can explain it even today, if I close my eyes, but I only think of him if they are open and... Listen, what I saw then, cannot be explained. You are there, an eight-year old and watch your father dying."

¹³ An edited version of these texts is published in *Regio* journal. Bottyán 2005.

It was then that he had to go back to his mother, but she treated him in such a brutal fashion¹⁴ because of his “naughtiness” that he had to be put into an institution in state custody.¹⁵

“To be honest I was glad to leave them, to get rid of them, because they beat me a lot, they punished me with beating. I was not allowed to eat, as a punishment. I could not eat; they punished me with everything they could use against a child. But the two main things were beating and starving. What does a growing child need? Not this. (In the state-run orphans’ home) ... I was glad; it was not a bad place. Neither was a bad place, but good memories, happy memories... They looked after us, paid attention to us. As they do in a normal kindergarten. But I missed the parents. Not those, who put me there, but my father.”

In the state-run orphans’ home,¹⁶ he kept away from the other kids, yet established useful and intimate contacts with the women cooks, the gatekeeper, and the stoker.

“And I was fucking lucky, that the kitchen, the boiler”

He could thus always get with their help what he needed personally (e.g., cigarettes) but what was otherwise not available in the home.

“So I had the connection, that my cigarettes, I was a chain-smoker already, I found what I needed. I also tasted that...”

When someone beat him, he ran away with one of the boys in his class. Because of this he was relocated to another orphans’ home. At the new place, it was again the adults that he got into good relationships with, and, apart from cigarettes and alcohol, he could get ahold of a lot of information concerning the life of the adults through them.

“Even as a child, I paid attention to what I heard from whom and then I modified that according to my understanding, according to what was good for me in my opinion.”

¹⁴ About child abuse and violence in the family in Hungary, see: Tóth 1999: 14–19.

¹⁵ About the consequences of chronic child abuse, see: Herman 2003: 123–125; or in English: <http://www.refocus.org/trauma.html>

¹⁶ János Géczy has published four similar life story reconstructions. Géczy 1998.

In the summer recess, he even got a job for himself in order to save more money. It was during his summer employment that he received his first sexual experience, too. By the time he completed the eighth grade in school, he was already a father to his first child.

"And I went to a factory to work. In the summer holiday. And then I got acquainted with an older colleague, older than me."

At the end of that year, he got back to his mother, who sent him to a technical boarding school.

"Yes, I got back. Then there were conflicts, arguments, and I was sent to a boarding school. So that I can study better, in their opinion."

With the help of friends and extended family connections, he managed to get a scholarship and certain privileges. At the same time he started to discharge railway carriages at the weekends because he wanted to earn money so as to be able to buy clothes. However, he did not learn too much at the school, and he soon dropped out.

"I was not interested in school and learning then; I got a very good scholarship and I found out that, if I didn't have clothes, besides going to school, I could go to do unloading of railroad carriages at the weekends. It was a well-paid job. But that amount of money was still not enough."

In the hope of acquiring more money, he frequently moved from one workplace to another, and he aspired to be on good terms with the bosses wherever he worked.

"And I worked here and there in the hope of a bigger salary, then they always fucked me over; the higher hourly rate was always a low monthly salary. Well, then it began... this."

Between the age of 14 and 27, he fathered 4 children. They were born either in longer term relationships with 4 partners or to occasional partners. With one exception, it was always him who terminated these relationships. He kept in touch with the children but not with the mothers.

"The four children, the four mother, they are old enough and live an independent life. The youngest was born in 1984. Forget it. None of them has my name. Leave them alone, not

out of my life; they could never be, but for the observer, not that this is a taboo or something, I don't want to talk about it."

From the age of 18 to when he became 30, he spent most of the time in jail.¹⁷ Also, he was often in military barracks.¹⁸

"I had to spend 18 months in the army. I had lots of good memories in connection with it. I was eminent-recalcitrant. Both. It was cruel. But I liked it. I even managed to convince a lot of blockheads, with one or two stars on their lapels, that... Unfortunately, not the educated were... Not always... who was a swaggerer in the pub, was one in the army, too. Not that there was no exception, since I was there as a reservist for a long time. I took care of my own profit to be honest, as I got my wages, my wife got hers and something after the children; the army was a gold mine."

Looking back on being in jail, he did not consider his behavior exemplary, yet, in those years, he actually liked to be in prison.

"I don't say it was good always, but I made the most of the situation and I, me, as I had to be there. I liked being there, in prison. I made the best of the situation. I found my place."

Although he did not participate in the conversations of the inmates, he eavesdropped from a distance, and obtained a lot of information, perhaps about smuggling gasoline.

"Unfortunately, what I heard in the prison was not always true. For example, how you can force a car open. I did not know it, so I was not interested. So, this was the case, I always moved away. But not far enough, so I heard them, but I did not participate directly in conversations."

At the time of the change of the political regime, he was doing time. Following that prison sentence, he traveled to Romania, from where he went straight to the Yugoslav border.

"Actually, when I left the country, I ended up in Romania. Then to make use of my 50 dollars, which used to be the foreign exchange allotment back then, I dropped in some oil smuggling. And that was the starting point of my getting into Yugoslavia. But about this... not more."

¹⁷ Ferenc C. Fehér has published a life story of a prisoner: C. Fehér 1991.

¹⁸ Concerning the mental health of soldiers and life in barracks, see: Tóth–Klein 2002.

By overhearing conversations in bars and pubs, he collected information on the method of smuggling oil.

"I usually keep silent and just listen. Not eavesdropping, so if I go in somewhere, sit down and drink a coke, I can gather some info, any kind. And if I don't like it, I make use of it. If not, I go back to that place, if not, then everybody speaks in the streets, this way. Of course. Consciously."

As he only had as much money that was allotted to tourists at that time, at first, he transported goods across the border that had been left there by others. He profited royally from the successful venture. Following this, he started to smuggle increasingly larger amounts of fuel, and, finally, he bought a tank-truck and even gave commissions to other parties.¹⁹

"Well, what someone else tried to smuggle out, that came to me, because they didn't dare; left it, and I dared. And I won. I could talk more about it, but... so. This is crime, you know, and... It is not allowed, it is illegal. Then many family did this, they earned their living this way. I felt like doing this, there were always miserable people, who help for money. I managed to cajole a few with money and then it went in greater amount. They also had connections, friends. Listen; they needed money. And there, if you gave 100 marks, it was a very good currency then, the American dollars and the German marks were popular at the time, they liked it more than the American dollar. You could do anything, you see, anything. I got a vehicle and then a truck."

He was nabbed on the Serbian side of the border.²⁰ The Serbs beat him up and told him that he had two choices: either he would be killed or enlist as a soldier in the Serbian army.²¹

"It sounds like being a mercenary, as we got a daily fee, but no; this term doesn't fit, rather... mercenary, although we were accepted in the official force. We got a new identity; a new name, new parents, everything. I was lucky to have the double Hungarian-Romanian citizenship then. And I had my Hungarian passport. So the intelligence service was so weak

¹⁹ Writing about *Zsombolya*, Daniel Vighi touches the topic of smuggling oil across the Romanian–Yugoslav border in 1994–95. See: Vighi 2000.

²⁰ The story about his getting nabbed and enlisted to the army was not allowed to be recorded. Most of the following events were related beyond the interviews proper.

²¹ R. Flores 1994. A parallel and, at the same time, completely different story of a Hungarian volunteer in the Croatian army was published in Hungary. This book contains a lot of events of the war (sameness of the author) and almost nothing about personal issues, like feelings or thoughts (selfhood).

that they did not make inquiries. The Romanian passport was withdrawn, and I was a... So, new name, new parents; as I have already mentioned. And I had the possibility to go to a lot of places. Although in what capacity, that is better not to... no sense... because, although torn into pieces, Yugoslavia is the same Yugoslavia."

After having only a nominal training, he was put into a unit where all the members had come from Romania originally.

"Well, sometimes I had permission to leave Yugoslavia and, as all the members of the unit were there from Romania, 1 or 2 were not friends, because you could not make friends there. You had to be afraid and had to take care of each other at the same time. But there were a few who kept together."

Maybe, it was because it was all the same to him "where he would kick the bucket," he got lucky and survived the war. At the end of the war, he was the only one person still alive of the original unit. As he was willing to work hard and seriously, he was fairly quick in moving higher and higher in rank, and he even became a very good pilot.²²

"Here is the possibility. Make use of it, F, and go to hell! If you can, you will go ahead; if not, then does it matter where you drop dead? I took it so easy. Unfortunately, or thank God, I prospered, but the problem was that I came back. And I should not have felt sorry for anyone, helped anyone; I should have taken care of myself. And I may have managed even better."

He eventually found a way to go to Romania on a regular basis, although illegally.

"...But this is the same in the Hungarian army, too: from the county? Then... but if it is further in the county, or the neighboring county, then we are a bit more cautious. But if it is the neighboring village, then we are more... we go together, come together. And we had a permission to leave and we simply came over. Illegally. As we were not allowed to leave the country, of course. But we were so close then. On the Romanian side, there was Temesvár, and we crossed the border. And then I went deeper into the country as I dared more; I had more time and got acquainted this way."

²² Andrási 1993. Attila Andrási publishes further narratives of the Balkan War. In addition, American therapists describe the use of the testimony method of psychotherapy in a group of traumatized adult refugees from genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina. See: Weine and others 1988.

It was then and there that he met the love of his life, with whom he actually dared to make plans for the future.

"Listen, I bought everything for her. A flat, furniture; I even let her work, although we spent as much a day as she earned a month. What should be the common aim, if everything is given? We went on holiday, went out, she could not have a baby, that is why I loved her and was attached to her. Because I always made a bad bargain with women and their children. The peremptoriness. Legal right. You know. The husband is always dispossessed. In the past, in the present, and that will be the case in the future, too. As no one could ever do it with me."

The fact that the girl's family also accepted him was very important for him.

"My sister-in-laws liked me; I took them with me, although there were some, who made use of me. I kept a whole family, then became bored with it and we were alone; moved away, sold the house, moved to my mother-in-law, so that's it."

It is for this girl that the recorded message was intended.

About his inner experiences, thoughts and emotions toward the war, *F* spoke quite a lot. Instead of telling martial anecdotes, he often tried to explain what he felt then and there.

"Well, well; fear. It's not true, that somebody is not afraid. But after a time... This is like you having breakfast or lunch. You can get used to it, if you are able to do it. If you have the nerves, you can get used to anything. Everybody is afraid. Me, too. For example... it matters why you become grey. It's different to slaughter a chicken than to kill someone. There are some who are not able to do either this or that. And there are some who are not able... cannot do or do not dare, so... take an animal life. That of a duck, or anything. There is fear. It is in everybody. Me, too, I was afraid then. But not of killing somebody but of those who died there next to me, in front of me, behind me, and then you realize that, oops, the next one may be you. If yes, I want to die without suffering. Besides, a lot of people... I didn't want to die suffering. 'Cause help is giving assistance... Nothing really happened. Unfortunately. Human life in a war... not an expensive venture. Replaceable. In four or five years, if it's dragging on for such a long time, a new generation is capable of bearing arms. Humans have no value. Not in war. Only for the politicians."

By the end of the war, the beloved girl had died of cancer. *F*, for his part, had lost everything that he had ever acquired: love, family, money, military rank, power, and even health.

The main events of fate could be selected from the life story with relative ease. These are the following:

- the divorce of his parents;
- the death of his father and being transferred to live in the state-run orphans' home;
- the birth of his first child and, at the same time, getting back to his mother and starting the technical boarding school;
- starting work and, a bit later, starting committing crimes,
- crossing the Hungarian-Romanian border
- being nabbed and enlisted to the Serbian army.
- participating in the war. Finding love, military rank, and money.
- the return to Hungary and to his mother.

It is always a similar behavior pattern surfacing between two individual events of fate:

- Moving to the peripheries; that is, the fact that *F* kept to himself and away from potential partners.
- Finding shortcuts through the channels of useful connections; that is, *F* strove to establish contacts with people above him, like adults or his bosses, to get onto good terms with them so as to obtain favors from these people.
- Conflicts; that is, the tension building up around him to the point when he got into a serious clash with somebody.
- Crossing borders; that is, getting out of the relationships that proved problematic for him, even if it required disregarding the rules.

As we can see, the story of *F* was never that of a law-abiding citizen, not even for a short period of time. His career path was made up of a series of disregarding social rules and conventions. He got into conflicts with bigger and bigger units of society, ranging from the family to institutions of law and order. As a response, society inflicted upon him an ever-increasing degree of punishment and a growing measure of segregation. In fact, he obtained his social consciousness in institutions of segregation (orphans' homes, the military, or penitentiary institutions). He learned how to pretend to serve the powers above him, although, in his opinion, it was more of how to take advantage of them and how to use this for his own benefit. His personality was characterized simultaneously by a certain kind of consciously undertaken ascetic inclination and a lack of inhibitions: while the tension between these two always kept forcing him into conflicts with the community. The repeated border

crossings, arising from his conflicts, eventually took him across the actual border of his home country, to another border. This border, the one between Romania and war-torn Yugoslavia, was closed, according to an earlier international agreement. Even there, he settled in the spirit of his usual routine. However, the war was different from everything he had known before, and completely changed his life.

The majority of the fellow soldiers of *F* – as this becomes quite clear from the text of the recorded voice message and those of the interviews – escaped from the reality of the war into drunkenness or haze brought about by drugs.²³ They flung themselves into the chasm torn into their life stories represented by *the war as an event of fate* by discarding their self-consciousness, which they deemed to be useless in an attempt to put up with their present predicament. *F*, however, “*decided that he would go through this in a sober fashion,*” and tried to do his best to record the experience. Unfortunately, all these documents have been lost, with the sole exception of the audiocassette to be presented here.

An event of fate seems to be the most intensive experience of one’s life.²⁴ When one experiences it, the process of one’s life seems to break off, with new rules entering the scene, following which the life story has to be told anew.²⁵ Nevertheless, the war does not always offer a possibility for us to talk about it “later”: life in war is in constant danger and it also endangers others’ lives. It is better then to tell the new story at one’s earliest convenience. Even better than that is to take advantage of technological developments and record the thoughts and ideas right after they are born in one’s mind.

When the voice message was recorded, *F* was navigating a damaged helicopter above enemy grounds and he was looking for a camp of POWs. The main idea of the typed transcript, which makes up about 6 pages, can be grouped around just a few notions.

1. *War is an event of fate*, since the routine words and expressions are not legitimate means of communication, as their meaning goes through some kind of a change. There are new rules introduced. However, sometimes it is possible to get round even these new rules. In the light of the event of fate, the future

²³ Herman 2003: 63.

²⁴ Tengelyi 1998: 199.

²⁵ Tengelyi 1998: 200.

seems uncertain, and it can have a totally different outcome than previously thought or assumed.²⁶

2. *Freacts to his selfhood*: he tries to express his emotions and the psychological changes in himself.

3. *He puts into words the story of his sameness* as he is relating the events taking place right then and there.

These three notions seem to merge into one another: *selfhood is the inner sense of the experience of sameness' story: the event of fate.*

I would like to convey *F*'s message with the help of the following excerpts:

1. The narrative of event of fate:

The routine words and expressions are not legitimate means of communication:

"I am really sorry that I used such an improper time to speak. You know, it is difficult for me to find the words."

"...It is possible that when you hear my voice, you will try to understand what I want to say, although it might not make much sense to you. This is only because the simplest everyday words don't come easy to me. If they still do, because of their simplicity, even I can't understand the message of some of them. I need to look again for the right words."

Having crossed the border, everything has changed, and new rules are in effect:

"...Let me perhaps start at the beginning. I have arrived safe and sound, if you can call that safe and sound... When I crossed the state border, like always, I lost my sense of humor. My good humor."

"...Not necessarily my sense of humor or my good humor but the realization of the fact that you would never hear my voice again."

"...I have to think about everything, I cannot call anything by the right name. In my own interest."

One can get round these rules: "...You know it very well that I am very lucky by birth. I always find some way to make sure that the person I love, the one I feel attached to should get my message somehow. Through my voice."

The future changes:

²⁶ Tengelyi 1998: 202.

"...The way the circumstances evolved has made it possible for me to confront every solution, to find a way to make the possibility of survival accessible for you up to a certain point for the coming maybe long-long years."

"...Of course, there are things that even I can't foresee, since the world, or the circle, doesn't revolve around me. Yet, now it is relevant word for word that I am in the center of the circle. This is right above a closed area from where there is a way out only if everything comes together as we would like it to happen. Or they would. However, I hope everything will turn out the way we planned it. And that you miss me, too, and you wait for me to return."

2. The narrative of his selfhood:

Shared memories, his feelings towards the girl:

"...I can still almost remember the scent of your skin. I have taken as much of it with me as may perhaps be enough for the six weeks ahead. I always recall only as much of it, I will budget it into portions I need. I will. I miss you very much."

The change:

"...I have become a bit stranger and more different; everybody drinks, except me. I don't need the booze at all. Although I don't think any more, at least not the way I used to when we were together. Yet my mind still works. True, maybe a little dumber, and my voice is also more different. But you also know this. Even if I didn't speak about everything, you know that I experience different, bigger changes, and my organism reacts to everything in a different fashion. Maybe, it's just the mutation. Or who knows what. Maybe, it's also this noise that distorts my voice to some extent, too. But this is already what it is. More precisely, it is still me, and the sound of the rotor."

"...I have made a vow that I would do this staying sober all the way through. I haven't had a sip. Not one sip since that. I want to survive this whole business. ...Although this company is so cool; I would be ready to go with them anywhere at all, even to hell."

"...It seems that they are trying to hit us with a missile. But we are not gonna give them this bloody pleasure. It's fortunate that all this could not be heard in the recording. We gave them a little juice. I know that if you had seen how distorted my face was, you probably would've said 'You are not the same person I used to lie next to.' But, unfortunately, when I return, I will be the same old myself."

3. The narrative of his sameness:

The events:

"...We still have about ten more minutes to go and then the fun will start. To real disco music. Now, a few people will learn how to dance the lambada. Do you know what this is?"

Now is the time to be cruel. This dance requires all the nerves, all consideration, there's no pardon. Unfortunately, there isn't. But if I'm lucky, if I'm lucky, by the time you receive this, this recording, this cassette, it will be decided if I have learned to dance. Or if I am left-footed. If I am left-footed, I will never dance again any more."

"...The chances of survival for me are definitely bigger, as we started out this time with two helicopters. Every now and then they get closer. That is to say, we get closer to one another. This is why sometimes the noise gets louder and then softer again."

"...Now we have arrived over a military object. We need to take a better look around. I'm gonna go back to the boys. It will take less than a minute. ...This is not the area yet that we are aiming to go to. Unfortunately, we do not have a fixed point for orientation. But we should be able to manage somehow."

"...Now I really have to get ready to jump. Before the 'copter blows up."

In this presentation, we had a chance to trace the stages in the life story of a mercenary. We could see that the life path under scrutiny covered the territory of three countries. *F* was ostracized from society in Hungary; he arrived in Romania as someone outside the law and he started to be involved in smuggling; then he struggled to survive the war in Yugoslavia and he acquired money, a military rank, and love. We have established how his life story narrative displays the same motives from one event of fate to next one.

We have had a closer look at the most important event of fate in his life; the war. We have done this through a text that can be regarded to have the value of a document. He related the change in his selfhood and the momentary story of his sameness to his girlfriend in the most peripheral situation possible: flying a helicopter over an enemy territory just before it was going to explode.

By highlighting a few excerpts from the text, the theory of narrative identity has been proven valid. It has been proven that, at the time of experiencing the event of fate, the normal routine pattern of fate disintegrated and new rules came into effect, which were manifested through a new narrative. Apart from the present moment, this change also covered the future as well.

F was perhaps helped to stay alive as a single survivor in his unit precisely by experiencing the event of fate in full consciousness and then putting this experience into words.

After the fieldwork, it became apparent that the life story of *F* is cyclical not only from one event of fate to the next one but also in its entirety. When the interviews were taken, *F* was living on the periphery of Hungarian society again, and he was dreaming of a new border crossing.

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**The Question of Identity and Remembrance:
Resettled Communities of the Flooded Villages
of *Maniowy* and *Bözödújfalú***

Throughout the 20th century, a lot of people were resettled, mainly due to political reasons (wars, changed borders), as well as economic factors. The history of resettlements and the consequences of territory loss faced by particular communities have been analysed in numerous studies. Resettlement related to hydro-electric works conducted in a given area constitutes a striking example of territory loss. Since the end of the Second World War, local communities have been protesting against such resettlements more and more successfully; all of them have organised such protests in defence of their land (understood both as farmland and heritage).¹

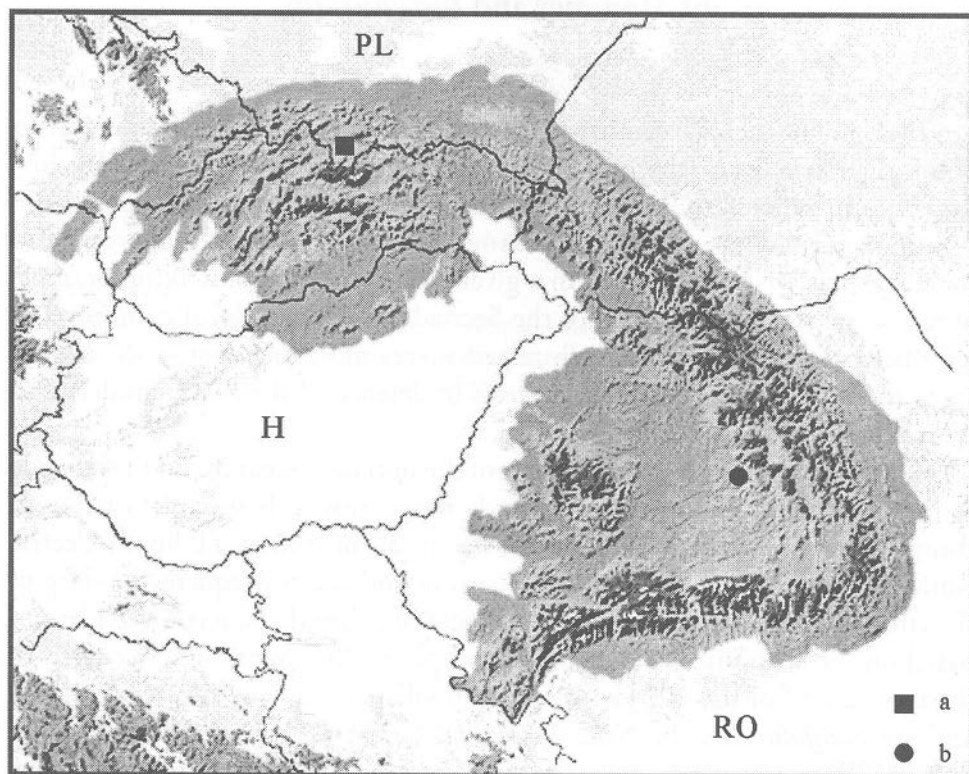
The present study constitutes a part of the initiated research² on the attitude assumed by rural communities towards the territory they have lost due to compulsory resettlements related to the implementation of hydro-electric works in the area, i.e. the dam construction and the consequent flooding of the village. We shall analyse the development of cultural and territorial identity based on the memories of the abandoned place. The events that occurred in the second half of the 20th century in two villages, i.e., in *Maniowy* (Poland) and *Bözödújfalú* (Bezidu Nou, Romania),³ serve as a background for the analysis. There are some aspects which make the two villages similar, i.e.: they are situated in mountainous areas – The Carpathians; the inhabitants are mainly engaged in farming and stock-raising; the flooding took place at the

¹ As a result of such protests, the implementation of several similar works in the UK was interrupted, great dam projects in Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland were terminated; as regards non-European countries, such investments were not made in Malaysia, India, and Nepal.

² Local research started in 2004 in the Polish village of *Maniowy*. In 2005, together with Ms *Erzsébet Bódi*, PhD, I carried out a several-day comprehensive research among the inhabitants of the flooded village of *Bözödújfalú* (Bezidu Nou, Romania). I would like to thank Ms *Erzsébet Bódi* for helping me in organising the research.

³ I have not had enough time so far to get familiar with the Hungarian literature concerning the village of *Bözödújfalú*, so the information presented herein is by no means exhaustive; it constitutes the basis for further research though.

same time and was carried out in a similar way. This allows us to make comparisons which may point to a universal – typical of mountainous regions – or local character of attitudes and feelings developed as a result of compulsory resettlement of traditional communities.



The Carpathians. a – Maniowy, Poland, b – Bözödújfalú (Bezidu Nou), Romania

I have conducted a series of autobiographical interviews where each story recounts individual experiences and distinct memories. The stories can be divided into two parts; the main historical part concerning the construction of the dam and the autobiographical part accounted for in a very emotional way. The emotional character of numerous accounts is not an unwanted element that makes it difficult to understand an interlocutor's intentions properly. According to Antonina Kłoscowska, *“the analysis of human experience based on autobiographies may well be applied in studying the phenomenon of nation and*

nationality understood as components of the experienced world."⁴ The interviewees have gone back in time to the post-war years, to the 1950s and 1960s, and their accounts cast a new light on local history. It is a subjective vision of history, evaluated in relation to time and emotions.

The village of *Maniowy* is situated in the south of Poland, in the ethnographic region of *Podhale*, which is a part of the Carpathians. The earliest records about the settlement date back to the year 1326, which is assumed to be the date of its foundation. The village was inhabited by Roman Catholics, and its social structure was dominated by small farmers who owned 1 to 3 hectares of land. Farming used to be the only source of income for the majority of people. They grew potatoes, barley and oats. They also bred some cows, sheep, and geese. After the Second World War some of the inhabitants immigrated to other parts of Poland in order to look for a job, as there were no employment opportunities in the immediate vicinity.

The geographical location of *Maniowy* and other nearby villages in the *Dunajec* River Valley posed a threat of frequent flooding. In 1934, a great flood took place. After several days of intensive rainfall, *Dunajec* and *Białka* (one of the tributaries of *Dunajec*) overflowed their banks and flooded the surrounding villages. For many years, this had been referred to as the "flood of the century" until the next, equally destructive, one struck in 1997.⁵ The disastrous effects of the 1934 flood prompted the authorities to invest in harnessing the river and using the movement of water to generate electric power.⁶ The implementation of the project started only after the Second World War. In 1950, some preparatory works were carried out and, twenty years later, dam construction started.

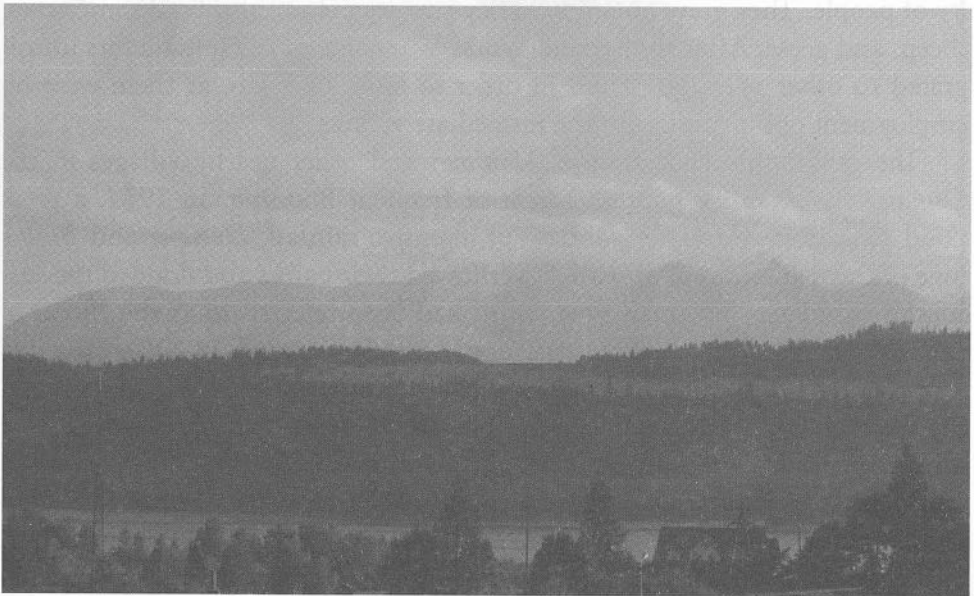
Since the 1960s, hardly any houses have been built in the old village because it was officially forbidden due to dam construction plans. Some houses have been built illegally, as it was not forbidden to have planks or wood. People laid stone foundations and made wooden frameworks, so a house could have been built even in 14 days. Officials imposed penalty fees for such practices, people agreed to pay them but they refused to dismantle the houses. The above situation can be best illustrated by quoting one of my interlocutors: "*wstrzymane*

⁴ Kabzińska 2003: 43.

⁵ The 1997 flood did not cause as much damage as the previous one. The inhabitants of *Maniowy* emphasize that the catastrophe was prevented thanks to the dam which was constructed in the same year.

⁶ The first research into the ways of harnessing the river started as early as the year 1905.

było budownictwo, to tak my się gnieździli po trzy po čtyry rodziny w jednym domu [...] a młodzież dorosła, żynili się, to z ojcami tak się myncyli, siedzieli. A tam – [w starej wsi-M.G.-W] ja tam budowałem w sześćdziesiątych latach dom, to już nie było wolno [...] nie dawali planu [...] późni trzeba było rozbierać” [“we were not allowed to build, so three or four families had to share one house [...] our children grew up though, they got married, and still had to live with their parents. And there [in the old village – M.G.-W.] I built a house in the 60s, but it was forbidden [...] they didn’t accept the design [...] we had to dismantle it later”] (M., born in 1929, M.).⁷ Between 1948 and the 1960s, about 80 houses were built in that way in *Stare Maniowy*, and over 100 until the year 1972.



A view of Czorsztyń's Lake. 2004, Poland. Photography by M. Godyń-Wrzesień

In the middle of 1970s, on the southern slopes of the *Gorce* Mountains – i.e., on the border between the three geographical regions of *Gorce*, *Spisz*, and *Pieniny* – a new village with the same name was established, and all the people living in *Stare Maniowy* were resettled there. The new village was located several kilometres from the original place, some of it among the fields

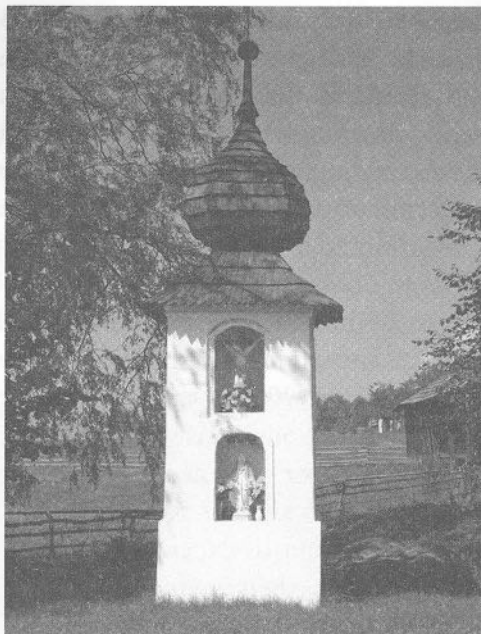
⁷ All quotations have been provided with additional information concerning the interviewee, i.e. sex: M – male, F – Female, year of birth, and the first letter of the name of the village: E – *Erdőszentgyörgy*, M – *Maniowy*.

which were to be farmed by the resettled people. Only four house designs were officially approved. As regards architecture, the newly built village had nearly identical houses. *Nowe Maniowy* was also divided into three parts. The division was supposed to correspond to the source of income, which was to be either agricultural or non-agricultural (tourism). According to official projects, only one part of the village was supposed to be of agricultural character. People who were to live there obtained big parcels of land and were supposed to build homesteads and farmsteads there, as well as to cultivate the land by growing corn and vegetables. No farmsteads were to be built in the two remaining parts. *Maniowy* was supposed to become an attractive tourist village. The authorities did not take into account the fact that over 90% of the local people made their living by farming. Due to the transformations, most of them were forced to change their professional profiles and, in consequence, their whole lifestyle and mentality. Those people who were given smaller parcels of land (for non-farmers) could not imagine their lives without livestock and poultry breeding, so they constructed some farmsteads on their own. The people refused to give up farming, which helped them to make a living but also proved their longing for a traditional lifestyle. All wilfully constructed buildings constitute an example of a very sophisticated and ingenious architecture, which does not reflect the 'tourist vision' of the village, assumed by the authorities.

Nowadays the village of *Maniowy* is inhabited by about 2000 people; most of them come from the families resettled here from *Stare Maniowy* and the neighbouring village of *Kluskowce*. After opening the dam, about 30 persons agreed to move to the nearby town of *Nowy Targ*, where they were offered apartments in blocks of flats. Contrary to all expectations, the new village of *Maniowy* did not become a tourist attraction, as did, for example, the nearby village of *Czorsztyń*. This resulted from the rejection of land development plans, which provided for the construction of recreational facilities.⁸

Bözödújfalú (Romania) is a village whose inhabitants were also, just like in *Maniowy*, forced to resettle. The village is situated in the region of Transylvania; the nearest town and the capital of the province is *Târgu-Mureş*. The river *Küsmöd* flows nearby. The inhabitants of *Bözödújfalú* constituted a multi-religious community including Catholics, Unitarians, Orthodox, and Szekler

⁸ Only 15 holiday camps were built there.



One of the four shrines moved from the old village Maniowy to the new one. 2004, Poland. Photography by M. Godyń-Wrzesień



One of the four shrines moved from the old village Maniowy to the new one. 2004, Poland. Photography by M. Godyń-Wrzesień

Sabbatarians.⁹ It is worth mentioning that, in spite of such a great diversity, religious conflicts were extremely rare, which was also confirmed by the people who used to live in *Bözödújfalu*.

Bözödújfalu used to be an agricultural village whose inhabitants were mainly engaged in farming and stock-raising. They grew rye, oats, and corn; and bred pigs, cows, oxen, and sheep. According to the information gathered from the interviews, people used to cultivate small plots of land, and there were some vineyards on the mountain slopes. One of the local women recollects – “*we wsi były 3 stada baranów. Stadami zajmował się csoban [baca – M.G-W]. Trzej csoban mieli juhasów – chłopców do pomocy przy wypasie. Każdy z nich miał swoje pastwisko. [...]. Jeśli w domu był mężczyzna, wówczas gospodarował. Miał białą krowę, cielę, które sprzedawał na targu w Erdőszentgyörgy*” [“there were three herds of sheep in the village. *Csobans*

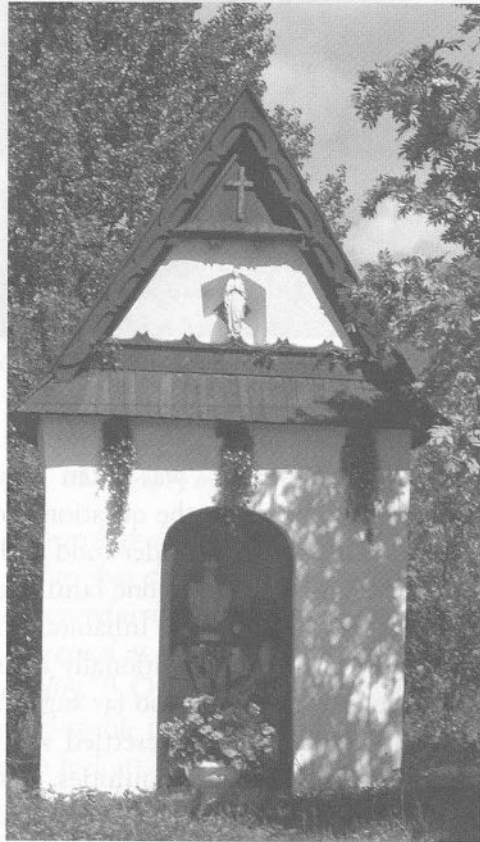
⁹ There are some inconsistencies in the information provided by the interviewees; some of them claim there were two churches in the village – a Unitarian and Catholic one, while others say there were three of them – Unitarian, Catholic, and Orthodox.

[shepherds – M. G-W] looked after the herds, and the three of them were helped by young boys. Each of them had his own field. [...] If there was a man in the house, he managed the farm. He had a white cow and a calf, which he sold at a fair in *Erdőszentgyörgy*” (F, born in 1935, E).

In the 1950s, the process of collectivisation took place. The villagers were forced to give up their land, which was then incorporated into collective farms that the people were made to work on.

In the 1980s, difficult times began for the village, as the dam construction on the river *Küsmöd* started and all people were to be resettled. The process was much shorter than in the case of *Maniowy*. By Nicolae Ceaucescu’s order, dam construction was initiated, which resulted in the resettlement of the whole village. In 1989, the dam was completed and *Küsmöd* overflowed its banks, creating a lake which flooded all the buildings. In the same year, the last inhabitants left the village. About 75% of the people moved to the nearby town of *Erdőszentgyörgy* (*Sângeorgiu de Padure*), the rest of them settled in neighbouring villages of *Bözöd* (*Bezid*) and *Háromfalu* (*Trei Sate*). The buildings had not been dismantled prior to the flooding, so all of them are under water. The ruins of a Catholic church building, which had not been dismantled either, are still to be seen near one of the banks. The interviewees believe that “*nikt nie miał odwagi rozebrać kościoła*” [“no one dared dismantle the church”] (F, born in 1935, E).

The wealthier families could afford to build or buy new houses. Some of the numerous poor families obtained apartments in blocks of flats in the nearby town of *Erdőszentgyörgy*. The so-called *garzons*, a housing development consisting of several blocks of one-room flats, were built for the re-



One of the four shrines moved from the old village Maniowy to the new one. 2004, Poland. Photography by M. Godyń-Wrzesień

maining resettled people. According to the information obtained from one of the interviewees, about 3% of the old village population moved into the *garzons* in *Erdőszentgyörgy*. Those who live there refer to the place as a “ghetto.” There are still several abandoned houses on the former outskirts of the village, which were not reached by water. Nowadays some Roma families live there.

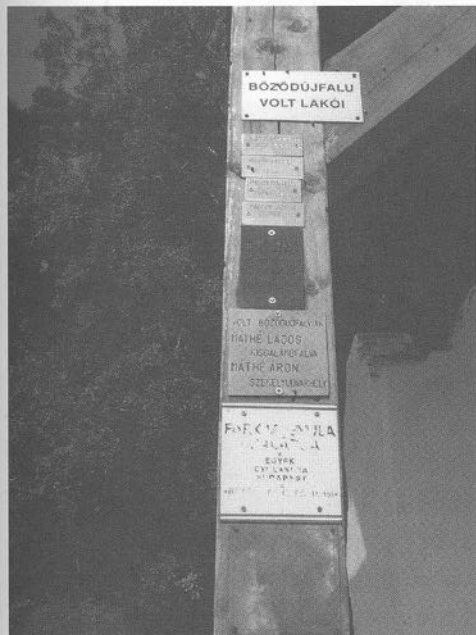


A “weeping wall” in *Bözödújfalu*. 2005, Romania. Photography by M. Godyń-Wrzesień

The inhabitants of *Bözödújfalu* and *Maniowy* had to face the same situation; their “place on earth” was taken from them. The situation prompted me to think of an answer to the question how the concept of “fatherland” changed. Traditionally, it can be understood as the land inherited from one’s father, property that has belonged to one family for so many years.¹⁰ However, in the case of resettled villages, whose inhabitants were permanently deprived of their land, the attachment to a traditionally construed fatherland might be questioned. Local studies carried out so far suggest that the concept has to be partly redefined in the analysis of resettled villages. Land has always been particularly important for rural communities. It seems necessary though to redefine the concept of land by referring not only to property heritage, but also to cultural

¹⁰ Skorupka–Anderska–Łempicka 1968: 152.

heritage; to traditions and customs. In the case of the villages analysed during the research, the term “fatherland” has connotations we are all familiar with. It suggests the closest surroundings, homeland, “place of birth,” it is synonymous with the concept of “home” and the customs associated with it.



People who lived in Bözödújfalú put their names on the column of the “weeping wall” 2005, Romania. Photography by M. Godyń-Wrzesień



The monument that stands next to the wall was taken out of the bottom of the lake at the end of the 1990s and it commemorates the First World War. Bözödújfalú, 2005, Romania. Photography by M. Godyń-Wrzesień

According to Drozd-Piasecka, M.: “researchers dealing with village cultures emphasise that no economic value of the village has decreased significantly as the prosperity and position of a farmer depend on production and earnings and not on the very fact of landowning. Land is not perceived as an indication of social position and security; it is treated as a commodity.”¹¹ On the basis of the research carried out in the village of *Maniowy*, it is possible to conclude that the way of land evaluation has changed. These people feel attached to their land just because it belongs to them, and not because they farm or cultivate it. People do not farm the land anymore but they do not sell it either. Landowning has become

¹¹ Drozd-Piasecka 1991: 10.

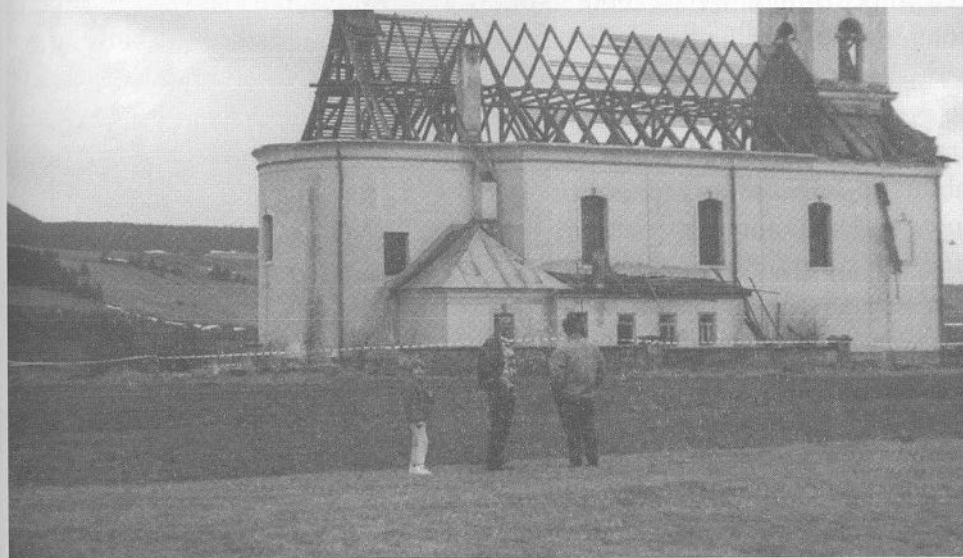
particularly valuable. Land is no longer perceived only as the place of work, as a commodity; it is a value itself that suggests one's attachment to fatherland and tradition. The inhabitants of *Bözödújfalu* have not owned any land for many years; the way they evaluate it has not changed, though they still feel attached to their land, which manifests itself in their feelings of community and connection with it: deep-rooted traditions and memories which often become idealised.

Identifying yourself with a particular territory or with a village is definitely based on recreating the reality which, in the case of *Maniowy* and *Bözödújfalu*, has gone by. Former inhabitants of the two villages feel emotionally attached to places which no longer exist. The attachment is based on remembrance, memories of the past days, of the world gone by which now exists only in individual and collective memory of the people. In *Bözödújfalu*, for example, annual celebrations are held. In the 1990s, a "weeping wall" was built next to the ruins of the church. It is a place which symbolises grief, pain, and longing for the past. The monument was decorated with the symbols of four religions whose believers used to live in the village. The wall serves as a link to the critical events of the past. Every year, on the first Saturday of August, the inhabitants of *Bözödújfalu* and of the nearby villages gather at the "weeping wall" where ecumenical mass is conducted. The monument which stands next to the wall was taken out of the bottom of the lake at the end of the 1990s and it commemorates the First World War. In *Maniowy*, four shrines were moved from the old village to the new one. They were traditionally located next to the houses of the same families which looked after them in the old village. Such actions suggest that these people feel a need to recreate past reality or at least a small substitute of the things gone by.

The way people felt about the methods of destroying the churches in their home villages also proves how attached they were to these places. The church in *Maniowy* was blown up because it was too difficult to dismantle the building. The event was so distinctly remembered by the villagers that the majority of the 40 persons interviewed so far all mentioned it. Many respondents remembered some important events of their lives that were somehow connected with the place: "*w tym kościele braliśmy ślub, tam chrzciliśmy dzieci i została z tego tylko posadzka*" ["this is the church where we got married, we baptised our children there, and now there's only this floor left"] (F, born in 1944, M.), or "*jak wysadzili kościół, był wielki grzyb kurzu, wszyscy stali i patrzyli. Dwie godziny po wysadzeniu poszliśmy tam. Stanelimy na tej podłodze i się rozplakali*"



*Ruins of the church, which is partly flooded. Bözödújfalu, 2005, Romania.
Photography by M. Godyn-Wrzesień*



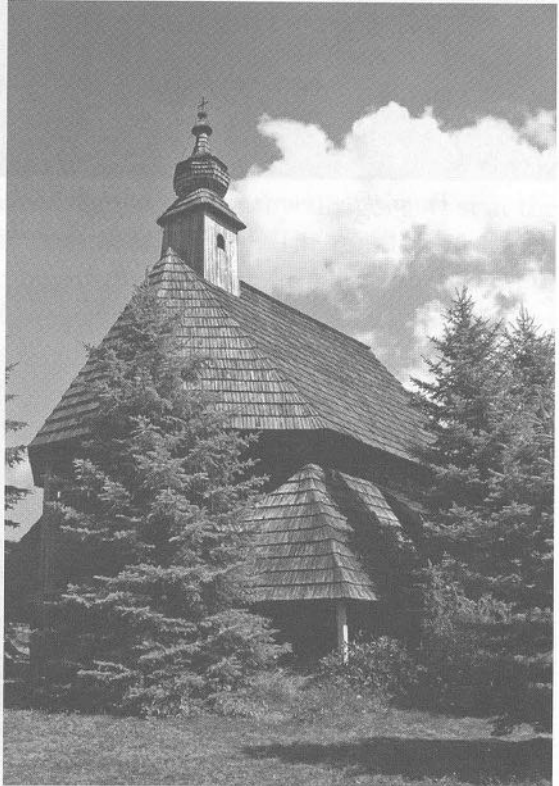
*Partly deconstructed church in the old village Maniowy, before it was blown up. Maniowy.
A photo from a family album of J. Krzysik*

[“when they blew it up, there was a huge cloud of dust, everyone just stood and watched. Two hours later we went there. We stood on the floor, and started to weep”] (M, born in 1924, M.). The church in *Bözödújfalu* was not, as I have mentioned before, dismantled but partly flooded, which evokes equally sharp memories. Retention of memories relies on an unconscious and unintentional selection of images from the past. The way we perceive and interpret the surrounding world is considerably influenced by our recollection of dramatic past events.

Ruins of the church, which is partly flooded. *Bözödújfalu*, 2005, Romania. Photography by M. Godyń-Wrzesień

Partly deconstructed church in the old village Maniowy, before it was blown up. Maniowy. A photo from a family album of J. Krzysik

How can we define memory then? There seem to be various possibilities: it is the exceptional ability of human mind which can be explained by referring to psychological, physiological, biochemical and biophysical terms. Ethnology does not analyse memory just as the ability to remember things. We are more interested in finding out individual and cultural evidence of its presence in our way of thinking. Memory results from our ability to store past experiences and to learn about ourselves and the surrounding world. If we understand our past as the reality which has gone by, and we want to learn about it, we have to reconstruct and describe it by recreating our knowledge. Memory is a record of real past experience, of our knowledge about it.



Cemetery church, moved from the old cemetery to the new village in Maniowy. 2005, Poland.

Photography by M. Godyń-Wrzesień

It is a narration that expresses some kind of truth, and so understood, it is its only conveyor. It is the most subjective component of culture because every person remembers an event in a different way. As D. Czaja pointed out "*memory is different in every single experience, it is a matter that is constantly being transformed.*"¹²

Memory can change with time, which can result in a tendency to mythicize or mythologize. It is difficult to draw the line between what was real and imagined. The assumption can be proven by referring to the Arcadian vision of the abandoned village shared by all interviewed people. The irreversibility of the situation intensifies the idealisation of memories and the feeling of nostalgia. Compulsory resettlement symbolises the turn of the centuries for both communities. They blame the resettlement for all the problems they have had trying to find employment and for the present unstable economic situation.

The events described herein, although they took place in two distant villages, are similar as far as the attitude towards resettlement is concerned. People who used to live in these individual villages seem to remember the places very well, even though they were completely deprived of their land. One of the interviewees said "*myśmy sprzedali nie ojcowiznę, tylko miejsce*" ["we didn't sell our fatherland, we just sold the place"] (F, born in 1949, M.). Assuming that the concept of "fatherland" is not only understood as the land inherited from one's father, but also as cultural heritage, tradition and customs, it is possible to conclude that the people feel equally attached to their fatherland now as they did before the resettlement. What matters most is the memory of it; the memory of old traditions. This allows people to adjust the traditional order of things to new conditions. Community values were threatened by the compulsory resettlement, as it could have encouraged some people to start looking for new lifestyle patterns. In fact, however, that uncommon event helped people remember things better, sharpened their memory of the past and of the fatherland they were deprived of. The process of resettlement can be defined as the interruption of historical and cyclical continuity, the modification of traditional understanding of the concepts around which the familiar world is organised, which has led to the development of new identity.

¹² Czaja 2003: 19.

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The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the effective management of any organization. This includes not only financial records but also personnel files, inventory lists, and correspondence.

In the second section, the author outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data. These methods range from direct observation to the use of sophisticated statistical software. The goal is to ensure that the data collected is both reliable and valid, allowing for meaningful conclusions to be drawn.

The third section focuses on the challenges of data interpretation. It notes that while data collection is often straightforward, the process of interpreting that data can be complex. Factors such as sample size, bias, and external influences can all affect the results. Therefore, it is crucial to approach data analysis with a critical and objective mindset.

Finally, the document concludes by highlighting the value of data in decision-making. By providing a clear and concise summary of the findings, the author aims to help readers understand the implications of the research and how it can be applied in their own work.

The author expresses their hope that this document will provide a useful overview of the research process and encourage further exploration in this field.

The following table provides a detailed breakdown of the data collected during the study. Each row represents a different category, and the columns show the number of occurrences for each sub-category.

| Category | Sub-Category | Count |
|----------|--------------|-------|
| Group A | Sub-A1 | 15 |
| | Sub-A2 | 20 |
| | Sub-A3 | 10 |
| | Sub-A4 | 5 |
| Group B | Sub-B1 | 30 |
| | Sub-B2 | 15 |
| | Sub-B3 | 10 |
| Group C | Sub-C1 | 25 |
| | Sub-C2 | 15 |
| Group D | Sub-D1 | 10 |
| | Sub-D2 | 5 |

The data indicates that Group A has the highest number of occurrences across all sub-categories, while Group D has the lowest. The distribution of data points is relatively even within each group, suggesting a balanced representation of the sub-categories.

Meeting Points in our Common Past

GABRIEL BENEDEK
RADU FILIPESCU
LAURA STANCIU

THE HISTORY OF THE

EARLY HISTORY OF
THE STATE OF
NEW YORK

Romania and the Hungarian Optants' Issue in the British Papers

During the First World War, the Romanian parliament decided to satisfy the long-standing demands of the agricultural population for land reforms. Thus, it was the parties representing the propertied classes themselves that modified the constitution and passed drastic legislation to break up large estates and to divide them among the peasants. The first law for this purpose was promulgated in 1918 and went into effect the following spring. The economic life of a whole country was transformed. Romania passed at a stroke, without friction and without disorder, from a quasi-feudal regime to a modern system of small properties.¹

Holders of large estates were expropriated. Compensation was paid to them, but it was calculated on the basis of the 1913 gold-lei income from their properties and actually paid in currency which soon was only one-fourteenth of its former gold value. Furthermore, even this currency payment was in fifty-year state bonds on which the market quotation had fallen to less than one-half of the face value. Thus, actual compensation was in many cases less than 1% of the value of the property expropriated.² There were no foreign agricultural estates in Old Romania, since a provision of the constitution of 1866, renewed in the constitution of 1923, prohibited aliens from owning rural land. However, complications arose when the agrarian reform was applied to the new territories ceded to Romania at the end of the war – Bessarabia, Transylvania, etc. – for, there, citizens of other nationality than Romanian also owned lands.

In Transylvania, acquired from Hungary under the Treaty of Trianon, particularly acute conflicts arose, because 86% of the land was owned by Hungarians.³ The Treaty of Trianon provided that Hungarians in the ceded territory might opt to keep their nationality but, if so, they had to move to

¹ Şandru 1975.

² Petrasco 1931: 24.

³ Şandru 1982: 170.

Hungary (articles 61 and 63). These optants were, however, 'entitled to retain their immovable property' in Transylvania. The Romanian law of 1921 which applied the agrarian reforms to Transylvania provided that the estates of absentees should be subject to expropriation in their entirety, and those persons who were out of the country from 1918 to 1921 should be considered absentees.⁴ As the Hungarians owned most of the estates, this applied particularly to them.⁵ Thus the issue of expropriation of foreigners' estate and compensation for vested interests was mixed with one of the emotionally charged minorities' problems created by the Peace Treaties. Hungary made direct diplomatic representations to Romania in 1922–1923 but got nowhere, then took the problem to the League of Nations and to The Mixed Arbitral Tribunals set up by the Treaty of Trianon.⁶ Hungary asserted that it was not protesting against an agrarian reform carried out in good faith, but against confiscations which were unjust and contrary to the provisions of international treaties. Romania took the ground that the Hungarian demands brought into issue not just a controversy of law but also 'the political and social transformation of a nation.'

In March 1927, the Council of the League of Nations named the representative of England, Sir Austin Chamberlain, and the representatives of Japan and Chile to form a Committee that would study all the aspects of the matter and present a concise report to the Council during its next assembly.⁷

The Committee presented the case to six lawyers, all leading specialists of international law – doctor Gauss, Germany; Cecil Hurst, England; Fromageot, France; Pilotti, Italy; Rostworowski, Poland; Sato, Japan. The two parties, Romania and Hungary, were summoned by the Committee on May 31.⁸ The opinion of the lawyers was unanimous in favor of the Romanian thesis, which sustained that the dispositions of the Trianon treaty did not exclude the application of a general law of agrarian reform to the Hungarian subjects.⁹

The report that the Committee drew up, also known as 'the Chamberlain Report,' was registered in July, 1927, at the Secretariat of the League of Nations. This report stated that the Romanian law for agrarian reform was not a meas-

⁴ Şandru 1975: 31.

⁵ Antonescu 1928: 220; Ionescu 1997: 125; Oprea 1966: 141.

⁶ Şandru 1975: 172; Survey of International Affairs 1929: 170.

⁷ Antonescu 1928: 268.

⁸ Lăzărescu 1933: 52.

⁹ Şandru 1982: 177.

ure of liquidation as long as it had a general character and that it did lead to discrimination between Romanians and Hungarians neither by its text, nor by the methods of putting it into practice. Also, Romania, as sovereign state, was entitled to legislate over its goods.¹⁰

At the conference held at Geneva, in September, 1927, the League of Nations invited the two parties involved to comply with 'the Chamberlain report' and asked Romania to reiterate its judge in The Mixed Tribunal. Nicolae Titulescu, who represented Romania in this case at the League, declared on 19th September that, when both sides accept the 'report,' it will automatically lead to the reiteration of the Romanian judge.¹¹

Representing Hungary, Count *Apponyi*, rejected 'the Chamberlain report.' He sustained that only the Permanent Court of Justice at the Hague had the right to interpret the Treaty of Trianon.

The Council of the League of Nations voted in favor of 'the Chamberlain report' and it established that the final decision should be taken in the session in December, 1927, so the parties would have enough time to reflect upon the matter.

The issue was resumed on 9th March, 1928, when Sir Austin Chamberlain suggested that the parties admit the competency of The Mixed Arbitral Tribunal to rule this case, and Romania replaced its delegate at the Tribunal. Because the Romanian government's opinion was that the Tribunal had no right to rule upon the case of the optants, N. Titulescu did not accept the suggestions that Sir A. Chamberlain made. As the Romanian diplomat saw it, as there was no juridical issue, so there was no juridical forum competent to rule either.¹² The optants' issue was subject to debate for two days (9th and 10th March) without any result. The Hungarian delegate, Count *Apponyi*, pleaded for a legal clarification, with the implication of The Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, while N. Titulescu sustained a political way out, through direct parley.¹³

The Council of the League of Nations voted in favor of the new suggestion made by Sir A. Chamberlain, and so, The Mixed Tribunal was completed with two magistrates from neutral states during the War and the Romanian judge was reiterated. All the complaints of the Hungarian optants who had been

¹⁰ Şandru 1982: 178.

¹¹ Ionescu 1997: 128.

¹² Titulescu 1928: 5–10.

¹³ Şandru 1982: 178.

expropriated because of the agrarian reforms carried out in Romania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia were to be submitted to this Court of five members. Count *Apponyi* declared that Hungary accepts Sir A. Chamberlain's suggestions. N. Titulescu replied that the Romanian government 'refuses to admit the competency of The Mixed Arbitral Tribunal to rule this case and to bring into discussion the agrarian reform, as it has been carried out, having as principle the equal treatment of Romanian and foreign proprietors, as well as it refuses to admit a regime of favor and a special compensation for foreign subjects.'¹⁴

In March, 1928, the Romanian representative suggested, in a note sent to the Hungarian government, that the amounts that were to be paid to the optants could be deducted from the sum owned to Romania by Hungary as war compensation, and that the Hungarian government should pay them the value of the expropriated land in Transylvania. This procedure was accepted, in the main, by the Hungarian government.¹⁵

In June, 1928, the Council of the League of Nations suggested that it should renounce to rule the case and that the parties should reach an understanding.¹⁶

In 1927, while the Committee of three evaluated the complex issue of the Hungarian optants, Lord Rothermere, the owner of a press trust, began a campaign for the revision of the Treaty of Trianon, as the Hungarian government would have wanted it.

On 21st June, 1927, *The Daily Mail* published an article signed by Lord Rothermere entitled 'Hungary's Place under the Sun.' The article had a detailed map of Hungary and it suggested a peaceful revision of the Trianon treaty. Otherwise, the author mentioned, there can be no long term peace in Central Europe. The economically absurd and ethnically unjust borders, which could lead to another war, should be changed through internationally observed plebiscites, it was added. Lord Rothermere suggested that Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia should give back the territories inhabited by approximately two million Hungarians. The map indicated, slightly overstating, 1 000 000 Hungarians in southern Slovakia, 600 000 in Transylvania

¹⁴ Ionescu 1997: 129.

¹⁵ Şandru 1982: 179.

¹⁶ Şandru 1982: 180–181.

and 400 000 in Voivodina.¹⁷ Two million pieces of this issue of *'The Daily Mail'* were published. The campaign started by Lord Rothermere influenced all 71 publications of the trust. The Lord, as the Romanian historian Vl. Dobrinescu considers, spent approximately 15 million dollars on this campaign.¹⁸

On the continent, and above all, in Hungary and in the countries that had been members of the Little Entente, the article, obviously pro-Hungarian, had a strong effect. The sudden action of the well-known British newspaper caused reactions and counter reactions and, in the end, a media war that continued until 1929.

The British Foreign Office was astonished and irritated; France and several smaller states reacted in indignation. The *Bethlen* government did not skip this chance, as the official political line guided by the motto *'Mindent vissza!'* had in view to reestablish the Empire of Saint Stephen.¹⁹

The second article published by Lord Rothermere, entitled 'Europe's barrel of powder,' proved very important for the struggle that Hungary undertook for the reconsideration of the Trianon treaty, especially because it had a much larger effect than the actions of the Hungarian government. The impact on the public opinion in Hungary was enormous and quite a few newspapers sent correspondents to London. The daily *'Pesti Hírlap'* was entirely put in the service of the Rothermere campaign.

The two pillars, political and financial, of the revisionist action carried out through Lord Rothermere were, on the one hand, the direct implication of the Lord in the failed attempts to restore the Hungarian monarchy – he was asked, by some circles, to accept the crown of Saint Stephen – and, on the other hand, the concessions made to the British investments in Hungary.²⁰ *'L'Indépendance Roumaine,'* a Romanian liberal newspaper, observed that this campaign was not altogether odd to some British investors who wanted to exploit Hungary's natural resources.²¹

The reaction of the Little Entente to this campaign was both diplomatic and media-related. The diplomats of the three countries accredited at London tried to convince the Foreign Office to openly dissociate with the campaign

¹⁷ Lendvai 2001: 409–410.

¹⁸ Dobrinescu 1996: 61.

¹⁹ Lendvai 2001: 410.

²⁰ Lendvai 2001: 413–414.

²¹ Dobrinescu 1996: 62.

started by *'The Daily Mail.'* Responding to these requests, Ramsay MacDonald replied that the British public was not interested in the Rothermere campaign and that it represented an isolated action, not in the spirit of the British people. The instructions sent by the Foreign Office to the ministers in Central Europe stated that Lord Rothermere was not to be taken seriously and that its campaign was not to be considered any way.²²

Lord Rothermere's campaign was connected to the events that retained the attention of the Council of the League of Nations regarding the Hungarian optants' issue. The campaign, as some Hungarian officials insisted, did not aim to convince the Council of the Hungarian point of view, but wanted to retain the world's attention to the principle discussed in the matter, that of the sanctity of the Treaties. N. Titulescu however, never doubted that Hungary only wanted to discredit Romania and to modify the provisions of the Treaty of Trianon through this action.

After these articles had been published, the British newspapers were frequently the theatre of debate on the issue of the Hungarian optants. The main topics included the correctness of the decisions and the actions of the two parties and of the Council of the League.

Articles were published on a daily basis in papers such as *'The Times,' 'The Daily Mail,' 'The Daily Telegraph,' 'The Outlook,' 'The Manchester Guardian,'* and *'The Observer'* as letters to the editor containing the opinions of several lawyers, politicians, journalists, taking one or the other point of view.²³ These papers had reporters at the Council of the League of Nations that kept the public opinion in touch with every important aspect of the debate on the Hungarian optants' issue.

On 16th July, 1927, an article in *'The Daily Mail'* discussed the establishment of a Committee to 'study the evolution of the situation in Hungary, Romania and The Serb – Croat – Slovene Kingdom.'²⁴ The committee was to analyze the effects of the Treaty of Trianon and the issues between the successor states, and it had Lord Charnwood, Phillimore, Newton, and Thomas among its members, all of them sustaining the Hungarian standpoint.

²² Dobrinescu 1996: 65.

²³ Hungarian–Roumanian Case and The Mixed Arbitral Tribunals 1928.

²⁴ Dobrinescu 1996: 62.

On 17th November, 1927, as the official report of the House of Lords shows, a vivid debate took place regarding Romania's decision to reject the authority of The Mixed Tribunal.²⁵

Lord Newton suggested that, if Romania was allowed to hold a domestic law above its international agreements, then a pattern was to be created for other states that might want to seize foreign properties within their borders. He requested that the provisions of the Trianon treaty should be followed entirely, and because he considered that the expropriation stipulated by the Romanian agrarian reform was in fact a confiscation, Hungary's requests should be fulfilled.²⁶

Lord Buckmaster wanted to modify the provisions of the Treaty of Trianon in favor of the former enemy foreigners through a resolution, because those provisions were directed only against the ones who resided in foreign states after the War. He considered that those provisions should be applied only when new natural borders were created. In his opinion, it was only because these provisions were put into practice incorrectly that this case came to being.²⁷

If the two Lords considered that the interpretation of the Treaty was wrong, Lord Carson dealt with the issue of the competency of the League of Nations to consider a matter settled by the Treaties, that is the competency of The Mixed Tribunal.²⁸ The Lords, who spoke that day in the Chamber, upheld, from a juridical stand, the Hungarian cause, but they based their opinion on a wrong interpretation of the Romanian agrarian reform. They considered that this law, because of the small amounts paid to the ones who lost their lands, was, in fact, liquidation and confiscation of the properties of those who had the right to choose between two citizenships. From this point of view, the assertion that Romania neglected the existing treaties is right, and its refusal to accept mediation, subjected to sanction. But expropriation is not the same as liquidation or confiscation, so, from a juridical angle, Romania was right.²⁹ Because of the implication of the two governments and of the Council of the

²⁵ Hungarian-Roumanian Case and The Mixed Arbitral Tribunals 1928: 5-16.

²⁶ Hungarian-Roumanian Case and The Mixed Arbitral Tribunals 1928: 5.

²⁷ Hungarian-Roumanian Case and The Mixed Arbitral Tribunals 1928: 9; Scott 1927: 3-6, 8-11; Simon 1927: 3-6.

²⁸ Hungarian-Roumanian Case and The Mixed Arbitral Tribunals 1928. 11.

²⁹ Titulescu 1928: 4-29.

League though, this issue became one of political interest, while its juridical aspect remained blurred.³⁰

In December, 1927, *The Times* was the medium of some vivid debates between Lords Buckmaster, Carson, Charnwood, Newton, and someone who signed his name as Verax. This debate brought forward the opinions of the British society on the matter and also some wrong perceptions of the problems in Hungary and in Romania. The Lords asked to abide by the provisions of the Treaties and support the nomination of a person to take the place of the Romanian representative at The Mixed Tribunal so it could rule the cases of the Hungarian optants.³¹

Verax replied that the work of the Court was not completed because, at the moment, it was a matter of debate at the Council of the League, so the Court could not rule the case; he pointed out that Hungary is the one who first appealed to the Council, in 1923, not Romania, in 1927, as the Lords asserted. "In 1923 Hungary considered that the Romanian agrarian reform was not liquidation, so it could not be brought before The Mixed Arbitral Tribunal – these were also the provisions of an agreement concluded between the two states in 1923 at Brussels, agreement later rejected by the Hungarian government – but it changed its opinion in 1926. Romania rejects the competency of the Tribunal only in this case, because the agrarian reform is not liquidation or seizure. The Tribunal did not consider the substance of the matter; it only declared that if the issue was to be interpreted as Hungary does, then the case would be of its competency. According to article 11 of the League of Nations constitutive agreement, which is part of the Trianon peace treaty, Romania brought the matter to debate before the Council of the League', Verax asserted. So, Verax believed that it was his duty to respectfully protest against the attempts made to uphold an 'ex parte' declaration on a matter brought before the Council and still 'sub judice.'³²

On 10th March, 1928, *The Times* published a joint letter of Lords Buckmaster, Newton, and Sydenham in which they pointed out how the Council of three – that drew up 'the Chamberlain report' – came to being: the Council of the League refused to replace the Romanian arbitrator in The

³⁰ Şandru 1982: 178.

³¹ Hungarian–Roumanian Case and The Mixed Arbitral Tribunals 1928: 29–30.

³² Hungarian–Roumanian Case and The Mixed Arbitral Tribunals 1928: 32–33.

Mixed Tribunal. They demanded the recognition of The Mixed Tribunal's competence to rule the case.³³

R. W. Seton-Watson replied to this letter in the 12th March, 1928, number of *The Times*.³⁴ He pointed out that the Lords clung to juridical provisions which were contrary to the events. The decision that the Council of the League took in September, 1927, was not subjective because it was the result of debates of well-known authorities in the matter. The well-known historian points out the background of the agrarian reforms carried out in Central Europe at the ending of the Great War. He suggests that these reforms were the main reason for the rejection of bolshevism in the region and that it would be unfair to the nationals of the states accused if the requirements of the Hungarian government were to be accepted. Also, he proves that Romania was not unjust when carrying out the reform, because it had begun in 1917, not four days before the Treaty of Trianon was signed, as the Lords asserted.

Wickham Steed, in his article 'Settlement by equity,' published in *The Times* on 16th March, 1928, pointed out that the situation in the region was a result of the war and of the desire of those people not to be oppressed any more, so law was not the field where agreement should be looked for. Romania wanted equity while Hungary sustained unbreakable law and it should be considered what was best for a convalescent Europe if the outcome was to bring peace.³⁵

In 1928, after the resolution adopted by the Council of the League on June 8, the optants issue was no more in the attention of the Hungarian – Romanian Mixed Arbitral Tribunal and the juridical solution was put aside in favor of bilateral agreement.

Numerous articles in the British papers, most of them published in 1927, supported the campaign sustained by Hungary for the revision of the Treaties and, most importantly, they indicated the constant care of the political circles to solve the post-war problems in Central Europe.

The solutions for the demands of the Hungarian people were given by the agreements concluded within the 'Young Plan' (1929–1930).

The Hoover Moratory (1930) and the Conference of Lausanne (1932) were the closing chapter of war debts. Although on paper the solution was found,

³³ Hungarian–Roumanian Case and The Mixed Arbitral Tribunals 1928: 62.

³⁴ Hungarian–Roumanian Case and The Mixed Arbitral Tribunals 1928: 68–70.

³⁵ Hungarian–Roumanian Case and The Mixed Arbitral Tribunals 1928: 73–74.

the payment of the optants by the Romanian government was made impossible, because Hungary did not pay its war debts, between 1931 and 1944.

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The Question of Western Border in the Romanian Parliamentary Debates (1918–1940)

From the very beginning we want to clarify that our essay is regarding to a very delicate problem. We do not follow to discuss the legitimacy of the actual Romanian borders. This could start an endless dispute between the historians. We just want to present some frames of mind of the Romanian public opinion after the end of the First World War. Elections were organized for the first time in 1919 in Romania, based on a universal suffrage. In the Senate and also in the Deputy Chamber debates were taking place regarding different problems, including the question of new borders from this part of Europe. These debates prove the interest of the Romanian public opinion concerning this issue. The information from the Official Gazette was completed with other sources.

After the First World War, the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires crushed in several pieces. Nations from South-East Europe claimed different territories to be belonging to their ancient patrimony, as "natural borders". It was observed that the concept of "natural border" is, at last, a human concept, as long as the Earth was given to mankind as a whole.¹ Also, it is "an outstanding situation when limits of the spatial map ensembles are corresponding with a state limit". This situation is possible only in the case of little island states.²

The word "border" could be translated in Romanian language by "*frontieră*"-from Latin "*frons*", meaning "the first", "*graniță*"-from Slavic "*kraina*" meaning "border", and "*hotar*" from the same Hungarian word, meaning "end, limit".³ Each word represents a different concept, too. For example, the word "*frontieră*" has a larger meaning than those of "*graniță*". It could be a national frontier, but also a cultural or a religious one. In this time, "*graniță*" has a meaning of a solid concept.⁴ We consider that the former two ones were

¹ Stamate 1997: 23.

² Bădescu et al. 1995: 72–73.

³ Stamate 1997: 2.

⁴ Bădescu et al. 1995: 5.

both presented in the Romanian Parliament debates, depending on the issue of defense or of friendly relationships with other countries.

Some historians thought of the first meaning to be the purpose of a border, to separate, to delimit two territories, or to form a link between them. In this order, the word "hotar" was considered to be a different concept in the Roman times and at the beginning of the 20th century. Nicolae Iorga, a Romanian historian and politician, deplored the modern concept of "hotar", which was "established very carefully [...] perfectly located in great details". He considered the Roman "hotar" a large place, capable to create synthesis.⁵

In this condition, a nation could consider its natural border a territory claimed also by the other. There were moments in history when ancient borders vanished and others appeared. In these circumstances, today as well as in the past, any changes create a new political and economical reality. But this modification has to face the resistance from those peoples' psychology who got affected by it. Of course, for a human being, a border has a strict configuration on the map and a possible different one in his mind.

Hungarians have in their souls and minds an image of the Old Kingdom, situated between Austria and the Carpathians. Romanians have an image of a great national state, too, between two rivers: the Tisza and the Dniester.⁶ For the Serb-Croatian-Slovenian Kingdom (the official denomination of Yugoslavia till 1929), the whole Banat province had to be inside of its borders. Further more, the new Serbian province of Voivodina was the same with the former Hungarian one, Bácska. In the north and in the east, the ephemeral Ukrainian state⁷ was interested in a political unity of its nation; therefore parts of the former Austrian and Russian provinces, Basarabia and Bucovina were requested.

In 1918, at the end of the Great War, delegates from the Romanian communities in Transylvania, Banat, Maramureş and "Hungary" claimed a unification for their territories with Romania.⁸ They wanted the Tisza River to be

⁵ Iorga 1996: 106.

⁶ "From Dniester to Tisza", this was the slogan of the Romanian nationalists, in the second part of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th one.

⁷ This happened in 1918. Later, most of the Ukrainian state became one of the Republics of the Soviet Union, which kept claiming for these Romanian provinces during the whole period between 1918 and 1940.

⁸ The concept of Transylvania has two meanings. The first is of the whole space between the Carpathian Basin and the Eastern Carpathians. The second is only of the territory surround-

the western border with Hungary, but after the beginning of the Peace Conference, it was clear that the frontier will be further in the east.

On 12 October 1919, the border between Romania and Hungary was established in Paris, as a compromise of the four commissions stood for the Great Powers. The Italian and the American diplomats marked a plan to establish the borders near the Western Carpathians. On the contrary, the British and the French diplomatists presented a frontier moved further to the west, towards Debrecen, Békés and Szeged.⁹ In spite of all accusations, this border was based on a strong documentation, trying to respect the separation of ethnical groups.¹⁰ Most of the territories populated by Transylvanian Romanians become a part of the Romanian state.

The Tisza as a possible frontier was regarded at the Great Romanian Assemble in Alba Iulia, in December 1918. But for the politicians in Bucharest, such a border represented a failure of the notion of the "national Romanian state". On 17 December 1919, the president of the National Liberal Party, Ion I. C. Brătianu,¹¹ realized that a Romanian border moved further in the western part of Hungary, towards the Tisza would have represented "a infringement of an ethnical principle".¹² Regarding the new frontier with Hungary, on 24 August 1920, Take Ionescu, the minister of foreign affairs, tried to demonstrate that a "natural border" with Hungary was impossible to be established. Such a border would reach up to the Tisza River, meaning to annex a compact piece of the Hungarian territory. Take Ionescu observed that Tisza as a suppositional border would have meant "over one million Hungarians, with a Hungarian city, Debrecen, with four Hungarian counties, where the proportion of Hungarian population is about 98-99 percentage". He agreed that "none of the Romanian ministers would gladly accept this one million

ed by the Eastern, Meridional and Western Carpathians. Also, at the National Assemble from Alba Iulia, the Romanians from Hungary were in fact those from the extreme western provinces of Partium.

⁹ See the map of this plan in Bădescu et al. 1995: II. 151.

¹⁰ See Dobrinescu 1993: 91.

¹¹ He was a prime minister during the First World War. He was a great defender of the national Romanian unity. Under his mandate the Romanian Army invaded Hungary, in 1919, in order to crash Sándor Garbai's government. At the Peace Conference in Paris he claimed national rights for his country.

¹² Bitoleanu 1995: 77-78.

Hungarians living in a compact community to be annexed at the margin of the border".¹³

The Romanian positions at the Tisza River were regarded to be only as a temporary strategically situation. In November 1919, General Henry Cihoski, the chief of the Romanian army Great Headquarters, considered the tenable Tisza to be "the Romanian Rhine", deploring a possible retreat from that position. But he considered this position as a temporary one in order to control the Hungarian forces.¹⁴ Romanian politicians recognized that the border of Trianon required more military forces than a suppositional line as a frontier right at the Tisza River. On 24 August 1920 Take Ionescu accepted the fact that a "pusta border will always be a conventional one".¹⁵ Two days later, he considered that the safety of the established frontier could be guaranteed only by good relations between Romanians and Hungarians.¹⁶

The Trianon Treaty caused a feeling of sadness in the Hungarian public opinion in the entire territory of the former Kingdom. But, at the same time, not all the Romanians were full of joy. Especially those from the border regions had a similar spirit of sadness. A part of the Romanian public opinion considered that the loss of some territories, populated by fellow country men, represented a desertion of these.

In December 1919, in the Parliament of Bucharest a petition of the Romanian deputies and senators from Sătmar-Şzatmár and Oradea Mare-Nagyvárad was made. It demanded from the Romanian deputation being in Paris at the Peace Conference to defend the ancient unity of the Bihor and Satu-Mare districts. The line asked represented the eastern extremity of the Hungarian territory of today. The frontier that they wanted to achieve would have run from Tarna Mare-Nagy Tarna to Botpalád, Jankmajits, Nyíradony, Vamos-Perciu-Vámospércs, Letea Nouă-Újléta, Hossu-Paleu-Hosszúpályi, Pocei-Pocsj, Darvas, and at the West of Sarcad Cerestur-Sarkadkeresztúr.¹⁷ One of the reasons was ethnic, in order "to save" those "big and pure" Romanian com-

¹³ Dezbaterile Adunării Deputaţilor, further on D.A.D., şedinţa din 24 august 1920, în Monitorul Oficial, further on M.O., partea a III-a, din 17 septembrie 1920. 129.

¹⁴ Leuştean 2002: 197.

¹⁵ D.A.D., şedinţa din 24 august 1920, în M.O., partea a III-a, din 17 septembrie 1920. 1299.

¹⁶ Bitoleanu 1995: 77.

¹⁷ Dezbaterile Senatului, further on D.S., şedinţa din 24 decembrie 1919, p. 124, în M.O., partea a II-a, din 16 ianuarie 1920: 123–124.

munities which "today are lost". Among this "lost" communities was Ghiula-Gyula, situated near the new border, where a significant Romanian majority was living. On the purpose of appealing to the emotions this city was called "Moise Nicoară's Ghiula".¹⁸ After all the conclusions of the Trianon Treaty, a deputy bitterly observed that "we lost only in the region from the Mureş to the Tisza about 100.000 Romanians, and of the most hardworking ones".¹⁹

Further more, other non-Hungarian communities were regarded as being lost, too. Bichiş-Ciaba-Békéscsaba, a "Slovakian city, who demanded to declare union with Romania", was concerned by regrets.²⁰ In this atmosphere, deputy Balya Simeon declared in 1920 that all the population of Maramureş, "of all nationalities and of all confessions", wanted the union with Romania.²¹ Also, his mate, I. Pleşoianu, considered the fact that the government in Bucharest must press for not only a few amounts of the Romanian villages from northern Maramureş up to the Tisza, but also the tense villages which were "once Romanian, but got overcome by Ukrainian in time".²²

It was a distinct situation. The northern Maramureş had a Ukrainian majority, but in the absence of a national state, there were two possibilities: to become a Romanian or a Czechoslovakian territory. Of course that people at a high level came to the final decision so it was not made by the masses.

When it was the turn of the Hungarians their deputy delegated in Paris tried to move the border towards Romania as far in the east as it is possible. According to the new frontiers, in the center of "Great" Romania remained a compact community of Szeklers. In order to protect this community, Albert Apponyi, a member of the Hungarian deputation in Paris, stood up for a new margin between the Romanian and the Hungarian state. He proposed a "corridor" in order to unify the actual Hungarian land with the "island" from

¹⁸ Dezbaterile Senatului, further on D.S., şedinţa din 24 decembrie 1919, p. 124, în M.O., partea a II-a, din 16 ianuarie 1920: 123–124. Moise Nicoara (1784–1861) was born in Gyula, but also had an important role as one of the cultural elite in Moldavia and Wallachia. All the experience that he had were also disillusion in the Romanian Principalities, the image of this man was used in that respective speech as a liason of the entire people. For more information about his life, see Institutul de cercetări al românilor din Ungaria. Un deceniu de existenţă. 1993–2003, Ghiula, 2003, *passim*.

¹⁹ Bitoleanu 1995: 79.

²⁰ Bitoleanu 1995: 79.

²¹ D.A.D., şedinţa din 5 iulie 1920, în M.O., partea a III-a, din 8 iulie 1920: 213.

²² D.A.D., şedinţa din 24 august 1920, în M.O., partea a III-a, din 17 septembrie 1920: 1290.

Carpathians.²³ On both sides, on the Romanian as well as on the Hungarian one, a strong feeling of fear was proved for the communities of fellow country men which suddenly become ethnic minorities. They were considered to be endangered by the assimilation process. This proves an emerging feeling of distrust regarding the new neighborhoods.

This idea was applied twenty years later in 1940 when the Vienna Arbitration took place. Germany divided the whole territory of Transylvania into two parts and the northern one was joined to Hungary. A corridor was set up from Maramureş up to the Szekler's region. However both of the countries became frustrated after the distribution. It was Hungary's turn to be angry that he could not obtain more of the Transylvanian territory. At the same time it was Romania's role to deplore the loss of his territories. The Vienna Arbitration was a failure. In fact, it was a pure political act, destined to subdue both countries to Adolph Hitler's policy, in order to a possible change of the borders after a suppositional German victory.

Now, we will try to present the image of the border shifting from an economical point of view. The former Hungarian counties of Bihor, Maramureş, Torontal, were divided by the new border.²⁴ The free space in the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire becomes restricted after the War. New frontiers ended up to be a profitable market. A part of the eastern Panonic Plane was a granary from the mountainous regions of Bihar and Satu-Mare. Also, the wood from these regions assured the combustible for the lowlands.

The historical Maramureş county was also divided. This was considered to be a tragic moment of the Romanian history, because the majority of the forests meaning work places especially for the poor population became situated on the other side of the Tisza, in Czechoslovakia. Also, most of the pastures remained outside the border to where the shepherds from south Maramureş use to go. Austro-Hungarian statistics presented Maramureş as being the rich-

²³ Nanu 1993: 75.

²⁴ In 1915, Cristu S. Negoescu started to do research work in order to write a book about Transylvania, Banat, Crişana and Maramureş. The book was a demand of the Romanian government. But its content proved impartiality. For example, the author, former school inspector and deputy, used Austro-Hungarian statistics. In the book are presented the Transylvanian counties. It could be observed that the Trianon frontier divided former counties of Bihor–Bihar and Sătmar–Szatmar. Borş, a Romanian village near the present borders, belonged to the administrative unity of Mezőkeresztes, before 1918, together with Mezősás and Magyar Homorog, presenting Hungarian localities. See Negoescu 1919: 344–356.

est county in forests of northern Transylvania. Also, Crişana and Banat counties served as larders of Transylvania's western parts, a fact proving the existence of economical exchange between the lowlands and the highlands of the former Hungarian province.²⁵ In the conditions of increasing the number of cattle and sheep in the Romanian part of the province, the alpine pastures of those territories were insufficient. At the beginning of 1930 year, the shepherds from Southern Maramureş asked for the permission to pass with their herds to the Wooded Carpathians (the mountains of today's Ukraine, the former Czechoslovakian-Polish border). For them, those mountains, divided by a recent border, were "well known places of ancient shepherding", and still remained to be as "our Maramureş Mountains". Biţiu Dancuş, a deputy in Maramureş, made this complain in February, 1930, ten years after the Treaty of Trianon. The shepherds asked several times the Romanian government to contact the Polish and Czechoslovakian authorities in order to resolve the problem. They even offered to pay for the reopening of the borders.²⁶

Two years later, in February, 1932, Doctor Nicolae Lupu considered the same border to be a "wrong one", because many Romanian citizens from Southern Maramureş still owned lands over the frontier. He criticized the lack of an agreement, proceeding from the owners, to let them pass freely the border in order to work on their lands, or, at least, to obtain for a compensation.²⁷ It is fairly noticeable that the demanded solution was not a revisionist one, but only an administrative question. Even today, the people on these lands consider the territories over the border as being "our lands".²⁸

Railroads are also a good example. It was openly said that, before 1918, the railways linking the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Romania, were burden by the Hungarian authorities.²⁹ After signing the Trianon Treaty, the new border cut the line from Arad going to Oradea, as the one starting from Satu-Mare

²⁵ Negoescu 1919: 90–104.

²⁶ D.A.D., şedinţa din 27 februarie 1930, în M.O., partea a III-a, din 29 aprilie 1930. 1162.

²⁷ D.A.D., şedinţa din 13 februarie 1932, în M.O., partea a III-a, din 3 martie 1932. 1565.

²⁸ In 2003, we went in a trip to Sighetul Marmaţiei. It was an exchange of experience with the Ukrainian secondary school "Taras Shevchenko". We visited the Crăciuneşti village, belonging to Bocicoiul Mare commune, containing a strong Ukrainian majority. The Greek-Catholic priest of the village has the house near the border, and show me the hills from the Ukrainian part, saying: "those are belonging to my family".

²⁹ See Petculescu 1923: 54. and Oprean 1947: 51.

towards Sighet. It was time to make new complains, regarding the railroads. Soon after 4 July, 1920, a Romanian deputy, D. Lascu, deplored the new border, considering it as an “impossible” one. He regretted the lost of Ciaba city, a very important railroad “junction”. At the same time, Oradea-Mare was considered to be too close to Hungary – only 4 km, as the railway from this town to Satu-Mare.³⁰

In Hungary as well as in Romania, the Trianon Treaty was ratified in a “somber” atmosphere.³¹ But the common sense won the Romanian public opinion. The Hungarian territory given to Romania was larger than the surface of the new Hungarian state.³² While in Budapest people mourned over the lost territories, in Bucharest they regretted that the new borders did not reach deep enough to the west. Iuliu Maniu, the president of the National Party,³³ said that the Trianon Treaty also has some “dark aspects” for the Romanians, but these phases “must not overshadow [their] joy and the expansion”.³⁴

In the circumstances, Romania, being one of the winners of the Second World War, did not fall into a revisionist tendency, as Italy. The national-liberal deputy, V. Demetrescu-Brăila, expressed a large point of view in the Romanian Parliament, that “there is no Romanian border without a Romanian enclave over it” because “ideal frontiers are not and could not exist”.³⁵ Also, Ion I.C. Brătianu considered “the abandonment of pure Romanian villages” in the Debrețin-Debrecen region as a necessary sacrifice.³⁶ In fact, in the following years, the territorial regrets were expressed more and more occasionally as well as less and less intensive in the Romanian Parliament. When the grieves were articulated again, a great part of them was specifically about the lost of western Banat.

The feeling of lost persisted, but it has never had any official connotations. In Bucharest, a senator demanded that the school maps of the new Romanian

³⁰ Bitoleanu 1995: 79.

³¹ Leuştean 2002: 173.

³² Leuştean 2002: 184.

³³ This was the strongest Romanian party from Transylvania and had an important contribution in the union of this province with Romania.

³⁴ D.A.D., şedinţa din 24 august 1920, în M.O., din 17 septembrie 1920. 1296.

³⁵ D.A.D., şedinţa din 12 decembrie 1931, în M.O., partea a III-a, din 14 ianuarie 1932. 674.

³⁶ Bitoleanu 1995: 77–78.

state should present the "disputed parts" in mourning colors. Paul Bujor, the president of the Senate, rejected this proposal, motivating that Romania must live in "peace and good concord" with the neighboring countries.³⁷

After the First World War, a possible change of the western borders was rejected by the Romanian public opinion, including the Parliament. There was not any difference between majority believes and opposition demands concerning the subject. In that situation, the only possibility could have been to establish an agreement with Hungary. This act remained to be impossible as long as Hungary would not give up its revisionist policy.

The major part of the Romanian public opinion was aware of the importance of the new borders, and concentrated all the energy in order to preserve and defend them. For example, Otlaca, a Romanian village exact on the border in the Arad district, was renamed after 1918 to be Grăniceri (Frontier Guards). The new denomination served to remind the villagers to the changed political realities.

All the years during the interwar period, Hungary was handled to be a possible enemy for Romania. Even when Hungary signed the Briand-Kellog Pact, this gesture was regarded with distrust in Bucharest. Deputy D. Dumitriu quoted the Hungarian prime minister, István Bethlen. The Hungarian politician declared that this signature means a hope in a "peaceful remedy in the future for injustices".³⁸

Deputy Polizu-Micșunești makes emphases on the nonsense of the Hungarian peaceful revisionism. From his point of view, the peaceful change of the borders would have meant a Romanian agreement, which was quite impossible at that time.³⁹ Under the circumstances, the frontier with Hungarian was regarded to be an unsecure place, alike the Soviet one. The Minister of War Affairs, General Henry Cihoski, estimated in February, 1929 that the Hungarian and Soviet borders require having troops in a larger amount.⁴⁰ The comparison proves the spirit of uncertainty. The Soviet Union, at that time, had no any diplomatic relation with Romania, because of the arguments for the Basarabia province, and a direct connection with Soviets was regarded as

³⁷ D.S., ședința din 31 decembrie 1919, în M.O., partea a II-a, din 28 ianuarie 1920. 169.

³⁸ D.A.D., ședința din 2 noiembrie 1928, în M.O., partea a III-a, din 13 noiembrie 1928. 63.

³⁹ D.A.D., ședința din 15 iunie 1929, în M.O., partea a III-a, din 11 octombrie 1929. 3322.

⁴⁰ D.A.D., ședința din 11 februarie 1929, în M.O., partea a III-a, din 15 aprilie 1929. 886.

a political and ideological danger, too. Hungary was perceived as only an ideological enemy – here we refer to the Bolshevik doctrine – in the period of Sándor Garbai's government.⁴¹

There were strong demands to fortify the position of the borders in the Romanian Parliament. Nicolae Iorga thought that the political treaties were "illusionary", and that "an armed soldier is the best way of defense".⁴² Especially after the beginning of the Second World War, these demands had increased. On 18th March, 1940, the Romanian deputy from Târgu Mureș, Cornel Pop, mentioned the project of a defense frontier "in concrete, iron and steel" from Tisza, Danube, South Dobrudja and Dniester, to be alike the Maginot and Siegfried lines.⁴³

The Romanian politicians tried to explain this specific state of mind to the Hungarian public opinion. Further more, some of them analyzed quietly the problem. On 3rd December, 1930, deputy Grigore Gafencu thought that the image of the Millenary Hungary is not harm as long as it is only a "beautiful souvenir" for those who try to keep it "alive" as long as it is possible.⁴⁴ Others regarded this "Hungarian dream" with wariness. An opposition deputy, V. Demetrescu-Brăila declared in December, 1931 that "we [Romanians, o.n.] expected the pain [of the Hungarians, o.n.] to pass away", in order to establish cordial relations with them. But, he goes on, "13 years had gone and the Hungarians did not find comfort in this direction".⁴⁵

Five years later, on 3rd December, 1935, Nicolae Titulescu, the Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, compared the image of the Millenary Hungary with "the illness of the image persistence on the retina", an obsession which never would be carried out.⁴⁶ Generally speaking, a diplomat usually avoids such categorical allegations. We consider that the reason of this serious speech was the changed European realities, differing from those of 1930. In 1935, Adolph Hitler was the dictator of Germany, allied with the fascist Italian state, and the scene of a possible failure of the Versailles treaties became more and

⁴¹ See Nanu 1993: 72.

⁴² D.A.D., ședința din 11 februarie 1929, în M.O., partea a III-a, din 15 aprilie 1929: 887–888.

⁴³ D.A.D., ședința din 18 martie 1940, în M.O., partea a III-a, din 5 aprilie 1940: 318.

⁴⁴ Sbărnă 2000: 141.

⁴⁵ D.A.D., ședința din 12 decembrie 1931, în M.O., partea a III-a din 14 ianuarie 1932: 674.

⁴⁶ Sbărnă 2000: 34.

more real. We could also realize the changes and the growing fear of reconsidering the treaties from Grigore Gafencu's and Nicolae Titulescu's attitudes. The former one, in 1930, hoped that "the reality of common important interests" and possibilities of "productive collaborations in economic field" were above "the most beautiful and most loving keepsake". He believed that pragmatism could put an end to the sentimental dreams. Nicolae Titulescu was more pessimistic. For him, only the future generations of young Hungarians would debate "equally" with their Romanian counterparts. He attached a condition to this in order to come true, that is that the young Hungarians grow up "in the spirit out of previous generations' domination".⁴⁷

During the interwar period, the idea of making an agreement with Hungary appeared in the Romanian parliamentary debates. Of course, this meant the recognition, *de facto*, of the new borders. From 1918 to 1940, the Hungarian public opinion did not resigned to the loss of some territories. Also, the government's political actions in Budapest proved that they had never accepted the new lines as frontiers.

All of the Romanian opposition parties, from the right to the left, expressed the same state of mind. We believe that this action was a political one since it was only based on speculations. The politicians on the extreme right had a very interesting attitude. They criticized from the very beginning the Versailles system of treaties, and praised Adolph Hitler's arrival to power. A. C. Cuza, president of the National Christian Defence League, announced a visit in Budapest in order to discuss with the "anti-Semitic" Hungarians. He attached hopes to establish a new form of peace between the two, neighboring countries, based on a new order. A. C. Cuza criticized the attitude of the Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, I. G. Duca, who publicly attacked the official revisionism of Hungary in Oradea-Mare. Cuza characterized the Romanian minister's behavior as a "shout", and drew attention to the fact that there must be a dialogue between the two countries. But there was an agreement that in the case of Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia "superior national interests" were satisfied.⁴⁸

Different attitudes of politicians on the extreme right can be realized. A. C. Cuza seemed to have a more intimate understanding with his Hungarian political comrades than Octavian Goga, who was more cautious, even critical

⁴⁷ Sbárnă 2000: 34.; 141.

⁴⁸ Cuza 1941: 47-50.

regarding neighbors from the West. It is easily explained: A. C. Cuza was a Moldavian, working as a professor at the University of Iași, while Octavian Goga was an intellectual from Transylvania. In Moldavia, the main target of the Romanian xenophobes was the Jewish communities, while in Transylvania, according to the various realities, the situation was different.

At their turn, the Romanian socialists hoped that all the litigations would be peacefully clarified in the moment when “real democratic regimes” were established in both countries. After the First World War, the Romanian social-democrats did not reach a single unit, but had more parties with various stand-points. The Romanian socialists from Transylvania were nationalists, and took part at the events of 1918. The socialists from the Old Kingdom were, at the beginning, the advocates of the plebiscites.

On 30th December, 1919, deputy Gheorghe Cristescu declared that any separation from or annexation to a territory must be organized “exclusively on the bases of the right of self-determination, and of expressing their own free will”. In the vision of the socialist deputy, the “expression of free will” had to be applied even on the territories lived by “the same ethnic population”.⁴⁹ As far as we are concerned it was a real excess on the part of Romanian socialists, because at the same time, their ideological mates from Hungary were strong nationalists, as almost the whole public opinion from the respective neighboring country.⁵⁰

After this moment, the socialists were more reserved concerning the plebiscites. They only tried to claim a possible “socialist peace”. Deputy Lothar Rădăceanu considered the Horthy regime as a “feudal-fascist” one. He also deplored the fall of the Gyula Peidl “democratic” government, which offered an opportunity to Miklós Horthy in his way to power.⁵¹ This allegation is a pure political speculation. In the field of history, the expression “what would have happened if” is not accepted as a scientific method. This plan proved to be utopian. All the Hungarian governments between 1918 and 1940 struggled for the ideal Great Kingdom. It is possible that any other policy would have been rejected by the Hungarian citizens.⁵² Rădăceanu reported his statements

⁴⁹ D.A.D., ședința din 30 decembrie 1919, în M.O., partea a III-a, din 24 ianuarie 1920: 311.

⁵⁰ See Leuștean 2002: 183.

⁵¹ D.A.D., ședința din 27 iunie 1929, în M.O., partea a III-a, din 12 octombrie 1929: 3347.

⁵² Leuștean 2002: 183.

in the years between 1918 and 1920, but we are willing to consider them to be valid for the whole interwar period, and even after the beginning of the war.

Exclusively, the Communist Party in Romania agreed on a possible modification of the borders. In 1921, the Socialist Party of Romania was divided into two parts: the ones who accepted to join the Third International created the Romanian Communist Party. Soon, this Party was outlawed due to its doctrines, as it accepted the usage of illegal actions as a political weapon. But this was not a personal decision; the orders came from the Third International. All the participating parties of the organization were obligated to respect and follow the so-called "21 points-conditions of the joining". In point No. 16. they stipulated that the decisions, made by the Comintern, as a "unique worldwide party", were compulsory for all its members.⁵³

Deputy G. Pop observed that this organization was mainly interested in arising misunderstandings among various European states, in order to establish communism there. The Comintern's presented concern for the "unfairness" of the Hungarian borders, for example, was only a hidden purpose of the communist aims, instead of a real interest in the Budapest cause. Ironically, the same Romanian deputy, G. Pop observed the main character of the communist advance, that is, if Transylvania had become a Hungarian province after 1918, the Third International would have approached the Romanians in order to promise them a border modification.⁵⁴

The Hungarian public opinion considered the Trianon borders as a false. But for the Romanians, any changes of the western frontier were impossible. In these circumstances, to establish a real reconciliation was unattainable between the two nations. Especially not in the year of 1940, when, in the whole European continent, borders were shifting so fast, and when this idea was presented in the Romanian Parliament as a saving ultimate solution. Deputy Victor Jinga observed that "the direction of the demographic pressure is "from West to Sunrise". In that condition, the western border was the most exposed of all. The Romanian deputy considered the exchange of populations as a "possible initiation". He proposed to collect all the Romanians from the sur-

⁵³ See the complete list in de Launay 1993: 177-178.

⁵⁴ D.A.D., ședința din 16 decembrie 1924, în M.O., partea a III-a, din 28 ianuarie 1925: 1096.

rounding countries beyond the state borders, including 50.000 Hungarian souls.⁵⁵

Generally, the tendencies of exchanging populations failed in the course of history, alike that one carried out between Greece and Turkey after the peace of 1923. But this possibility was a pure technical solution, overlooking the human spirit.⁵⁶ In the Romanian Parliament, several politicians agreed on the fact that the Hungarian minority must stay on its own homeland. The deputies with Hungarian origin had a similar opinion. For them, the regrets for the past persisted, but they also accepted the new order established after the war. This can be observed from the Romanian parliamentary debates, taking place after the First World War. For example, a Hungarian deputy, Görgy Bernárdy declared on 10th April, 1922 that “this change has meant for us the upset of a whole world and the destruction of ours ideals”. He admitted to have an “endless love [of the Transylvanian Hungarians, our note] which will never set up for their native soil”.⁵⁷ Another member of the National Hungarian Party, Sándor József presented, in October, 1922, the dilemma of being a good Romanian subject and also a faithful Hungarian nationalist. In a Biblical way, he compared the Romanian king, Ferdinand I. with a Caesar, which has obtained from the Hungarian minority the respect “towards him”. He added that they “will fight also for God, which represents the Hungarian nation and the Hungarian land”.⁵⁸ That was, also, the desire of this minority. The Hungarians, after 1918, made their options: to remain in Romania or to leave the state. For those who did remain, this was the final choice, as senator Gyárfás Elemér observed in December, 1934. He, being the vice-president of the National Hungarian Party, considered that the Romanian Hungarians could be a liaison between the two nations. He declared very clear that the Hungarians from Romania do not want to be a “bargaining ware” at some “international negotiations”.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ D.A.D., ședința din 13 aprilie 1940, în M.O., partea a III-a, din 27 mai 1940. 916.

⁵⁶ Today, Greece and Turkey live in a relative peace. But the Greeks brought from the Anatolian peninsula in the Aegean Islands did not accept the new reality. In sign of protest, they wall up the eastern windows of their new houses, which are reminding them of their native places, a part of today's Turkey. We obtained this information from a Discovery Channel's emission.

⁵⁷ Sbârnă 2000: 59–60.

⁵⁸ Sbârnă 2000: 73.

⁵⁹ Bitoleanu 1995: 298.

In 1929, deputy Alexandru-Vaida-Voevod declared his sympathy for the Szeklers living in the Oriental Carpathians. He compared Szeklers with a Romanian population (with the so-called “*moți*”) from the Western Mountains (Munții Apuseni) and considered them to be comrades in poverty.⁶⁰ He tried to convince the audience with his speech about the hard life of the peoples from the mountainous region that the Szeklers were not interested in policy, and implicitly in the revisionist problem.⁶¹ The possibility of a population exchange had failed.

To try making a conclusion, we observed that in the Romanian Parliament, the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was regarded very attentively. The joy for the unification of the former provinces under the name of Romania was diminished by the eternal problem: the search for an almost perfect national border. Some Romanian deputies and senators claimed for a frontier deeper in the western areas, in order to bring as many villages populated by Romanians as possible inside the borders of the country. The Transylvanian members of the Parliament often expressed the same observations. Especially the opposition used the debates as an opportunity to criticize the government. But this attitude had reminded only as a frame of mind. The borders of 1918 were considered as if not perfect, at least, the final ones by the Romanian public opinion, including the Hungarian minority, as it can be observed from the official public speeches.

Of course, to gain a friendly relationship with all the neighbors represented a general Romanian desire. But there was a problem. The “Hungarian dream” interfered with the “Romanian dream”, and with the others’. The establishment of new borders also produced a new public order, on which not only the Hungarians, but also a part of the Romanians did not agree. This proves the existence of distrust among the new neighbors of the region.

At the end, the Romanians did accept the political reality, but the Hungarians tried to change it by all means. For the latter ones, the only acceptable condition of arriving at an agreement between the nations was a change of the borders, considered, at the same time, impossible for the Romanians. In this situation, a fear of a possible Hungarian threat persisted in Romania during all

⁶⁰ Alexandru Vaida-Voevod was a Transylvanian politician, member of the National Party. In 1918 he brought his contribution in the unification of his native province with Romania.

⁶¹ D.A.D., ședința din 13 iunie 1929, în M.O., partea a III-a, din 3 iulie 1929. 2869.

the years from 1918 until 1940. Hungary was regarded with suspicion in any case, alike the way Romania treated the Soviet Union. The Romanian political parties, from the left to the right, had a clear attitude towards the struggle for the borders that is not to let any single piece be changed. Only the socialists tried to propose the principle of making a plebiscite on the questioned territories at the beginning of the 1920's. But the communists were an exceptional example, because of their obedience towards Moscow.

We consider that a dialogue between Romania and Hungary was not established at all since the problem of territories was very strictly presented on both sides. The well desired harmony in the Danube area has remained an ideal.

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**Historischer Diskurs –
Intellektuelles Milieu: Buda, Pest und das Historische
Werk Petru Maiors**

Anfangs des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts war Buda ein wichtiges wirtschaftliches Zentrum.¹ Der blühende Handel, damals typisch für Städte an der Donau, hatte zur Folge, dass die ungarische Hauptstadt neben Ungarn und Deutschen auch viele griechische, mazedorumänische, serbische und andere Ansiedler anzog. Die Vielsprachigkeit begünstigte die Entwicklung eines vielgestaltigen kulturellen Lebens, und weil Buda (1777) und Pest (seit 1784) mit einer (nachmals) berühmten Universität, mit Druckereien und reichen Bibliotheken ausgestattet wurden, begann die Entwicklung eines starken, kosmopolitischen Kulturzentrums mit einem lebhaften intellektuellen Leben.²

Die Analyse des Werks von Petru Maior bietet die Möglichkeit diese intellektuelle Atmosphäre darzustellen. So wird einmal das Problem der möglichen und der sicheren Einflüsse der westlichen und zentraleuropäischen Historiographie diskutiert. Eine solche Analyse muss den Einfluss der ungarischen Geschichtsschreibung, ihr Anhäufen von Kenntnissen und informationelles Erbe berücksichtigen. Geprägt wurde diese Geschichtsschreibung durch Jesuiten wie Hevenesi, Pray, Kaprinai oder Kopi.

Vor allem muss man berücksichtigen inwiefern diese Geschichtsschreibung seine intellektuellen Bildung (die rumänische Periode 1775–1779 und die Zeit in Wien 1779–1780, 1783) beeinflusste, besonders die wiederholten Lektüren aus der mehr vereinsamten Periode seiner Existenz als Priester und Erzdiakon in Reghin. Wir meinen insbesondere die Literatur der katholischen Reformation, die die bibliographische Öffnung in Buda ermöglicht und zu der Bildung eines informationellen Erwartungshorizonts beigetragen hat, was

¹ Die Autorin dankt herzlich dem Europa Institut in Budapest, das ihr für die Zeit von April bis Juli 2000 ein Forschungsstipendium gewährte. Ohne diesen Forschungsaufenthalt in den Archiven und Bibliotheken Budapests wäre diese Forschung nicht möglich gewesen.

² Protase 1973: 131; siehe vor allem Poor 1997: 35–70.

letztlich das Defizit an Lektüre ausgeglichen hat. In Maiors eigenen Worten: „Ich habe in meiner Jugend nicht viel gelesen oder geschrieben. Während meines Dienstes als Pfarrer und als ich mein Amt als Erzdiakon ausübte, war ich an einem Platz, an dem es keine Bibliotheken gab – auch wenn meine Aufgaben es mir erlaubt hätten fremde Bücher zu lesen, aus denen ich einiges für die Geschichte der rumänischen Kirche hätte sammeln können. Jetzt, da ich alt bin, kann ich dank des Kaiserreiches Bibliotheken besuchen. Jetzt kann ich endlich die Bücher lesen, die ich in meiner Jugend nicht erreichen konnte, wenn mein Amt und meine Gesundheit es mir gestatten.“³

Vergleiche zwischen den zentraleuropäischen Geschichtsschreibungen und deren funktionale Wechselbeziehungen, ermöglichen uns die Wandlungen des tschechischen, ungarischen, slowakischen und rumänischen historischen Diskurses zu verstehen, sowie den Kontext der allgemeinen Kulturentwicklung und deren Beziehungen zu Macht und Institutionen.⁴ Das österreichische Kaiserreich wurde im letzten Jahrzehnt des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts zu Modernisierung gezwungen. Dies geschah als Folge der Konfrontation mit Preußen und den europäischen Mächten und verhinderte eine gewaltige Krise, eine Revolution. Um das zu erreichen, benötigte der Wiener Hof eine Kommunikationsebene mit den Völkern, die unter seiner Herrschaft standen. Die Lösung war Zentralisierung durch eine vereinheitlichende Kultur, deren wichtigstes Hilfsmittel zur Verbreitung die deutsche Sprache war. Die Realisierung dieses Modernisierungsprojekts hing sowohl von sozialen Reformen und Reformen der Institutionen, dem Erschaffen eines kulturellen Integrationsmodells als auch von der Schaffung und Verbreitung eines Kommunikationsmittels für die gesamte Gesellschaft ab.

Für die zentrale Verwaltung gewann die Macht des Diskurses Vorrang, dessen drei zentrale Aufgaben das Übertragen von Informationen im Allgemeinen, das Verbreiten eines neuen sozialen und kulturellen Modells und gleichzeitig die Veränderungen der Institutionen im Sinne des neuen Identifikationsmodells waren. Der offizielle, öffentliche Diskurs sollte zur Erschaffung einer neuen Gesellschaft führen, die befähigt sein sollte modernisierende Reformen zu akzeptieren, zu verstehen und anzuwenden. Die Existenz einer diskursfähigen Gesellschaft versuchte die politische Macht dadurch zu ermöglichen, dass sie mittels der Verwaltung in die Verwertung, Verteilung

³ Maior 1995: 82.

⁴ Foucault 1998: 55–56.

und manchmal auch Zuschreibung von Wissen eingriff. Die Lösung des aufklärerischen Josephinismus hieß, Kultur als Produzent und Vermittler von Wissen und damit Identifikation zu benutzen.

Uns interessiert in diesem Zusammenhang Motivation und Ideologie der politischen Macht für das Erreichen ihres Ziels, nämlich einen gewalttätigen politischen Umsturz zu vermeiden. Besondere Beachtung verdienen aber die Versuche der Verwandlung der Gesellschaft und der sozialen Hierarchie hinsichtlich der Mentalität, wo „Kultur“ die Hauptrolle spielte. Das Hauptelement des josephinischen kulturellen Konstruktivismus ist offenbar das Erschaffen einigender kultureller Institutionen mit einer katalytischen Wirkung auf die „Intellektuellen“ des Reiches. Diese Persönlichkeiten waren meistens im josephinischen Geist gebildet und sollten durch Mitarbeit und Kontakte an der Schaffung einer stimulativen Atmosphäre mitwirken, die neuen Ideen verbreiten und einigenden Werke schaffen, die am Ende aller dieser Bestrebungen im Dienst der Macht stehend deren Ziele verwirklichen sollten.⁵

Der aufgeklärte Absolutismus hat dazu beigetragen aus Buda-Pest ein neues Zentrum Ungarns zu machen, die zukünftige Hauptstadt. Um den neuen aufgeklärten Menschen zu schaffen, spielte neben den königlichen Akademien die Universität eine wichtige Rolle als Herausgeber von Schulbüchern und wissenschaftlicher Literatur. Die Professoren waren hervorragende anerkannte Spezialisten z.B. an den Fakultäten für Philologie oder Medizin, die einen sehr wichtigen wissenschaftlichen Kern bildeten. Es wurden Kontakte zu den Beamten der wichtigsten Institutionen der Regierung aufgenommen, die z.T. von Presburg nach Pest versetzt wurden, sowie dem Locumtenential-Rat und dem Abgeordnetenhaus, um die sich Vertreter der verschiedenen Tendenzen der Aufklärung sammelten. Die Freimaurer trugen als Anhänger der aufgeklärten Reform und des ungarischen Jakobinertums zur Bildung eines neuen facettenreichen städtischen Publikums mit verschiedenen sozialen und intellektuellen Profilen gehobenen intellektuellen Niveaus bei.

Bedingt durch die Situation im Reich lag das Hauptaugenmerk des Josephinismus auf den Schulen, die der Autorität der Kirche entzogen und unter die Kontrolle des Staates gebracht werden sollten. Gleichzeitig wollte Wien das Niveau der Ausbildung der Schüler anheben, um so den Bedürfnissen des Staates entgegenzukommen, der kompetente Beamte im Bereich der

⁵ Turczynski 1985: 105, 231; Siehe Winter 1968: 23–46; Csáky 1981: 116–154; Für die Analyse der Periodisierungs-Konzepten Reill 1996: 45–52; Blanke 1996: 69–97.

Finanzen, Wirtschaft, Technik, Hygiene und generell Fachleute für eine besser organisierte und wirksamere Verwaltung benötigte; gleichzeitig sollten aber auch Handwerker in den Stand versetzt werden, sich selbst weiterzubilden und selbst wieder Handwerker ausbilden zu können.⁶

Eine wichtige Rolle für das reformerische kulturelle Programm kam deshalb der Universität zu, die den direkten Kontakt zwischen verschiedenen Persönlichkeiten und ideologischen Strömungen der Epoche vermittelte und so zur gesellschaftlichen Kommunikation beigetragen hat. Die Universität Buda verfügte seit ihrer Verlegung aus Nagyszombat 1777 über eine philologische und eine theologische Fakultät. Die philologische Fakultät hatte ursprünglich drei Lehrstühle, nämlich für Logik, Physik und Mathematik. Nach der Verlegung der Universität von Buda nach Pest 1784 wurden der Lehrstuhl für „Soziale Wissenschaft“ und der Lehrstuhl für politische Kameralien neu gegründet. Der letztere Lehrstuhl wurde später an die juristische Fakultät verlegt. Geschichte wurde am Lehrstuhl für Soziale Wissenschaft gelehrt, wo auch Lehrstühle für Historische Hilfswissenschaften, sowie ein Lehrstuhl für deutsche Sprache eingerichtet wurden.

Als Neuerung wurde die Statistik der europäischen Staaten eingeführt, Weltgeschichte wurde mit den Methoden des Adalbert Barits, Schüler Sonnenfels' aus Göttingen, gelehrt. Allmählich hat die Fakultät für Theologie ihren Vorrang verloren und wurde schließlich 1782 nach Presburg versetzt. Nach der Auflösung der bischöflichen Seminare gründete Joseph II. drei Seminare neu; die von Eger und Zagreb wurden nach Pest versetzt. Die Universität war ganz vom neuen josefinischen hohen Geist⁷ geprägt.

Buda und später Pest, wurden nach dem Willen Wiens das Zentrum eines multinationalen Landes. Die Aktivität der Buchdruckerei der Universität spiegelte die kulturellen Tendenzen und aufklärerischen Ideale, die sich den spezifischen Verhältnissen des Landes anpassten, wieder. Darum trug die Buchdruckerei insbesondere nach 1777 – als sie das exklusive Vorrecht bekam, Schulbücher für alle Bewohner Ungarns zu drucken – zur Verwertung und Popularisierung von Wissen bei: Sie produzierte im engeren Sinne wissenschaftliche Titel, aber auch Schulbücher und Bücher aus verschiedenen Be-

⁶ Kosáry 1980: 5–21.

⁷ Balázs 1971: 239–243; Balázs 1996: 194–199.

reichen wie Landwirtschaft, Gesundheit etc. und Kalender, die eine große gesellschaftliche Reichweite hatten.⁸

Die Buchdruckerei der Universität in Buda (weiter BUD abgekürzt) diente der Politik des Wiener Hofes insbesondere durch ihre sichere Toleranz und Geschmeidigkeit mit der sie die Verbreitung verschiedener Meinungen ermöglichte. Vorrang genossen Linguistik und Geschichte. Vor allem war die Buchdruckerei der Universität aber ein Sammelpunkt der „Intellektuellen“ verschiedener Nationalitäten und wurde ein Brennpunkt zur Verbreitung der Kenntnisse, die notwendig waren, um die Vorgaben der zentralen Macht ausführen zu können. Sie diente zugleich als Objekt der Aufklärung und der nationalen Emanzipation.⁹ Anschaulich zeigen dies die Beiträge der Persönlichkeiten der BUD (sowohl der Autoren als auch der Angestellten), die behandelten wissenschaftlichen Gegenstände und Werke.

Zwischen 1777–1848 erschienen bei BUD rund 5500 Titel, davon 1732 auf Latein, 1379 auf Ungarisch, 924 auf Deutsch, 672 auf Serbisch, 278 auf Rumänisch, 229 auf Slowakisch, 127 auf Kroatisch, 72 auf Hebräisch, 41 auf Ukrainisch, 23 auf Bulgarisch und 30 in anderen Sprachen. Diese Zahlen belegen den beträchtlichen Beitrag zur Entwicklung der verschiedenen nationalen Kulturen, den BUD durch die Herausgabe von Werken in der Muttersprache leistete, auch gegen Josef² II. Willen zu Germanisierung – Deutsch wurde als offizielle Staatssprache 1784 eingeführt. Die Aktivität der Buchdruckerei in Buda war eine Folge der bewussten Politik der Monarchie. Die Mehrheit der herausgegebenen Werke wurde auf Befehl der zentralen Verwaltung gedruckt (Schulbücher, populär-wissenschaftliche Werke, Übersetzungen von Darstellungen der Weltgeschichte oder Weltliteratur), daneben ermöglichten Spenden der Kirche und von wohlhabenden Privatpersonen (Händler, Adelige) den Druck von Büchern in rumänischer, bulgarischer, hebräischer, und griechischer Sprache.¹⁰

Seit 1779 wurden Fibeln gedruckt, sowie Grammatiken, Sprachbücher auf Kroatisch, Deutsch, Ungarisch, Rumänisch, Serbisch, Slowakisch, Ukrainisch; Schulbücher für Mathematik, Erdkunde und nationale Geschichte in allen Sprachen. Von den Autoren sind zu nennen Miklós Révai, Károly Luby, Gáspár Pál, Dániel Mitterpacher und Anton Mandiè. Auch Vorlesungen wur-

⁸ Köpeczi 1980a: 29–34.

⁹ Köpeczi 1980b: 5, 8, 12.

¹⁰ Köpeczi 1980b: 11–12; Köpeczi 1980a: 33; Király 1980a: 307–321; Arató 1966: 71–113.

den gedruckt und zwar neben Naturwissenschaftlern und Medizinern auch Werke aus dem Bereich der Sozialwissenschaften und humanistischen Wissenschaften, deren Autoren zum Teil von der Schule für Rechtswissenschaft in Wien beeinflusst waren.¹¹

Charakteristisch für die Aufklärung in diesem Teil Europas war die Vorbereitung der nationalen Sprachen in allen Bereichen des kulturellen Lebens. BUD trug zur Gestaltung der literarischen Sprachen der Völker Zentraleuropas und deren Rechtschreibung bei,¹² und bewies dadurch einmal mehr wie es den ideologischen und politischen Vorgaben der Zeit zu dienen verstand. Gedruckt wurden Ferenc Verseghys Wörterbücher und Sprachbücher für die ungarische Sprache, sowie Anton Bernolaks für die slowakische Sprache, Micus und Sincais für die rumänische Sprache, Mrazoviè für das Serbo-Slovenische, M. Luskays für das Ukrainische oder Christaki Pavloviè Dupnièarins für die bulgarische Sprache.¹³

In diesem Sinne wirkten die Werke von Miklós Revai, Ferenc Kazinczy oder Ferenc Verseghy (der Bevorzugte Autor bei BUD), die Neologismen fanden, Reformen und Modernisierung der ungarischen Sprache betrieben.¹⁴ Anton Bernolak, Jan Kollar, Ignaz Oravec (der Korrektor für die slawische Sprache bei BUD), Ján Herkel, Bohuslav Tablic versuchten die modernen Normen der slowakischen und tschechischen Sprache durchzusetzen; Marian Lavsoviè und Peter Katanèc setzten sich für die Normung der Kroatischen Sprache ein; Samuil Micu, Gheorghe Sincai, Petru Maior wollten die moderne rumänische Sprache bilden.¹⁵ Dank der kollektiven Mitarbeit der Vertreter der Siebenbürgischen Schule (Scoală Ardeleană) am Lexicon von Buda wurde 1826 das große rumänisch-lateinisch-deutsch-ungarische Wörterbuch herausgegeben. Zwischen 1825 und 1827 wurde Anton Bernolaks slowakisch-tschechisch-lateinisch-deutsch-ungarisches Wörterbuch gedruckt, und vor 1801 erschien das lateinisch-italienisch-illyrische Wörterbuch des Kroaten Joachim Stulli.¹⁶ Das alles zeigt die große Bedeutung der Linguistik für alle nationalen Sprachen.

¹¹ Siehe Magyar Országos Levéltár 1809–1820.

¹² Sziklay 1982: 133–143.

¹³ Köpeczi 1980a: 30.

¹⁴ Köpeczi 1980b: 9.

¹⁵ Köpeczi 1980a: 8–9; Király 1980b: 35–43; Fülöp 1983: 113–118.

¹⁶ Köpeczi 1980a: 31.

Die besondere Atmosphäre des akademischen Wettstreits rund um die BUD stimulierte auch die Bildung der verschiedenen nationalen Theorien: die dako-rumänische (durch die Werke von Micu, Sincai, Maior, Murgu), die slowakische nationale Entwicklung (befördert von Kollar, Holly), die Solidarität zwischen den Tschechen und Slowaken (durch Kollar), den Panlawismus (durch Herkel, Kollar), die nationale Entwicklung der Serben (dank den Werken von Rajic, Obradovic, Karadjie).¹⁷

Nach Ansicht des Hofes gab es lediglich eine einzige Gesellschaft, unterschieden durch ihre kulturellen und sozialen Spezifika. Der utilitaristische Aspekt der Aufklärung musste darum hervorgehoben werden: Mit Sprach- und Wörterbüchern wurden nicht nur das betroffene Volk angesprochen, sondern auch ein gegenseitiges Verständnis aller Nationalitäten untereinander befördert, so wie der Slowake Bernolak und die Rumänen Micu und Maior es in ihren Werken angesprochen haben. Daneben wurde die Verbreitung der nationalen Sprachen befördert, welche die Ideen der Aufklärung transportierten.

Die Evolution des nationalen Bewusstseins erweckte implizit und gleichzeitig das Interesse für Geschichte. Deswegen wollte der Josefismus durch die Verbindung zwischen Politik, Ausbildung und Lektüre, alle Kenntnisse der Weltgeschichte verbreiten. Deswegen druckte BUD J. Schröcks Weltgeschichte auf Deutsch, die rumänische Übersetzung von V. Millots Weltgeschichte, eine Weltgeschichte auf Serbisch von A. Brankoviae und G. Magaraševia und die bulgarische Version der Weltgeschichte von Istvan Katona und György Pray, hervorragende Vertreter der Jesuitenschule; 1812 erschien Petru Maiors *Istoria pentru începutul românilor în Dacia*, Vuk Karadjie ermöglichte das Herausgeben einer Geschichte des serbischen Prinzen Milos Obredoviae und J. Rajiae veröffentlichte eine historische Synthese der slawischen Völker.¹⁸

In dieser Atmosphäre wurden Debatten um die historischen Ursprünge zwischen den Vertretern der verschiedenen Nationalitäten (Horvath, Kereszturi, Fessler, Engel, Maior) geführt. Katona und Sklenar sprachen über das Moravische Reich als originären Staat der Slawen, Maior versuchte die Theorie der Kontinuität der Rumänen zu beweisen, wogegen Eder, Engel und Tekelij auftraten, Murgu beantwortete den Angriff als erster. Ein großes Interesse erregte die Geschichte der Institutionen, insbesondere die Geschichte der Kirchen

¹⁷ Köpeczi 1980a: 31; Sziklay 1983: 45–51.

¹⁸ Demeny 1980: 281–286.

verschiedener Konfessionen; die Arbeiten von Kollar, Fuxhoffer, Bél, Békő, Sinay, Tóth, Maior, Lenayi, Schmeizel förderten die Diskussion.¹⁹

Die Autoren benutzten Quellen gemeinsam. In erster Linie narrative Quellen wie Anonymus, in der Bearbeitung von Cornides, aber auch Bonfini, Nicolaus Olahus, Laurentius Toppletinus, Szamoskoszy, Fridvalszky, Fasching, Kölesery, Felmer; die byzantinischen Autoren Chedrenos, Socrates, Sozomen und andere. Sie verwendeten dieselben Argumente von Benkö, Cornides, Engel, Eder, Hadik, Katona, Lipsky u.a.,²⁰ und gingen in ähnlicher Art mit den benutzten Quellen um. Gegenseitige Information über Neuerscheinungen im interessierenden Fachgebiet, Zusammenarbeit bei Ethymologie und Onomastik sind nur wenige Beispiele für das besondere intellektuelle Klima der Zeit.

Einige Themen haben in der Epoche Konjunktur, sind sie „in Mode“. Die Herkunft der Völker und ihre vaterländischen Rechte waren ein bevorzugtes Thema von Joseph Carl Eder, worauf August L. Schlözer aufmerksam gemacht hatte und das die Debatte zwischen Georg M. G. von Hermann, Michael Lebrecht und Lucas J. Marienburg verursachte. Hier ist die Polemik über die Herkunft der Rumänen in ihrem Siedlungsgebiet und ihre Gleichberechtigung mit anderen Völkern Siebenbürgens zu beachten, an der sich Engel, Micu, Sincai, Maior, Kopitar, Tököly, Thunmann, Sulzer beteiligten; auch die Debatte über die Slowaken und Svatopluks legendäres Reichs muss erwähnt werden, zu nennen sind die Autoren: Georg Poponek, George Szklenar, George Fandly und Honoratus Novatny. Ein anderes „bevorzugtes“ Thema der Epoche war der slowakische Nationalismus – der die mögliche Vereinigung der slowakischen Völker beinhaltete – in den Werken von Jan Kollár, Joseph Šafaøik, L. Stur. Alle Theorien verwendeten Zitate des Anonymus, woraus sich die Frage nach dem Autoren ergab, ob der Autor als Belas I oder Belas IV Chronist zu betrachten ist: Kereszturi und Maior meinten, dass die Berichte Belas I Notar zugehörten, während die Mehrheit ihren Zeitgenossen den Anonymus als Belas IV Notar betrachteten.

Charakteristisch ist auch der Antiklerikalismus, der sich bei János Fekete, Mihály Száarag, Sándor Szacs vay, János Loczkovic, Petru Maior bemerkbar

¹⁹ Joseph Koller, *Historia Episcopatus Quinqueeclisiarum* (1782–1812); Damian Fuxhoffer, *Monasteriologia Regni Hungariae* (1803). Lekai 1954: 12–13; Lekai 1942: passim.

²⁰ Gáldi 1943: 70–116.

machte.²¹ Die Historiker: Daniel Cornides, George Pray, Samuil Micu, Gheorghe Sincai, Petru Maior, Vuk Karadzic beschäftigten sich mit Ioan de Hunedoara und Prinz Obrenovici.²²

Ferenc Saghy wurde 1804 Rektor der Universität in Pest. Obwohl er das Inspektionsrecht über die Buchdruckerei hatte, da Josef II. die BUD der Zentralverwaltung des Staates unterstellt hatte, gab er der Institution die Möglichkeit sich unabhängig von der Universität zu entwickeln und eine geschickte, eigenständige wirtschaftliche Politik zu führen. Der Toleranzerlass von 1781 erlaubte die reformorientierte Öffnung der Institutionen und gab BUD die Möglichkeit profitabel zu wirtschaften;²³ den angestellten „Intellektuellen“ konnte ein dem fortschrittlichen, aufklärerischen Ideal entsprechender sozialer und wirtschaftlicher Status geboten werden. Wien förderte in Buda und später in Pest bewusst mit Hilfe der lokalen Stände die Ausbildung einer neuen „Kulturklasse“. Das spiegelt auch das Niveau der Entlohnung bei BUD wieder.²⁴

Die dritte Institution, die Wien schuf und mit der Universität in Buda-Pest verband, war die Universitätsbibliothek. Ihr kam eine wichtige Rolle im josephinischen Reformationswerk zu. Diese Institution befriedigte das gesteigerte Bedürfnis nach Zugang zu (gedrucktem) Wissen und vor allem trug sie zur Bildung des Publikumsgeschmacks bei. Hier wirkten besonders die Angestellten der Institution. Unter den in der Bibliothek vertretenen Autoren finden sich unter anderen Ludovicus Thomasius, Chr. Engel, Antonio Muratori, Paulo Segneri aber auch Telemaque, Voltaire, Millot, Gibbon, Sonnenfels und selbstverständlich sind die Publikationen der BUD vertreten. Seit 1777 hatte sie eine weltliche Führung durch den Juristen Direktor Georg Lakits, dem 1778 der Historiker Georgius Pray nachfolgt; außerdem gehörten zur Bibliotheksleitung zwei Sekretäre, die Historiker Martin Georg Kovachich und Andreas Szathmary, sowie zwei Saalaufseher, der Historiker Karl Wagner und der Archäologe Stefan Schönwiesner; daneben fungierte als Adjunktdirektor der

²¹ Király 1969: 148.

²² Veress 1929: 6–60.

²³ Miskolczy 1976: 95.

²⁴ 800 Florinen bekam der Bildhauer Samuel Falko; der Buchdrucker Mathias Samoral 600 Florinen; Georgius Petrovics, Zensor und Korrektor der illyrischen Bücher 500; der Zensor und Korrektor der rumänischer Bücher Petru Maior 250; der Bildhauer-Lehrling Franciscus Lenner 192 Florinen; Joannes Hederer: 216 Florinen usw., siehe Magyar Országos Levéltár 1809–1820: 154r.

Jesuitenpater Ludwig Csapody. Die Bibliothek verfügte über sieben Lesesäle für Studenten, einen Lesesaal und ein Lesekabinett für Professoren sowie ein Buchlager von 15.500 Bänden.²⁵ Die Anzahl der Leser wuchs kontinuierlich an. Der Lesesaal war sommers zwischen 8:00 und 11:00 und von 15–18:00 Uhr, im Winter zwischen 9:00 und 12:00 und 14–17:00 Uhr geöffnet.²⁶

Die Buchdruckerei der Universität diente den intellektuell Tätigen über die Grenzen der nationalen Zugehörigkeit hinweg als Treffpunkt und wurde zum Zentrum der Aufklärung im nationalen Zusammenhang. Deswegen ist es verständlich, dass z.B. Micu und Maior, trotz der damit verbundenen anspruchsvollen Arbeitsfülle, sich die Posten, die sie schließlich einnahmen, gewünscht hatten, denn es ergaben sich wissenschaftliche Kontakte und Zusammenarbeiten an verschiedenen Werke ebenso wie außerprofessionelle Kontakte mit ungarischen, deutschen, serbischen und anderen Historikern. Micu arbeitete zusammen mit Ballman Mihai, A.F. Halitzky und Virag Benedek an seinem rumänisch-lateinisch-ungarisch-deutschen Wörterbuch,²⁷ so wie sich Katona mit Juraj Skenar über das Problem des Moravischen Reiches als Herkunftsraum der Nordslawen austauschte. Weitere enge Kontakte belegt z.B. die Korrespondenz zwischen Ferenc Kazinczy und dem Serben Lujian Musicki²⁸ oder der zweisprachige (serbische und ungarische) Briefwechsel des Mihaly Vitkovics. Enge Kontakte hatte Gheorghe Sincai zu den ungarischen Historikern Peresényi Nagy László, Tertina Mihái, Kováchich Máarton, Hádik András, Katona György, Dániel Cornides, Práy György.²⁹ Nachdem er in seiner Pfarre in Reghin für 15 Jahren zurückgezogen gelebt hatte, wurde Maior durch das Leben und Arbeiten in dieser Atmosphäre neuer Kontakte und des Zusammenarbeitens zu seinem historischen Werk angeregt, das sich perfekt in den zeitgenössischen Rahmen einfügt.

Darum muss die Entstehung von Maiors Werken als ständiges Wechselspiel von Informationssuche und Diskussion betrachtet werden. Genauso wie sein

²⁵ Tóth 1969: 97–242; Bruckner 1956: 112–137.

²⁶ Siehe Magyar Országos Levéltár 1777–1820: cs. 19/789–1809; 11, 19/798. 801/1810: cs. 11, 19/809, 811–1811; cs. 11, 19/820, 82–1812; cs. 11, 19/828, 830–1813; cs. 11, 19/838, 840–1814; cs. 11, 19/847, 848–1815; cs. 11, 19/855, 857–1816; cs. 11/881–1819.

²⁷ Domokos 1963: 37; Köpeczi 1980b: 12.

²⁸ Für Historiker, die sich in Budapest aufhielten, sich für die Geschichte der Rumänen interessierten und den Niederschlag dieser Beschäftigung in der Korespondenz der Epoche, siehe: Veress 1929: 5–9.

²⁹ Veress 1929: 11; Domokos 1963: 55–60; Jakó 1977: 43–49; Kosáry 1980: 301–303; Papiu 1869: 106; Popa 1984: 146; Klein 1944: 4; Veress 1927: 479–503; Păclișanu 1935: 243.

ehemaliger Studienkollege Gheorghe Sincai hat Maior Archive und Bibliotheken besucht. Wahrscheinlich verbrachte er viel Zeit in der Bibliothek des Nationalen Museums und in der Szechenyi Bibliothek, deren Direktor I. F. Miller aus Brasov ihn wahrscheinlich unterstützte, so wie er schon Sincai geholfen hatte. Maiors und Sincais alte Kontakte aus Wien (Daniel Cornides, Benkő Jozsef, Hadik Andras, György Práy (Maior hatte in seiner eigenen Bibliothek die vier wichtigsten Werke Prays), A. F. Kollar, Bessenyei) wurden sehr wahrscheinlich in Buda und Pest weiter gepflegt.³⁰

Wie er selbst angibt, besuchte Maior, wann immer er die Gelegenheit dazu hatte, die Kurse der Universitätsprofessoren für Linguistik, Geschichte und Literatur, nicht aber für Theologie. Er war mit vielen der Professoren befreundet,³¹ man verkehrte in denselben Kreisen. Um Pray waren die ehemaligen Professoren der Universität (bis 1773) versammelt: Schönwisner, Professor für Numismatik und Archäologie; Katona, der Geschichte der Ungarn vortrug; Koppi Karoly, der die Vorlesungen in Weltgeschichte hielt; Lakits György Zsigmond, von Rieger in Wien ausgebildet, las kirchliches Recht; Rechtswissenschaft wurde von Petrovics Jozsef, Kovachich und Engel vertreten, was einen regen Austausch beförderte.³² Vielleicht lernte Maior in dieser Umgebung das Buch des Professoren Kereszturi Jozsef (dessen Vorträge er in der Universität besuchte)³³ über Anonymus kennen, hier konnte er den akademischen Josefiniten Kazinczy Ferencz und Vérseghy Ferencz begegnen.

Ob es diese Begegnungen tatsächlich gab oder nicht, die Veränderungen der Geisteswelt an Universität und Bibliothek sind in Maiors Werk greifbar vorhanden. Die allgemeine josefinische Atmosphäre, die vom Geist der Göttinger Schule angeregt war und von ungarischen und nicht-ungarischen „Intellektuellen“, die diese Schule besucht hatten, geprägt wurde, blieben auch für Maior nicht ohne Folgen – anders als etwa in den Werken von Micu und Sincai, denen Schlözers und Gatteres Programm aus Göttingen auch bekannt

³⁰ Pascu 1927: 208–209; Galdi 1942: 38–42. Maior benutzte die Werke dieser Historiker in geringerem Maße als Sincai.

³¹ Sedeán 1911: 24; Bitay 1925: 170–180. stand: „Aus Maiors biographischen Angaben ergibt sich, daß er während seines Aufenthaltes in Pest (1801-1821) mit Virag befreundet war. Man weiß, daß sie sich oft begegnet sind und über die Probleme der Geschichte sprachen. Von 1808 bis 1816 publiziert der ungarische Historiker sein Werk Magyar századok (Ungarische Jahrhunderte).

³² Kosáry 1980: 553–554, 556, 577.

³³ Kosáry 1980: 504; Domokos 1963: 89.

war, in deren Werken es aber nur geringen Spuren hinterließ. Maiors nationale, auf linguistische Geschichte zentrierte Auseinandersetzung fokussiert auf das Problem der Herkunft und zeigt seine Vorliebe für Beweise und kämpferische historische Argumentation, die auf jeder Seite, die der Historiker in Buda geschrieben hat, zu bemerken ist.³⁴

Der Blick auf den intellektuellen und historiographischen Raum, in dem sich Maior nach eigener Darstellung bewegte, lenkt unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf die Werke, die in dieser Zeit in Buda-Pest rund um BUD erschienen, als er als Historiker, Zensor und Korrektor der rumänischen Bücher an der Universität Buda tätig war.

Die Bestimmung von Einflüssen ist schwierig. Die durch den Hof in Wien angestrebte und vorgeschriebene Geisteshaltung fand sich oft im Widerspruch zu den lokalen Ständen – beachtenswertes Beispiel ist der Widerstand bei der verbindlichen Einführung der deutschen Sprache 1784.

Wir teilen nicht die Vorstellung, dass die rumänische oder slowakische Geschichtsschreibung eine direkte Folge der ungarischen sei, vor allem die vermeintliche direkte Abhängigkeit Micus, Sincais oder Maiors historischer Darstellung von der Tertinas, Prays, Benkös oder Kereszturis,³⁵ die selbst von der aufklärerischen Ideologie der Epoche geprägt wurden. Ein derart vereinfachtes Bild übersieht die ganze Skala der gegenseitigen Einflüsse der tschechischen, ungarischen, rumänischen oder slowakischen Intellektuellen in der josephinischen Atmosphäre, in der Reform und Kultur entscheidend zu einer neuen modernen Gesellschaft beitragen mussten. Die Ausbildung eines historiographischen Milieus ermöglichte den Historikern gerade wegen der gegenseitigen Einflüsse thematisch ähnliche Werke zu schreiben.³⁶ Die generelle historiographische Atmosphäre veranlasst auch Maior ein bestimmtes bibliographisches und dokumentarisches Spektrum aufzusuchen, auf bestimmte Art verschiedene Themen zu behandeln, ein spezifisches Verständnis für ein Thema zu entwickeln. Diese Atmosphäre beeinflusste in bedeutsamen Maß

³⁴ Über das Problem des Einflusses der Göttinger Schule auf die ungarische Geschichtsschreibung, siehe: Balázs 1963: 1187–1204; für die Einflüsse in der rumänischen Geschichtsschreibung: Wolff 1982: 276–289; Göllner 1969: 599–611.

³⁵ Lekai 1954: 3–18; siehe Lekai 1942; Gáldi 1942: 229–261; Gáldi 1940: 243–311; Gáldi 1943: 70–116.

³⁶ Veress 1931: passim. Für den intellektuellen Rahmen des Milieus, siehe auch: Schematismus 1805: 4–12; Horvát 1967: 510–570.

die Gesamtkonzeption der schon in den akademischen Milieus von Rom und Wien (1775–1779; 1779–1780) gebildeten historischen Methode.

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Cross-Cultural Heritage in our Common Present

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Cercetări referitoare la etnografia și folclorul românilor din Ungaria

Conform recensămintelor întocmite de organizațiile românești – care nu totdeauna coincid cu cele oficiale – numărul românilor din Ungaria în zilele noastre este de aproximativ 20–25 000 persoane. Populația românească trăiește mai cu seamă în localitățile aflate de-a lungul frontierei cu România, în partea de sud-est a Ungariei.

În ceea ce privește așezarea geografică, românii nu alcătuiesc un grup compact ci sunt răsăriți, în Giula (Gyula), în Budapesta și în mai multe localități din județele Békés, Hajdú-Bihar și Csongrád, unde conviețuiesc împreună cu unguri, sârbi, slovaci, nemți și romi.

Ca toate comunitățile tradiționale, și cele românești au trăit în cadrul anumitor localități izolate, închise, lucru care le-a permis să-și păstreze, timp îndelungat (pînă prin anii 1960) trăsăturile specifice românești și să-și conserve specificul dialectal secular. Pe de altă parte însă sînt numeroase și influențele survenite în urma conviețuirii cu alte naționalități.

La început, cultura populară a românilor din Ungaria a cuprins elemente specifice diferențiindu-se de cultura populară maghiară și de cea a altor naționalități. Trăind însă secole de-a rîndul în mediu unguresc, tradițiile au trecut printr-o transformare, dobîndind un caracter special, propriu uneia sau alteia dintre localitățile în care s-au așezat românii.

Prin urmare, putem spune că, în formarea trăsăturilor specifice culturii populare a românilor din Cîmpia Ungară, pe lîngă elementele moștenite, au avut un rol important și cele preluate în cadrul relațiilor interetnice.

Pornind de la reminiscențele culturii materiale, fotografii, documente și amintiri, putem reconstitui modul de viață tradițional românesc pe o perioadă de 160 de ani, adică de la mijlocul secolului trecut pînă în zilele noastre. Cert este însă că, în această perioadă, avem de a face deja cu o cultură populară cu totul schimbată față de cea originală, care totuși păstrează multe elemente arhaice.

Primii cercetători maghiari interesați de etnografie, s-au ocupat și cu cercetarea naționalităților conlocuitoare. Chiar și Societatea Etnografică Ma-

ghiară, înființată în anul 1889, și-a propus ca, pe lângă cercetarea maghiarimii, să studieze, din punct de vedere etnografic, și naționalitățile de pe teritoriul Ungariei.

Începând cu anul 1920, după trasarea noii frontiere, situația s-a schimbat radical. Pe teritoriul micșorat al Ungariei au rămas doar câteva insule sporadice cu locuitori de altă naționalitate. Această nouă situație a produs o stare de încredare, care s-a răsfrînt și asupra vieții spirituale. Cercetătorii maghiari s-au îndepărtat aproape total de valorile vieții culturale ale naționalităților, întreru-pînd studiile care s-au bucurat pînă atunci de un bun renume. Această lipsă de interes față de problemele culturale ale naționalităților a durat aproape două decenii, noile cercetări apărînd abia din anii 1940.

Noua orientare a fost una pozitivă, deoarece din cercetarea etnografică a unei țări nu pot lipsi referirile la viața culturală a populației de altă naționalitate, clarificarea unei teme etnografice nu poate fi concepută fără cunoștințe din domeniul etnografiei naționalităților, pentru că fenomenele sînt de obicei interferente și complexe.

În viața comunităților românești păstrarea tradițiilor a avut rol important pînă în ultimii ani, fiindcă, alături de limba maternă, cultura tradițională a fost al doilea element de marcă în definirea identității etnice.

Începând cu mijlocul secolului al XX-lea au început cercetările de teren mai numeroase în cercul românilor din Ungaria, ceea ce nu înseamnă însă că acestea au atins toate domeniile etnografiei și folclorului. Au fost prelucrate, analizate îndeosebi acele domenii, care prezentau în mod accentuat trăsăturile etnice, cum sînt de exemplu obiceiurile, credințele, creațiile populare. Rareori însă au apărut articole sau studii referitoare la cultura materială, care era determinată în mod firesc de condițiile geografice sociale și economice.

Cercetările de teren au fost inițial îngreunate de lipsa specialiștilor. Etnografii maghiari înfruntau greutatea de limbă, cercetătorii din România nu erau interesați de cultura materială și spirituală a românilor din această zonă, iar românitatea din Ungaria nu avea intelectuali, care să se ocupe cu acest domeniu de cercetare. Instituțiile centrale de cercetare erau interesate într-o anumită măsură cu studierea naționalităților, însă nu se puteau angaja la analize ample. Din fericire însă au existat și exemple contrare, deoarece cîțiva dintre cercetătorii unguri, în cursul activității de colecționare și prelucrare au fost atenți și la datele referitoare la comunitățile românești existente în diferitele localități cu populație mixtă din Ungaria. Aici merită să fie amintite culegerile foștilor directori ai muzeului din Giula (Gyula), apărute mai tîrziu în

diferite publicații. Gábor Lükő a adunat în anii 1950 date importante despre cultura materială, a înregistrat și a pus pe note multe cîntece populare românești. Fișele sale de lucru au și azi o deosebită valoare, fiindcă renumitul etnograf, director al muzeului din Giula (Gyula), a cunoscut limba română, și a notat în ambele limbi denumirile pieselor etnografice precum și textele cîntecelor populare.¹

Următorul director, Imre Dankó a elaborat, pe baza numeroaselor cercetări de teren, studii importante privind arhitectura populară și schimbul de mărfuri din târgurile din zonă. De asemenea, merită din perspectiva cercetării etnografiei românilor, toată atenția și volumul său de studii, apărut mai târziu, în 1977, la Debrecen. În cadrul celor 27 de studii cuprinse în carte se fac numeroase referiri și la românii din Ungaria.²

Această muncă de colecționare și prelucrare a fost continuată de János Bencsik, care, pe baza culegerilor proprii, a publicat studii despre creșterea animalelor și despre anumite obiceiuri calendaristice.³

Începînd cu anii 1970, cercetarea etnografiei și folclorului românilor din Ungaria i-a revenit oficial Muzeului Județean Békés (Bichiș), care a devenit muzeul de bază al românilor și slovacilor din Ungaria. Instituția a primit ca sarcină colecționarea mărturiilor culturii materiale, cercetarea istoriei și culturii populare a comunităților românești din Cîmpia Maghiară, adunarea materialelor aparținînd culturii spirituale și prezentarea acestora în cadrul expozițiilor și în publicații. Argumentul principal al deciziei ministeriale a fost că în județul Békés trăiesc cei mai mulți români și că – potrivit datelor oferite de inventarele muzeelor locale – pînă la începutul anilor 1970 numărul pieselor românești era foarte redus.

Transformările social-economice care s-au produs în ultimele decenii au avut influențe considerabile și în cultura populară a naționalităților. Cea mai mare parte a pieselor etnografice a ieșit din uzul gospodăresc și s-a distrus. Din cauza procesului accelerat de modernizare și datorită concurenței colecționarilor particulari, muzeul a trebuit să accelereze ritmul de strîngere a obiectelor etnografice pentru a-și mări propriile colecții.

O soluție în această activitate, a fost oferită de taberele etnografice inițiate de către Uniunea Românilor din Ungaria și Muzeul Județean Békés, care au

¹ Vezi culegerile lui Lükő Gábor în Arhiva Muzeului Erkel Ferenc din Giula (Gyula).

² Dankó 1977: 470.

³ Vezi articolele lui Bencsik János în paginile revistei Izvorul.

avut drept scop, pe lângă cercetarea sistematică a tradițiilor, în fiecare localitate din Ungaria în care exista și populație românească, și colectarea de piese.

În anul 1973, pentru a îmbogăți colecția muzeală cu piese etnografice românești, colaboratorii muzeului au început colectarea acestora în trei localități din județul Békés. Cele circa 200 de obiecte etnografice adunate în timpul cercetării de teren efectuată la Chitighaz, Micherechi și Bătania, precum și datele înregistrate pe baza chestionarelor întocmite prealabil în diferite domenii ale etnografiei și folclorului, au dovedit, că merită să se facă culegeri tematice în mod organizat. Astfel, începând din anul 1976, anual, s-au organizat așa numitele tabere etnografice cu participarea specialiștilor și a tinerilor interesați în teme cercetate.

Între anii 1976 și 1999 au fost organizate 24 de tabere de acest gen în 18 localități. În acele localități, în care comunitățile românești sînt viabile și au conștiința identității etnice, sau unde trăiesc români în număr mai mare, au fost organizate tabere de mai multe ori. În cei 24 de ani au avut loc tabere de cercetare în următoarele localități din Ungaria: Kétegyháza – Chitighaz (1976), Battonya – Bătania (1977), Elek – Aletea (1978), Méhkerék – Micherechi (1979), Bedő – Bedeu (1980), Kétegyháza – Chitighaz (1981), Körösszegapáti – Apateu (1982), Magyarcsanak – Cenadul Unguresc (1983), Körösszakál – Săcal (1984), Pusztatölak – Otlaca Pustă (1985), Zsáka – Jaca (1986), Battonya – Bătania (1987), Pocsaj – Pocei (1988), Létavértes – Leta Mare (1989), Mezőpeterd – Peterd (1990), Darvas – Darvaș (1991), Vekerd – Vecherd (1992), Sarkadkeresztúr – Crîstor (1993), Nyíradony – Nyíradony (1994), Elek – Aletea (1995), Csorvás – Ciorvaș (1996), Méhkerék – Micherechi (1997), Bedő – Bedeu (1998), Pusztatölak – Otlaca Pustă (1999).

Taberele au dobîndit un rol cultural-științific, fiindcă, pe lângă adunarea materialelor aparținătoare culturii materiale și spirituale, și-au propus și înregistrarea particularităților graiului, precum și răspîndirea valorilor culturale în cercul participanților. În urma acestei munci de teren s-au pus bazele colecțiilor de etnografie și istorie ale muzeului de bază al românilor din Ungaria, cu sediul la Békéscsaba (Bichișciaba), care au ajuns în prezent la mai multe mii de piese și documente. Materialele adunate în depozitele muzeelor din Gyula și Békéscsaba fac posibilă prezentarea culturii populare a românilor din Ungaria în cadrul expozițiilor.

În munca de cercetare au participat elevii liceului românesc (în primii ani și cîțiva studenți de la catedra română a Institutului pedagogic din Szeged) îndrumați de specialiștii muzeului și – după înființare – ai Institutului de

Cercetări al Românilor din Ungaria (cercetători, muzeografi, restauratori, fotografi, gestionari). Munca a fost ajutată de specialiști din țară și din România, care au participat ani de-a rândul în aceste tabere: Igor Grin, János Bencsik, Ágnes Kovács, Elena Csobai, Emilia Martin, Alexandru Hoțopan, Ioan Godea, Aurel Chiriac, Elena Rodica Colta.

Înregistrarea tradițiilor orale s-au realizat pe baza chestionarelor întocmite prealabil, narațiunile fiind înregistrare pe benzi de magnetofon. Printre temele cercetate se numără sărbătorile calendaristice, obiceiurile ciclului familiar, ființele mitice, procedeele magice, medicina populară, prelucrarea fibrelor textile, alimentația și îmbrăcămintea tradițională.

În sfârșit, taberele au oferit și posibilitatea înregistrării schimbărilor care au avut loc de-a lungul anilor în cultura tradițională și graiul anumitor comunități românești existente încă în unele localități din Ungaria.

În urma cercetării tematice a etnografiei și folclorului românilor din Ungaria au apărut articole, studii și volume despre diferite domenii ale etnografiei și folclorului românilor din țară. Din seria culegerilor de narațiuni epice, deosebit de important este volumul lui Sámuel Domokos, care cuprinde, în limba română și maghiară, poveștile micherecheanului Vasile Gurzău. Acest volum este important mai ales pentru că a fost prima culegere de narațiuni a unui povestitor român din Ungaria, punând în valoare bogăția tradițiilor românești, și atrăgând atenția asupra necesității culegerilor și prelucrărilor folclorice.⁴

De mare succes s-a bucurat printre cititorii români din Ungaria și volumul bilingv cu proverbe și zicători din Micherechi⁵ precum și volumul cu strigături, intitulat Floricele.⁶ Aceste cărți au fost urmate de patru volume narațiuni întocmite tot de Alexandru Hoțopan, în care sînt salvate snoave și povești din Otlaca Pustă (Pusztáotlaka) și Chitighaz (Kétegyháza).⁷

În anul 1982 a luat ființă revista de etnografie și folclor Izvorul, care conține studii, referiri, date importante despre diversele domenii etnografice și folclorice, din care recent a ieșit de sub tipar numărul al 26-lea. Scopul revistei este tocmai valorificarea culegerilor de materiale etnografice și folclorice.

⁴ Domokos 1968.

⁵ Hocopán 1974.

⁶ Hoțopan 1975.

⁷ Hoțopan 1977, 1981, 1982a, 1982b.

În mod special trebuie să amintim culegerile de studii editate de Uniunea Românilor din Ungaria și Societatea Maghiară de Etnografie apărute sub titlul *Din tradițiile populare ale românilor din Ungaria*. Primul volum al serialului a văzut lumina tiparului în anul 1975. Depășind stadiul de simplă prezentare a culegerilor, cele 14 volume ale publicației apărute pînă în prezent pun accent pe analiza obiceiurilor, credințelor, creațiilor populare și mai rar a culturii materiale.

După 1980 au apărut tot mai multe volume despre etnografia și folclorul românilor din Ungaria. Alexandru Hoțopan a întocmit un volum cu scrieri în limba maghiară despre obiceiuri,⁸ Lucia Borza a publicat o culegere de folclor din Chitighaz (Kétegyháza),⁹ iar Eva Kozma a cuprins în volum piese valoroase din folclorul muzical.¹⁰ Tot în anul 1987 a văzut lumina tiparului un volum despre sărbătorile calendaristice din județul Bichiș (Békés), iar în 2003 a fost editat volumul care a prezentat sărbătorile anului la românii din Ungaria.¹¹ Cîntecele funerare scrise de micherecheanul Teodor Sava au fost strînse în volum de Sámuel Domokos.¹²

În anul 1993, Comunitatea Cercetătorilor și Creatorilor români din Ungaria, constituită cu doi ani în urmă, a înființat Institutul de Cercetări al Românilor din Ungaria, instituționalizînd astfel munca de cercetare. Institutul funcționează cu trei secții, printre care și secția de etnografie. În urma cercetărilor din cadrul acestui institut, în ultimii ani au apărut multe publicații. Merită să fie amintite publicațiile menite să prezinte istoria, etnografia și graiul anumitor localități, dintre care au apărut deja două volume.¹³ Volumul intitulat *Date etnografice despre românii din Ungaria* oferă o scurtă privire asupra fenomenelor etnografice și folclorice.¹⁴

Încă de la înființare, Institutul de cercetări organizează sesiuni științifice, la care sînt prezentate rezultatele cercetărilor din anul respectiv, care ulterior sînt și publicate în volumele cu titlul *Simpozion*. Tot institutul a editat și două volume bilingve de culegeri de studii.¹⁵ În anul 1998 a apărut cartea care cu-

⁸ Hocopán 1986.

⁹ Borza 1988.

¹⁰ Kozma 1987.

¹¹ Martin 1987, 2003.

¹² Domokos 1989.

¹³ Berényi 1993, 1995, 2000.

¹⁴ Martin 1995.

¹⁵ Herdean 1996; Martin 2000.

prinde bibliografiile personale ale cercetătorilor care activează în cadrul institutului, precum și recenziile apărute în țară și în România despre aceste scrieri.¹⁶

Din această enumerare reiese clar că în ultimele decenii au văzut lumina tiparului numeroase lucrări de analiză și culegeri de materiale privind etnografia românilor din Cîmpia Maghiară. Deoarece comunitatea românească din Ungaria este redusă, este îmbucurător faptul că mai sînt încă membrii preocupați de studierea culturii materiale și spirituale.

Deși în localitățile din Ungaria numărul românilor descrește continuu, deși generațiile mai tinere nu mai vorbesc românește, amintirile păstrate în memoria vîrstnicilor trebuiesc teaurizate în continuare pînă cînd timpul nu va șterge și ultimele urme ale tradițiilor românești din aceste ținuturi.

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Summary

An Ethnographical Investigation of the Romanian Minority in Hungary

Emília Martyin

A salient feature of ethnographical research on Romanians in Hungary is that, in the beginning, it aimed at investigating the fields which emphasized the ethnic features of the Romanian minority. It was a rare occurrence when a researcher would discuss an issue determined inherently by the geographical-social environment. Investigating nationalities in Hungary by ethnographical methods had yet another disadvantage, since there were not enough specialists on this issue with Romanian roots or enough people on the Hungarian side who could speak Romanian. Of course, there have been some counter-examples. Every now and then, Hungarian ethnographers would pay attention to data regarding the Romanian population of some Hungarian settlements while doing field-work and collecting materials about their own topics.

In the 1970's, as a result of thematic researches, minor or major studies and works, independent volumes were published about Romanian popular culture in Hungary. When *Sámuel Domokos's* volume on folk-tales was published, the Romanians in Hungary realized the richness and values of their own traditions and the necessity to collect, to explore, and to publish them. The first example of this would be *Sándor Hocópán*, who published a bilingual book containing more than 1000 proverbs and common sayings. This was followed by other ethnographical volumes of folk-tales told by Romanian story-tellers. In this period, a folklore collection appeared by the title *Floricele*, then an ethnographical series called *Izvorul*, containing studies and data collections on

various subjects in the field of ethnography. The year 1975 marks a very important date, when the first volume of a new ethnographical series was edited under the title of *Din tradițiile populare ale românilor din Ungaria* (From the Traditions of Romanians in Hungary).

Starting from the 1980's, there were more and more independent volumes printed. One of these was *Sándor Hocopán's* publication, written in Hungarian about traditional customs. *Lucia Borza* collected the folklore of *Kétegyháza* (*Chitighaz*), while *Éva Kozma* compiled a certain amount of folk songs and colindas. *Sámuel Domokos* published *Tivadar Száva's* songs sung as part of memorial services and *Emília Martyin* collected traditions of festivals connected to the calendar holidays.

In the 1990's there occurred a change in ethnographical research. The Romanian Research Center of Hungary was established in 1993 with the purpose of coordinating investigations and pointing out the most important and most urgent fields of traditional culture to be studied. This institution started to publish a new series about the history, ethnography and language situation of the Romanian communities in Hungary. So far, there have appeared three volumes with this intention: 1. the first one describes the culture of Romanians living in *Méhkerék* (*Micherechi*), 2. the second one is about the community of *Kétegyháza* (*Chitighaz*), and 3. the third one contains a presentation on the population of *Battonya* (*Bătania*). The series of volumes called *Simpozion*, published by the Romanian Research Center of Hungary, focuses on studies of scholarly sessions organized by the research institutions twelve times. The center has also financed the printing of two other books, *Annales '96* and *Annales 2000*, containing studies in the field of history, literature, linguistics, and ethnography.

Considering the fact that systematic and planned ethnographical research on Romanians in Hungary has been carried out only during the past 35 years and that, even today, the number of specialists with Romanian roots in Hungary is very low, we can regard all the efforts made for collecting and processing data as well as for publishing the results of investigations as undeniably successful.

**School Reform and National Identity
in Post-Communism: Some Issues about
Being Hungarian in Romania**

My long-term research aim is to attain a better representation of the politics of school reform and of its consequences developed in the past two decades in former socialist countries. The explicit purpose of changing the whole society in a short time, with little resources and great expectations, was a rare historical phenomenon specific for the late 1980s and 1990s. Timing was the most specific feature for each country and the political context was the main source of doing or undoing the institutional history of the educational reform.

There were early post-totalitarian reforming acts, like those in the Soviet Union or in Hungary. There were also late starts, even violent ones, like in Albania or Romania. In the latter cases, one would be struck first by the countless local eruptions of revenge, distrust, and poverty that went parallel with the European impulses toward the ex-socialist institutions and slowly merged into new public discourses about the school. Like in many other aspects, each country lived its own experience, mostly ignoring the rest of the neighbors and looking ahead just to the prosperous Occident.

Romania is the most difficult case to understand, of course, for an autochthonous researcher that used to be a teacher. Investigating recent history is a daily exercise against the taken-for-granted judgments, including those that emerged from personal recollections and the mass media. It also could be a good opportunity to see how cultural history, anthropology, and history of education can "help" such a subject.

School life and national identity have a long and tremendous history behind themselves; still they appear to be so common, so legitimate. Legislation is one of the most visible voices of this common thinking. Take, for example, the current Romanian law on education (no.84/1995, art. 3) that notices as a well-known fact that: "*schooling contributes to preserving national identity.*"¹

¹ Institutul de Științe ale Educației. 2004: 402.

This linkage suggests an almost atemporal perception of the school goals and it probably takes a revolution and more reforms to make people really curious about it. Usually, a conflict is the surest way for attracting attention.

Writing about his own contribution to reforming national education, a former Head Inspector of Schools from Bucharest dedicates a special section to recall "*difficult situation[s], even conflicts, confronted within the period after the revolution in December 1989.*"² The first mention is about the Hungarian language High School in town and about the problems that burst out here in January 1990. It is indeed a piece of surprising information concerning a location outside the Carpathian region, where people of Hungarian ethnic background are not perceived to be a visible collective identity, like in Transylvania. This school was opened in 1948 for Hungarian speaking pupils (including the children of the foreign officials in Bucharest) and it functioned as such until 1985. After that date, several strategies have been implemented to limit the use of the Hungarian language, so that it became the exception and not the rule.

In January 1990, all started with a petition signed by Hungarian teachers ("*influenced by the UDMR,*"³ and by this the author here insinuates a bad influence).⁴ They wrote down that the Revolution has just created proper conditions for the (normal) functioning of the school and for teaching in Hungarian. To accomplish the later purpose, all the Romanian classes in their school should be transferred to other institutions. The teachers were supported by the parents of the pupils as well as by the recently nominated deputy in the Ministry of Education, "Palfalvy A." and by his successor, "Mister Demeny."⁵ The Romanian pupils, their parents, and the General Inspectorate of School in București promptly opposed to this action. The Inspectorate, as the author tells us, recognized the necessity of a "*reparation act, in the interest of the Hungarian ethnic citizens,*" but it added that "special conditions" (not specified) were required to meet it.

² Diac 2000: 225.

³ "Uniunea Democratică a Maghiarilor din România" [The Democratic Union of the Hungarians from Romania] is the most representative political party of Hungarian ethnic citizens in Romania that was created shortly after the fall of the communist regime (December 1989).

⁴ Diac 2000: 227.

⁵ Probably this is the historian Lajos Démény, who was for the first time chosen to represent the educational interests of the ethnic minorities a few decades ago.

The vague promise of understanding “the other” was almost immediately contradicted by the public position of the Ministry that interdicted the “*splitting of the mixed schools*” and the “*creation of schools separated by nationalities.*” The solution offered by Inspectorate was a compromise: the school should be granted the right to organize Hungarian classes with a smaller number of pupils and the obligation to maintain the Romanian ones. Non-fulfillment of the legally required number of the pupils (at least 20 for a class) had been in the late 1980s a good excuse for constantly reducing the initial purpose of the school: to teach Hungarian children in the Hungarian language.

In addition, the former “Industrial High School no. 33” was to become from the next year, “The Theoretical High School *Ady Endre*.”⁶ This was a double compensation. The newly granted “theoretical” status was required of most of the high schools in the country, as a step to erase the forced industrial profile that in 1989 affected more than 90% of the schools. “Industrial” remains (even nowadays) a “second hand” choice for schooling and a somehow insulting label. As about the name “Ady Endre” (surely unknown for the Romanian “majority”) it was a form of symbolically and publicly accepting the “other” as belonging to the Hungarian cultural identity.

Despite this, the Ministry still opposed a complete separation, so to speak, the right of the Hungarian entity to organize its own “country” in the large and homogeneous world of the Romanian public education.⁷ Finally, the pupils themselves were involved in protest actions, even violent ones that damaged the furniture and the building. Most of the 1990-1991 schooling year was wasted in such quarrels. For this, the author blames “*nationalist and xenophobe instigators outside the school*” from the both sides, which kept up the aggressiveness.⁸ The violent atmosphere persisted even after the Ministry had finally recognized the right of the school to be an independent Hungarian language-teaching unit for the I–XII grades. According to the author, this solution brought justice for the Hungarian ethnic citizens, but was too extempo-

⁶ Diac 2000: 225–228.

⁷ This is still the case for an exclusive Hungarian language University in Romania. Hungarian representatives request that Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj be split in two independent units, according to the language of teaching. In 1945, it had been created as a separate Hungarian University that, in 1956, was forced to merge in the present one. “The scandal of the Hungarian University” is recurrently brought to the surface of the political arena, with the same lack of practical results.

⁸ Diac 2000: 231.

rized. In his opinion, the beneficiaries were entitled to what they had asked for but were not very wise in choosing the manner of achieving it. He avoided explaining the proper way or estimating the real chance to convince the Ministry by the sole use of a "peaceful" strategy.

All of the above is pictured as an isolated and somehow unexpected episode in the story of the post-communist school reform. A "common" Romanian ethnic reader cannot understand much of it, especially the urgency and the strong determination of the Hungarian people involved. Consequently, for most of the readers, it would be very probable to ignore this information.

Ignoring can become difficult when a confirmation unexpectedly arises in foreign countries in the form of supposedly more "objective" statements about communist Romania, such as the following one: "*persistent attempts to eradicate Hungarian culture, schools and language instruction were ineffective and contributed to the fall of the regime.*"⁹ Unfortunately, it is not clearly stated how the persecution of Hungarian culture has "contributed" to the end of Ceaușescu's dictatorship. This could be an elliptic reference to the spontaneous protest raised by the persecutions against the protestant minister László Tőkés in Timișoara, an episode, considered to serve as the spark for the anti-communist popular rebellion in December 1989. However, this incident conveyed, from the first days, a variety of different meanings for the "majority" of the Romanians and for people belonging to ethnic and confessional "minorities".

The official perspective of the Ministry of Education, even when it is presented by a Hungarian representative, is never explicit and it is reduced almost exclusively to statistics and normative texts. Such an author did not get tired of repeating the same information in several volumes, with a minimum personal commentary or less of it.¹⁰ The expression is elusive and neutral, talking about "some changes that occurred after December 1989", taking for example the fact that "*many Hungarian pupils going to Romanian high schools oriented themselves to schools with learning in maternal language.*"¹¹ In this short notice, one can see only the "natural" tendency for a peaceful self-delimitation of the "others" inside the national system of education. Violent scenes of refusing the mixed schools, like the one mentioned above, cannot be guessed from it.

⁹ Frucht 2000: 253.

¹⁰ See László Murvai.

¹¹ Murvai 1999: 41.

The author includes the unnamed but supposedly good “changes” into the general frame of “the” reform of education, making his writing as loyal as possible to the official texts. He suggests an organized and coherent aspect of the change,¹² which is actually contradicted by factual histories, such as the one found in Florian Diaç’s memoirs. Coherence, control, and predictability are always official desires that permeate the narratives about the past.

The official texts (mostly “Orders” of the Ministry of Education) avoid mentioning any possible conflicting aspect, making a legal portrait of belonging to the ethnic minorities and the schooling rights that accompany this situation. For the Ministry, identity is a personal option of an adult, mainly concerning his/her choice of a certain “maternal language” to be taught in school.¹³ The child is not openly asked about it. The parents can freely choose, but it is better for them to be supported by a legal ethnic association of the same kind.¹⁴ Finally, the individual is surpassed by the number, as the parents have to present a collective request to the head of the school.

Studying a non-Romanian (but not an “international,” nor an “old”) language is the shortest definition of being educated in respect to other ethnic identity.¹⁵ It is interesting to note the mention about “minorities that do not have a literary language.” It refers to most of the cases, especially to the groups living in rural/isolated areas, and speaking dialects of non-Romanian languages. These groups “have the right”¹⁶ to be provide with the studying of the adequate literary language. This “right” just helps in simplifying particular identity profiles into certain national-state recognized languages, like Hungarian, Ukrainian, Croat, Turkish or Russian. Taking one of these “implicitly” requires studying the assigned “history and traditions of the minority” (taught one hour a week, in grades VI and VII). Another fact can also be

¹² Murvai 2000: 72.

¹³ Murvai 2000: 76.

¹⁴ Murvai 2001: 128.

¹⁵ Still, language not entirely equalizes the ethnic profile. The normative texts mention that it is strictly forbidden to impose to a parent the signing of a written statement to certify his/her belonging to a certain ethnic identity. There are no explanations about who could possibly ask for it or for what (evil) purpose would someone insist on such a paper. Looking back on the inter-war times, one can find a rather disputed issue about such a declaration imposed by a law in 1925.

¹⁶ Murvai 2000: 80.

added to this point, namely, that “*religion will be studied in the mother tongue of the pupils.*”¹⁷

Local schools and legally recognized religious institutions have to find material and human resources to deliver these educational rights. They are responsible to preserve, to express, and to negotiate with the Romanian state the identity needs of a particular ethnic community. Although the Ministry has a special department for the “inter-ethnic relations” involved in the national education system, its existence is hardly noticeable. The curricula for “minorities” are its most specific concern. Nevertheless, it has to deal more with general economical and social problems concerning the schools, like the expensiveness of the high school textbooks¹⁸ or the refusal of schooling that is not entirely to be located in the Roma communities.¹⁹

An optimistic map shows schools partly or completely available for minorities, covering almost the entire country (40 of the 42 administrative units).²⁰ This is a visual assurance that the Ministry takes proper care of non-Romanian ethnicities everywhere. It is also the best way of encouraging the rest of the people to forget any complaints, if they ever noticed something positive about it.

This is the same old policy of inducing the idea to the majority (also to be found in current history textbooks) that always “*everything was wonderful in the relations between the Romanian state and the national and confessional minorities.*”²¹ Anyhow, the authors of the history textbooks are constrained by the force of the public stereotypes to deal with the past (and the present) “*in an aseptic manner, trying to avoid all major controversies.*”²² Even in a (possible) democratic society, nationalism is perceived as a conflictual concept and its practical uses are barely accompanied by explicit discourses (see, as an exception to this silence, Andreescu, Gabriel, 1996). Trying to decipher its daily meanings, one must first notice the splitting of it into “good” or “bad” senses. First, it has to be recognized when it is directly linked to the Romanian ethnicity or the Romanian state, and the last one grows from any similar reference to the “others.”

¹⁷ Murvai 2000: 82–83.

¹⁸ Murvai 2002: 51.

¹⁹ Murvai 2002: 95.

²⁰ Murvai 2003.

²¹ Murgescu 2000a: 135.

²² Murgescu 2000b: 114.

Signals of minorities' expectations and requests (together with their positive argumentation) can be found in other segments of the public sphere, where ethnic Romanians like Gabriel Andreescu or Smaranda Enache²³ are exceptions. Admitting others' subjectivity is a rare exercise, mostly because the aggressive discriminations of minorities during the communist times were not officially acknowledged or were assumed only by the ethnic representative association "*together with data that contradicted direct experiences of the Romanians*".²⁴

The frequency of education matters in the long-lasting discourse about the Hungarian minority is impressive and one can easily notice its insisting way of relating identity, cultural heritage, and schooling. Social and economic underdevelopment consequences of reducing the educational opportunities are also constantly reminded to Romanian authorities.²⁵

This had started with the very existence of the Hungarian ethnic minority in the Romanian Kingdom, after 1918. The promises that Romanian politicians had made in those days were never considered as completely fulfilled by the national minorities from the newly joined provinces,²⁶ especially by Hungarians. Even today, some people are taught to remember this failure of the inter-war Romania, with a special emphasis on the schooling issues, and on the radical imposing of the Romanian language all over the institutional life.²⁷

The complaining about school shortly became repetitive, but the Romanian authorities manifested the same persistence in refusing to accept it. The most favored practice was to minimize all the requests and to pretend that, at least in some respect, they had been already accomplished. So developed a common history of fears, suspicions, and mutually bad predictions about the future. The schooling language is the main battlefield, closely related to the distribution of resources and social status. The financial support offered by the

²³ She is one of the well-known leaders of "Liga ProEuropa" [Pro-Europe League], an NGO initiated in December 1989 in Târgu-Mureș that supports the idea of multi-ethnic and regional development. Its main publication is the "Altera" review.

²⁴ Mungiu-Pippidi 1999: 124–125.

²⁵ For the current agenda, see, Gábor Vincze.

²⁶ In 1918, more provinces joined the Romanian Kingdom: Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transylvania and Banat. This was the "Great Unification", helped by the First World War and its disastrous consequences in the Empires around Romania. The following peace treaties generally confirmed the borders of the enlarged Romanian territory.

²⁷ Mungiu-Pippidi 1999: 113–116.

Romanian state for Hungarian language schools is always too small in the Hungarian point of view. In addition, the level of these institutions is considered insufficient and the degree received upon graduation is not supposed to grant access to real prestigious professions. The Romanian authorities used to consider the opposite and keep counting the existing or recently set up schools.

For example, one person from Transylvania, talking about the inter-war period, said that the Hungarian schools were “*almost only confessional ones*” (quoting “*old persons from Sfântul Gheorghe*”).²⁸ But a contemporary Romanian scholar saw it all different, defending the policy of the state and the rights of the majority to compensate previous educational prejudices.²⁹ In those times, belonging to a certain ethnic identity was more restrictive and the parents’ choice for their children’s language of schooling was checked by the administration. It was a special interest to “recover” Romanians influenced by other nations and to prevent the attraction of the others to prominent non-Romanian communities, especially Hungarian ones.³⁰

These being the principles, all that the government could do from time to time was to offer (a little) more of the same, in order to appear as being generous without changing the main rules. A few years later, the author mentioned above praised the government (in April 1940) for its good will toward the Hungarian minority, mentioning the amount of money granted to confessional elementary schools, and the authorizing of new facilities for secondary schools. But he ends his statement assuring the audience that “the natural interests of the nation” (Romanian, of course) will always be preserved.³¹ The “generosity” of the government can be merely seen as a limited political concession made to promote a good image abroad, and to prevent more reproaches from the neighbors.

The Second World War had suddenly complicated this issue, especially in Transylvania, a territory that changed more administrations and military occupations in few years. A stable world seemed less probable then ever but, in

²⁸ Mungiu–Pippidi 1999: 115.

²⁹ The main prejudice was considered to be the small number of Romanian schools allowed in the territories that before 1918 had been under foreign rule.

³⁰ Dragomir 1934: 170, 178–181.

³¹ Dragomir 1940: 10–11.

this turmoil, the Hungarian community passionately held its educational demands.³²

The communist regime reduced the variety of the schooling institutions since 1945 and, in 1948, imposed a “reform” that totally banished private and confessional schools that were vital for the minorities. Other promises made by Romanian communists in the days of regaining Northern Transylvania from Hungary,³³ added to the list of the inter-war ones. Tensions occurred all the time, although, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, some things were done (for example, the Hungarian University in Cluj). The communist state became more openly determined to put an end to any “national separatism.” Party officials soon concluded that Hungarian “nationalists don’t want to learn Romanian,” and their cultural isolation was nurturing feelings against the Romanian state.

Living “separate,” as an individual or as a community, was the same as disapproving the rules for the majority. Language, history, geography and civics were considered (as nowadays they are, too) the main identity package to be delivered and reinforced by school. Confessional (when allowed...) and extra-curricular activities were also seen as potential helpers. Mixed schools and the extensive studying of the Romanian language were designed to administratively produce communication, enthusiasm, and personal contacts made public in proper (controlled) forms.³⁴

Unfortunately, belonging to an ethnic majority means to be unable to perceive the constraints of this manner of “communication” and the intense feeling of disappearance that may be growing from it: “there is a cultural tyranny in our country [...] as if minorities never existed.”³⁵ In the 1990s, there were some debates about the “omitting” of the minorities in the Romanian history and more suggestions were made for the future textbooks.³⁶ In the schooling year 1999/2000, a new *National Curriculum* was adopted and new textbooks

³² See Andreescu et al. 2002: 93–97, 138–139, 323–324, 590–592, 604, 611–612.

³³ This is a region that Romania had lost in August 1940 to Hungary and regained at the end of World War II, after a few years of uncertainty and difficult negotiations with the Allies.

³⁴ Andreescu et al. 2003: 52–55, 135, 173–174, 284–286, 294, 348–358, 381–384, 431–441, 445–472, 481–498, 506–516, 527–545, 618, 738–740, 772, 791–792, 795, 812, 826–827, 864, 866–867.

³⁵ Nastasă 2000: 59.

³⁶ Nastasă 1999: 251–372.

were sent to schools.³⁷ One history book was fiercely accused of being superficial and careless with national history.³⁸ Using a violent language specific to the national communism of the 1980s, it was even blamed for “favoring” the Hungarian historiographical point of view about the territory of Transylvania.³⁹ It was a deep failure in trying to accustom the Romanian society with a plural view on the past, and a good opportunity to strengthen a radical conservative discourse.⁴⁰

But even the “irreverent” textbooks are not very credible in depicting the life of the minorities in the history of the Romanian state.⁴¹ *The National Curriculum* encourages minorities to study their own “history and tradition” as a supplement of the general compulsive Romanian history. Doing this, the authorities are suggesting that cultural and ethnic non-Romanian identity is only a secondary and limited option.⁴² As for the majority, it is not forbidden, nor expected to make such a choice. Thus, it is officially encouraged to live in a clear-cut, singular ethnical horizon. In this respect, as in many others, post-communist school reform was an incomplete restoration, presented as a democratic concession.

The ultimate goal of the Romanian authorities is to prove to the international organizations that citizens of non-Romanian ethnicity can study in their own language. Their concern does not go any further. A national policy of multicultural education does not exist.⁴³ On the other hand, the minorities tend to expand monolingualism and isolation in their own educational communities,⁴⁴ therefore, heighten the risk of self-prisoning inside a certain ethnic community.⁴⁵

The limits between segregation, self-isolation, “separatism”, and normalcy are no less subjective for communities as they are for the individuals. Privacy

³⁷ These were the first “alternative” textbooks after half a century and the real new ones after the fall of the communist regime in 1989. In only two years, there were new school-books published for the grades VII–XII and this was quite a shock for the public opinion and for the teachers.

³⁸ Mitu et al. 1999.

³⁹ See Năstase 1999.

⁴⁰ See more about it in Murgescu 2004: 109–167.

⁴¹ See Murgescu–Mihalache 2005.

⁴² Ministerul Educației Naționale, 1999: 51–106.

⁴³ Miroiu et al. 1998: 61.

⁴⁴ Miroiu et al. 1998: 61.

⁴⁵ Nastasă 2000: 59.

is maybe a better word to understand their functioning in real life, especially the right of a community to preserve its “inside” from major intrusions.⁴⁶ Still, even this friendly word cannot solve new conceptual problems like defining “major intrusions” or “privacy” applied in institutional context (for example, in schools).

Whatever the words used, it is always an incomplete work to write about “being a Hungarian in Romania” as it is to write about the “school reform.” What the author can hope is at least to invite reading them together.

The final part of my analysis discusses a very subjective argument. It is a personal recollection from the time when I was a history teacher and I consider this the best metaphor to represent my point.

It was in 2000, when a national contest (“Olimpiada”) was held at our technical high school (Grupul Școlar “Dumitru Mangeron”, Iași). I remember how the principal was troubled because some pupils had requested the translation of the subject paper in Hungarian. The national commission was not prepared for this situation, even though the children had the legal right to ask for it. A happy coincidence (or at least so it was considered to be) was that, in our school, there worked two persons of Hungarian origin, one of whom was a physics teacher capable to write scientific texts in his maternal language. He managed to prepare a rapid and adequate translation. Most probably, he also helped at examining the tests in Hungarian.

Both the “problem” and the “solution” were perceived as highly exceptional for our daily life in the Eastern part of the country, as we were used to believe that Hungarians live only in Transylvania (and Hungary, of course). At that time, I was never curious about how “our Hungarians” had got so far from their home or how they had managed not to forget their language.

Looking back, I suppose they had been “distributed” in Iași County by the system of forced repartition that severely governed the last decades of the communist age. This was especially dramatic for the Hungarian graduated students sent outside the Carpathians, which constituted a hidden exile and a policy of dismantling the elites and the ethnic communities from Transylvania. Yet this was a bookish knowledge, accidentally confirmed by an informal conversation with another teacher that managed to come back home, in Cluj. Personal memory has so many ways to work out the past of the others. The

⁴⁶ Andreescu 2004: 216–219.

routine of daily life is surely not enough to preserve it. On the contrary, it can better help in forgetting by fragmentation and dissolution of meanings.

It is very significant how an old injustice (the exile in the 1980's) helped to prevent a new one (the impossibility to use maternal language outside the community, to gain professional/academic recognition on the national level). It is also very instructive to notice how state institutions pretend to assure "rights" just in a paper-world and neglect the real life with its practical constraints. One can ask how much "socialism" /ineffectiveness/ unwillingness/ accidental is in here. The answers will surely differ.

A discourse can act only through individuals and their daily practices. Personal strategies and collective habits shape, alter, and dissipate normative texts into social happenings.⁴⁷ Sometimes, the distance between discourse and the personal negotiations of it can cover the span of a century. This is the case in the formula of both the educational request of the Hungarian ethnic community and the response of the Romanian authorities. They are very similar in building their arguments and counter-arguments, still nourished by the nationalisms of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Following individual life-stories, we will find far more various choices adapted to contemporary society. Some of them completely ignore the official prescriptions (for example, by studying abroad or in an English language school).

An "ethnography of school life" could possibly offer a more detailed picture of what it is like to be a Hungarian ethnic citizen in the times of the post-communist school reform in Romania, and this could be a future research project.

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⁴⁷ de Certeau 1990: XXXVI–LIII.

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**Diversity of Forms of Ethnic Identity in Central
and Eastern Europe:
Carpathian *Rusyns* versus Moldavian *Csángós***

Today – in the time of globalization – one might ask whether the term “nation” is at present an anachronism or not. Theoretically, an assumption of this kind seems to be an appropriate conclusion, especially with an eye to global communication and mobility, and sometimes melting identities in interacting societies. Nevertheless, the minority question does remain a topical issue both on the political and on the scientific level, as personal and group-identities often prove to be rather strong, even in changing political and cultural environments. What seems to be very clear on a state’s macro-level though is much more difficult to handle on the micro-level within a political or cultural society. These are, especially in Eastern and Central Europe, diversified societies, composed of nation-building and non-nation-building groups. This premise leads to the following questions: Why would some peoples be regarded nations while others would rather be categorized as different kinds of ethnic groups? Where does the dividing line between an ethnic group and a nation lay? In which ways does the identity of an ethnic group and that of a nation develop?

Several terminological problems also need to be sorted out:

1. What is identity or what are identities?
2. What is an ethnic group and/or ethnic identity?
3. What is a nation and/or national identity?

The identity issue itself has two perspectives – an *internal* and an *external* one.¹

The internal perspective describes a person’s personal and biographical sense of belonging, while its basis is constituted by the events of one’s life. Furthermore, this side of identity is also composed of a socio-cultural self-classification or self-categorization. This internal perspective is constituted by several different partial identities and it is dependent on a kind of self-reflection, influenced by

¹ An interesting philosophical view, see Höffe 2004: 190–196.

external circumstances, as self-allocation in a cultural community (but without fulfilling external expectations).

The external perspective is much more complicated and it depends on local relations. The identity of a person is exposed to expectations, while those expectations could influence the respective person. For instance, a citizen is expected to identify himself with his/her state. On the other hand, the same citizen is expected to identify him/herself with his/her family, with his/her favorite football club, with the institution s/he works at, etc.

The applicability of the second term, namely that of an ethnic group, requires several common features, constituting a person's belonging to a collective. These are:

- common language,
- common religion,
- common history,
- common territory,
- common traditions,
- common script.

It is not necessary for all of these features to be present at the same time to produce an ethnic group. The identity of an ethnic group is reflected in just one or a few of the above characteristics. For example, if a certain number of people speak the same language and have a common history, they can easily develop a form of a collective identity.²

The term *nation* refers to a relatively complex issue and, thus, I shall only discuss some of its elements.³

The meaning of the term *nation* has often changed since the Middle Ages. Today, it basically means that all the features that I have listed as optional elements for constructing an ethnic group must be present. Furthermore, such a community must be an organized one, that is to say, it requires a state, an organized religion and a codified language together with a script.⁴ The territorial element represents a specific issue in this case; a nation, as well as its state, needs no closed territory as a feature. This means that a nation can also exist

² See Hroch 2005: 59–74.

³ The multi-level and complex meaning of the term “nation” has been exquisitely described in works of Benedict Anderson (Anderson 1996.), Eric J. Hobsbawm (Hobsbawm 1996.) or Miroslav Hroch (Hroch 2005.).

⁴ See Hobsbawm 1996: 25–58.

over or across state boundaries. Examples for this could be the Germans, the Hungarians, the Russians, or other national diasporas.⁵

As regards the definition of the term *minority*, the problem of the existence of minorities (not only in Central and Eastern Europe) occurred simultaneously with, or rather as a result of, the 19th century cultural current named Romanticism. By then, nations in Central and Eastern Europe, an incredibly multicultural territory to start with, had begun to transfer from feudal into modern commonwealths (i.e., one state – one homogeneous nation) and started to shape their national consciousness.

Despite all that, there exists no officially recognized definition of the term *minority* to this very day. In my opinion, however, the most concise and universally acceptable attempt at a definition is the one by Capotorti, dating back to 1977.

According to Capotorti, a minority is a group which is:

- numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State,
- in a non-dominant position,
- whose members – being nationals of the State – possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religion or language.⁶

The *ethnic* qualifier shall, in my work, denote only those groups which have never formed a sovereign state. There are basically two ways in which modern nation states would be created: *state to nation* and *nation to state*. In Central and Eastern Europe though, the former type can be observed in only one case, namely in that of Russia. Therefore, it may be safely stated that modern Central and East European nation states have been created in the *nation to state* way. Consequently, groups of peoples of a certain common identity who (have) take(n) efforts to organize themselves in such types of social structures should be considered nations. To put it short: in Central and Eastern Europe, the rise of national consciousness precedes the creation of a modern nation state.⁷

Naturally, the former multi-ethnic territories of Central and Eastern Europe, although divided into what was meant to be nationally homogeneous

⁵ Hobsbawm 1996.

⁶ Capotorti 1979 (UN-Doc. 4/Sub.2/384).

⁷ See Niederhauser 2001.

states, did not lose their multicultural or multinational character. Apart from the majority nation, each one of them would now be inhabited also by nationals of different ethnicities than the "state" one. Hence, *ethnic minorities* might be defined as nationals of a certain ethnicity that differs from that of the majority in a particular state.

Ethnic identity in minority communities could be effectively preserved in spite of a great variety of nation-building instruments used during the long-term process of the forming of Central and East European modern nation-states by what I call *potential ethnicity shaping factors*. These factors might (but did not necessarily have to) affect the shape of their identities. A list of such factors should include:

- territorial distribution (central/peripheral position within the state frontiers),
- forms of minority communities (scattered, compact, diaspora),
- state policy towards the minorities (positive discrimination, forced assimilation, recognition),
- minorities' attitude towards the state (acculturation, self-isolation, emigration, assimilation),
- minority religion (same as, or different from, the "national" one; variants),
- social structure of the minority communities (complete or incomplete, i.e., lacking certain social layers),
- nation-building (intellectual elites, language, denotation, external initiatives, "fatherland").

In the present study I only wish to highlight some selected aspects of my research⁸ on the example of two minority groups, which – each in its own way – have managed to remain in a relationship with Hungary and which reciprocally constitute counter-examples.

⁸ The present study presents a part of my Ph.D. thesis to be completed in the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The project combines various branches of historical and social sciences; the project's scope is to compare the chosen minority groups – the Sorbs, the Kashubians, the Carpathian Rusyns and the Moldavian Csángós – on the basis of certain identity-building factors such as the *minority-state* and the *state-minority* reciprocal relations, differences between the minority and the dominating nation in various fields of culture, as well as the variances within the social structures of those. All this should, as envisaged, make it possible to present the diversity of types of ethnic identity in Central and Eastern Europe, and thus to define a set of identity-preserving factors characteristic for the researched region.

The Moldavian Csángós are one of several groups of peoples of Magyar origin and predominantly Roman Catholic confession.⁹ Other groups named by specialists as Csángós include the Hungarian-speaking people of Lutheran confession living around the Romanian city of Braşov (Hun. *hétfalusi csángók*; the name comes from a settlement name – Hun. *Hétfalu* / Ro. Săcele) and those settled around the city of Deva (Hun. *dévai csángók*).¹⁰ There are also some other Csángós, who have lived in Voivodina and in Hungary since World War II.¹¹

The Carpathian Rusyns are groups of East Slavonic peoples of predominantly Greek Catholic confession.¹² Since the mid-18th century, the Carpathian Rusyns have lived, apart from the territories belonging to the historical Subcarpathian Rus' (Ukr. *Podkarpats'ka Rus'*),¹³ also in Voivodina, Slavonia and Sylvania.¹⁴

At first, I wish to present some similarities one may find between these two minority groups. Both the Moldavian Csángós and the Carpathian Rusyns are non-homogeneous groups, that is to say, more subgroups can be distinguished within both of them.

The Moldavian Csángós would be further divided into the following three subgroups: the Northern (Hun. *északi*), the Southern (Hun. *déli*) and the

⁹ I am writing *Magyar* and not *Hungarian* due to the fact that, as it will be explained in the following paragraphs, the Csángós are a non-homogeneous group of peoples whose identity dates back to different times (beginning with the 13th and 14th till the 18th centuries); therefore, as in the Middle Ages, one can not speak of a nation in the modern sense of the word, I would rather use *Magyar* to point at the common origins of all those groups whose mother tongue was, has been, or still is, one of the Hungarian vernaculars.

¹⁰ The name *Csángó* originates most probably from the Hungarian verb stem *csang-/csáng-* which means 'to wander, to break apart.' The name appeared first in the 15th and 16th century writings as a proper name; later, in the 18th century it appeared as an ethnonym – in 1772 it was used to denote this ethnic group by father Péter Zöld in his letter to Colonel Caratto. Further one meets the term in the writings of Domokos Teleki (1769), Mihály Csokonai Vitéz (1798) and János Petrás Ince (1841) (after Pozsony 2005: 8–9; Tánzos 1999a: 228–230; Hajdú-Moharos 1995: 81.).

¹¹ Arens 2004b: 72.

¹² Only until the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy would this group be called *Ruthens*; those peoples themselves for self-denotation use the name *Rusyn* (after Troebst 2000: 67–104; Hodinka 1900: 401–418.). Magocsi–Pop 2002: 407–408, 412.

¹³ The territory in the upper Tisza River valley along the southern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains; the name is relatively recent, has appeared in the writings of Rusyn national awakers in the 19th century. (after Magocsi–Pop 2002: 450.).

¹⁴ Steinke 2004: 587.

Szekler (Hun. *székelyes*) Csángós;¹⁵ whereas, in the case of the Carpathian Rusyns,¹⁶ besides the “lowlanders” (Ukr. *dolyniane*) we have also the “highlanders” (Ukr. *verkhovynsi*) who would further be divided into three smaller groups, namely the Boikos, the Lemkos and the Hutsuls.¹⁷ Furthermore, both of the areas where these ethnic groups are settled are fairly similar, i.e., relatively underdeveloped regions which are difficult to access. This situation could strongly affect the forms of collective identity of the Moldavian Csángós and the Carpathian Rusyns. Due to the fact that the settlement areas of these ethnic groups are difficult to access, one might assume that they will remain less developed parts of the present individual states. On the other hand, one might observe that this “underdeveloped” or “less-developed” status results also from the nation-state development policy of the 20th century. In any case, the results of this situation can be discerned even today: both the Moldavian Csángós and the Carpathian Rusyns have been isolated in a way, due to the restricted amount of contact with other peoples. This has enabled them to preserve their own traditions and culture (e.g., architecture, folk-art, etc.) until the present time in but a slightly altered form.

Apart from the above, one can identify two more factors that work similarly both in the case of the Moldavian Csángós and the Carpathian Rusyns: religion and the lack of own intellectual elites.¹⁸

The Moldavian Csángós are a Roman Catholic island encircled by the dominating nation, i.e., the Romanians, who are mostly Orthodox. The Carpathian Rusyns settled within the territory of the historical Hungarian Kingdom are members of the Greek-Catholic Church, which distinguishes them from the mostly Orthodox Ukrainians, as well as from the Roman Catholic Poles and the Roman Catholic or Lutheran Slovaks. Besides, none of these groups has developed – until the early years of the 20th century – an own intellectual elite

¹⁵ Diószegi–Pozsony 1996: 107–108; Tánczos 1999: 8–10.

¹⁶ The ethnonym “Rusyn” is traditionally used to describe the East Slavonic population of Subcarpathian Rus’. The respective population uses, to describe itself, the term “Rusnak” (after Magocsi–Pop 2002: 407–408).

¹⁷ The names *Boiko* and *Lemko*, just like the name *Csángó*, are not used for self-denotation by the respective ethnic groups and are understood as pejoratives. See e.g.: Magocsi 2000; Magocsi–Pop 2002: 42–43, 202, 280–282.

¹⁸ Hatos 2002: 8–10; Arens 2004a: 243–254.

in form and number that would be able to establish, shape or strengthen their ethnic (or national) consciousness and identity.¹⁹

Having discussed the similarities that can be noticed between those two ethnic groups, let me now focus on the differences, which make this comparison so intriguing and full of contrasts.

Before I start to explain why and how it happened that those two initially very similarly formed communities followed diametrically different paths of development, let me address a question first. Are the Moldavian Csángós and the Carpathian Rusyns ethnic groups or rather nations?

The Moldavian Csángós, regardless of the fact that today it is beyond doubt that they are of ethnically Magyar origin, can not be considered part of the modern Hungarian nation. As inhabitants of Moldavia – a region which never belonged to the historical Hungarian Kingdom – they have never participated in any of the processes which have established and shaped the modern Hungarian national consciousness.²⁰

In the 16th and 17th centuries the Csángó-inhabited regions were not reached by the waves of Reformation – that is why the Moldavian Csángós, contrary to the ethnically Hungarian inhabitants of Transylvania, have remained faithful to their Roman Catholic religion. As Dimitrie Cantemir writes at the beginning of the 18th century, “there exist no real Moldavian peasants; those one finds are Russian or Transylvanian, or – as one tends to call them here – of Hungarian origin... Because the Hungarians stick to their Roman Catholic religion, they preserve as well their mother-tongue.”²¹

In the 18th and 19th centuries the Moldavian Csángós did not take part in the so-called “*nyelvújítás*” – a process of the renewal of the Hungarian language; which is why the members of the still Hungarian-speaking part of this group use ancient elements of the Hungarian language that date back to the Middle Ages.

The Moldavian Csángós did not take part in the 19th and 20th-century nation-building processes either. Since their settlements lay way beyond the frontiers of what is often referred to as “the historical Hungary,” their com-

¹⁹ Arens 2004a.

²⁰ Pozsony 2005: 151; Hatos 2002: 8–10.

²¹ Cantemir 1771: 273.

munity would neither be reached, nor influenced by the Hungarian reforms and the idea of the Hungarian nation in its 19th-century romantic shape.²²

Due to the policy of forced assimilation, consequently conducted by the Romanian governments, the majority of the Moldavian Csángós do not speak their original, local Hungarian vernacular any more. Still, in this case, it is possible to distinguish between two types of mother-tongue, using the categories “lingua del pane” (Romanian) and “lingua del core” (the Hungarian vernacular spoken by the Csángós): “*Better can I say prayers in Romanian; still, then I am somewhere else with my thoughts. However, when I pray in Hungarian, it simply touches my heart*”.²³ Such affirmations show that the Csángós have preserved their original Magyar identity, even though from the linguistic perspective they seem to be almost utterly assimilated. Furthermore, the Moldavian Csángós are members of the Roman Catholic Church, and so they distinguish themselves from the dominating Romanian population also on the confessional ground by the using of the categories “Catholic” to denote themselves, while the Romanians would be given by them the name “Orthodox”.²⁴ Still, the Moldavian Csángós hardly ever take part in political life, and even if they do, such activities result mostly from the external Hungarian or Transylvanian Hungarian nation-building initiatives the aim of which is to integrate the Moldavian Csángós into the modern Hungarian nation.²⁵ It seems that terms like “fatherland”, “mother-tongue” or “patriotism” do not exist in the collective consciousness of the Moldavian Csángós. This means that the Moldavian Csángós represent a form of “pre-national” local ethnic identity, already very rare in Europe.²⁶

In the case of the Carpathian Rusyns, the question of the national, as well as that of the ethnic, affiliation constitutes a very complex problem.

First of all, not all the peoples categorized by specialists as Rusyns would consider themselves as parts of the Rusyn nation, as constructed by the nation-

²² Hatos 2002: 8–10; Pozsony 2005: 151.

²³ Boross 2002: 48–62.

²⁴ Hajdú-Moharos 1995: 81.

²⁵ A great source of information on the most recent external (i.e. Hungarian and Transylvanian) initiatives aiming at the integration of the Moldavian Csángós into the modern Hungarian nation is constituted by an Internet discussion forum within the Yahoo! Groups <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/csangomagyar>. Apart from private opinions, it includes official letters, memorandums, as well as press articles regarding the current situation of the Moldavian Csángós.

²⁶ Arens–Bein 2004: 111–156.

builders. Many of the Rusyns, once living within the borders of pre-WWI Hungary would, until the collapse of Austria-Hungary, be integrated into the Hungarian nation, already forming and shaping itself by then. This group comprises today's Greek Catholic Hungarians – inhabitants of Hungary, Subcarpathian Rus' and eastern Slovakia. Apart from this, there are also Greek Catholic or Orthodox Ukrainians who, due to the state policy of forced assimilation, regard themselves today as part of the modern Ukrainian nation.²⁷

The process of constructing what is sometimes called the “fourth modern East-Slavonic” nation began in fact in the 19th century, as the first handbook of Carpatho-Rusyn grammar (1830, Michal Lutschkai) and the first dictionary of the Carpatho-Rusyn language (1847, Alexander Duchnovich) were written. The collective identity of the Carpatho-Rusyns was further strengthened by, e.g., the publication of the first Carpatho-Rusyn newspaper “*Svit*” (eng. “Dawn”, 1850, Užhhorod) and would be expressed after World War I by the proclamation of several Rusyn short-term state-like formations, like e.g. the Rusyn Republic of Lemkos (December 5th, 1918).²⁸ Those attempts could well, despite their slight political significance, strengthen the collective identity of the Carpatho-Rusyns. The fact that the Carpatho-Rusyns were by then regarded a meaningful community is also well illustrated by the decisions of the Saint-Germain Treaty (Sept. 10, 1919), according to which Subcarpathian Rus' (by then belonging to Czechoslovakia) existed officially – even though not practically – up until 1939, as an autonomous Rusyn province.²⁹

The local Rusyn attempts aiming at the establishment of an own state have been also supported by the Carpatho-Rusyn émigrés' communities in the USA and in Canada. During World War II, as Carpathian Rus' again found itself within the borders of the Hungarian state, Carpatho-Rusyn identity, together with the Rusyn émigré circles, was regarded by the Hungarian government as the most important argument for the Hungarian “post-Trianon” policy of revisionism. *“If we manage to convince the Rusyn people that our aim is – contrary to all the earlier attempts that wanted to develop in them Russian or Ukrainian identity – to support their Rusyn identity, we shall come to a spiritual and political*

²⁷ Arens 2004a: 243–254.

²⁸ www.carpatho-rusyn.org

²⁹ Arens 2004a: 243–254.

harmony between the Hungarian and the Rusyn nation, and so shall we also win a full acceptance of the American Rusyn circles."³⁰

After World War II, a large number of Carpathian Rusyns migrated to cities and towns, like e.g., Užhorod, Mukačevo, Prešov, Humenne, Košice or Nowy Sącz. Hereby, they transformed themselves from the peasant (Ukr. *pol'nohos-podari*) into the bourgeois layer, and consequently – through their gradual acculturation and assimilation into the urban population – they started to lose their Carpatho-Rusyn identity.³¹

The expansive revival of the idea of the Carpatho-Rusyn nation can be dated back to the early 1990s. In December 1991, shortly after the sovereign state of Ukraine had been proclaimed, more than 78% of the population of Subcarpathian Rus' voted for the status of an autonomous region for their land. However, the will of the constituents was not fulfilled by the Ukrainian government in office at that time. In this way, it could be stated that the Carpathian Rusyns constitute a community or collective where one can notice elements characteristic both of regional and national identity forms. Recently, the national element has started to dominate in the Carpathian Rusyn identity. Since March 1991, a biennial World Congress of Rusyns has been held regularly. The objective of these meetings is to achieve the official recognition of Rusyns as a nation, which is why the issues discussed include, e.g., the question of the creation of a general version of the literary Rusyn language that would be understood and used by all the Rusyn communities worldwide.³²

As I have just pointed out, the identity of originally very similar ethnic communities could, due to specific factors and circumstances they have been subjected to, develop in diametrically opposing ways.

The scope of my Ph.D. project covers an analysis of the differences between those ways as well as that of their historical, sociological and anthropological grounds through the examination of several Central and East-European ethnic groups.

As envisaged, the study shall also create some basis for further specific research of Central and Eastern European history as well as for that of the minority question in the same region. This would be conducted in the form of an

³⁰ The original document can be found in the Hungarian State Archives (Magyar Országos Levéltár, MOL; K-28, 1940-L-16042).

³¹ Arens 2004a: 243–254.

³² Arens 2004a.

interdisciplinary study in which the respective territory would be regarded as a culturally complex whole.

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Web sites

www.carpatho-rusyn.org

<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/csangomagyar>

**Modernization – Migration – Social and Cultural Changes
Transformations of a Former Peasant Community
in Eastern Europe**

In my paper, I wish to trace some of the typical features affecting an ethnic community, that of the so-called Moldavian Csángó villages situated in Northern-East Romania. Moldavian Csángós constitute a community of Hungarian origin living on the margin of the Hungarian language area. Its members are distinguished from the surrounding neighbours not only by their Roman Catholic religion but also by their specific rural traditions. The location nowadays emblematically exemplifies the blending of the local colours of traditional communities, the East-European way of industrialisation as well as modernization at the end of the 20th century.

In Romania, transformations belonging either to modernization or globalisation affected Moldavian Csángó communities to the core from the 1990s. Processes of change had already appeared in the villages during the socialist way of “modernization” in the accelerated industrialisation, when local men started to work en masse for firms in nearby cities.¹

The encounter of modernization and traditional culture creates situations of conflict and generates changes and alterations. This paper presents ways in which the sociocultural transformations of the Csángó community, the links between modernization and migration, as well as the local forms of global changes can be interpreted. My aim is to reveal how traditional ideas, the value system and mental patterns have been rearranged in a new form. Therefore, the point at issue is not that modern conceptions have squeezed out traditional images and customs, but that they have modified the conventional frameworks of forms and contents.

I will interpret the essentials of the changes as the results of the effects of migration and modernization in the conceptual framework of two notions. On the one hand, I will use the notion “*compound non-synchronism*” for describing the specific features of the structure of the Moldavian Csángó culture.

¹ Hegyeli 2005: 231; Pozsony 2008: 294–295.

On the other hand, I will introduce the term “two-dimensional moral value scale system” in order to analyse the routinely recognised moral practices of today. My suggestions are formulated partly by means of stories from the life of a sixty-one-year old Csángó woman called *Klára*, of the representations of her ego as well as of her reality, and partly on the ground of my experience(s) of an anthropological stationary fieldwork, lasting for almost one year.

Within the time frame of my fieldwork (in 2006–2007), taking up work abroad, especially in Italy and in Spain, was and has been one of the Csángós’ main life strategies, while migration has had a more profound effect on local processes. The old woman’s, *Klára*’s seven children also has been working abroad – one in Germany, six in Italy – for more than ten years now.

Migration on a macro level is basically rooted in the history of economic and political relationships between the sending and the hosting countries; therefore, it is not a result of a personal or communal decision. International labour migration is not only an economic but, at the same time, a social process. For the maturation and maintenance of this course of action, a continuous establishment and utilisation of social networks is essential.² This phenomenon can be observed properly in the Moldavian Csángó communities. On the one hand, individuals emigrating from the same settlements usually settle down in a particular city and its surrounding area. In the case of *Lujzikalagor* (Luizi-Călugăra in Romanian), the village investigated here, Turin, Italy, and its neighbourhood serves as an example of the above statement.³ On the other hand, participants of labour migration help other people from their original settlements to realize their intention to emigrate. This can take the form of lending money or, in an earlier period, providing a letter of acceptance or giving support in order to find a job as well as to solve accommodation problems.

On the level of the sending community and the individual, usually culturally established imaginations, evolved in the common knowledge, are the elements that strongly contribute to the maintenance of labour migration.⁴ Furthermore, these imaginations assist the formation of migration related life strategies, such as international commuting and the type of setting that is

² cf. Adler-Lomnitz-González 2007: 73; Massey et al. 1990: 139–171; Portes-Böröcz 2001: 72–74; Pulay 2005: 149.

³ cf. Hegyeli 1999: 165. See a paper about Romanian women emigrated to Turin: Bokor 2004: 30–52.

⁴ cf. Appadurai 1998: 11–40.

considered to be a temporary stay of a longer period with an uncertain end.⁵ At the same time, the communal imaginations describing the “other” and the sociocultural conditions of the “other” filter through the texture of the features attributed to the person of cultural differences, to the stranger.

Employment abroad, which has rapidly become an established life strategy,⁶ meant the broadening of the spatial and cultural framework of the world even for sixty-one-year old *Klára*. In the beginning, because she has never worked abroad, *Klára* got acquainted with the representational forms of cultural otherness not directly, but in some indirect ways, such as through watching television, or from stories told. She faced the issue of otherness without any intermediate means, by taking part in the mobility of tourism, when she visited her adult children working in foreign countries. At this point she did not meet an image of the “other” constructed by transmissions and particular interpretations of other people, but she personally experienced the “other” and the culture of the “other”, in shape of the Italian and German lifeworlds.

At first in the 1990s, particularly members of the younger generation left the country in order to find a job outside Romania; however, today the middle-aged inhabitants also work more and more regularly abroad. The recognised presence of international employment in the community links both individuals and families to migration in a kind of obligatory way. The social relations of the village are transparent and the resources that have recently flowed into the rural community could cause more visible differences as well as more massive ones in their extent in the system of social and economic relations, than in an urban society. Consequently, a family could primarily ensure its relative position in the hierarchy of the rural community as well as reduce relative deprivation,⁷ if it adapts to the new situation and takes part in labour migration by sending members to work abroad.⁸

The sixty-one-year old *Klára* would have willingly gone abroad to work in Italy in that certain part of the service sector which is dominated by the female foreign workers from Eastern Europe. These are the jobs of nursing elderly people, taking care of children or doing general housework. However, she knows very well that in order to hold on to the labour market she would need

⁵ See Maria Birsan's and Romana Cucuruzan's research on migrants of Romanian origin working in Spain. Birsan–Cucuruzan 2007: 19–34.

⁶ cf. Birsan–Cucuruzan 2007; Şandu 2000: 5–52.

⁷ Massey et al. 1993: 438.

⁸ See also Csata–Kiss 2003: 7–38.

strength, power and health. She apprehends properly by the example of her children that “*money does not fall from heaven*” in any foreign country either, “*and (the young) have to keep and cherish their job as they keep and cherish their eyes.*”

Klára interprets the links between knowledge, qualification and working opportunity as follows. She is aware of the fact that, according to her “qualification”, which basically means the lack of any profession, she is only capable of carrying out tasks that require utilisation of her life experience, thus jobs that she has already done earlier or that are easy to understand and fulfil. “*You will not work in a birou (in an office)!*” says she about herself, observing that today literacy and time spent by learning and knowledge have a socially accepted value. In addition, she herself speaks about the advantages and disadvantages of certain occupations accompanied by various place-values in society.

Synchronism of the Non-synchronous – the Case of the Moldavian Csángós

As a result of modernization and of the migration processes, besides the transformation of several factors in the Moldavian sociocultural lifeworld, its structure has also changed; a constructional modification has taken place. I interpret this structural shift in the framework of the concept of “compound non-synchronism”. The transformed Moldavian Csángó scene can be correlated to the phenomenon of “*Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen*”, or *Ungleichzeitigkeit* for short. The definition, emerging in Ernst Bloch’s footsteps in cultural philosophy as well as in the field of social sciences, translates into English as “*the synchronism of the non-synchronous*”, or “non-synchronism” for short.⁹ The notion of ‘*Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen*’ generally refers to the coexistence of two cultural systems situated in the same geographical environment that differ from one another in points of structural nature, conceptualization of space and time as well as in way of thinking.¹⁰ Thus the term refers to the

⁹ Bloch 1935/1977. “*Not at all people exist in the same Now. They do so only externally, by virtue of the fact that they may all be seen today. But that does not mean that they are living at the same time with others.*” (Bloch 1935/1977: 22.)

¹⁰ See international examples Jeh-hong 2004. 8–33; Flitsch’s paper in work 2007.

local and *temporal* coexistence of phenomena that are related to different historical periods or different stages of social evolution. The notion was introduced in ethnography for the first time by Hermann Bausinger and, with reference to the Moldavian Csángó culture, was firstly used by Vilmos Tánzos, then by Lehel Peti.¹¹

Nevertheless, according to my field experience in the case of Moldavia, it is worth speaking about “compound non-synchronism” (*Ungleichzeitigkeit*). This concept is based on the domain of “*Ungleichzeitigkeit*”: it also means diverse sociocultural systems operating next to each other at the same time. However, the distinctive attribute of “compound” lays emphasis on the multiple layered construction of the Moldavian Csángó culture and stresses the synchronic aggregation of cultural systems identified by diverse socio-historical times. These different levels mean different cultural layers with particular co-domains such as: firstly the traditional – “rural, local”; secondly the modern – “Romanian, urban”; and/or thirdly late modern or post-modern period – of a “Western European metropolis” transmitted by the adult children working abroad. Moreover, in particular fields of the Csángó culture, elements belonging to either traditional or modern ideas can be observed to coexist.

For a better understanding of the above, structural complexity should be illustrated by examples. The phenomenon is obviously well-known when members of a traditional community under the influence of modernization equip their households with a wide variety of technical tools – which they rarely or hardly ever use, or employ them for something irrespective of their original function. For example, they do not wash their clothes in the washing machine for quite a long time and only keep various objects on the top of it after it has been installed, or they need the help of a neighbour in order to use the DVD player properly from time to time. In Moldavia the case of the bathroom is similar, when it is introduced due to the new social images of the body and to the altered ideas of cleanness in interior design, although the local customs of taking physical care of the body do not follow the modern practices applied in a bathroom.¹²

Klára, the elderly Csángó woman, had the bathroom built in her house in the spring of 2008 in accordance with the style accepted in the “city”, but she

¹¹ Bausinger 1989: 24–37; see also Kashuba 1999/2004: 151–154; Tánzos 1996: 97–173; Peti 2007: 95.

¹² See in details Lajos 2009.

has not changed the practices of body hygiene. She continues to wash herself once in a week or so and regularly uses the toilet outside instead of the flushing closet in the house. On the basis of this phenomenon, also noticeable elsewhere in the village of *Lujzikalagor* a question, leading to the understanding of 'compound "non-synchronism", arises: what can be the reason for the rapid spread of bathrooms catching up with the latest design even if the owners-to-be have to borrow money to build them? The point at issue is that the aging parents living in the village built the bathroom to their adult children, who work abroad and are used to the urban circumstances? Or the bathroom simply functions as a symbol of status of today?

If we place the phenomenon of building bathrooms in the context of body-purity-modernization, while omitting the use of their original function, the query can be put as follows: how does the approach of a dual concept of the body take a cultural action with the concept of purity, in the time of conflicts between the Moldavian Csángó culture and the challenges of modernization?

By the dual concept of the body, Mary Douglas a British representative of symbolic anthropology, makes a difference between the social experience of the body and the experiences gained by perceiving the body as a physical entity.¹³ The social experience of the body influences the perception of the body as a physical entity, also influencing the ways of considering the body to be clean, the face and the hair groomed or the kind of actions that are considered necessary to be taken to have the physical body cleaned. There is an interaction between the physical and the social perception of the body, the different aspects mutually intensifying each other, therefore the alteration of the social perception of the body results in changes in the experiences of the physical body.¹⁴

The notion of purity refers both to the sacred and the secular infection, dirtiness. Therefore, purity can be described basically by two pairs of concepts:

¹³ Douglas 1995: 8. The latest proposition of gender studies questions the validity of this "dual perception of the body": according to that the "natural", physical perception of the body in itself never occurs, social dimensions alone determine how the body is perceived, as the body itself is conceived in the process of the repetition of norms and the maintenance of order – as a discursive body. See for example Butler 1993.

¹⁴ Douglas 1995: 8.

pure-impure and clean-dirty.¹⁵ The former refers to the symbolic, ritual cleanliness while the latter does so to the physical dirt and its removal.

Beyond the interactions of the physical and the social images of the body, the cultural categories of perceiving of the body are correlated to the concept of the society, thus in Moldavia a formerly peripheral or rather unknown image of the human body was created in parallel to the form of a human being realized by the modernization processes. The body is basically characterized by the absence of its “natural” state. It means that the alternative relation to, and the newly established expectations of the physical and social perception of the body can be acquired by “socially mediated processes of learning” in the period of social and cultural changes.¹⁶

The concept formed along the ideas of Marcel Mauss, that the body is basically characterized by the lack of its “natural” state, moves characteristics of knowledge acquired through the social dimension to the front in the field of bodily activities.¹⁷ According to that, in the time of socio-cultural shifts, alternative approaches, newly formed expectations to the physical and social perception of the body may be acquired through “socially transmitted learning processes”.¹⁸ In Moldavia, the concept of “body cleanness”, the meaning of “clean/unclean” have broadened in content during the transformations and new, formerly unknown practices of lavation and grooming have appeared. As an example: from the second half of the 1990s more and more washrooms were built, and purchasing and using washing machines became a general phenomenon.¹⁹

Recently in Moldavia the domain of purity as well as the content of the concepts of clean and dirty has been extended and new habits of body clean-

¹⁵ Mary Douglas’ *Purity and Danger* was first published in 1966. This key book in social anthropology discusses uncleanness, pollution, correlations between the concepts of clean-unclean-dirty, and the sacred and secular infection. Her collection of essays was published in Hungarian in 2003 under the title “Rejtett jelentések” (Hidden Meanings). In her book “Meg is mosakodjál, Magyar népi tisztálkodás a 20. században.” (– ...and Wash Yourself too. Hungarian Folk Customs of Hygiene in the 20th Century.) Katalin Juhász offers a graphic presentation of the process of hygiene through pairs of concepts positioned between the concepts of physical cleanness and dirtiness, and moral purity and impurity. Douglas 2003; Juhász 2006: 12.

¹⁶ Douglas 1995: 8.

¹⁷ See Mauss 2000: 423–446.

¹⁸ Douglas 1995: 8.

¹⁹ The purchasing of washing machines can be seen as a transformation of consumer customs regarding the set of instruments.

ing have appeared. The increasing number of bathrooms and the more and more common use of washing machines since the second half of the 1990s illustrate these processes.

Returning to the phenomenon cited above, the bathroom is introduced to homes according to the new social images of body hygiene and to the altered ideas of cleanness, although the local customs of taking physical care of the body do not follow the modern practices all the time applied in a bathroom. The furniture and the design transmit a perception of the body as well as other ideas of the modern, the “urban” or of a “Western European metropolis”, while the utilization of the running water resembles traditional forms and practises.

In *Lujzikalagor*, the building of bathrooms is related to the alteration of water use, the meaning of purity and the relation to the body, linked to modern ideas. Building the “*baie*” (meaning bathroom in Romanian) gradually dispersed in the village by the modification of the social image of the body, while the new concept of purity, having been extended to the everyday cleaning process of the ‘denuded’ body has also appeared among the accepted values of the local community, side by side the traditional one.

The shift between the social and the physical image of the body, the quicker reactions of the former to the modern paradigmatic challenges, produced the experimental fact that the presence of modern objects, appliances or rooms considered to be necessary and their proper use in practice are not correlated to each other. This has also modified the concept and meaning of body hygiene. As a matter of fact, the shift of meaning between the two body concepts confronts the traditional values and modernization, or rather the values conveyed by the modern set of appliances, allowing an overview of the relation between the altered rural living conditions and the new cultural strategies. The solution to the conflict is found along symbolic actions like the building of bathrooms.

Aggregation of Values

– “Two-dimensional Moral Value Scale System”

On the basis of my fieldwork experience in Moldavia, not only the “compound non-synchronism” can be observed but also an unusual way of the formation of moral values. The moral value scale system related to modernity

does not emerge in total but in details in the Csángó communities. The extent of the acceptance of the new contents and meanings and the practical use of modern items differ from one family to the other as well as from one inhabitant to another, therefore, only particular elements become an organic composition of Moldavian everyday life.²⁰ The mental items and the ethnography of a world different from the traditional one mainly obtain a socially recognised “playground” in the space of a particular non-synchronism or because they are attached to a representative of that particular lifeworld. The “*moral value scale system*” as an established practice may serve as illustration of this character. This kind of attitude has *two dimensions*; it makes a geographical difference between the “own”, that is the “rural”, and the “other”, that is the “urban”, in the domain of applied practices of the principles of a world concept. Moral patterns and attitudes to life gaining validity as well as legitimacy in different geographical locations give rise to collateral worlds that come into action in certain spatial scenes.

The other term used in order to analyze the transformations of the cultural and social context is the “*two-dimensional moral value scale system*” mentioned above. To demonstrate the meaning of this concept, I wish to describe the approach to cohabitation before getting married. *Klára* travelled to Italy to visit her children for the first time in the year 2000. Immediately, she got very angry with her second-born son because, in spite of the continuous secret keeping on his part, it turned out that he had been living together with his girlfriend without getting married before. In contrast to this, the way *Klára* had been brought up and what she had passed on to her children, (i.e.,) as the local moral code as well as the system of public penalties, strictly prohibited that the “*young shack up with each other*” even in the 1990s.²¹ The traditional Moldavian community constantly impinged a collective supervision on its members by applying diverse mechanisms of social control (the eyes of the community). It primarily meant public opinion and parochial retributions. Therefore, shame and the sanctions determining the adequate penalty for a certain action dictated how accepted and established norms of the social scene had to be followed as well as how obedience to an external authority had to be fulfilled was dictated by.²²

²⁰ cf. Kotics 1999; Hegyeli 2005.

²¹ cf. Kotics 1999.

²² Kinda 2005: 35–36, 2008: 366; Kotics 1999: 64.

Contrary to her opinion stated eight years earlier, *Klára* today considers the cohabitation to be an opportunity to explore the personality of one's partner and an acceptable, theoretically proper form of getting acquainted with each other. "You met him (the young man in her past) once a week on the street, or something like this, then from where do you get to know how much money he is worth. Doesn't it? But today it is better. Better. They sit together for a year, then she knows: when he is angry, when he is... What kind of a heart he has. They get to know one another." However, living together in the community is out of question, while in the urban area or abroad it is considered as a supportable and reasonable practice. Consequently, cohabitation is accepted outside the territory of the village, it is even said to be desirable in order to get to know one's partner, whereas living together in *Lujzikalagor* would be punished by condemnation and exclusion.

This type of mentality and attitude to life is open towards the events of the outside world and adopts its characteristics, while it also holds on to a more severe control of the communal norms of the village and to the regulation of the normative system. The example of *Klára* ostensibly illustrates the fact that confronting with the effects of modernization and modern world on the Moldavian sociocultural system or getting the hang of the changes does not cause any special trauma in the life of an old woman. She is not even shocked to a great extent when encountering new moral challenges. This attitude is usually maintained while the two moral value scale systems do not extend across the geographical borders of their own validity and the shifts from traditional ideas come to pass gradually in the immediate surrounding, in the village community. Furthermore, it happens so until the distinction of theory and practice lasts; while the formal and contextual novelties are commonly validated from time to time. That is, until, according to *Klára's* and the local community's interpretation, the solution of conflicts and clashes between the traditional and modern ideas and practices is realized either in a symbolic way or in reality.

* * *

To sum it up, it can be stated that today the transformations pervading all the scenes of Csángó life are present in the cultural, social, and economic systems as well as in their common and political mentality. That is to say, mod-

ernization and modern values have an intensive effect on the whole life of the communities, since migration also intensifies the presence of modern and/or “post-modern” elements. The huge amount of changes, as well as the fact that they appeared side by side in a short time in the Moldavian Csángó sociocultural lifeworld, turned the phenomenon of “compound non-synchronism” to be a fact experienced there. Explicitly, this comprises various structural layers of a culture due to the particular socio-historical periods: such as the synchronic aggregation of traditional, modern and/or “post-modern”, late modern peculiarities. Furthermore, processes of modernization have developed a distinctive mechanism of solving conflicts of traditional and modern moral values, the “two-dimensional moral scale value system” mentioned above.

I wish to end my paper with *Klára*'s words that express her adaptive, positive approach to the changes of today: “*But this would not have been ever dreamed by anyone how far I have to come to do a nunta (to the wedding of her daughter in Turin)! And such a nice nunta (wedding) it was! Oh, well! Ah! I wish the old would wake up and get to know all this, take a look at all this!*”

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Integration or Assimilation Process

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The Scholarly-Historical Background of the Current Use of the Multi-Layer Diaspora Notion in Hungary

The term *szórvány* [diaspora] is used quite lightly in discourses and research within the field of social sciences for denoting the religious and ethnic minorities of the Central-Eastern European region. However, parallel with the application of more and more refined approaches to the ethnic and religious social processes, the overall meaning of the word *szórvány* in this region has also become more versatile, as it is supposed to satisfy several criteria today as an umbrella term. To put it in a slightly more “profane” way; what is happening is that “*we strive to pack more and more [shades of meaning]*” into the framework of interpretations of this term, depending on the requirements posed by the points of departure or the expected findings of our research projects. In other words, the term *szórvány* operates as a fairly *flexible* notion. It does so chiefly because the feature which is *appropriate for the individual research objective* may be determined by us *ourselves*. For the reason of this dynamic applicability, the term *szórvány* has gained new currency (also) in Hungary following the time period between the two world wars, with a partly old, partly new, and partly expanded interpretation possibility. It is exactly for the above changeable features that, just like in the case of other similar, flexible terms (see, for example, the term ethnicity), the meaning of *szórvány* is impossible to define in one single sentence. The reason for this is that it can (in principle) stand for a spatial order as well as for a social category, and even for a statistical index. Moreover, we may also attach a shade of meaning to this notion that refers to a subcategory of minority existence to which the elements that constitute the identity of a person within the specific circumstances of existence are related. In addition, *szórvány* is oftentimes used as a term in reference to *conflicts of values* within the social sphere.

In this study, I wish to present the contradictions related to the term with the help of its earlier and present-day fields of meaning in addition to describing how it has lost its primarily spatial and static content and how, due to the Anglo-Saxon mainstream theories (Stuart Hall, Avtar Barh, Richard Alba,

Nathan Glazer, Robert E. Park, etc.) it has evolved into a category even in the Central-Eastern European region that is evidently related to social sciences.

The roots

A word of Greek origin, *διασπορά* means a quality of being *scattered, diffuse, or sporadic*. According to the theological canon, this form of the word with this meaning content in the Greek translation of the Old Testament (Septuagint) does not reflect the much stronger and blunter shades of the Hebrew original that refer to the persecution and exile of the Jewry. For the same token, it lacks the connotation of the fear and anxiety that accompanied said persecution:¹ And shalt return unto the Lord thy God, and shalt obey his voice according to all that I command thee this day, thou and thy children, with all thine heart, and with all thy soul; That then the Lord thy God will turn thy captivity, and have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee from all the nations, whither the Lord thy God hath scattered thee. [Deuteronomy 30: 2–3]. By having taken away the emotional content of the original Hebrew expression, the Greek word *diaspora* became a term that factually recorded *a given circumstance*, the scattered existence of the Jews among the heathens. This was in opposition to the Hebrew word forms, which allow us to see a process in the status of getting scattered. That is to say, the dual facet of diaspora was already present at the roots: while the Greek translation refers to “simple” spatiality and a minority situation, the Hebrew source phrases (like “galut”) allude to a *social* content and a system of relationships (in a state of subjection).² (From which captivity, as a matter of course, the Jews strove to break free.)

In the age of the New Testament, the meaning of the term became “polyphonic”. On the one hand, it could still be used as a reference to the Jews: after the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem (in 70 AD), the possibility of holding sacrificial rites ceased, and the chief locations for religious rites were again (just like after the destruction of the First Temple in 587 BC) the synagogues of the scattered Jewish communities. There was no functioning “cent-

¹ For the details, see Haag 1989: 258–259.

² As regards the layers of meaning of the Jewish Diaspora notion, see Komoróczy 1992: 230–304; specifically: 234–235; Barnava (collect.) 1995: 36–37.

er" any more, and *everything* turned into a *diaspora*. Although (in principle) an indispensable precondition for a state of diasporization is migration (which see below) but, as a consequence of the war fought with the Roman (66–70 AD), the *indigenous* (autochthonous) Jews *also* became a part of the diaspora in the sense that, just like the (allochthonous) Jews scattered among other peoples, the Jews in Palestine did not have a chief sacral location (a temple) for practicing religion either, except for the framework provided by the synagogues.³

On the other hand, parallel with the emergence of Christianity, the meaning of diaspora was expanded, as the communities that became the followers of Christ were also denoted by the term. Yet, even in the context of Christianity, there was a double frame of reference for meaning. According to one of the interpretations, the term denoted the entire Christian community up until the Edict of Milan, issued by Constantine the Great in 313, which proclaimed Christianity to be a state religion. Up to that point in time, the Christians lived in the empire as a diaspora. In the same comprehensive sense but with a spiritual content, the New Testament also treats the Christians as a full diaspora, as their earthly existence is but a "diaspora," since their true homeland is the heavenly Jerusalem. The other, traditional (geographical) definition, in a fashion similar to what happens in the case of Jewish communities, designates the ("scattered") Jewish-*Christian* communities living in the midst of heathen peoples. This kind of take-over of the denomination is also confirmed by the fact that the activity of the apostles was also concentrated on the Jews living in diaspora, as with Jesus, the people of God moved beyond the restricted framework provided by the Jews, and it was the task of the Jewish communities that had become Christian and lived scattered among the pagan peoples to convert the world according to God's will (1Peter 1.1). It is to them that James addressed his letter: From James, a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ: Greetings to all God's people scattered over the whole world.⁴ (Jam 1,1)

The expression of diaspora with this Biblical, multi-layered religious/denominational sense (i.e., with an identical meaning) was then borrowed by European languages as a word of Greek origin. Apart from the Jewish communities scattered all over the continent, the notion of diasporas across Europe

³ There is no temple but, as a spiritual center, the Great Sanhedrin was reorganized in Javné by the seaside. For the names (or appellations) of the diaspora districts known to us across the world, see Apcs 2,11 and 1Pet 1,1. For a map, see Aharoni–Avi-Yonah 1999: 180.

⁴ Léon-Dufor 1986: 1210.

gained a general religio-geographical sense parallel with the expansion of Reformation, which denoted the religious communities that lived as minorities within areas occupied by various other religious denominations. These could include (for example) Roman Catholic communities located in the northern, Protestant, parts of the German language area, Hungarian Protestant congregations living in the region called *Dunántúl* [Transdanubia], as well as Greek Catholic congregations in Poland.⁵

Expansion of meaning Intellectual background

The expansion of the denominational sense of the term diaspora occurred following the formation of the nation states. Before the end of the 18th century, that is, until the time of the so-called national awakening and the establishment of bourgeois societies, the analysis of national statuses and the delineation of ethnic borderlines had not divided individual groups of peoples, which means that there had been no sense posing the ethnical issue. In the censuses of this century, the primary role was played by the statuses of certain specific classes or layers (tax-paying or privileged) instead of the national affiliation, and social division could also be the consequence of religious identification.⁶ By the first half of the 17th century, Europe was divided by strict denominational borderlines, easily delineable religious *diasporas* and interior social “fault lines”.⁷ Thus, it is not surprising at all that the early writings which already included ethnic distinctions, only started to “recognize” or just mention the linguistic/“folk” relations of settlements, while their denominational approach was much more refined. Religious identity and the identification of diasporas by exact settlement-related data was important already at the beginning of the 19th century, but the presentation of ethnic data in settlement distribution had not been implemented until 1880, that is, the time of the second official census. (What also contributed to this “delay” was that the guideline on ethnic composition in the European practice of censuses (the principle of voluntary

⁵ Buchberger 1931: 285–286.

⁶ Arató 1972.

⁷ See Chaunu 2001: 238–257; 320–360.

identification of one's native tongue) was introduced universally first by the St. Petersburg Conference in 1872.)⁸

The primary denominational and spatial (religio-geographical) content of the term *szórvány*/diaspora was expanded by the process of the formation of states that followed the German model: this concept of national belonging created and augmented cultural borderlines between individual groups of people as a matter of course.⁹ All the more so, because the elites that recognized the nation-unifying efforts (in the German language area) or the conflicting ethnic interests that threatened the specific state-frames (in Hungary) tried to present their own people through the means of common blood, common language and culture, and common origins, as a *closed* and unified social organization.

A denominationally divided (for example, the German or the Hungarian) area obviously could not be turned into a unanimously modern nation by proclaiming a religious unity. This is why it was the common language and the shared blood ties among other things that proved to be universally comprehensive factors for the German nation, *and what also opened the road for the transformation of the sense of the term diasporalszórvány.*

The culture-national concept claims that ethnicities are communities that can be approached on the basis of objective aspects; they are stable and *independent* of the continuously changing social situations. Their existence is justified not only by their unchanging cultural features but also by the historical continuity related to the specific area. Thus, their borders can be easily circumscribed (on the basis of some system of criteria), as a consequence of which, their inhabitants at a given point in time can be *counted* and represented on a map. The measurability resulting from this approach may also confirm the basic idea, as the stability of these groups of people can also be ensured by the census itself.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the Hungarian ruling elite had basically given up the nation state concept rooted in the 1849 Minority Act and defined in the Law of 1868. Instead, the German models of nation status were moved to the fore in Hungary too. From the governments of the turn of the past century, there were several commissions issued to the Office of Statistics which, on the one hand, expected that the ethnic surveys be as accurate and

⁸ On the St Petersburg Conference, see Popély 1991: 11–20.

⁹ See Meinecke 1922.

complex as possible and, on the other hand, urged that these data be presented in the form of maps for the sake of illustrating as plastically as possible how the ethnicities upsurge to the detriment of Hungarian interests. *In these commissions, the notion of diaspora with an ethnic relevance was already used:* a circular issued in 1908 by the Office of the Prime Minister to the ministries contained information on the implementation of the plans. It is about a public administration map prepared by the Office of Statistics which, on the basis of the 1900 census, would also reflect the native tongue-related relationships of Hungary. What is more, this map would also answer the question of not only where but also the question of how many through the method of using pie charts.¹⁰ The Office of the Prime Minister recommended the map to all of the ministries, as: The proper national policy aiming at the national defense of Hungarian *language islands* and *diasporas* can hardly be directed without this map, for which reason the importance of these need not be specifically emphasized (highlighting mine – R. K.).¹¹

Thus, the guidelines set in St. Petersburg on how to take ethnic data were refined according to the state expectations in a way that the upcoming censuses inquired about the system of relationships concerning the language-nationality-religion triad in a more and more sophisticated fashion.¹² The statistical data showed and surveyed the ethnic make-up (“condition”) of the entire country in a detailed way broken down to individual settlements. The complex censuses provided a basis for the construction of (ethnic) maps demanded as connected to the survey and to the evolution of the relevant cartographical methods. In addition, the more accurate statistics were ranked among the historical sources, which made it possible (also) for the ethnic branch of the field of history to evolve in a more and more exact theoretical and methodological way, to have an expanded terminology, and to simply establish the relevant nomenclature.

¹⁰ The map came out under the name *A Magyar Állam közigazgatási térképe* [Public Administration Map of the Hungarian State]. *Az 1900. évi anyanyelvi adatokkal kiegészítve* [Supplemented with the Data on Mother Tongue in 1900] (1:360 000). Budapest: Magyar Királyi Központi Statisztikai Hivatal [Royal Hungarian Central Office of Statistics]

¹¹ For the source and the background, see Keményfi 2004: 119–131.

¹² For this process, see Klinger 1994: 22–41.

Trianon – 1920

The conditions included in the peace treaty signed at the negotiations following the end of WWI shocked each and every layer and area of society. This shock did not spare the “national sciences” either, which had to face the failure of their role played in the preparations made for the peace negotiations: the peace-system accepted at the end of WWI deprived the Hungarian decision makers from the false illusion of having the appropriate scholarly background. They also lost the hope that, in the adjustments of the state borders, any part may be played by the ethnic dividing lines that can be identified through processing the more or less reliable language and/or nationality related statistics, ethnographical data, and sources of local history. Although the ethnic maps constructed in a wide variety of ways had been available for the Hungarian delegation at the peace negotiations in 1919/20, these did not in any way influence the already arranged new state borders. At a decision of the magnitude that the Versailles Peace Treaty meant for the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, despite the system of argumentation backed by the most accurate scholarly-scientific reasons presented, the ethnic-based affiliation of the larger regions was not even considered as a potential aspect.

Moreover, the domestic scholarly-scientific community somehow had to deal with the economically, socially, and culturally catastrophic blow that was the result of the ripped state space. After all, the signing of the peace treaty at the end of WWI confined the Hungarians through an external force into the niche of “culture-nations.” *The ethnic ties and bonds of Hungarians in minority situations became more important than any other social stratification whatsoever.* The representatives of local political thought decided to forget about former ideas of connecting the various nationalities located in Hungary as legally and culturally equal in the framework of a state nation. They had to consider the communities of nationalities not only as apparent but real groups and, as a consequence of the changes in the state borders, even groups endangered about their self-identity. And through this, they urged the consideration of the rights not of the individuals but of the collective minorities based upon ancestry, culture, and language: „... az emberek nemcsak állampolgárok, voltak, hanem ezt megelőzőleg vallási, kulturális, faji és nemzeti közösségek részesei is... Az elszakított magyarság százazrei valamennyien hordozói egy sajátságos, népivé lett kultúrának...” [“... the people were not only citizens but, previously, members of religious, cultural, racial, and national communities... The hundreds of

thousands of Hungarians torn away from Hungary are all bearers of a particular culture that has become a popular culture..."]¹³ There was a range of works published in the fields of history, geography, and ethnology/ethnography that, retrospectively, in a perspective of several hundred or even thousand years, aspired to present the ethnic (primarily, Hungarian) relations of individual areas within the Carpathian Basin, reaching back sometimes as far as the time of the Hungarian conquest of the region.¹⁴

In the time period before the Treaty of Trianon, the later "required" ethnic content did not connote consistently with the word *szórvány*. The lexicons and other major works of synthesis that make up the canon of national and universal culture at this time offered definitions for the terms *szórvány/diaszpóra* primarily with a religious denominational content (See *Pallas Nagy Lexikona* [1893] and *Révai Nagy Lexikona* [1912]) or used it accordingly (as in, for example, the county monographs edited by *Samu Borovszky* [1896–1914] or the book series called *Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia Írásban és Képekben* [1898–1901]¹⁵). Nevertheless, the rare occurrence of the form *szórvány* in these monographs and encyclopedias of the first half of the past century did lay the foundation for the later (inappropriate) practice of separating the basically synonymous words *diaszpóralzórvány*. The meaning of the Greek-origin *diaszpóra* stayed within the denominational circle. *Szórvány*, however, besides its content denoting religious communities, also gradually acquired a sense related to ethnicity.¹⁶ This type of usage found its consummation in the scholarly-scientific works published between the two world wars.

It was the time period between the two world wars that witnessed a definite expansion in the meaning of the term. In the discipline of history, the course called *népiségtörténeti program* [verbatim: population historical program], hallmarked by the name of *Elemér Mályusz* (1898–1989), in geography, the so-called human geography direction and, in ethnography, the research projects based on the work of *István Györffy* (1884–1939) with a preference for "national commitment" and a focus on historical ethnic processes, all endeavored to offer interpretations of the historical, geographical, and ethnographical

¹³ Mályusz 1932: 238–239.

¹⁴ Kniezsa 1938, 1941.

¹⁵ In the *Borovszky* monographs, the term *szórvány* occurs only once as a reference to national minorities (used by Zsigmond Móricz for presenting *Szatmár* County). There are a number of occurrences of it, however, in its denominational sense.

¹⁶ See for example in the *Borovszky* monographs on the counties.

relations of the nationalities in the Carpathian Basin with the help of a more and more refined theoretical and methodological set of approaches. *It was indeed in these fields of studies, i.e. within the terminological system of nationality research, that the originally religious/denominational notion of szórvány acquired its final ethnic connotation.*¹⁷ (Since this study uses the Biblical roots for a point of departure, it might be added parenthetically that, “in principle,” the origin of the words *szórvány/diaszpóra* does provide a chance for an ethnically related usage possibility, too. The Jews [even if they live in diaspora] are *a people*, “with whom God has a covenant” [in Hebrew: “am”]. Beside emphases on the spiritual community, the expression also contains several components of the current concept-varieties of nation, including the common ancestry, shared blood, and even the importance of the connecting force of the common language.)

Although the ethnic interpretation of *szórvány* is “nation-indifferent” and can refer to any national minority living in sporadic (confined) circumstances on the basis of the statistical data and the geographical situation, this term in Hungary between the two world wars was primarily understood as a reference to the *spatial, social, and cultural situation of the Hungarian minorities* that had gotten under the authority of other states due to the changes in the size of the territory of Hungary.¹⁸

There can be two chief kinds of emphasis discerned in the publications on national minorities in the decades following WWI: sensitizing about the endangered position of Hungarians and advertising their cultural unity and their closed/confined quality. Both readings have their own collocating terms: as a result of the first kind of emphasis, we have a reading of the term even today that connotes some sort of *loss*. It may be traced back to this “loss content” that the term lost its primary meaning which was specifically connected to migration: “As a matter of course, the question may be asked if it is possible to use the terms diaspora or *szórvány* at all if the diaspora is formed when the members of the community get into a *szórvány* not as a consequence of dispersion.”¹⁹ This same question may also be asked from a perspective of looking back upon several decades. As I have referred to this above, although the meaning of the word itself *would* necessarily presuppose some migration, the word *szórvány*

¹⁷ For a summary of several works on *népiségtörténet*, see Csíki 2003: 93–123; See also: Egyed 2000: 125–127; Orosz 2003. For the human geography and nationality research oriented works, see Keményfi 2002.

¹⁸ Egyed 2000: 125.

¹⁹ Tóth 2000: 257; Balogh–Ilyés (eds.) 2006.

was still not used exclusively for denoting allochthonous ethnic communities in the first decades of the 20th century. To quote the response of Pál Péter Tóth: "I believe that the answer is yes. ... The term diaszpórára/szórvány can also be used when the fate of the members (descendants) of a community is to become scattered or dispersed in spite of the fact, or as a consequence of the fact, that they stay at the same place (highlighting mine – R. K.)." In this approach, the emphasis moves from the issue of migration to the aspects of social position, relations, and the cultural system of the specific (*szórvány*) community.²⁰

Parallel with the use of *szórvány* as a concrete notion, it was during the two world wars again that the expression *nyelvsziget* was also introduced into the Hungarian scholarly diction as borrowed from the German vernacular of the end of the 19th century.²¹ Before WWI, the compound term *nyelvsziget* [verbatim: language island] – just like *szórvány* – was also "nation-indifferent."²² The emphasis was on the position of the given group, which was similar to that of an island. Although I feel today that the meanings of the two words (*szórvány* – *nyelvsziget*) are just a shade different, as described in the previous passages, in the first few decades of the past century the two notions were used interchangeably as synonyms. In addition, this "guarding-cherishing" attitude, which continued to promote the culture-retaining ability of Hungarians, combined the two word-forms into one expression: *szórvány, szórványsziget* [diaspora-island], *népi sziget* [populace island], *nyelvsziget* [language island].²³ This attitude was responsible for the one-sided usage of the term *nyelvsziget* in

²⁰ Tóth 2000: 257.

²¹ In *Pallas Lexikon*, the word *nyelvsziget* occurs, even if only once, for the identification of the Saxons wedged in between the larger pockets of Slavic population in the Tatra Mountains. (1897). The first documented (written) occurrence of the word *nyelvsziget* dates back to 1847 according to the companion volume listing the sources to "Deutsches Wörterbuch" (Leipzig, 1905) of the Brothers Grimm (Vol. 33: 840–841, 428) 1847. It appears in Karl Albin Schwegler's "Jahrbücher der Gegenwart" in the compound form "Sprachinsel um Königsberg" (87). It means: "a small (relict) area of a language in an environment of other languages." The expression *nyelvsziget* had become part of general usage in minority research of ethnographical and cultural geographical focus by the end of the 19th century in the volumes of the series *Archiv für Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* and *Forschungen zur deutschen Landes- und Volkskunde*, devoted to Germans residing outside the fatherland. – For the debate on the usability of the term *nyelvsziget*, see *Néprajzi Látóhatár* IX. 2000. Vol. 1–2. 1–81.

²² See, for example, Balogh 1902: 134–135.

²³ See Szabó 1937, 1941, (1939–1942.) IV. 109–136; Párdányi (1939–1942.) V. 129–162.

the same time period. Apart from the survival of the “nation-indifferent” occurrences (as in, for example, Vlach or Saxon language islands), there was also a tendency for the form – just like in the case of German researches – to evolve into a unit that was used to refer to our own (in this case, Hungarian) “islands” that were in a minority situation.²⁴ This evolution resulted in a stage when the word form, with its “reading that incorporated a status of being endangered,” implied that the so-called *szigetmagyarok* [Hungarians across our borders, surrounded by other nationalities] were in fact *etnikai védőbástyák* [ethnic protecting barriers], *etnikai frontharcosok* [ethnic frontline warriors], and even in an *etnikai túszeblyzet* [ethnic hostage situation]. It advocated the cultural intactness, “purity” (and even immaculateness) of Hungarians. If the term was used to refer to other national minorities, it curiously expressed the same kind of system of relationships and it carried the same content of “being endangered” but slightly differently: it denoted *different (i.e., upsurging) pockets of populace wedged in between Hungarian branches*.

The above definition varieties of the term *szórvány* would not primarily focus on the relative situation (minority status) of individual national minorities or their social structure (even if they tend to move gradually in this direction in this time period) but, above all, they incorporate an important geographical, *space-structural* element for the nation states in Central and Eastern Europe. Due to their culture-national definitions, the size of the national or ethnic minority communities identified by the term *szórvány* is *measurable*, i.e., it can be *presented in space or on maps*. In the interwar period, there was a range of map-constructing methods appearing which endeavored to represent these (national minority) pockets of population as best as possible or to demonstrate the situation of their own (Hungarian) *szórványok* [diasporas] wedged in between other peoples as a manifestation of spatial order legitimized by historical continuity. Let us just think about the publications that concentrate on the rendering methods applied in the case of ethnically mixed areas in “sensitive” regions (which may not be unanimously considered to belong to either side), or the ones that apply strong criticism to the maps prepared by non-Hungarian researchers for a less than accurate depiction or presentation

²⁴ See, for example, the research of István Györffy conducted in the *Fekete-Körös* Valley. Györffy at this point uses *nyelvsziget* (and *szórvány*) only and definitely for the Hungarian communities: Györffy 1913: 47–48, 51.

of the “language islands” or *szórványok* that are in the process of subsidence.²⁵

The present

It seems that there has been a renaissance or a revival in the use of the technical term *szórvány* since the change of the political regime in Hungary, due mostly to the wide variety of colorful interpretation possibilities in the terminological system applied in minority research. Although this term does not incorporate any reference to the size or the territorial expansion of a group wedged into a foreign language territory or a different religious denomination environment, it might be exactly for this reason that this Hungarian equivalent of diaspora can actually function as a rather flexible notion. After all, it is up to *us alone* how we determine its features (spatial expansion, numeral proportion, demographical manifestation, or social position) according to the specific research objective. Because the word *szórvány* has this inherent dynamic quality to it, it has been revived following the interwar period, partly with the old, partly with a new, partially expanded, sense.²⁶ It is exactly for the above changeable features that, just like in the case of other similar, flexible terms, the meaning of *szórvány* is impossible to define in one single sentence. The reason for this is that it can (continue to) stand for a spatial order or for a social category, and even for a statistical index. Moreover, we may also attach a shade of meaning to this notion that refers to a subcategory of minority existence to which the elements that constitute the identity of a person within the specific circumstances of existence are related. In addition, *szórvány* is oftentimes used as a term in reference to *conflicts of values* within the social sphere.²⁷

However, the recurrent “simple” use of *szórvány/diaszpóra* in a territorial context is getting to be more and more *pushed into the background* by the approach that contends that there should not be only “hard statistical data” con-

²⁵ See Rum. Landkarten... 1942; Teleki–Rónai 1937.

²⁶ For the studies on the notion of diaspora used in the ethnic sense, see *Regio* 1999. 3–4, *Erdélyi Múzeum* 2000. 3–4, and in the works mentioned but not cited in this study. See also Dányi 1993. For a detailed “task-definition” concerning *szórvány* communities, see Benkő 2000; Keszeg 2002: 159; Fejős 1995: 467–472; Fejős 2004: 9–24.

²⁷ Ilyés 2000: 319–324.

sidered when identifying an area as *szórvány* but the *primary attention* should be paid rather to the *social processes* that form and shape these spatial structures. The result of this change of paradigm is that the applicability of the term *szórvány* has been expanded to cover communities that reside along the state borders and “in principle” appear to be parts of ethnic blocks. In this effort, the decisive roles seem to be played not by geographical but obviously by *mental* factors.²⁸ Moreover, the current scholarly discussions and debates about diaspora have definitely placed the emphasis on the interpretation of the ethnic/cultural (diasporization) processes of minority communities from the mere demonstration of diaspora statuses identifiable on the basis of “simple” (national minority) statistical data.²⁹

Another characteristic feature of the usage of the term at the turn of the century is that the application of *szórvány/diaszpóra* with a double meaning has become more complex. On the one hand, the (hitherto incorrect) dual usage of *diaszpóra* (only in a denominational sense) and *szórvány* (both denominational and ethnic senses) has merged into one.³⁰ In the composite ethnic and denominational system of Central Europe, *religious diasporas are often-times also ethnic szórvány-s*.

Apart from the similarity and overlapping between ethnic and religious identities, we should not forget about the essential differences between these social dimensions either. One example for that would be how religion also has a role in conserving the differences coming from national identities.³¹ Concerning the relationship between ethnicity and religion, this function could be refined by considering how religion, especially in the case of ethnic minorities, *can slow down* the dynamics of ethnicity. Although we should see not only the ethnic identity but also the religion of individuals and communities today as changing and dynamic entities, the transformation of religious

²⁸ See Puskás 2003: 114–115. – The transformation of the content of the notion of *szórvány* can be paralleled with the issue of *régió* [region], which also appeared strictly as a geographical spatial element. By now, *régió* has almost lost its territorial sense, and it carries the connotation of a certain kind of action plan, process and the loose consciousness or experience of belonging together. On this, see also the studies on pages 55–133 in *Néprajzi Látóhatár* 2002. XI. vol. 1–4.

²⁹ See, for example, the papers prepared for a consultation on *szórvány* held in January 2001 published in *Magyar Kisebbség* 2000. 2 and 3 at www.hhrf.org/magyarkisebbség

³⁰ Moosmüller 2002. For this sense of historical ethnic diasporas, see, for example, Petri 1996: 69–104.

³¹ For details, see Bartha 1984: 100, 1987a, 1987b.

identity is still a longer process. Switching from one country or language to another is rarely followed by a shift from the original religious denomination. This phenomenon is usually understood to be a basis for measurement, through which we can determine the earlier proportions between the national or ethnic minorities of a given country. In mixed marriages, for example, the denominational statistics rule over the ethnic considerations. Religion in *szórvány* communities (in Transylvania) is the number one basis for national identity.³² For an example of a typical transition (ethnicity → religion) area of this region, we could also cite Moldova. The assimilation of Hungarians living there has demanded a more and more refined interpretation grid. So much so that by today the ethnic lines of demarcation are manifested primarily through religious identity (Roman Catholic/Orthodox) for the possibility of setting apart “Hungarian” and Romanian nationals and for a meaningful discussion concerning “Hungarian” *ethnic/religious diasporas*. In other words, the function of religion to conserve ethnic identity in fact provides a basis for the use of the (originally incorrectly separated) word forms (*diaszpóra/szórvány*) in a common sense.

On the other hand, however, there has also emerged yet another geographical color, which continues to divide the sphere of usage of these two synonyms not according to denominations and nationalities but according to migration versus staying put: as it has been referred to above, the etymological root of the term *szórvány* denotes dispersion and (voluntary or forced) migration. Thus, an essential precondition for the proper use of *szórvány* would be the presence of migration, in spite of which the term has retained its autochthonous nature acquired during the interwar period to the present time. The so-called “shared fate” readings use the notion to denote religious and/or ethnic communities that have either become minorities as a block and without migration or have experienced assimilation to some extent to make them lose their block-like quality (and become “fragmented” or “dissolving” communities).³³ This second sense has been combined in the practice of individual researchers involved in area-related ethnic investigations in a way that they have attached different meanings to the two synonymous expressions (*szórvány, diaszpóra*). In the discipline of geography the term *szórvány* is primarily applied to indicate communities that have become eroding pockets of minority without any migration

³² Tóth 1999.

³³ Tóth 1999: 29; Tóth 2000: 256–257; Mirnics 2004: 25.

chiefly due to the border changes, while *diaszpóra* is used for minority groups that have undertaken to *migrate* to a foreign country.³⁴ Although “for the first sight” the distinction between autochthonous (*szórvány*) and allochthonous (*diaszpóra*) might look sufficient to go by, there are still a number of cases when the rationale for this principle of division can at least be questioned. Let us just consider how different the *szórvány* status for a Hungarian (Reformed) Protestant community in the *Mezőség* region can be from the same for a Catholic Hungarian community that had moved there way back in the 19th century. For the same token, we could also cite the example of the current migration of Hungarians from the neighboring countries, irrespective of whether that spatial movement has a destination in the mother country or somewhere else in Europe.

Whilst on the subject of the current usage of *szórvány/diaszpóra*, mention should also be made of the historical aspect of the scholarly/scientific roots of the terms. Following WWII, especially in the wake of strong criticism from Weber-Kellermann, German ethnography / European ethnology promoted the more “dynamic” term *szórvány*, which also incorporates references to *social processes*, instead of using the *static* term *sziget* [island] for the identification of the spatial projection of ethnic (minority) issues. This religious–(geographical) expression, when applied to linguistic or ethnic minorities today, means (and conveys a sense of), or, to be more precise, *should mean* (!), that, despite the fact that the members of the given community live *scattered* among other peoples, they are still not isolated but *maintain cultural and social contacts with their environment in a reciprocal fashion*.³⁵

The notion also means that the scholarly fields which focus on the issue of ethnicity, while taking critical account of the terminological system of the past, should simultaneously make an attempt not to focus on the cultural inertia (immovability) and insularity of diaspora minorities or even condemn the process of *szórványosodás* (*diasporization*) at every forum with all their available means, but they should rather make an effort to explore the relationship of the minority groups to the surrounding majority culture and analyze the interference of the two (or more) cultures along several channels in a sufficiently elaborate fashion.

³⁴ With references to the relevant literature, see Sebők 2002: 242–244.

³⁵ See Puskás 2003: 104–124.

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About a Few Perspectives of Contemporary Assimilation Research in Central Europe

In this paper I would like to interpret a few significant aspects of anthropological research in the field of assimilation. The topic of assimilation-research seems to be a crucial issue in our dynamically changing East-European societies. As it is well known from the media as well as from our everyday experiences, the phenomenon of assimilation can be observed on the most diverse levels of social life. However, it is remarkable regarding the representations of assimilation that they appear mostly as conflict or antagonism. Diversity of language usage, ethnic or religious otherness, different ways of life and culture are frequently quoted factors of assimilation, yet almost everybody is aware of a number of further aspects of this very complex socio-cultural process. If I wanted to emphasize the very formal aspect of assimilation-discourse, I should consider it, first of all, as an unavoidable theme of trans-national as well as of intra-national political debates. Meanwhile, a very informal aspect of assimilation can be grasped in its existential meaning, i.e., in individuality, which might be identified as a subject of assimilation. Nevertheless, all formal and informal aspects of the assimilation-discourse contain a common element: they all focus on deprivation, declension, and irreparable loss. Thus, absolute loss on one side will be regarded as net profit on the other side. In our nation-states, according to the original assumption dating back to the mid-19th century, ideal society is basically monolithic. The application of this constitutive conception of solid social structure was one of the most desired aims of our elites throughout the centuries. Their motto has been: "assimilate, but not to be assimilated". In the past 150 years the pursuit of this goal has created a number of conflicts all over the world, including our East-European societies. If we examine the historical background of the notion of assimilation and interpret the theoretical background of assimilation research on the basis of the theory of strangeness, it becomes clear that, according to its original meaning, assimilation was not always a negative phenomenon. Just the contrary: it was an unforced element of social life or, in other words, a spontaneous and self-evident process of everyday existence.

From the foregoing it should be clear that the notion of assimilation is a helpful illustration of the social and cultural changes of contemporary East-European societies. First of all, we have to discard negative preconceptions that have been associated with the question of assimilation in the past. In order to reach our goal, two interdependent tasks appear: first, rehabilitation of the content of the term assimilation and, second, its methodological legitimization. I regard these two as essential preconditions of anthropological assimilation research.

It is a well established fact that assimilation, as a type of social interaction theory, is enlisted in the social sciences to predict the nature of change between groups. The expectation is simply that smaller groups of subordinate status will experience the greatest change and, in the process, can expect to become more like a culturally dominant group over successive generations. Social interaction theory also reminds us that assimilation is a two-way street in which a dominant group will in turn be affected by its minority groups, but not with the same force. This ambivalent interferential influence of assimilative processes can already be analyzed on the level of etymology.

According to its etymology, assimilation refers to a process of becoming similar to – that is, taking the shape of – something or somebody. Its opposite is dissimilation, which refers to an act when somebody assumes a different shape, and he or she conceals his or her own character in this way. Consequently – according to its original sense – assimilation is a method of becoming similar, in which an assimilating person is not simply the subject of an assimilative process but, through his/her activity, also the generator of it.

This approach makes structural duality of the assimilative process fairly clear. On the one hand, an assimilating person is a “real subject” of the process. This means that primary experience of the process of transformation by which this person becomes somebody else culturally and in his/her identity is a source of the assimilating person’s physical and psychological alienation from oneself. Nevertheless, the original sense of assimilation implies the assimilating person’s active will as a device in finding possibilities of assimilation. Becoming somebody or something else can mean not only deprivation but, just on the contrary, also a form of wisdom that might be a source of different kinds of advantages. According to its original sense, the assimilative attitude is not affliction or eschatology but a special mixture of personality that tries to be successful and avoid failure in his or her personal life.

There is an obvious tension between the meaning that is based on the etymological approach and the meaning that is accepted by the general public and applied commonly in the social sciences in Eastern Europe. The tension comes from the different interpretations of the notion of assimilation.

In East-European societies the problem of assimilation had a close relation to the political and historical events of 19th century Europe. The meaning of assimilation was strictly connected to the notion of ethnicity that, in turn, had a crucial role in the development of the nation-state. This was, of course an ambiguous process in our East-European societies.

First of all, nation-state in these societies promised an opportunity of modernization. Local communities had no other chance but to adopt gradually infiltrating modernization from the western innovation centers. Gradual industrialization and urbanization, however, altered the volume and kind of migration. These societies – being isolated and less integrated – relied more on a native or, in other words, traditional, economy and were suddenly exposed to the needs of modernity and had to reconstruct themselves. A nation-state is a higher social complex. Consequently, ethnic groups that had had different religious and cultural traditions were suddenly forced to be in more tight contact with each other than ever before. On the one hand, this experience helped to clarify the sense of the term *xenos* (stranger). A stranger is somebody who has arrived from somewhere and stays among us for a short time. However, s/he can leave us whenever s/he wishes. On the other hand, this cultural interference helped the simultaneous evolution of segregation and integration strategies.

Secondly, the basic experience of ethnic and cultural otherness as a consciously reflected fact became an important argument in the discourse that was itself a concomitant symptom of social modernization. The practical consequence of this process was the identification of nation with ethnicity – a significant intellectual step towards the idea of an ethnic-nation-state. Nowadays we tend to forget about an important aspect of the genealogy of national states; in particular, that the idea of nation is a natural and straight consequence of eighteenth and nineteenth-century social and economical changes. It is also a device to counterbalance a general deficit of the above transformation. Eventually, the idea of nation appears to be an opportunity to reduce despair that followed a collapse of intimacy and familiarity of rural societies. It is not by accident that the nation-states combined influences of the Enlightenment and Romanticism: a mystification of rational mind and an emotional idealization of

complex community. Two social groups, emerging as winners in the process of modernization, the intellectuals and the bourgeoisie, tried to balance the concept of national identity between a universal character of social and cultural transformation and a subjective memory of intimacy of pre-modern local community-life.

It is not possible to follow all the details of that process here. As a summary, it could be said that this structural ambiguity of national identity is the cause of a standard misapprehension of assimilation as depravation.

According to this interpretation, the model of depravation means a general loss of values, where a minority that becomes assimilated to an ethnic majority loses the attributes of its own ethnic, cultural and linguistic identity. The culmination of this process is a total change of identity.¹ In Europe social identity in the nation-states is determined first of all by ethnic consciousness. Consequently, individual identity represented, first of all, a necessary expectation of ethnic identity in a community.

The birth of the idea of nation and its legitimacy was the subject of an extensive and complicated socio-cultural discourse. In this narrative sense, the birth of a nation was a result of a longer intellectual and administrative effort. We could say that it was a dialogue with ourselves, with all of those who constitute "us". But there were no questions about the "other." According to the basic message of an ethnic-nation, the "other" – the stranger – always means some omnipresent threat. This approach to the process of assimilation, i.e., becoming the "other" is a repressing course, since it means a diminishing of nation in its direct and also in its metaphoric sense. Assimilation, from this aspect, is a direct attack against all the members of a community: it is an undeclared war, where the frontlines are completely blurred. The single remedy

¹ The structural phases of assimilation were outlined in their most detailed form by American social theory. During the early 1930s Robert E. Park, founder of the Chicago school, analyzed precisely the process of assimilation among immigrant labourers in great industrial companies. In the 1960s Milton Gordon conceptualized the assimilation process as a gradually intensifying complex socio-cultural transformation. The change of identity in the assimilative process can be analyzed on the basis of stratified identity – as in Fredrik Barth conception – because the components of identity – language, religiosity and mentality – change with different intensity. Milton Yinger's model was conceived in the 1980-ies. According to his theory, the phases of an assimilative process do not create a successive chain, because they are commutable. Contemporary American assimilation theory is mostly influenced by cultural pluralism, whose outstanding theoretician is Peter Sahlins.

against this threat is a compulsory assimilation of the minority in all senses of the term. The protection against assimilation is assimilation itself, which can be characterized by a wish to outline a homogenous society.

The historical roots of the assimilative process as a universal repression should be analyzed in parallel with the genealogy of the nation-states. Yet, according to the most recent anthropological approaches, it becomes more and more obvious that assimilation originally was a natural process of social life. It was an affirmative strategy that permeated the individual as well as the public spheres of everyday existence. The contrast between the political-historical and anthropological meaning of assimilation might become clearer if I focus on the latest results of history-anthropological researches considering pre-nation-state European societies and if I analyze those multiethnic – primarily rural – communities where the nationalistic argumentation of compulsory assimilation much less disturbed the age-long coexistence of ethnic groups.² From an anthropological perspective, assimilation is a summary of an intercourse between social groups and individuals in everyday “life-practice”: it is a principal condition for social and cultural life, a required ability to take over and to integrate all the values that can be useful in everyday life.

In the course of this paper, I cannot analyze all the aspects of the anthropological sense of assimilation, since we deal only with a few aspects of assimilation in contemporary societies. From this viewpoint, there arises an important perspective, namely, the normative sense of the notion of assimilation. Due to two original attributes of assimilation, it could become a prominent trend of social scientific research activity in East-European societies.

First of all, the interpretation of assimilation means the analyses of the so-called “assimilative life-strategy”, which is invariably understood as an answer to “assimilative challenges”. Since the individual figures of social and cultural life respond in various ways to the “assimilative challenge”, I can assert that the notion of assimilation is a summary of astonishingly diverse actions. Simultaneously, we will see that, despite the difference among the “assimilative life-strategies”, they are consequences of an individual and/or collective existential choice. This means that, while “assimilative challenge” induces

² From this viewpoint, the latest census in Rumania in 2002 can be an excellent example. We can see, for instance, in the county of Szilágy (Silaj) that, in those villages that are located far enough from the main country roads and that did not suffer from forced settling, the original ethnic proportions stabilized in the past 150 years.

various answers, it also exercises its own influence on the individual because of its imperative meaning. Assimilation is an individual and universal phenomenon at the same time: it integrates the participant – the individuals who are strangers for each other – of the assimilative process.

In this way, assimilation seems to be a suitable phenomenon to illustrate the idea of syncretism of the social sciences because it is able to expose the different levels of structural complexity of recent socio-cultural life in our societies.³ In this sense, assimilation condenses into a single impression such divergent motives of socio-cultural changes as the change of identity, mentality, language and religion.

Second, the anthropological usage of the notion of assimilation makes possible to interpret the practical significance of its integrative meaning. Since I intend to separate two aspects of assimilation, namely its existential sense and historical–political sense, the significance of my conclusions is not only theoretical but also very practical. The experiences and the results of an internationally conceptualized research project could help to elaborate relevant strategies for avoiding the most various social – ethnic and cultural – tensions and could also facilitate playing down the ever increasing xenophobia in our region.

The question is from where this practical value of the notion of assimilation can be derived. A short examination of a few aspects of the theory of xenos (stranger) might help to formulate the advantages of analytic and synthetic values of the notion of assimilation.

The concept of the stranger is not only one of the most archaic elements of European tradition, but it is also one of the least analyzed complex metaphors of history of culture. The concept itself consists of different coexistent meanings which could easily be separated.

It seems to be obvious, that the basic anthropological character as well as its inter-subjective aspect of the notion of assimilation is self-evident. People gain by their birth a determined, but not chosen place in the world. This situation becomes gradually interpretable for them as the opposition of “I” and the “Other”. The birth of a child is a dramatic event not only for the newborn, but also for his parents. They are strangers for each other. Socialization means the

³ The idea of syncretism was a precondition of human sciences in Dilthey's epistemology.

process of learning the information that makes it possible to abide the tension of the basic existential experience of strangeness.

The opposition of "I" and the "Other" is a relevant experience not only in an existential but also in an intercultural sense. The question of strangeness emerged as a socio-scientific problem firstly when the researchers were pressed to interpret the tragic confrontation between the so-termed primitive cultures and considering its roots a fundamentally Greco-Christian civilization of Europe. The "Other" who is not "we" was created, deliberately, from the primitive savage to a representative of an equivalent and autonomous culture.

For the modern social scientific interest, the group-stranger is a category where the stranger could be defined as the representation of a way of life that is totally different from ours. In its intercultural sense, genealogy of the stranger is interwoven with the globalization of European modernity. The noun stranger, as a status, is a differential mark. Nevertheless, in its anthropological sense, it carries the chance of becoming stranger and acquaintance at the same time. To be more precise the "I" strives not only for the creation of some sort of homeliness, but it also hopes to reserve it. If this ambition is unsuccessful, then the process gets a negative purpose and it is possible to observe alienation as a characteristic social phenomenon of modernity.

In its modern sense, assimilation can be deduced from the problem of the "stranger" as a fundamental social-philosophical question.

According to this interpretation, assimilation is a transformation that passes off always between the "I" (or "we") and the "stranger" (or the "other"). Nevertheless, the lessening of the tension between the "I" and the "stranger" can be called assimilation, if it involves, at the same time, the end of cultural distance.⁴ Successful assimilation means the acceptance of the recipient culture and also the obtaining of a new social status, namely, to be accepted by the recipient culture. Assimilation is not only adjustment to the other culture and it is not only the acknowledgement of the relevancy of the recipient culture, but it is always the suspension of relevancy of the private world. Adaptation and self-destruction are inseparable in the process of assimilation. Accompanying the acceptance of general expectations of the recipient culture, there can be observed in all individual cases symptoms of the inner psychical and intellectual pressure to give up the original life-world. There are as many kinds of

⁴ From the viewpoint of "I" the strife for ceasing the alienation cannot be called assimilation, because it is, first of all, a psychological question.

assimilation as there are lives Basically, assimilation is an individual existential choice: it is a turn of consciousness that involves the very essence of personality. This process has a lot of consequences. In an assimilative turn, the individual person becomes a stranger for his own world. In this context, the notion of the stranger can be a central category in the anthropological interpretation of assimilation.

In contemporary Eastern Europe, the assimilation of minority groups is a crucial socio-cultural and political question. During the 90s, the general political changes altered the conditions of minority discourse quite thoroughly.

In my opinion, the examples below represent the versatility of assimilation research excellently. Both settlements examined and analyzed here are located in Transylvania (Romania).

The first case study is about *Teke* (Teckendorf, Teaca), presumably, a multi-ethnic settlement as early as in the 12th century.⁵ Originally, it was settled by Saxons yet it belonged to the Hungarian nobility. The location was optimal for the dynamic development of the village that became a market-town in Middle Ages. It evolved into a famous regional wine-growing center in Transylvania, due to the excellent soil and the microclimate for growing grapes. The wine production and trade was controlled by the Saxons, who became rich in this way.

The native Hungarian minority originally made a living as agricultural laborers. They were isolated in the eastern part of the settlement, where they had their own street filled exclusively with Hungarians. It is still called Hungarian Street. While the Saxons were Lutherans (their Gothic church building was completed in the 14th century), most of the Hungarians were Calvinists (the Calvinist Church was founded and organized in the 18th century), but there have existed a Hungarian Catholic minority also since 1771. The Romanians began to infiltrate into *Teke* only around 1850 but they were Greek Catholics. The Orthodox Church was organized in *Teke* with a few clerks in 1920 but, because of the increasing Romanian population, they started renting a room for the service as of 1932. The Romanian population came from the mountains, where they practiced transhumance. Beside these ethnic groups, there was also a Jewish contingent, who appeared in *Teke* parallel with the Romanians, but all of the community was deported in 1944. The presence of Gypsies in *Teke* is a very interesting phenomenon. Originally, they used the

⁵ The latest population figure in *Teke* was approximately 4000 inhabitants.

Hungarian language but they have totally assimilated to the Romanians during the past half century.

Teke is an important micro-regional centre. It has a hospital, a weekly market, a bookshop, five church buildings, a regional fire-service, a nursery school and a club.

If we wish to understand the process of assimilation of the Hungarian minority, we need to analyze briefly the tendencies of the changes of ethnic proportions in the past one and half centuries.

Table 1
The changing of ethnic proportions in *Teke*

| Year | Total number of population | Saxon | Romanian | Hungarian | Gypsy | Jewish |
|------|----------------------------|-------|----------|-----------|-------|--------|
| 1857 | 1462 | 1119 | 17 | 307 | | |
| 1880 | 2032 | 1081 | 355 | 441 | 127 | |
| 1895 | 2305 | 1268 | 488 | 364 | 125 | 60 |
| 1901 | 2549 | 1192 | 586 | 461 | 193 | 117 |
| 1910 | 2604 | 1067 | 672 | 641 | – | – |
| 1930 | 2608 | 830 | 887 | 573 | 200 | 114 |
| 1941 | 2935 | 733 | 946 | 1062 | 183 | 10 |
| 1992 | 4315 | 18 | 2853 | 1018 | 423 | – |

The general tendency of assimilation is quite unambiguous. The increase of the number of the Romanian population seems rather rapid. Because *Teke* was a historical micro-regional center, the socialist state settled people here from Moldavia and Oltenia in the sixties and seventies. Most of the Saxons escaped with the retreating German troops in 1944. At present, there are less than twenty Saxons living in *Teke*. According to the official national census, the numerical decrease of Hungarians does not appear critical. Between 1930 and 1941, the radical increase can be explained by the movement of Hungarians from the counties in North Transylvania, because the change of ethnic proportion was more dramatic there than in *Teke*. However, the statistical figures do not fully reveal the essence of those cultural and social changes that follow them.

Firstly, I will discuss the general and the specific elements of Hungarian identity in *Teke*.⁶ The ethnic identity of Hungarians in *Teke* is quite schematic: it contains specific stereotypes. For example; "I am Hungarian because I speak Hungarian. A Hungarian person is one who celebrates the national holidays, etc." Nevertheless, there are great differences between the individual generations concerning how they evaluate and determine their own ethnic identity. Furthermore, it all depends on whether the family is of a mixed marriage or not.

The grandparents' generation intensively insists on the Hungarian language and culture. Most of them went to Hungarian school, and there are some women among them who can not speak Romanian at all. In their mentality, they preserve memories of a lost world. It is surprisingly quite bourgeois and they have an aristocratic scale of values. Its characteristic features are clarity, accuracy and profound religiousness. The Church and work are the main sources of values. These people are fully aware of their moral superiority. In the mixed families, the behavior of the grandparents' generation is quite ambiguous. Mixed marriages are more and more frequent, particularly between Hungarians and Romanians. In these families, the behavior of the elders is totally contingent. Sometimes they make an effort to assimilate to the Romanian side, yet there are families where mixed marriage is the cause of the family's collapse.

The middle generation's attitude to the question of identity is basically different. On the one hand, they try to preserve their native language but, because of mainly Romanian surroundings in their workplace, they have hardly any opportunity to practice it. Since their connection to the Church is occasional, and it is restricted to Christmas and Easter, the loosening insistence upon the community can not be strengthened. In this group, there are great differences among men and women. Men usually work in an agricultural enterprise, but those women who work in the household speak the vernacular more accurately and clearly than the women who have a job. However, it is important to note that the middle generation's emotional adherence to the Hungarian identity is generally strong. The size of the gap among the members of this generation group depends on social status, jobs, and/or relation-

⁶ Because in *Teke* the three generation families are quite widespread, it seemed a good idea to research the assimilative process on the basis of them.

ship to the Church. This means that this generation is less homogenous than that of the elders.

The younger generations' relationship to ethnic identity is more flexible. Because of the modernized life strategies and scale of values of foreign patterns, the importance of ethnic identity is steadily becoming negligible. For example, when communicating with their parents, these youngsters use Hungarian, while among themselves, a brother and sister would use Romanian with more pleasure. We have measured their language ability and the size of their vocabulary. According to the research findings, their knowledge is far less active than their parents' language skills. Exceptions can be observed in cases when the youngsters go to a Hungarian secondary school in *Marosvásárhely* (Tîrgu Mures) or in *Kolozsvár* (Cluj Napoca).

The second settlement researched is called *Domokos* (Dămăcusen), an isolated agricultural village in the Northern part of Transylvania, in the basin of the River *Lápos* (Lapus). It is located only two kilometers from the regional centre, *Magyarlápos* (Tîrgu Lapuş). The geographical environment is really determinative because the basin is closed, and the climatic conditions are quite extreme (long and cold winter and short hot summer). *Domokos* was first mentioned in the charters in 1325. According to the available data, the population was recruited from the nearby castle *Kövár*. Nevertheless, this legend could adequately explain the heroism of soldiers from *Domokos* in the various wars and revolutions.

The traditional economic structure in *Domokos* has changed slowly in the past decades. The most important activity is farming but animal husbandry has been restricted since the Second World War, and it has retained some significance only in the self-supporting households. This is interesting, since the soil alongside the River *Lápos*, and generally in the basin, is rather poor. Nevertheless the humus washed down by the rain gets accumulated here, and the quality of the earth is relatively better here than in Romanian villages located in the mountain area. This relative advantage served as the source for the economic superiority of *Domokos* in the region. Consequently, it resulted in a division of labor among the villages. In this symbiotic order, *Domokos* produced ready-made goods of high quality, while the surrounding villages offered semi-finished products (timber, wool, milk). After the Second World War, this traditional economic structure broke down, which led to the diminishing of the local and relative importance of *Domokos*. The development of local industries in *Magyarlápos* (clothes factory, milk factory) and the continu-

ously improving infrastructure make the transportation of goods from a distance possible. The developing surplus of working capacity in traditional family households worked till 1990 in the local industries.

Domokos is the single settlement in the basin of the River *Lápos* where Hungarians constitute the majority of population. All the villages in the immediate surroundings are Romanian (*Rohi* – *Rohia*, *Rogoz*, *Láposdebrek* – *Dobricu Lapoşului*, *Alsószőcs* – *Suciu de Jos*). The only place in the vicinity with some Hungarian population is *Magyarlápos* but, even there, assimilation is strongly advanced. At present (according to the general census in 1992), approximately 13% of the population is Hungarian (which means 1838 people). Nevertheless, these figures are not too surprising, since the results of the first census are quite similar to the recent situation concerning the ethnic proportions in this region. Presumably, this mountain area was dominated by Romanian practitioners of transhumance, whose culture and lifestyle evolved in the higher altitude areas, which are hardly suitable for agriculture.

As regards the wider surroundings of *Domokos*, the tendency of change in ethnic proportions was the continuous and gradual assimilation during the past century. This phenomenon can also be observed in *Domokos* today. The process was reinforced by the repeated rearrangement of county borders, too. A clearer understanding of the assimilative processes in *Domokos* could be helped by the following table (Table 2).

Table 2
The changing of ethnic proportions in *Máramaros* County in the 20th century

| | Romanian | Hungarian | Ukrainian/ Ruthenian |
|------|----------|-----------|-------------------------|
| 1900 | 176004 | 51229 | 13228 |
| 1910 | 189886 | 62174 | 14820 |
| 1920 | 200021 | 31173 | – |
| 1930 | 220513 | 34814 | 17800 |
| 1941 | 224463 | 67357 | 19084 |
| 1956 | 284790 | 51300 | 24730 |
| 1966 | 339361 | 55609 | 28694 |
| 1977 | 394500 | 57897 | 32500 |
| 1992 | 436281 | 54788 | 36829 |

Here, a more and more intensive ethnic dominance of Romanian population can be observed. In 1900, only about 66% of the population was Romanian in the county while, in 1992, about 85%. On the other hand, the proportion of Hungarians dwindled from 19% to 10% between 1900 and 1992. It is interesting to observe two characteristic periods considering the changes in the proportion of Hungarians in *Máramaros* during the past century. Due of the emigration from the county dominated by Romanians after the First World War, the capitation of the Hungarians decreased by half. Then, during the short period of Hungarian rule in North Transylvania (1941–44), the capitation of Hungarians doubled, compared to the figures in the Romanian national census taken in 1930. Secondly, it is surprising that the emergence of Hungarian population was rather backward, compared not only to the Romanian but also to the Ukrainian population. In *Máramaros*, there lived almost exactly as many Hungarians in 1992 as at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

If one would wish to understand the causes that made it possible for *Domokos* to remain dominantly Hungarian up to the present time, it is necessary to take a look at the assimilation tendencies in a few of the other settlements where pockets of the Hungarian minority might be found in the *Lápos* Basin. In these cases, an analysis into the causes which accelerate the assimilation nowadays should not be amiss. The following table shows the four most important settlements where Hungarians live: *Magyarlápos* (Tîrgu Lapuş), *Erzsébetbánya* (Baiuţ), *Oláhlápos* (Lapuş), and *Domokos* (Damacuşen).

Table 3
The assimilation of Hungarians in the *Lápos* Basin

| | Erzsébetbánya | | Magyarlápos | | Oláhlápos | | Domokos | |
|------|---------------|-----|----------------|-----|-----------|------|---------|----|
| | H | R | H | R | H | R | H | R |
| 1850 | 435 | 529 | 1053 | 280 | 81 | 1692 | 604 | 8 |
| 1880 | 784 | 530 | 1086 | 398 | 400 | 2044 | 716 | 45 |
| 1890 | 710 | 476 | 1443 | 437 | 427 | 2256 | 760 | 54 |
| 1900 | 809 | 404 | 1493 | 542 | 249 | 2502 | 725 | 59 |
| 1910 | 1050 | 220 | 2120 | 403 | 236 | 2513 | 759 | 53 |
| 1930 | 674 | 371 | 866 577 (j) | 823 | 82 | 2839 | 729 | 42 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------|------|------|------|-------|-----|------|--------------|----|
| 1941 | 1251 | 108 | 1517 | 590 | 171 | 2879 | 777 105 j | 20 |
| 1956 * | 1271 | 1512 | 1960 | 9617 | 49 | 3271 | | |
| 1966* | 1364 | 2407 | 1878 | 10409 | 19 | 3469 | | |
| 1977* | 1355 | 1967 | 1904 | 11165 | 12 | 3907 | | |
| 1992* | 1202 | 1883 | 1838 | 12278 | 24 | 3851 | ab. 900 | 80 |

J = Jewish

An analysis of the above figures would reveal a quite unambiguous tendency. The only question is how *Domokos* has been able to preserve its status: namely, as a Hungarian Calvinist enclave. The census returns show that the capitation in the past one and half centuries did not change radically: in 1850, it was 612 persons; in 1900, 784 persons; while more recently, 950 persons. The changing of ethnic proportions is also minimal. In the course of the research, the recorded basic census returns hardly differ from the ethnic proportions in 1941, so, approximately 10% of the population consider themselves Roman Orthodox.

The situation seems quite stable, but signs of gradually accelerating assimilative tendencies can also be observed. The main objective of the research was to understand and to analyze this complex social, cultural and identity-based transformation in *Domokos*.

The first step was the definition and classification of the special identity factors. This characterization was carried out with the help of questionnaires and interviews recorded within the frame of the research. The analyses show that issue of identity in *Domokos* is fairly complex, perhaps even multiplex. It can be interpreted by using three parallel approaches: local identity, ethnic identity and language identity. The source material analyses have proved that the significance and the content of the above three levels of identity can be different according to sex and generation. In this report, it is possible to show a few important contexts.

Local identity: First of all, the content of local identity in *Domokos* can be described in relation to the land. According to the conservative tradition, there is a strict connection between the social status in the community and the amount of land possessed and/or cultivated. The quality of the landed property, its location, and the available working capacity are the main prestige fac-

tors which mark out the social status in the local hierarchy. The older people interviewed seemed to be spontaneous physiocrats, since they appreciated agriculture as the single source of any value whatsoever. This society was extremely stiff.

The younger generation's relationship to landed property was different because they have been affected by modernization. After collectivization, the disengaged working capacity was absorbed by the socialist state-founded local factories. For this population in the region (for lot of people from *Domokos* as well), animal husbandry was the only possible supplementary activity but, after the collapse of the socialist economic structure, lots of them were forced back to agriculture. The single alternative today is to become an employee in Hungary, but this possibility is preferred especially by the younger generations. The social norms and values adopted from the different sources have a single common attribution, namely, they divide the community. The older generation's relation to the land is unaltered: landed property represents a safe guarantee for existential security. For a farmer who is forced to work in agriculture because he has lost his job, this activity means a prestige loss in the local society. For them, landed property is a symbol of the unremunerative hard work. During the process of analyzing the interviews, it was interesting to observe that the tension between traditional and new mentality burst the formerly consistent local identity.

The situation worsens gradually. For example, the participant observation made possible to observe a transaction when an older Hungarian from *Domokos* sold his estate to a Romanian farmer from the neighboring Rogoz settlement in spite of the fact there was another potential Hungarian purchaser who would have paid more than the Romanian. An explanation for this irrational decision is that it could be a characteristic sign of the assimilative process. The common local identity and the preservation of all the land which belongs to *Domokos* (and even the money) seemed less important than the seller's main goal to prevent somebody getting rich in the village since this would mean some increase in the other family's social prestige.

Ethnic identity: Ethnic identity in *Domokos* is influenced by the fact that the Hungarians are mainly Calvinists. The slowly infiltrating orthodox Romanians are the single other religion, but the weakness of pastoral care made possible the spread of certain peoplish-religious phenomenon in the past five years. In *Domokos*, there have been three ministers serving since 1996. The

influence of the Church has diminished and a general laicization allows a new life-style which accepts living outside of the Church.

Older people in *Domokos* like to describe themselves as profoundly religious, Hungarian Calvinists. They are "expert" followers and mediators of national mythology. For the younger generations, these values are obsolete. They hope to live their own modern life and in the mainly Romanian surroundings. In order to reach this goal, it seems necessary for them to give up their ethnic identity.

Language identity: The deterioration of the quality of everyday language use is quite general. While the older generations, and mainly the women, speak hardly any Romanian, their grandchildren converse with each other quite frequently in Romanian. When the pupils' language ability at the local primary school was researched, the evaluation of the questionnaires justified the preliminary expectations. They have a mixed vocabulary, and they have not got any skills for conceptual abstraction. (It is important to note that parents send the brightest children to a Romanian school in *Magyarlápós*, because general opinion holds that it offers better career possibilities.)

It is my sincere hope that the above examples and brief analyses might prove helpful in establishing a more effective and acceptable approach to the word *assimilation* in its everyday as well as social-scientific sense. Assimilation is a category suitable to express the reciprocal effects at work among different ethnic groups, nations, and cultures. According to this interpretation, assimilation is a phenomenon that shows the essence of the distinctive thinking among people as a general source of conflicts in social life. In its abstract meaning, assimilation is a summary of the interferentiality enacted among social groups and individuals in everyday "life-practice": it is a principal condition for social and cultural life.

**Integration or Segregation?
(Gypsies in *Zabola, Háromszék*)**

Introduction

Gypsy, Romanian, and Hungarian ethnic communities are represented by roughly the same numbers in the village of *Zabola (Zăbola)* in the *Háromszék (Trei Scaune)* region. Despite this fact, Gypsy-Hungarian and Gypsy-Romanian relations are characteristically asymmetric. Both the Hungarians and Romanians consider themselves superior to the Gypsies. This stems from the economic context of the past decades, during which Gypsies worked for Romanian and Hungarian smallholders as farm-hands.

This paper intends to give an account of the Hungarian and Romanian populations' (uniformly called "peasants" by the Gypsies) views about the Gypsies as well as the cultural and behavioural attitudes to them.

In this essay I want to examine how the views about Gypsies develop and change within a local community of Romanians, Gypsies, and Hungarians.¹ I take these changes and development as part of the process of the production of ethnicity. Following the approach of Fredrik Barth,² when examining ethnicity regarded as social organisation of cultural differences, I focus my attention on cultural boundaries and not the cultural material within these boundaries. This approach lays emphasis on the activities of the groups by which they mark their limits, maintain, and constantly reproduce the boundaries.³

¹ It is only over the recent years that the cultural anthropological surveys about Gypsies have gained importance. Following Barth's approach to ethnicity, the Panel of Communication Anthropology of *Csikszereida (Miercurea Ciac)* has conducted research on attitudes towards Gypsies in local communities in Transylvania. Oláh 1993, 1996a, 1996b; Túrós 1996. László Fosztó's papers pursue a similar path. Fosztó 1997. See also: Szabó 1993; Pozsony 1997a, 1997b.

² Barth 1996.

³ As for constructing group identity, Fredrik Barth's approach focuses on distinctive features and their symbolic values. According to this, Barth regards ethnic identity as constant re-production and practice attributing meanings.

My primary objective is to examine how previous relations between *Zabola's* different ethnic groups and their views of one another have developed following the changes of 1989. The changes of Gypsy–non-Gypsy relations have taken various directions. On the one hand, the village's Roma population has been increasing significantly. On the other hand, their complete (spatial) segregation has started to vanish because they have begun to purchase houses in the centre of the village. The most important change, however, is that the financial status of one Gypsy group has improved considerably. There will be only one aspect of this highly complex set of questions examined here: the one concerning the significant change in the life-style of one part of the Gypsy population.

Gypsies in the Local Society

The census of 1850 registered 32 Gypsies in *Zabola*. That time the majority ethnic group (1,843 people) was that of the *Székelys*, while Romanians were represented by 127 residents.⁴ According to people's recollections, only a few Gypsy families lived in the village at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. The census of 1992 offers a picture of the present ethnic composition of *Zabola*. It shows that the Hungarians are still in majority: 1,653 "souls" (58%). There are 1,022 Romanians (38%) and 165 Gypsies (6%). However, this data is not at all relevant as far as ethnic composition is concerned. Most Hungarian-speaking Gypsies consider themselves ethnic Hungarians, which affects the results of the census. The number of those considering themselves to be Gypsies is close to 700.

The Gypsies lived in close co-operation with local Hungarians and Romanians in the early 20th century and in the period between the two World Wars. They primarily specialised in activities despised by the *Székelys*, quickly rising into the middle-class.⁵

Gypsies have always been Hungarian speakers within living memory. They most probably shifted to this language in the second half of the 19th century.⁶

⁴ National census in Transylvania in 1850. KSH (Central Bureau of Statistics). Budapest 1994.

⁵ Pozsony 1997b: 16.

⁶ Pozsony 1997b.

After the collectivization of agriculture, the Gypsies, who had earned their livelihood by broom-making, basket-weaving, and producing various wooden objects, became the major labour force of the co-operatives. Since the 1970s they had been the most important actors on the scene of the transportation business in the village. That was the time when they became involved in the barter between Moldova and Transylvania. They mainly sold potatoes and maize purchased in Transylvanian villages to buyers in the Moldova region.

Following the changes of 1989, the Gypsies lost their livelihood due to the fact that co-operatives had ceased to exist and lands had been re-allotted. For the basis of the latter process, the Romanian authorities took the situation in 1962, when Gypsy families did not possess plots. This effectively prevented the Roma from acquiring lands.⁷ Thus, the abrupt close-down of agricultural co-operatives resulted in *Zabola's* Roma families suddenly finding to have lost their livelihood. Making use of their high mobility, they reacted to this crisis by trying to find jobs in Hungary.

The Internal Structure of the Local Gypsy Community

The Gypsies of *Zabola* like to call themselves “domestic” Gypsies to indicate their separation from migrant groups. This term is used to emphasise their settled lifestyle. The Gypsies of *Zabola* consider themselves “*Magyar* (Hungarian) Gypsies” or “*Székely-Magyar* Gypsies”. They attribute an important symbolic meaning to their belonging to the Hungarians. One of the most typical examples of this is when, in conflict situations, the Gypsies choose to support the Hungarians’ cause. In the 1970s the local authority wanted to change the village’s name on superior order. The local Hungarians objected to this, therefore, the issue was put on vote. The poll was conducted in the following manner: those favouring the change were asked to leave the assembly using the right hand side door of the hall; those wishing to retain the name *Zabola* were to leave through the other door. Eventually, the name was kept thanks to the village’s Gypsy residents, who picked the same door that the Hungarians did.⁸

⁷ Pozsony 1997a: 3.

⁸ Amid the ethnic tensions between Hungarians and Romanians flaring up after the changes of 1989, *Zabola's* Gypsies expressed their belonging to Hungarians several

The local Gypsy community is hierarchical, with well-defined boundaries separating ranks and roles in the social field.⁹ The Gypsies of *Zabola* can be pigeon-holed into three distinct strata. The fundamental differences in life-style between these strata have resulted in a caste-like separation of the various Roma groups. Accessibility from one group to another is at least as problematic as that between the Hungarian and Romanian communities. Not only are "hill", "foot-of-the-hill", and "village" Gypsies spatially isolated, but their life-styles, scale of values, and behavioural patterns also reveal substantial differences.

The area called "hill" is on the edge of the village, separated from both the Hungarian and Romanian ethnic groups. The Gypsies populating this area live among the harshest circumstances. This mainly stems from the poor infrastructure. There is no proper street, public lighting, or running water here, while the boundaries between plots are not marked. The houses erected here are rather shabby. The only achievement of civilisation is electricity.

The Gypsies of the hill lead their lives as a clan. They do not regard it important to adapt to the norms of the village community. Their behaviour and thinking fit the scale of values of their own Gypsy society. The families' homes are not separated by fences and the children's upbringing is the task of the whole "clan". Their financial situation is quite dire. Some of them may have managed to find jobs in Hungary but this does not enable them to establish a steady life-style. Most of them live on scarce welfare payments. This group includes those people who undertake seasonal work for local Hungarian and Romanian smallholders.

It is important to note that, when seeking job opportunities in Hungary, they follow tactics different from those employed by their enriched peers living in the village. They do not deal in trade but contract to do seasonal agricultural work in Hungary. The little money earned by hard work, however, allows only a meagre livelihood for the families with many children. Youths living in this area rarely attend school. Education has been given somewhat higher priority only because the central government provides child benefit on condition that children regularly go to school. It still often happens though that, while

times. When the bells were set ringing in every Hungarian church of Transylvania as a protest against the abuses of power by *Kolozsvár's* ultranationalist mayor, those in *Zabola* were rung by a young Gypsy man who was subsequently beaten up by police. Pozsony 1997b: 18.

⁹ Oláh 1996: 183.

parents stay in Hungary, their boys and girls play truant for long weeks. All Gypsies living on the hill are illiterate. Their attitude to the Romanian language is quite peculiar. Given that the Romanian residents of the village speak Hungarian, there is no need for any knowledge of Romanian to communicate with them. Of the Gypsies of the hill, only those have a sufficient command of Romanian who have been involved in the country's domestic trade, that is the barter of agricultural produce between *Székely* land and Moldova.

"Foot-of-the-hill" Gypsies occupy an intermediate position within the hierarchy. They live in an area belonging to the village proper. This area covers the outskirts of the village. It was the Romanians that used to reside in this district but, starting in the 1970s, they have been selling off their homes to move to the upper end of the village inhabited by other Romanian families. The empty houses have been bought by those "hill" Gypsies who wanted to break with their previous life-style and could afford to do it. Today, this area is exclusively inhabited by Gypsies. The people living here are separated from those residing on the hill in terms of space as well as thinking. The difference can mainly be grasped by comparing the two life-styles. That of the "foot-of-the-hill" Gypsies always includes independent agricultural activities – even if only as subsistence farming. They also work for local smallholders as day-labourers. Quite a few of them try to support their families by taking jobs in Hungary. Besides seasonal agricultural work, several of them are engaged in trade in Hungary. The latter being a lot more lucrative, some of these Gypsies have been considering moving to the village itself. The strongest desire is to get closer to the village life-style, even for those living in much poorer circumstances. Buying a house in the village is a highly symbolic element of this process.

As for their children's upbringing and education, "foot-of-the-hill" Gypsies are of an opinion totally different from that of the "hill" ones. They believe that it is one of their fundamental moral duties to make sure their children regularly attend school. They regard themselves intellectually superior to the Gypsies living on the hill and reject any kind of contact with them. Indeed, they effectively forbid their children to make friends with their "hill" peers living near by. They try to develop good relations with their non-Gypsy neighbours. As one Gypsy woman aptly sums up their self-estimation, "...I'm already half Hungarian... Our neighbours tell us, 'You're no longer Gypsies, you belong to us, we eat and drink together and make friends.'..."

The narrowest social stratum of the Gypsies in *Zabola* is represented by the few families that, thanks to their financial status, could afford to buy houses in the village. Some of them had new houses built on the plots they had purchased. The main livelihood of this group also comes from working in Hungary but they specifically deal in the lucrative trade business, mainly selling pots and pens as well as clothing. They buy their merchandise in the Chinese market of Budapest and attempt to sell it off with a big profit in the country towns of Hungary. They, indeed, scoop quite hefty profits from this activity as proven by their huge houses and their furnishings. Over a few years, they have managed to accumulate financial resources that the locals have not had opportunities to gain.¹⁰

Although the village's Gypsy residents live by trade, they also do agricultural activities even if only household farming. They do not take jobs as day-labourers. Some of them try to buy a hayfield and plow-land but independent farming is not an essential factor in their strategy of subsistence. What is most significant for them is to be able to identify themselves with the life-style and scale of values of peasants. They are particularly careful to observe the norms of co-existence established in the village. As for behavioural patterns, these Gypsies struggle tenaciously to live up to the expectations of the local peasant society but the financial status providing the basis of their livelihood is considerably different. They regard farming activities too static, not allowing them to take advantage of their mobility. This is amply illustrated by the attitude of one village Gypsy who is well aware that the money he makes in Hungary can only temporarily provide his family's livelihood, yet he intends to find future sources of income in the trade or catering business. These people do not invest their income in lands: they primarily spend it on commodities needed to show off their cultural standing. Nevertheless, they take measures to gain agricultural skills and operate self-sufficient agro-businesses.

The members of this group are regular church-goers. It is not only on certain occasions that they take the services of the clergy. They consider them a

¹⁰ The village's public is suspicious and envious of the abrupt enrichment of these few Gypsy families. "Hungary has made millionaires of them," as people put it disapprovingly. Highly labour intensive as it may be, farming only provides a meagre livelihood for Hungarians and Romanians living in the village. They cannot accept very high incomes gained "without work" and put it in the category of foul play. It is important to note that they do not despise trade activities because they are associated with Gypsies but because their views do not allow it to belong to the category of honest work. Stewart 1993.

basic factor of their everyday life. Enriched Gypsies find it increasingly important to have their children educated. The most obvious proof of this is that they regularly attend school. However, proficiency in Romanian has also gained higher priority within this stratum.

Although a few decades ago these Gypsies also lived on the hill, today, they totally separate themselves from their counterparts there. Village Gypsies are ashamed of having their peers on the hill. They do not keep any contact whatsoever, because that would compromise the village ones' chances of integration. To members of the Gypsy elite, the only way of integration seems to be adaptation to the dominant pattern of life-style. Their true intents concerning this would become suspect if they revealed positive attitudes to their previous life-style. Families representing the lowest social stratum and struggling hard to make ends meet still constitute a strong majority within *Zabola's* Gypsy community. The élite makes use of highly symbolic methods of everyday life to draw the line between itself and this despised group. A fine example of this is given by the well-off one-time "hill" Gypsy not sharing tables in the local tavern with his present peers. He does buy drinks for his former comrades as an act of solidarity but they do not knock them back together. The rich Gypsy has the bartender serve his fellows. The latter, on the other hand, will not accept a second round because they are ashamed of not being able to return the invitation.

The life-style of those Gypsies unable to make their own living and not possessing family farms is radically different from that of the local Gypsy élite moved to the village. The most noticeable evidence of separation is the fact that members of the despised group are physically ostracised. "Hill" Gypsies are not allowed to enter the backyards or homes of village Gypsies. The situation is the same with those of local Hungarian or Romanian smallholders. Mixed marriages between village folk and "hill" Gypsies are out of the question.

Showing off their riches takes a crucial part in the life-style of village-dwelling Gypsies. This shows, first and foremost, in how they build and furnish their houses and what clothes they wear. The village's public has a low opinion of this phenomenon. One occasion has always been mentioned with particular contempt: A well-to-do Gypsy family threw a house-warming party. On his arrival, the clergyman invited to ask for God's blessing, found that his path had been covered with Persian rugs from house to gate.

“Hill” Gypsies, occupying the lowest ranks of the hierarchy, however, consider both “foot-of-the-hill” ones and village-dwellers as Gypsies, therefore believe that those folks are similar to themselves. They regard the differences as mere variations of financial status. As it has been mentioned, “foot-of-the-hill” Gypsies explicitly separate themselves from “hill” ones, while at the same time consider themselves of the same rank with village Gypsies. They also seem to recognise differences in their respective financial situations only. Village-dwelling Gypsies, though, attempt to draw lines between themselves and both “hill” and “foot-of-the-hill” Gypsies and this division manifests itself in the cultural dimension. It is quite clear that, having broken away from the financial pressure of an ethnic ghetto, the Gypsy élite reveal similar attitudes to the poorer Roma, despised and ashamed of, as local Hungarians and Romanians do.

The Role of Religion in Gypsies’ Integration

An important aspect of the relations between the village’s Gypsy and Hungarian communities is that all families in the former have their children attend the Hungarian school and they worship at the Protestant and Catholic congregations. The denominational assimilation of *Zabola’s* Gypsies means, by the same token, ethnic classification. This phenomenon gives further proof that religious affiliation has something to do with the issue of ethnicity.¹¹

A typical example of Gypsies’ religiousness is the fact that the church services they primarily take are those connected with christening and funerals. The new Gypsy élite, however, also makes use of religious wedding ceremonies.

It is mainly characteristic of “hill” and “foot-of-the-hill” Gypsies that, although they observe the formalities of the rites of Christian Churches, they have not fully internalised their dogma and principles. By now, however, children from some rising “foot-of-the-hill” families as well as most village-dwelling Gypsy youths have identified themselves with the teaching and values of the Protestant and Catholic Churches, both in terms of religious awareness and sensibilities.¹² In the autumn of 1998, 12 people went to their first

¹¹ Pozsony 1997b: 18.

¹² Pozsony 1997b: 18.

Communion, 5 of them Gypsy children of village-dwelling families. At the same time, of the 43 people confirmed, 12 were Gypsy children from the village. Young Gypsy members of the Protestant community did not use to be confirmed together with their *Székely* peers because the idea of receiving the sacrament from the same chalice would meet strong opposition. Today, confirmations are conducted at the same service and having been provided with a separate chalice, Gypsies can take the sacrament, too.

Attending church is a major priority for the Gypsy population wishing to integrate into the village community. The church provides a social sphere in which the newly arrived Gypsies can best demonstrate their shift in life-style for the local public.

The *Székely* Gate as a Symbol of the Identification of the Local Gypsy Élite

At the end of the village of *Zabola*, the road leading to *Kovászna* is lined with huge, carved *Székely* gates with unfinished detached houses of enormous size behind them. These are being erected by the enriched village-dwelling Gypsies. The houses and the gates refer to the fact that relations between the local ethnic groups have undergone major changes.

The Gypsy families that moved to the village have set up *Székely* gates, expressing a symbolic bond between Hungarians and Gypsies. It is important to point out that *Székely* gates did not use to constitute a part of the peasant culture of the *Székely* living in *Zabola*. They started setting them up mainly because the idea was initiated by local intellectuals. The first example was erected opposite the parsonage in 1975. After that, the concept has gradually been introduced and accepted by the local *Székely* community. Gypsies make use of an identification symbol of the *Székely* peasant culture to demonstrate their own identity to the outside world. It must be emphasised, however, that Gypsies erecting *Székely* gates do not primarily highlight their ethnic identity with their constructions but the cultural one. In this case, the *Székely* gate is to be regarded as a symbol of wealth and integration into society.

Public opinion in the village is not uniform as to the Gypsies' setting up *Székely* gates. Local Hungarian intellectuals consider it a positive development because they feel that it is not merely symbolic showing off of financial resources but also expression of the dominance of the local Hungarian commu-

nity. Hungarian peasants in the village, however, have a much lower opinion of the phenomenon. Some feel that, as Gypsies have demanded the privilege of erecting *Székely* gates for themselves, it no longer holds any importance for the village's Hungarians. In their view, the fact that a devalued group has taken control of it, the *Székely* gate as such has lost its higher symbolic meaning.

The Views about Gypsies and their Changes

While *Zabola's* Gypsies always make judgements of "peasants" according to the given situation and their personal position, ethnic Romanians and Hungarians employ fixed stereotypes to evaluate Gypsies.

The scales of values observed by the Hungarian and Romanian populations are radically different. Nevertheless, they both form strong, critical views, heavy with stereotypes, about Hungarian-speaking local Gypsies, notwithstanding the fact that the latter constitute three notably different groups.

Some Gypsy families, previously living on the very edges of *Zabola's* social structure, have come to wealth quickly since the early 1990s, thanks to their finding job opportunities in Hungary. Their new financial status has enabled them to buy homes – or have them built – in the centre of the village, inhabited by Hungarians. As a result of the Gypsies' moving to the village, the earlier ethnic segregation has vanished.¹³ Mention must be made of the fact that, in *Zabola*, it was not only the Gypsies that were locally separated from the Hungarians and Romanians but the latter groups from each other as well. The Hungarians have occupied the centre of the village, called Upper End, whereas the Romanians have taken up residence in a part somewhat farther off, called Lower End. By moving to the centre of the village, the Gypsies have reached the living space of the Hungarians. Here they have encountered a novel culture that has offered opportunities to re-define the boundary between a friendly and an alien environment. They have had to take these opportunities because the patterns considered to have been effective before have lost their validity.

¹³ We cannot, however, say that segregation has completely vanished. Those Gypsies who have moved to the village still frequent two taverns that no member of the other ethnic groups in the village would ever enter. Visiting these places would still be a serious loss of face for any non-Gypsy resident of the village.

Although the Gypsy families' moving to the village had started even before the political changes,¹⁴ this had not been significant enough to result in having the views about Gypsies reassessed. After 1989, the process has sped up and expanded. The stronger financial basis has paved the way to the development of a life-style radically different from the one attributed to the Gypsies before, therefore, both the Hungarian and Romanian ethnic groups have had to adapt to the changes. The new situation has had to be dealt with, necessitating rethinking and reassessing the views about Gypsies.

Zabola's Hungarian residents primarily felt that the new situation had presented threats, and they have reacted accordingly.¹⁵ Majority groups consider that changes to established situations jeopardise their status, which results in further isolation, strengthening negative views about other groups and positive self-identity.¹⁶

Although the Hungarians have encountered experiences apparently different from, indeed, sharply contradicting, the former stereotypes about Gypsies, they have still regarded this phenomenon as an assault on the integrity of their life, with its negative aspects enhanced. When talking about the Roma, those who will not accept the shift in the Gypsies' life-style still emphasise the asymmetry and point out the superiority of Hungarians and Romanians. The stereotyped views about the Gypsies' scale of values are dominated by their lack of fondness of work, which cannot be reconciled with the issue of their recently acquired state of affluence. The Gypsies' financial strength is symbolically depreciated, their income being attributed to foul play. With their activities labelled as dishonest, it does not seem necessary to completely reassess the old views about them. A characteristic feature of this way of thinking is that the focus is placed on the negative aspects of the life-style of the Gypsies who recently moved to the village: they are noisy, they hang out the laundry on their

¹⁴ Gypsies started to buy the houses of Hungarians moving to towns in the 1970s. Although, initially, this met with strong opposition from local Hungarians, the trend could not be stopped. According to the recollections of *Zabola's* residents, it took the bribing of a local councillor to allow Gypsies to move the village. It must be noted that the Hungarians who were leaving preferred to sell their houses rather to well-off Hungarian-speaking Gypsies than to Romanians, even if the latter were ready to pay more. Pozsony 1997b: 18.

¹⁵ An extreme example is provided by how one member of the Hungarian community is assessed. He considers the Gypsies' successful living strategy an example to follow and, indeed, joined them a long time ago wishing to become rich quickly.

¹⁶ Kürti 1994.

fences, and they furnish their homes with cheap and trashy pieces of furniture, although otherwise they lead a lavish and wasteful life-style.¹⁷ This suggests that the basic changes in the life-style of the new village-dwellers have been recognised – along with the fact that Gypsies are trying to live up to expectations – but they are merely perceived as isolated examples, consequently, the old stereotypes about Gypsies stay very much alive.

One lesson to be learned from the survey is this: taking advantage of the opportunities provided by the political transformation, members of the local Gypsy élite have quickly become rich, but even their new life-style – however consciously adjusted to the “peasant” scale of values –¹⁸ has not been able to change the ossified views about Gypsies. These views were established within a system of relations of superiors and inferiors that is characteristic of peasant societies. As a consequence of the Gypsy élite’s financial and social rise, these relations have fundamentally changed in the local community. The fact that the Gypsy population has increased and switched to a new way of life has brought about problems as well as transformations in the previously established patterns of co-existence.

The new situation presents a serious challenge to the local society because the old patterns of behaviour are no longer effective in the Romanian-Gypsy and Hungarian-Gypsy co-existence. The views about Gypsies as an abstract group, however, have not been modified significantly, even after the political changes. Only on certain occasions do members of the village’s peasant community seem willing to make exceptions of the very one-sided public opinion. In more general sense, the old stereotypes about Gypsies still prevail.

As far as Gypsy-Hungarian relations are concerned, the village-Gypsies often seem co-operative. Ethnic Hungarians, on the other hand, tolerate the approach of Gypsies for functional reasons as well as out of necessity, and they seem willing to take steps to help their integration. It must be emphasised, though, that this does not reflect the opinion of the village’s peasant population, but that of the dominant layer of the Hungarian intellectuals. Members of the latter group are of the opinion that *Zabola’s* ethnic Hungarians have been losing ground for the past decades. They feel that the only way for this

¹⁷ When talking about the Gypsy families, which have moved to the village, everybody mentions the lavish, costly weddings and parties, supposedly meant to indicate a wish to show off.

¹⁸ Szuhay 1993.

ethnic group to keep its significance and, indeed, dominance is to help Gypsies integrate into their ranks. Although, in the early 1900s, Hungarians represented a decisive factor in the village both in terms of numbers and financial resources, the situation has fundamentally changed. Romanians have taken over the running of the village's economy from ageing Hungarians. It seems that the efforts of some intellectuals (mainly the Protestant minister and the Catholic priest) to help the Gypsies' integration are to be interpreted as signs of this social and economic realignment.

As for the Gypsies moving to the Hungarian sector and their wishes to integrate, the village's public opinion is not as clearly positive as that of certain intellectuals. The latter assess the events as positive efforts towards civilisation. They also point out the fact that this process mitigates the effects of the unfavourable shift in the village's ethnic layout, that is, the steady decrease in the Hungarian population. These intellectuals assess both the ethnic and the cultural dimensions of the changes as positive. (They do not take into consideration, though, that the Gypsies have long regarded themselves Hungarians, therefore their ethnic affiliation is not a reaction to the current situation. As for cultural changes, they ignore the fact that the welcome change has its impact only on a fraction of the local Gypsy population. Thus, it is highly doubtful if the process will be carried on by the overwhelming majority of the Gypsies.)

Indeed, a minor fraction of the intellectuals do not share the views of their peers and, like the peasant population, they are of the biased opinion that prevailed before.

Hungarian-Gypsy neighbourly relations, supposed to work by way of reciprocity, exist only ostensibly. The representatives of the Hungarian side feel that they are only unilaterally committed, therefore, they often disregard the tacit rules: *"You know, I've got my neighbour with those Gypsy folks living next door. They come to him. The chap wants to give a ring to his brother, of all people. Fine. My buddy lets him do it, 'Help yourself.' Because the chap goes, 'I shall pay for it, saving your presence.' Right, he's phoning. But the whole business went like, 'How are you doin'? Aren't you sick? Józsi went to I don't know whose place.', and whatnot. You know, unimportant stuff. Then I told him, 'Don't you ever come here again, only if you've got something very important to do, got it?'"* It is common practice that if a Gypsy neighbour borrows some produce that he cannot pay for, he will do physical labour for the lender as compensation.

The established relations between superiors and inferiors are sometimes upset when a Gypsy becomes the employer and a former Hungarian small-

holder the employee. This particularly strengthens the feeling of being threatened in many people. In the previous framework of socio-economic relations, the Gypsies were clearly pushed to the periphery. Yet, this has changed, due to the new situation. It is especially hard for Hungarian communities experiencing a complete shift in the previous asymmetric relations. Today, it is not uncommon that well-off Gypsies employ Hungarians for certain jobs. The adult Gypsies who have moved to the village are illiterate, thus, they cannot get a driving license. Therefore, Gypsies frequently hire Hungarians to work as their chauffeurs. This is a bitter pill to swallow for those not very willing to accept changes. It is even more humiliating when relatives of formerly well-to-do smallholders work on the farms of Gypsies.

Gypsy-Romanian relations are different. These are primarily restricted to economic matters. Even today, Gypsies and Romanians are totally separated. It is certainly not by chance that Romanians still uphold their previous highly negative views about Gypsies. The former also have to adjust to norms and this sometimes makes Gypsy families acceptable to Romanian neighbours. The Romanians do not consider as direct threat the fact that the role that the Gypsies previously played in the village's life has changed. Consequently, they do not have to bear so much pressure when reassessing the old views about Gypsies. Like the Hungarians, they regard the village's three distinct Gypsy groups as a whole and they have a rather low opinion about their way of life and thinking. It is not the ethnic differences but those in life-style that the Romanians criticise. Given the fact that Romanians and Gypsies have few encounters,¹⁹ physical or otherwise, the former are not forced to reassess their opinion.

Zabola's Romanians and Hungarians still prefer not to use the same crockery and cutlery that Gypsies sometimes also do. Overcoming prejudices concerning cleanliness would point to a highly developed stage of the Gypsies' integration but this is only the case with some families. This issue – doing away with this kind of unfair bias – is also of high priority for those Roma families emphasising their being accepted.

¹⁹ Zoltán Bíró A. asserts that when examining ethnicity, the primary focus has to be put on ethnic identity to be captured over these "encounters." He considers as encounters, "situations and events – physical or mental – with participants belonging to different ethnic groups, in which ethnic identity is so important to the participants that it influences and shapes the behavioural patterns of the situation." Bíró 1996: 249.

At the level of everyday relations, the discrimination against Gypsies sometimes seems to vanish but, generally, this is not the case. Attitudes towards Gypsies as individuals are different from those towards Gypsies as a group. The most frequent social acts reveal the fact that people still want to separate and stand aloof from the Gypsies.

There is only a very narrow zone in which encounters between Gypsies and non-Gypsies may happen. There is neither any need, nor opportunity, to get a better insight into each other's life-style. The village's families have general experience about local Gypsies but this is not linked to specific events. In other cases, specific experiences strengthening negative attitudes prevail. Several stories include unpleasant experiences about working together with Gypsies who may do their job conscientiously but they cannot be relied upon and they are peremptory.

The integration of Gypsies is not to be interpreted primarily as a process of "Magyarization" but as adaptation to a peasant scale of values represented by the Hungarian ethnic group of the village. This is a peculiar process, however, because farming – providing the basis of this way of life – has not become the basis of the Gypsies' new life-style. There may be some exceptions, but the Gypsies' way of life is clearly based on trading activities. That is why the focus is shifted to other elements of the peasant life-style in the adaptation process: religiousness, church-going, and compliance with the behavioural norms of everyday life are given special priority.

Zabola's Gypsies still represent a negative point of comparison for both the Hungarian and Romanian ethnic groups. The latter communities have established their identity as a counterbalance to the Roma. Strategies of ostracism and discrimination against Gypsies will continuously be produced until the Romanian and Hungarian groups experience significant cultural differences in their everyday life.²⁰ Therefore, some Gypsy families integrating into the local society may ease the tension but will not make it disappear.

²⁰ Fosztó 1997.

Integration as Reflected by a Gypsy-Hungarian Mixed Marriage

The distinct symbolic boundaries still in existence between Gypsies and Hungarians are appropriately illustrated by the single – and failed – Gypsy-Hungarian mixed marriage to date. Inter-marriage is the most serious violation against the rules regulating the co-existence of various ethnic groups.

The fact that one of its members chose his spouse from a despised ethnic group has touched *Zabola's* Hungarian micro-society on a sore spot. The situation is further complicated because the family of the young man proposing to the Gypsy girl used to be highly respected by the Hungarian community. A strange contradiction as it may be, but the lad's parents and the public have a very high opinion of the girl's family. This seems to suggest that this marriage has been rejected because of the differences in ethnic roots and not those in life-style or behaviour.

A completely new situation came about when the first child was born. Public opinion in the village was uniform in asserting that there could be no way for the baby to be embraced by the Hungarian community: he could only become a Gypsy. After the baby was born, however, the father did his utmost to tear his child away from the environment to which he had wanted to belong himself. This intention has generated conflicts completely severing relations between the Gypsy woman and the Hungarian man. The first Hungarian-Gypsy inter-marriage has failed to the greatest delight of both parties. This phenomenon points to the fact that, although a few Gypsy families have set off towards integration, the chances of rapprochement between Gypsies and Hungarians are still very limited. They certainly do not allow for mixed marriages. The fact that both parties seem to have rejected the concept of inter-marriage indicates that while a thaw in Hungarian-Gypsy relations might set in, closer contacts do not appear to be acceptable to either party. Mixed marriages of Hungarians and Romanians increasingly belong to the category of common practice. In contrast, neither Hungarians nor Romanians will accept inter-marriage to Gypsies.

The co-existence of Gypsies and non-Gypsies is still regulated by well-defined cultural patterns and strategies in *Zabola*. The symbolic boundaries between the various ethnic groups stay in place within the village's social field. Maintaining these boundaries is an important part in the operation of the present day local society.

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Assimilation and Identification: A Research in *Vekerd* Village

My paper is about a larger research project, containing one segment from a comparative assimilation study in the field of assimilation; the scope of assimilation and identity change considering *Vekerd*, a township in *Hajdú-Bihar* County. Assimilation is to be understood here as a process and a change, where the state of the individuals and groups changes in the process of becoming similar to each other.¹

From the aspect of assimilation, the village and the area is a relevant one, because this is an area affected by unprompted migration and organized displacements in the 18th century. As an effect of the displacements and unprompted migrations, mostly, settlements with mixed ethnic composition and, to a lesser extent, purely Romanian isles came to existence, like *Méhkerék* (*Micherechi*), *Bedő* (*Bedeu*) and *Vekerd* (*Vecherd*).

The Romanian population settled in *Vekerd* in the first half of the 18th century. Today the resident population is 152, most of who belong to the Greek Orthodox denomination, while a smaller part is either Calvinist or Greek Catholic. The interpretation frame of the present study is defined by the language-related, religious, and ethnic identities or the local identity in the relation system constituted by all three of them.

I have worked out the isolation of the interpretation-aiding factors by taping and analyzing narrative and structured interviews and by applying historical sources, respectively. My historical sources were the parish records of the settlement *Vekerd*, the papers and records of the Hungarian Romanian Orthodox Church, and census data.

For anthropological research, the structural identity theories are more effectively applicable because, in these theories, the social identity of the individual is related to the characteristics of the social structures and of the way of their operation. Based on the above premise, I have applied the collective

¹ Biczó 2004: 11.

identity theory of Jürgen Habermas and the ethnic identity theory of Fredrik Barth for the study of the identity of Romanians in *Vekerd*. These theories integrate the identity of the individual with the identity of the society and the characteristics of its operation.

According to Habermas, the basic movement of the organization of a group is the formation of a normative core, which comes to being by the consensus of the group's members, based on the society's norms.² The collective identity thus constructed is stronger or weaker/more or less structured, depending on the nature of the given society, and it is considered by the individual as a source for the awareness of one's own identity. In this interpretation, a special structure, the individual or the group, tries to remain consistent with itself, while it strives to satisfy the expectations of the society.

According to Barth, even the membership of the ethnic group is a question of identity, which is not fore-ordinated, but is continuously in change; it is constructed through the interaction with other ethnic groups.³ The members of an ethnic group are aware of their togetherness, for the development of their identity it is essential that they become aware of the border which runs between the members of the own ethnics and others. (The awareness of /for this border is more important than any other cultural sign.)

From the end of the 19th century onwards, there has been no considerable Hungarian population in the settlement. It is clear from the data that the Hungarian ethnics represent only 5–10% of the population. The only major change comes only from the 1941 consensus data to light.

Native language and denominations in Vekerd

| | 1880 | '90 | 1900 | '10 | '20 | '30 | '41 |
|-------------------------------------|------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| <i>Hungarian as native language</i> | 30 | 28 | 18 | 14 | 32 | 66 | 444 |
| <i>Romanian as native language</i> | 361 | 416 | 449 | 419 | 413 | 423 | 33 |
| <i>Sum total</i> | 391 | 444 | 467 | 433 | 445 | 489 | 477 |
| <i>Greek Orthodox Church</i> | 378 | 414 | | 414 | 427 | 409 | 402 |
| <i>Calvinist and Greek Catholic</i> | 13 | 30 | | 19 | 18 | 80 | 75 |

² Habermas 1994: 172.

³ Barth 1996: 17.

| | 1949 | '60 | '70 | '80 | '90 | 2001 |
|-------------------------------------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|
| <i>Hungarian as native language</i> | | 305 | | 197 | 200 | 125 |
| <i>Romanian as native language</i> | | 144 | | 88 | 21 | 27 |
| <i>Sum total</i> | 407 | 449 | 370 | 285 | 221 | 152 |
| <i>Greek Orthodox Church</i> | 399 | | | 169 | 118 | 90 |
| <i>Calvinist and Greek Catholic</i> | 68 | | | 116 | 103 | 62 |

The cause of the change is that the statistics, originally based on a language survey, include not only the number of the people fully assimilated into/among the Hungarians, but also that of those in the final stage of assimilation and of those unsure or with double affiliation. It is characteristic of this double identity that any of the sides can be actualized at the moment of an acknowledgement through any psychological or other sort of influence, originating from the specific circumstances.

Language Assimilation

From the aspect of the assimilation, it is important in which social medium the language change occurs. From 1942 onwards, there has been a dominance change in the process of the language exchange, with the impact that children of school age were able to use Romanian more confidently as a second language than as a first language.

The Romanian language in *Vekerd* has preserved a special variety of Romanian, in which the special vocabulary usage is due, on the one hand, to the three families originally from the *Regat* region living in the village and, on the other hand, to the migrating Hungarian natives.

If we check the language usage of the older and the younger generation, we may notice that the Romanian language competence is curving downwards proceeding from the older generation towards the younger one, while the Hungarian language competence shows a conversed gradation.

Use of the Romanian language (2004)

| | Age | | |
|--|-------|-------|----|
| | 18–39 | 40–60 | 60 |
| Native language | | 3 | 6 |
| Parallel acquisition of the Hungarians | | 10 | 14 |
| Diglossy | 3 | 15 | 16 |
| Language assimilation | 31 | 28 | 26 |
| Sum total (152 persons) | 34 | 56 | 62 |

Furthermore, if we check the difference between each generation, then the first generation was monolingual Romanian, but for the second generation, the parallel acquisition of the Hungarian was typical. Diglossy and language assimilation affected primarily the young generation, which felt the need of conforming itself to the new environment, motivated by educational and vocational reasons.

In the process of language assimilation, the stage of diglossy does not necessarily result in a change of the religious identity, so the dominance of the Orthodox denomination is still demonstrable within the settlement.

Religious assimilation

To demonstrate the complexity of assimilation – whereby language-related, religious, and ethnic identities have an impact on each other in several fields, whose relation manifests itself on several levels in the settlement – I have conducted a case study of the relationship between the priest and local society. In *Vekerd*, this phenomenon makes up the central core of religious identity. The concept of religious identity expresses here the affiliation or non-affiliation to a religious society, thus it is a matter of relationship of the individuals and groups living in the society. It is not merely an instance of self-determination; it is also the experience of a social bond.

I have examined the community narratives, the symbolic actions and the use of space in this social manifestation of religious consciousness. Narratives are represented in interpersonal communication and interactions, and have a particular inner structure and social definition. The actions of the characters

in the narratives are not determined by causal connections, but are motivated by some “intentional state”.⁴

The denominational relations of *Vekerd* are of heterogenic nature. Based on the 2001 census and my research, 60% of the population belongs to the Greek Orthodox denomination, 35% to the Reformed one, and there are also Roman and Greek Catholics in smaller groups.

Between 1920 and 1942, *Vekerd* did not have a Greek priest. The low quality of pastoration can be illustrated with the fact that, from 1942 onwards, priests replaced one another after relatively short periods of service, unlike at some other nearby settlements. The causes were the peripheral endowments of the settlement, the secularization processes characterizing the period, and unfavorable political changes.

In 1942, *János Varjú* was relocated to the settlement. For a place of residence for himself, he claimed a building which was in state ownership and functioned as a Hungarian-Greek Orthodox primary school at the time. He got the building. By this time, the school was the second most important formal institution after the church in *Vekerd*.

| János VARJÚ | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|--|
| Identity factors | | | Civil activity |
| Language | Religion | Ethnicity | |
| Romanian | Greek Orthodox Church | Romanian | claimed the school's building not evident to keep the habits the assimilating aim directed negative emotions from the inhabitants of the settlement |

Today, it is possible to reconstruct the socio-psychological environment only in fragments. As a consequence for the individual – in this instance, the vicar – approaching the alien group, the “historylessness” of the new identity causes inconveniences. For *János Varjú*, it was not evident to keep the habits and obligations experienced in the new environment; the historical traditions did not affect him with what most of the conflicts in society are treatable. He could not discuss the cultural norms of the recipient group at a native level and he experienced that his established norms were useless in the recipient group.

⁴ László 1998: 101.

As Clifford Geertz would put it: he did not possess the competence of “dense speech” used in the recipient group.⁵

The chance for subsistence of the school teaching in the native language was one of the most important issues of an ethnic individual’s existence. Its cessation meant the cessation of one piece of the local case maps in the local society. In this situation, the assimilating aim directed against the now symbolically appreciated building evoked negative emotions from the inhabitants of the settlement. In this period, the *Vekerdi*ans’ solidarity towards their society and language was strong; they interpreted their religious identity as an accompaniment to their minority culture. According to this example, religion can be seen as a manifestation of ethnic identity.

In 1945, Parson *Ferenc Latina* was relocated from the *Körösszegapáti* (*Apateu*) Orthodox Parish to *Vekerd*. The religious society remembers him as a Greek Catholic parson, but according to the unanimous statement of today’s presbyters, he was a “Greek Orthodox parson relocated in an administrative way”. In a state when there is a lack of information, the role of symbols gets more important. The religious society got confirmed in its Greek Catholicism by similar symbols, including the flag or the cross.

If religion can be described from a sociological point of view as an act with several dimensions, it can be seen from the reminiscences that religious life can be measured by the least intellectual dimension.⁶ A much more determining factor in the village is the person of the priest himself, which is best shown by the fact how easily *L. F.* made his believers accept his Greek Catholic theory system.

| Ferenc LATINA | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--|
| Identity factors | | | Civil activity |
| Language | Religion | Ethnicity | |
| Hungarian | Greek Orthodox or Greek Catholic? | Romanian or Hungarian? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The religious society remembers him as a Greek Catholic parson – For today’s presbyters, he was a Greek Orthodox parson – The replacement of Greek Orthodoxy by Greek Catholicism – Religious identity does not show rigid concurrence with ethnic identity |

⁵ Schütz 1984: 141.

⁶ Oláh 1991: 107.

Latina consciously assisted the confusion of identity of the individuals by changing Greek Orthodoxy to Greek Catholicism. The replacement of Greek Orthodoxy by Greek Catholicism does not mean that religious identity is not a special indicator of religious identity; it means that religious identity does not show rigid concurrence with ethnic identity.

After World War II, the connotations of religious symbols did not change in the identities of the majority of the Orthodox believers, except in these special cases. Namely, the Greek Orthodox religiousness in *Vekerd* kept on being strongly tied to saintship, to liturgical methods, to the Romanian language used in liturgy and to the awareness of communal experience in the congregation.

An important part of religious identity is how the relationship of the members of a definite denomination towards other denominations and their members is shaped as time passes. Let us examine one of the most important tools for reanimating the public spirit; the religion lessons. Between the two World Wars, the attendance at the religion lessons was obligatory in the village. After the lessons, which were held regularly on Fridays, it often came to conflicts among the children which cultural manifestations always activated along the religious system of the children's society. In the 30s and 40s of the 20th century, conflicts based mainly on religious reasons also occurred in other settlements around *Vekerd* (*Darvas, Zsáka*). Due to the parson, differences in denomination and birth bred aggression in the interaction of the village inhabitants. The tensions, which had been present as a mental-symbolic construction before, got activated among children under the parsons mentioned above, too.

Imre Ambrus, a vicar of Hungarian origin was transposed to *Zsáka (Jaca)* in 1995. This time *Vekerd* was a succursal church of the parish of *Zsáka*, whose vicar was *Kornél Mondruczo*.

| Kornel MONDRUCZO | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|--|
| Identity factors | | | Civil activity |
| Language | Religion | Ethnicity | |
| Hungarian | Greek Orthodox Church | Hungarian | – Did not hand the parish to <i>Imre Ambrus</i> upon the demand of the congregation – a preaching mistake committed during the Orthodox liturgy |

Despite having got old and being unable to complete his tasks, *M.C.* does not hand on the parish to *Imre Ambrus* upon the demand of the congregation.

“Vicar Ambrus eloped with his daughter to America. His wife had the Father declared wanted. So, they were almost at his back trail, and he had to clear out of here. And the church in Darvas was just being renovated. For two millions. He cleared out with the money. However, he sent the money back. In dollars.”

| Imre AMBRUS | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------|--|
| Identity factor | | | Civil activity |
| Language | Religion | Ethnicity | |
| Hungarian | Greek Orthodox Church | Hungarian | – he stole the money of parish – did not have a status inside the group |

The forced departure of Vicar *Kornél Mondruczó* was supported by the congregation because of his old age and his mistakes committed during the liturgies. The preaching mistake committed during the Orthodox liturgy and the dropped liturgical method required an instance of intensive consciousness-experiment on the vicar's part. Practicing is the most important part of religious identity for the Greek Orthodox. The primary role of the ceremony and the established tradition-system lies in that it differentiates them from the Greek Catholic congregation. In Alfred Schütz's words, the outsider's – in the present case, that of *Imre Ambrus* – situation is different from those of other members of the group in the respect that he does not have a status inside the group that would be an informative starting and reference point for the congregation.

The way how the congregation of *Vekerd* remembers his activities as a vicar should not be ignored. The group uses the local gossips to reconstruct happenings; that is how they shape their approach towards the vicar, and they erase the positive information concerning his real service. The judgment of his merits in the village does not depend on the number of Bible classes and the amount of time spent in the settlement, but it is measurable on the liaising with the congregation. The local vicar should find situations to get into touch with the members, should initiate meetings, and his stay in *Vekerd* should also extend to conversations with the members of the congregation from the inevitably necessary cooperation – the church service.

Since 1997, father Pop *Cosmin Florentin* has been in charge of church service. Liturgies used to be held every 4 weeks; now they are held if paid for and

requested in advance. The lack of church service in the village is explained with changes in the members' church-going habits. Orthodox religiosity is more strongly tied to participation in church service than the Protestant one. According to the Orthodox interpretation, the Greek Orthodox liturgy is theophany, in which living in mysteries, primarily in Eucharistia, has a significant role. For the believer Christian Orthodox, the participation – that makes is possible and opens up the way to take part in Christ's beatifying work – and the communion implies a special importance.

| Pop Cosmin FLORENTIN | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------|---|
| Identity factors | | | Civil activity |
| Language | Religion | Ethnicity | |
| Hungarian | Greek Orthodox Church | Romanian | – today liturgies are held if paid and requested in advance – the vicar status is present only in institutional form in this case. |

As we have seen, the vicar status is present only in institutional form in this case, too. As in previous years, enacting the real role is missing in the village. Based on the previous years' experiences, there is no norm of a vicar or the congregation that could be followed or could determine their further existence. Let there be no mistake about it; it is not the vicars' identity experiment that I want to present here, I have only undertaken to present the complexity of assimilation that I have examined as a process and as a change in which both the individual and the group change during the process of becoming similar.

The Hungarian Romanian Orthodox Church and the Romanian Minority Self-government consider *Vekerd* a Romanian village, of which we have only symbolic manifestations: we can find place-name signs and self-governmental notices in the Romanian language and the Romanian self-governmental conference and day of the village are organized here. But in the everyday life of the local community, the Romanian ties are either not present, or they are present only indirectly. The "*oláh*" (vlach) identity component is regularly present in personal life-histories, but only as an 'emblem' inherited from the past: it does not play a group strengthening cohesive role in the life of the local society.

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